

EARLY HISTORY OF THE FRASER VALLEY

1808-1885

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INTRODUCTION

In 1885 the last spike was driven in a railway, linking the Atlantic and Pacific tide waters in an all-Canadian route. In 1886 passenger trains were running on regular schedule between Montreal and Burrard Inlet and New Westminster. And early in the year 1887 my father, in company with his parents and six brothers and sisters, arrived by one of these trains at the "Immigration Shed" which had been built at New Westminster by that city and its neighbors for the reception of just such immigrants. I have, therefore, something of a personal reason for ending this little history of the country which has been the home of my people for half a century, with the advent of the railway, which brought them here. It keeps history separate from family reminiscences.

The fact is, however, that I started, longer ago than I care to confess, with the rash purpose of writing its entire history. It was the near impossibility of accomplishing this purpose that caused the selection of a closing date which seems to be more than purely arbitrary. It is a matter also of great gratification to me that my friend, Mr. George White, scion of a family which antedates mine in these parts by more than a quarter of a century, has undertaken to bring my account down to date.

1 Cf. Minutes of Surrey Council, July 13, 1833; Richmond Council, Nov. 5, 1883.

The plan of the work appears to me to be self-explanatory, though the separation of exploration from fur trade in two separate chapters may rightly be called an artificial one, since the explorers were bent solely on the facilitating of the trade and looked upon their work in no other light. The study, though only the latter part of it breaks entirely new ground, is based entirely on primary sources, printed, manuscript or oral, or upon those secondary works and monographs which are so close to sources, some inaccessible to me, as to be almost primary.

Some explanation of the map inserted at the beginning of this work is necessary. It is compiled as accurately as possible from a variety of maps supplied me by the Geographer-General, Department of Lands, Victoria, and by the Surveyor-General, Topographical Survey of Canada, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, to whom my thanks must be expressed. The older location of roads is derived in large part from a map--after page 350--in Sessional Papers, Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 1877, Public Works Report. In spite of the generosity of the materials supplied me, practically all that is available from official surveys, I have had to add, as accurately as I could estimate, some further details from my intimate personal knowledge of the country, especially much of the line by which I have tried to separate "highlands" from "lowlands." I am indeed grateful to my young friend, Mr. Ross Armstrong, for the accurate care with which he has drawn the map and the patience with which he followed my instructions.

I must express my thanks to Dr. Sage, Professor of History at the University of British Columbia, who read the entire work in an almost illegible rough manuscript and has helped greatly in clearing away errors and obscurities; also to Dr. Erna Gunther, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Washington, who read Chapter Ib, "The Mainland Halkomelem," and made helpful criticisms. I am also greatly indebted to my friend Dr. Kaye Lamb and his assistants at the Provincial Library and Archives, to the public librarians of Vancouver and New Westminster, to various officials of the Department of Lands at Victoria, to Government Agents and Indian Agents at Vancouver and New Westminster and the Indian Agent at Lytton, and to the municipal authorities of Chilliwack, Delta, Langley, Maple Ridge, Richmond and Surrey for patient aid in seeking information, and placing documents at my disposal. I am similarly indebted to Rev. E. D. Braden, Mrs. B. C. Freeman, Prof. Chas. Hill-Tout and Mr. Alex. Young of Vancouver, Mr. Alfred Hawkins of Matsqui, the O. M. I. at New Westminster, and Mr. James Sinclair of the same place, Mr. H. T. Thrift of White Rock, the late Horatio Webb and Rev. Dr. James H. White of Sardis for kindness in loaning books and manuscripts which were in most cases prized family possessions. And finally and not least, I am deeply grateful to my father and to a host of pioneers of the Fraser Valley, of whom only those who gave greatest assistance can be mentioned herein and of whom many have since been

1 See Appendix C.

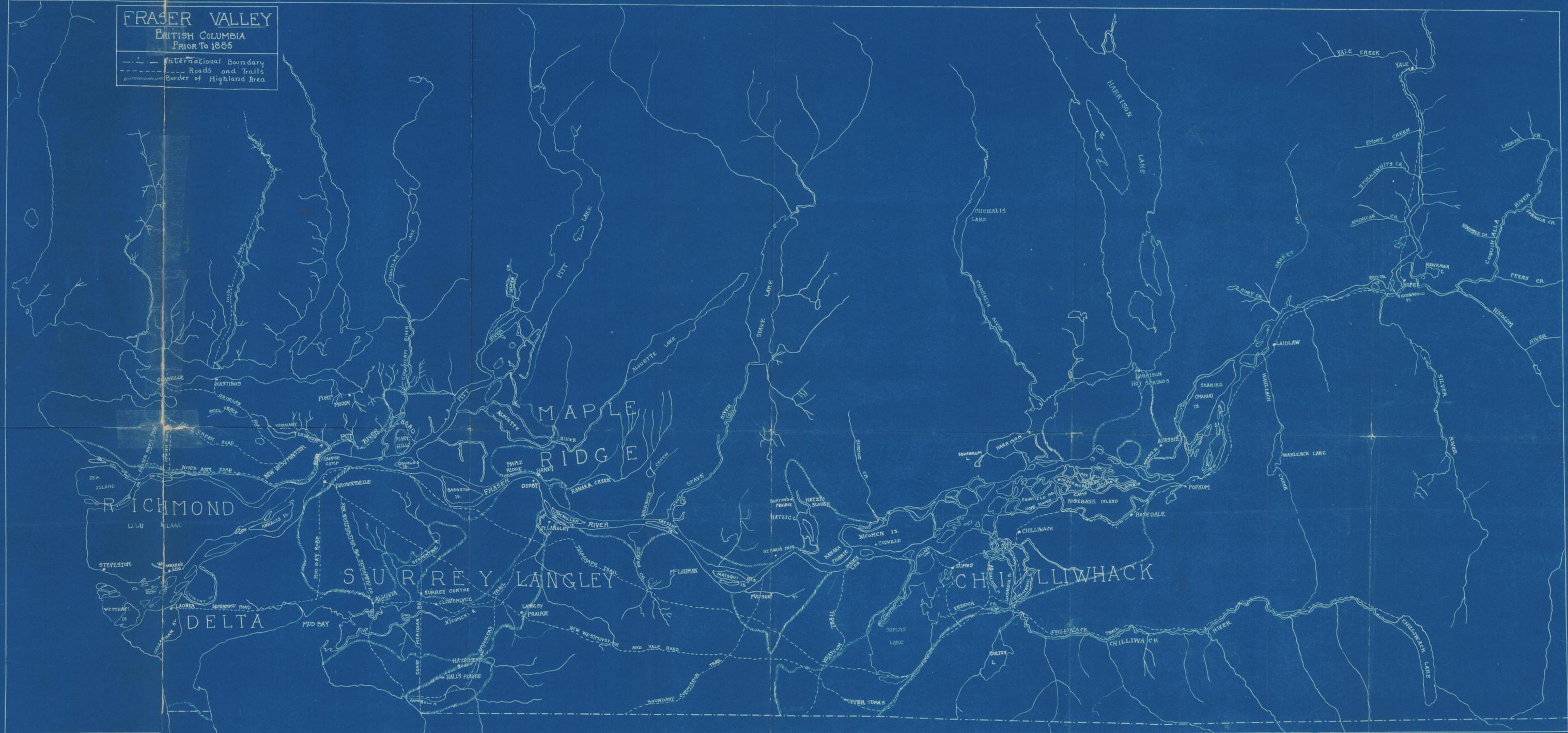
gathered to their fathers. These patiently told me their stories and answered my questions and the value of their aid is more than can clearly be expressed. To them I would gladly dedicate this story of the pioneers.

JEG.

Vancouver, Sept. 29, 1937.

FRASER VALLEY
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Prior to 1865

--- International Boundary
- - - Roads and Trails
||||| Border of Highland Area



EARLY HISTORY OF THE FRASER VALLEY: 1808-1885

CHAPTER I - BEFORE THE WHITE MAN

(a) THE FRASER VALLEY

Where the mighty and muddy Fraser pours its icy waters from the "Little Canyon" at what the early traders called "The Falls" just above Yale is the all-time head of navigation on the lower reaches of the stream and the extreme limit of the Fraser Valley. For about fifteen miles below that point the river hurries Southward between high banks with only narrow benches between the stream and the mountains, which continue to confine the valley within very narrow limits. At Hope, the river swings its course Westward, towards the sea; the mountains begin to grant, very grudgingly, a little elbow room to the still rapid stream; and here and there appear patches of low fertile land on either side or on islands in the centre. It is here that the fertile Fraser Valley, of which this essay proposes to outline the history, really begins.

From Hope to the mouth of the river is roughly 85 miles. The width of the valley varies greatly and is generally very ill defined. On the North, it is true, the mountains extend right to the coast, but it still remains for us to decide how much of the tributary valleys we shall include in the Fraser Valley. The principal of these are the Ruby Creek, of little importance as it is only a mountain stream; the Agassiz Valley extending to the foot of Harrison Lake; Harrison River and Lake, of which we shall, for the most part, exclude the lake; Hatzic Lake and Prairie, which we must include; and Stave, Allouette, Pitt, and Coquitlam Rivers and Lakes, of which in each case we may ignore the lakes, nestled back amongst the mountains. Neither can we permit ourselves to give attention to the vastly important shores of Burrard Inlet, or very much to any part of the lower Mainland Peninsula. On the South the mountains extend only as far West as Sumas Prairie. It is true the Sumas Mountain stands right on the bank of the river, but the mountains abutting it to the West sink rapidly to the low hills which separate the Matsqui and Sumas Prairies at Abbotsford, so that this constitutes not a boundary to the valley but an island of mountain in its midst. Therefore, from the Vedder Mountains to the coast we shall consider the International Boundary to mark the limit of our field.

Of the primitive beauty of this valley James Douglas, the first Governor of British Columbia, has left us the following impression:

The banks of this river are almost everywhere covered with woods; varieties of pine (1) and firs of prodigious size, and large poplar-trees, (2) predominate. The vine and soft maple, the wild apple-tree, the white and black thorn, (3) and deciduous bushes in great variety, form the massive undergrowth. The vegetation is luxuriant, almost beyond conception, and at this season of the year (4) presents a peculiarly beautiful appearance. The eye never tires of ranging over the varied shades of the fresh green foliage, mingling with the clustering white flowers of the wild apple-tree, now in full blossom and filling the air with delicious fragrance. As our boat, gliding swiftly over the surface of the smooth waters, occasionally swept beneath the overhanging boughs that form a canopy of leaves impervious to the sun's scorching (5) rays, the effect was enchanting. (6)

The mountains form a back-ground to this enchanting picture and give form to the valley. In this category we include all that terrain which, by reason of its height or of the outcropping of rock, is rendered incapable of use for agriculture of any sort. Rising usually out of heavily timbered bases, they are generally lightly timbered to snow-line, which is only reached by a few of the higher peaks. Of the same varieties as those found at lower levels, but with a greater proportion of pines, the trees are of little commercial value. The rock is principally granite, and of little mineral value. There are two exceptions to this statement. On Holy Cross Mountain south of Hope and just west of Silver Creek, two veins of silver ore have been discovered, while Clayburn Mountain yields fire-clay of excellent qualities and has proved of real commercial value.

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- (1) Really very scarce in the valley and never on the river-bank. Douglas no doubt has other conifers in mind.
 (2) Cotton-wood; not real poplars.
 (3) Heaven only knows which of the many thorny growths of our lowlands he means. (4) Springtime.
 (5) Surely, for so early in the year, this word is used only for rhetorical effect. (6) Quoted in Mayne, p. 391.
 (7) See below, pp. 231-3.

On the South side of the river the mountains extend in an unbroken line from Silver Creek, near Hope, to Chilliwack River and Cultus Lake, South of Chilliwack. This range reaches into apex in the Cheam Peaks, just East of Rosedale and just opposite Harrison Lake. The first peak rises right from the river bank to an altitude of about 6925 feet. ⁽⁸⁾ Southwest of Cultus Lake, this range is continued by a lower ridge known as Vedder mountain, extending across the International Boundary. Separated from this range by the Sumas Prairie, including what was formerly Sumas Lake, is another small range, already mentioned, which begins with Sumas Mountain standing on the river bank just west of the mouth of the river of the same name, and extending South-Westerly through Clayburn Mountain, West of which it merges into the hills.

On the north side of the river the mountains East of Harrison Lake are broken only by Ruby Creek and are nowhere at any great distance from the river. To the West of Agassiz stands Agassiz Mountain, of no great height, close to the Fraser, while the Harrison flows about it to the North and West. West of Harrison Lake the mountains extend along the Harrison River and "Bay", Squawkum Lake and Nicomen Slough to Dewdney Mountain, just East of Hatzic Lake, and are broken only by two mountain streams, the Chehalis Rivers and Suicide Creek. West of Hatzic Lake the mountains are irregular. High peaks may be seen to the Northward from Stave Lake to Howe Sound, with Pitt Lake forming the only considerable break. Spurs of mountains

(8) Goode, School Atlas, Rand McNally, 1932.

extend Southward from these but none extend to the river, while only one contains peaks of any considerable size, the beautiful "Golden Ears" group, just North of Haney, several parts of which rise to over 5000 feet with Mt. Blanchard, the highest outstanding to 5525 feet. (9)

The remainder of the terrain, all more or less suited to agricultural occupation, may be divided into two classifications, highland and lowland. James MacMillan noted the distinction as long ago as 1825. (10) The highland ranging to an altitude of about 400 feet is mostly glacial in origin, irregular in topography, and heavily wooded with conifers principally. The lowland is alluvial in origin, flat and low-lying, and is sometimes unwooded, sometimes forested with such moisture-loving trees as cottonwood and willow and more rarely with conifers and maples. The lowlands at no place rise more than a few feet above the high-water levels of the river, while much of this is inundated during the Spring floods. They might be described as prehistoric channels, inlets, and lakes, cut in the early Tertiary Period into the glacial foothills which form the highlands and underlying Eocene conglomerates, (11) and filled with clay and silt to form prairies, flood-plains, deltas marshes and shallow lakes. Though the soil or vegetation of highland and lowland may in places be similar, the two types of land are in most instances clearly defined and easily recognizable.

(9) Lands Bulletin No. 27, 1934, p. 10.

(10) See below, Ch. II, p. 18.

(11) Lands Bulletin No. 27, 1934, p. 4.

As long ago as 1873 the government of British Columbia thought it worth while to make a general survey of the valley to get a description of the land available for settlement. With this idea in mind, John Fannin, a survivor of the overland party of 1862, ⁽¹²⁾ was sent to explore all lands between New Westminster and Hope from the Mountains on the North to the American Boundary on the South. ⁽¹³⁾ In making a similar survey of the valley we shall quote his description where possible for the simple reason that when he saw it the appearance of the country had been little altered by the hand of man.

From New Westminster to the mouth of the river and from the North Arm of the Fraser to Boundary Bay is all delta land. It consists of two parts; one the islands in the river, Lulu, Sea, Westham, Annacis, ⁽¹⁴⁾ and others; the other the flats extending from the Gulf of Georgia to the end of the ridge of highland opposite New Westminster. The latter consists of fertile lowland soil, formerly partly covered with cottonwoods and poplar and low brush, partly open grass-land. To the South, between Boundary Bay and the Gulf, this gives way near the Border to the wooded highland of Point Roberts, extending into the United States. East of Ladner some portions of the land are low peat-marshes, rather difficult to bring under cultivation. The land along the base of the ridges Eastward is very low but exceedingly fertile when cleared of a

(12) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 138.

(13) See his report to the Commissioner of Lands and Works in British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1874.

(14) Jason Allard, who said this name was not of Indian origin, expressed the opinion it was a corruption of "Annance's"

fairly heavy forest growth and drained. South of the ridges this low land extends around Mud Bay through marshes to the Nicomekl Flats. The islands are also typical lowland with clay soil and a growth of cottonwood or crabapple. The central part and some of the eastern portions of Lulu Island, however, are peat-land covered with "scrub-pine" and cranberries, low-bush blueberries and Labrador tea.

From the Delta Eastward to Langley the land consists largely of low ridges, mostly fairly fertile and formerly densely forested with Douglas Fir and other conifers, with cedars predominating in the highland swamps of black "ooze" found here and there, and occasional patches of "alder-land" with red alder and other deciduous trees. These ridges are much divided, however, by belts and valleys of lowland, partly forested, partly grass and swamp-land. The principal of these is a great crescent extending from Fort Langley through Langley Prairie, and the Nicomekl Flats to Mud Bay. From this flat the Salmon River flows North-Easterly through Langley Prairie and Langley, where the soil contains somewhat more clay and is partly wooded, to the Fraser. Westward from the same place flows the Nicomekl through the Cloverdale and Nicomekl Flats, where the soil is low and black, to Mud Bay. A branch of this same valley extends along the Serpentine River through black marshy soil to the Tynehead country north of Cloverdale. South of Cloverdale the ridge is high and gravelly and south of this, at the head of Semiamu Bay, is another small flat, Hall's Prairie, drained by the small Campbell River, close to the

American Border. East of this and South of Langley Prairie the ridge, known here as Fern Ridge, is somewhat lower and more fertile. A strip of lowland, mostly quite swampy, also extends North of the main ridge of Surrey along most of the river from the Delta Flats to Langley, while Barnston Island is also good lowland.

From Langley Eastward is a great, low plateau which Eastward narrows into low hills between the Matsqui and Upper Sumas (Huntingdon) Prairies at Abbotsford, and is thus linked to Clayburn and Sumas Mountains where for the first time we encounter land South of the river of more than about 500 feet elevation. Of this country the following extracts give some conception:

Eastward from the southern extremity of Langley Prairie say five miles, and southward towards the Boundary line, extends a strip of country where the undergrowth is so thick as to make it very difficult to travel through, yet the soil here is of the best description (black loam) and in places very deep (15)....Between this tract and the river, (16) the country is broken or hilly, and in places the soil light and gravelly. But eastward towards Matsqui, and reaching within one mile of the Matsqui Prairie, (17) is situated one of the finest belts of alder land in the district....This tract of land is comparatively level and free from undergrowth, and is also far above high water mark. The soil, black loam, with clay sub-soil. (18)

South of this alder land to the Boundary the soil is generally gravelly and was heavily timbered with Douglas Fir and other conifers.

(15) Apparently in neighborhood of Murrayville, Eastward to Aldergrove.

(16) About Coghlan.

(17) Aldergrove to Mount Lehman.

(18) Sessional Papers, 1874, Report of Exploration, pp. 3-4

Matsqui Prairie is

Bounded on the west and south by maple and alder ridges, with here and there small openings covered with a heavy growth of fern....Matsqui Prairie is about four miles square, and is subject to overflow during extremely high water....Nestling between the range of hills on the west, and Sumas Mountain on the east, it presents a very charming picture indeed....The broad green prairie stretching away to the river was dotted here and there with groups of cattle, partly hid in the luxuriant green grass through which they were roaming. (19)

It should be added that this vista of prairie was ornamented here and there with groves of cottonwood and fir and patches of wild rose.

East and South of Sumas Mountain is another strip of lowland. Commencing Eastward near the base of the Cheam Peaks, it widens between the mountains and the river Westward through Rosedale to Chilliwack and Sardis. Through this portion flows branches of the Fraser River, Hope and Camp Sloughs, and much of the land was formerly fairly heavily wooded. At Chilliwack the land was more open and intersected by the Chilliwack river and its branches, the Luk-a-Kuk and the Atchelitz, the latter (20) apparently once called the Choowallah. The country here is described by Fannin as follows:

Along the valley of the Choowallah River---the country, probably six miles in extent, is all timbered with the exception of a few patches of open burnt land, the surface broken---the soil generally good, being light loam with clay subsoil....The timber, which in places is valuable, consists of fir, cedar, and cottonwood, with

(19) Sessional Papers, 1874, Report of Exploration, p. 4.

(20) This is apparently the stream called by that name in Sessional Papers, 1874, Report of Exploration, p. 5. "Atchahtch" on map, Sessional Papers, 1877, p. 350.

thick undergrowth of vine-maple, hazel, and dogwood. In this stretch of land, and about three miles from the Sumas Settlement, is also situated a cranberry marsh of about 500 acres....Up the valley of the Chilliwack River to the base of the mountains; distant from Fraser River about eight miles---the features of the Country--are more favorable than along the valley of the Choowallah, the surface being not so much broken, and the soil richer and deeper. The timber consists of cottonwood, vine-maple and alder, with a few scattering fir and cedar....At the base of the mountains, (21) and probably three miles from the Chilliwack Settlement, we crossed a large prairie about six miles long and from two to four wide, covered with blue jonit-grass, and in places pea-vine --- its natural drainage being obstructed by heaver dams. (22)

Farther West some five miles lies the Sumas River flowing about the base of Sumas Mountain which here separates this prairie land from the Fraser River. Along this river

here and there small patches of open fern land occur; but aside from these the country is heavily timbered.... Here again is met this immense growth of weeds, berry bushes, etc....The soil being of a rich loamy nature is ~~formed~~, no doubt by the constant decaying of this mass of vegetable matter. (23)

Just South of Sumas Mountain the plain is so depressed that it was formerly a shallow lake covering some fifteen to twenty square miles, while the land beyond it West and South was a willow swamp and a perfect nesting haven for wild water-fowl. Still farther West, at Huntingdon, the Sumas Prairie crosses the American Boundary, sweeping away to the Southwest into the Nooksack valley and so to the sea. This whole valley, like that from Langley to Mud Bay, was apparently at one time an estuary of the Fraser.

In the neighborhood of Cheam there are some islands use-

(21) East of the Chilliwack River.

(22) Sessional Papers, 1874, Report of Exploration, pp. 5-6.

(23) Ibid., p. 4.

ful in agriculture and at one or two places, as at Floods, lowlands occur on the South side of the river as far as Hope. In more places there are gravelly benches at the bases of the mountains, covered with maple and alder, and sometimes heavier timber, with a dense tangle of underbrush. At Laidlaw and one or two other places the benches are lower and more fertile. On the opposite bank, "between Hope and Agassiz Landing, a distance of 25 miles, there is very little worthy of note in the shape of agricultural land. Bare and rugged mountains, with here and there small stretches of land mostly timbered with cottonwood, and subject to overflow, make up this portion of the country." (24)

Perhaps before returning Westward along the North side of the Fraser we should join Fannin in an ascent of Cheam Mountain, which is obviously what he meant by " 'Discovery' Mountain, which is situated at the eastern extremity of the valley." (25) Making our way with difficulty through the dense forests of the lower benches,

we cross others covered with low bushes and stunted pines, and at last scramble up to the bare peak. Perhaps (26) the most extended view to be had on the Lower Fraser is from this point. From here the river can be traced, through all its windings, 80 miles to the Gulf; and looks still and motionless in the distance. New Westminster can be seen with the naked eye, and every settlement along the river can be readily distinguished. Sumas and Chilliwack, the former 17, the latter 12 miles away, appear almost at our feet. Here also can be seen, in the country between Chilliwack and Cheam, new openings made by recent

(24) Sessional Papers, 1874, Report of Exploration, p. 7.

(25) Ibid., p. 6.

(26) We should say "certainly."

settlers; looking upon which, as new signs of awakening prosperity, the imagination (sic) wanders into the future when these green plains shall be dotted with herds, and the tangled growth of forest which now covers the virgin soil of the uplands, shall yield to the hand of hardy industry, and fields of waving corn shall take its place; when the eye from this place will rest on many a hamlet; and the sound of human voices, and human industry, will fill the space where now is silence and solitude. (27)

"At Agassiz Landing", says Fennin of his journey Westward," occurs the first break in the mountains....The country as far back as the mountains is lightly timbered, with here and there open patches of grass and fern land, and clumps of vine maple and hazel bushes....Soil, dark loam, with clay sub-soil. At the Northern extremity of this open country is found a valley or pass in the mountains, about six miles long and three wide leading to the foot of Harrison Lake. Some very good land is met with here. The valley is thinly timbered with fir and cedar. Near Harrison Lake the land is low and wet. Two Cranberry Marshes, the largest about 200 acres, are also found here....At the foot of the lake---and about half a mile from its junction with the river, is situated a hot spring, the steam arising from which can be seen from some distance as we approach it....To test the temperature of the water, we threw in a salt salmon, which was cooked in a few minutes. (28)

Breaking through a narrow pass in the mountains West of the lake, where it is joined by the Chehalis, the Harrison River makes a great bend about the North of Agassiz Mountain, and is deflected Southward by a small, isolated mountain at Harrison Mills to the Fraser. In the angle between these converging rivers, and separated from Agassiz by the mountain of that name is another flat several miles in extent, while on the right the river, held back by the little mountain already referred to, forms a lake known as Harrison Bay. The valley in which this lies extends about the North of the little moun-

(27) Sessional Papers, 1874, Report on Exploration, p. 7.

(28) Ibid., pp. 7-8.

tain; past the beautiful little Squawkum Lake, to join the main valley of the Fraser again below.

As far West as Dewdney Mountain, which is opposite but slightly West of Sumas Mountain, the mountains, as has been said, are fairly close to the river, or rather to a branch of it generally known as Nicomen Slough, though fifty or sixty years ago it was called Harris' Slough. Our explorer says:

Leaving Harrison River we proceeded down the Fraser about three miles, where we entered what is known as Harris' Slough. On the island (29) between this slough and the river, as also on the Mainland, a few stretches of high (30) timbered land are met with; these being known by the description of timber (cedar and fir); the parts subject to overflow are timbered with cottonwood. Prairie land is also met with both on the Islands and Mainland... The slough is about ten miles long, and enters the Fraser at a point opposite Sumas Mountain.

Leaving the slough we travelled westward (31) to a lake (32); thence across the lake to a valley (marked Island Prairie (33) on the sketch). The extent of this valley is about 1500 acres---and is subject to overflow. No unoccupied highland, fit for agricultural purposes, was found bordering on this valley, the mountains almost closing it in on three sides.

(34)

Here appearances are deceiving. Mountains do hem in the Prairie on the East, but what appear to be lower mountains on the West are the abrupt, heavily wooded slopes of the highland plateau which we shall presently describe. To the North the prairie leads into a low, heavily wooded pass, past a small

(29) Really islands, as there are cross-sloughs to the Fraser near Deroche.

(30) I.e., above flood level. The islands are entirely lowland.

(31) Across the Dewdney flats.

(32) Hatzic Lake.

(33) Burton's Prairie on map, Sessional Papers, 1877, p. 350, and to all pioneers of the district; Hatzic Prairie today.

(34) Sessional Papers, 1874, Report on Exploration, p. 8.

lake or two, to the level of Stave lake. Indeed, just as the Agassiz flat appears to be the old course of the Harrison River, so this appears to be the old course of the Stave, which has since cut out the new rocky gorge past the falls. To return:

In the centre of the lake, at the foot of the valley, is an Island (35) containing about 500 acres of the best land met with on the trip down. The soil is the same met with on the Cheam Islands. This island is lightly timbered with cedar and fir, but the undergrowth is something wonderful; nettles and berry-bushes are found growing here seven feet high....The Island stands about four feet above high water mark. The lake abounds with fine trout, and, at the time we crossed, the surface of the water was covered with ducks and geese, which rose before us in great flocks. The waters of this lake empty into the Fraser through a slough or small creek, at a point two miles above St. Mary's Mission (36); and the distance from the mouth of the creek to the lake is about one mile. (37)

We should add that all land between the lake and river, east of this slough, is excellent lowland generally free from floods.

West of this to Pitt Meadows, a distance of over twenty miles, the mountains are, on the average about five miles from the river.

The features of the country here are somewhat different from any met with on the south side of the river. The land is rolling and stretches of open fern land occur very often....The soil here is a sort of red clay, mixed with sand and gravel, and is formed, no doubt, by the decomposition of rocks, and, to judge from its lightness, would not long retain its strength...About one mile from the "river" is situated a belt of alder bottom three miles in extent, the surface of which is broken, and in places wet and swampy. Along the base of the mountain down as far as Stave River, the country is heavily timbered with fir and cedar, and the soil gravelly....Some very fine timber---was met with round

(35) Hatzic Island.

(36) Which is a mile East of Mission.

(37) Sessional Papers, 1874, loc. cit.

the foot of the lake, but the difficulties in the way of bringing to market, would, I think, be considerable, as the river is little else than rapids all the way.... Between Stave River and---Pitt Meadows, the country in its general features resembles that met with between Stave River and the 'Mission'; it is nearly all timbered, with here and there open stretches of fern land,---maple ridges bordering on the river (38) in the Western portion. Near the mouths of creeks small patches of lowland are to be found, as at Mission, from the mouth of Silver Creek a mile West of Mission to Silverdale, along the lower Stave about a mile, and from Albion to Kanaka Creek a mile East of Haney; but these are naturally subject to almost annual overflow from the Fraser.

About Pitt River to the foot of the lake, and along the lower reaches of the Lillooet or Alouette (39) stretches a great area of very low land, Pitt Meadows. Of this area Mayne wrote in 1860: "These will no doubt soon be cultivated for the supply of New Westminster, their only drawback being that many parts are liable to overflow." (40) Douglas visited Pitt Lake in the summer of 1860, and wrote:

The banks of Pitt River are exceedingly beautiful, extensive meadows sweep gracefully from the very edge of the river towards the distant line of forest and mountain. The rich alluvial soil produces a thick growth of grass, and scattered groups of willows. This fine district contains an area of 20,000 acres of good arable land, requiring no clearing from timber, and ready for the immediate operations of the plough. Many parts of it are, however, exposed to overflow through the periodical inundations of the Fraser, which commence about the first week in June, and generally subside before the middle of July. Owing to this circumstance, the Pitt meadows are not adapted for raising wheat or other cereals which require the entire season to mature; but it may be turned to good account in growing hay and every kind of root crop, and may also be used extensively for pasturing cattle and for the purposes of dairy. (41)

Fannin's brief report is in sharp contrast:

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- (38) Sessional Papers 1874, loc. cit.
 (39) The latter name seems to be of only recent use.
 (40) Mayne, p. 392.
 (41) B. C. Papers, 1V., p. 8.

Pitt River Meadows contain an area of nearly 20,000 acres, which is subject to overflow from all sides. The whole plain is nearly surrounded by water so that dyking is, in my opinion, out of the question. A great many stretches of cranberry marsh are met with through this country,---and perhaps the most profitable purpose to which these meadows could be turned would be for the cultivation of this fruit. (42)

The land is mostly dyked and cultivated today and we know of only one attempt to commercialize the cranberries, and that long before Fannin's time. (43)

West of the Coquitlam River, between the Fraser and Burrard Inlet lies the Burrard Peninsula, all of it of the terrain which we have described as highland, with the exception of some narrow strips along the river, especially from the Coquitlam to the Brunette Rivers, opposite the upper end of Lulu Island, and opposite Sea Island. Near the centre of the peninsula are three small lakes, Burnaby, Deer, and Trout, each surrounded by a brush-grown marsh and inter-connected by a low valley of rich, black loam. All the rest of it is gravelly and formerly quite heavily timbered. Westward it culminates in Point Grey, a wooded promontory overlooking the Gulf of Georgia.

(42) Sessional Papers, 1874, Report on Exploration, p. 9.
(43) See below (Ch. 111, p. 31.)

(b) THE MAINLAND HALKOMELEM

Prehistorically the valley, or at least parts of it, seem to have been inhabited by a tribe or race of people distinctly different anthropologically from any people inhabiting this part of the world today. Their archaeological remains however, show no distinct difference otherwise from the historical aborigines except in the matter of the tumuli, for no people in this neighborhood at the opening of the historic period were known to bury their dead.

(45)

Within comparatively recent times the country was occupied by a branch of the Salish Indians known among themselves as the Halkomelem or Ankomenum, meaning "those who speak the same language." This language group includes also the

(44) This does not pretend to be an archaeological or ethnological report. On the archaeology of the district, many studies have been published by Dr. Franz Boas and Mr. Chas. Hill-Tout. See, for example the B. A. A. S. Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada, 1902, pages 89-97. See also Harlin I. Smith: Trephined Aboriginal Skulls from British Columbia and Washington in American Journal of Physical Anthropology, October-December 1924. Dr. Smith, who began his study of these skulls in 1898, says that among those at Eburne, dating back to 1497 or earlier, and at Boundary Bay are narrow skulls of a type not found elsewhere in these parts, and that at Eburne they were found with typical Indian skulls and with nothing to indicate difference of either time or rank. (See pp. 450 and 452.) More recently a number of the skulls and other relics from the Fraser midden now in the Vancouver City Museum have been made the subject of intensive study by Dr. Geo. E. Kidd.

(45) Much evidence that this is so is given by Hill-Tout in various reports and especially in the B. A. A. S. Report on Ethnological Survey of Canada 1902, pages 3, 93, 97.

(46) The Salish occupy an area from Central B. C. to Central Washington and from just west of the Kootenays to the West Coast.

Cowichan and Nanaimo Indians of Vancouver Island, and it is possible the Bella Coola are another Branch. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ On the mainland their territory lay along the Fraser River from its mouth to some distance above Yale. At the mouth lived the Musqueam on the North Arm and the Tsawwassen south of the main stream. Next came the Kwantlem, whose territory was the most extensive on the river with villages at Skaiamette (New Westminster), Kikait (Brownsville), Kwantlem (Langley), Honak (Wonnock) and Skaiets (Stave River). The Coquitlams, a small band enslaved by the Kwantlem, are probably not of Halkomelem origin, as is possibly true of the Kaytseys of Pitt Lake who had summer fishing villages at the head of Barnston Island and on either side of the river just opposite. The Matsqui were next eastward, the Lakahmen on Nicomen Slough and the Sumas on the river and lake of that name and the south side of Nicomen Island. East-

(47) Dr. Boas, in the B. A. A. S. Report for 1894, states that there is a dialectical difference between the island and the mainland branches, characterized by the substitution in the latter of "l" for "n" and a broad for a flat "a". Mr. Jas. Houston of Fort Langley, whose mother was a Kwantlem, states that Lakahmel (Nicomen) indicates the place of this change. Certainly Dr. Boas' observation does not apply to the Kwantlem. Cf. Hill-Tout, op. cit., p. 17, Re the Bella Coola, see *ibid*, page 555. Dr. Erna Gunther of the University of Washington, states (letter of Oct. 21, 1936) that the term Halkamelem should rightly apply only to those tribes above Nicomen, but I have preferred to retain the use made of it in all the earlier studies after Boas (e.g., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, II, 1059: "Halkomelen = Cowichan" and I. 355: "Cowichan, a group of Salish tribes speaking a single dialect and occupying the S.E. coast of Vancouver id. between Nanoos Bay and Sanitch Inlet, and the valley of the lower Fraser R. nearly to Spuzzum.) Note also the title of Dr. Crosby's book on his missionary work among these people first and principally at Nanaimo: "Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums."

ward thence to Cheam the Pilalt occupied the mouths of the distributaries of the Chilliwack River and the sloughs of the Fraser, with the Chilweyuk comprising eight bands to the southward from the present Sardis to Cultus Lake. (48) Opposite were the Harrison River Indians at Squakum, Scowlitz and Chehalis. Next were the Cheams above Rosedale and Siyita or Seatah near Agassiz. From there the order of the tribes was approximately as follows: the Popkum, the Squawtits, the Ohamil at Laidlaw and the Skwawalooks opposite St. Elmo, the Hope Indians at Katz and opposite Hope, the Ewawoos or Yale-Union Bar at Kawkawa Lake and from the mouth of the Coquihalla to Strawberry Island, and the Yale Indians from there to Kuthlalth above Yale with one semi-detached band at Ruby Creek. Opinion differs greatly as to their numbers at the beginning of white occupation, the Indians themselves and early settlers being generally of the opinion that the numbers were once many times greater than at present while Indian Agents and others fairly competent, as well as a partial census taken by Trutch and Ball in 1864 discount this view. (49) At present there are between fourteen and fifteen hundred Halkomelem along the river, about four hundred below Chilliwack, nearly six hundred in the neighborhood of Chilliwack and Harrison, and well over four hundred above there. (50)

(48) The Chilliwacks are possibly of Nootsak rather than Halkomelem origin, though speaking Halkomelem now. See Hill-Tout, op. cit., p. 5. The land of the Nootsaks is easily reached via Cultus Lake and Columbia Valley.

(49) B. C. Sessional Papers, 1876, page 207.

(50) See footnote, page 20.

These people had their own traditions and folklore compounded of fable and tribal history. Examples of such are the Chilliwack myth of the origin of the salmon-weir and of the quaqualeetza or blanket-beating, the Pilalt Salmon myth or the Kwantlem story of the origin of the salmon crest. (51) Many of these stories are associated with the origin of the family sulia or crests, midway between the personal fetishes and tribal totems. (52) Their beliefs included animistic spirits, personal spirits attaching themselves to the lives of individuals for better or worse and certain more important spirits such as the khals or transformer who has a part in most of the sulia myths. To drive away evil spirits and secure the help of good or strong ones was the work of the highest order of shamans or medicine men; others of a lesser order read signs of the future, tended the injured or physically sick and the dead; and a still lower order, of either sex, were witches and sorcerers. (53) The power of these medicine men, with their rattles and charms, their incantations and frenzied dances, was a matter of wonder and grave consternation to the early missionaries. (54)

(50) The general information in the above paragraph was kindly supplied by the Indian Agents at Vancouver, New Westminster, and Lytton, supplemented by personal observation, references to government maps and to reports by Boas and Hill-Tout, as well as to the introduction to Nelson's MS., "Place Names of the Delta of the Fraser."

(51) Hill-Tout op. cit., pp. 15, 16, 49, and 83 respectively. Many other such stories are told here and elsewhere by Mr. Hill-Tout. A similar story of the origin of White Rock and the Coming of the Semiamu, a Songish tribe is recounted in H.T. Thrift's MS.

(52) On this matter see Hill-Tout, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

(53) Ibid. loc. cit., and pp. 60-62.

(54) See, e.g. Crosby's "Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums", Ch. XII.

Socially they were divided in various ways. In the first place large numbers were slaves, usually among tribes to which they were captive, and many of the rest were little better off. On the other hand the families of chiefs and medicine-men were of distinctly higher class. To these belonged the sulia or family crest and they were made easily recognizable by the custom of flattening the head in infancy between two boards, so as to broaden the forehead and cause it to recede from the brow straight to the wedged crown of the head. Only persons of high caste were permitted to do this, or to attend the more solemn tribal gatherings or exercise power. Of these gatherings the principal ones had to do with war, religious and naming ceremonies, appointment, marriage or death of a chief or planning the economy of the tribe. Such important functions were frequently accompanied by dances, mostly of a religious or shamanistic nature, or by potlatches. These latter were feasts at which the aim was literally to "eat the host out of house and home" and at which he aimed to give away as much as possible. Years were spent by the family accumulating wealth with the aim of giving it all away at once in order that the reputation for generosity might increase the prestige of the head of the family so impoverished. (55) The houses were community dwellings of split cedar or of poles and cedar bark, with "lean-to" roof, and sometimes of prodigious size. Fraser describes one, apparently near Harrison, six hundred and forty feet long by sixty wide and eighteen feet high at the front, all under a single one-

(55) Ibid, Ch. VII & XI, also Hill-Tout, op. cit., p. 7.

sided roof. It was divided into square compartments,

except the chief's which is ninety feet long. In this room the posts or pillars are nearly three feet diameter at the base and diminish gradually to the top. In one of these posts is an oval opening answering the purpose of a door through which one man may crawl in or out. Above, on the outside, are carved a human figure as large as life, with other figures in imitation of beasts and birds. (56)

The buildings were without flooring and smoke from the fires escaped through the holes in the roof. Such houses, apparently adopted for safety among a people scattered in small villages and with relatively few warriors, led to much community of life and communism of property among their inhabitants. (57)

Some of the tribes also had "Keekwillie" holes or underground winter quarters. (58) The furniture consisted of beds, screens and mats of woven bark, rushes, or grass; baskets of split cedar roots or willow withes; wooden troughs, bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons; and horn spoons. Stone pestles, usually of granite, are also commonly found all along the valley.

Two things about the clothing of these people attracted the attention of early explorers and traders. Their principal article of clothing was a white blanket of a wool-like material. (59)

(56) From Fraser's Journal, given at length in L.R. Masson: "Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-ouest", p. 197. Cf. also Hill-Tout, op.cit., p.8. Mr. Alfred McDonald of Chilliwack, says their family spent a night in one of these community houses with the Indians at Chehalis in 1867 and that it was still standing until burned quite recently.

(57) Hill-Tout, op. cit., p. 8.

(58) This appears, for example, to have been the commonest form of dwelling at Scowlitz (Harrison) as described to the writer by Levi Cartier of that place; Cf. Hill-Tout op.cit. p. 8.

(59) John Work described them as "of hair or coarse wool (p.218). Miss Agassiz described one worn at Hope as "of mountain goat's hair".

Opinion seems to vary as to what this material was, but Judge F. W. Howay, who made some study of the question, is of the opinion that they were of white dog hair "in great part at any rate", and quotes Mr. Jonathan Miller, first post-master of Vancouver, as having seen such a fleece-bearing dog devoured alive at a "potlatch" on the Fraser about 1862. Over the blanket they sometimes wore what John Work called "a kind of short cloak made of the bark of the cedar tree. This may have been worn to help shed the rain but doubtless also served as a sort of defensive armour, so that Fraser was probably not far wrong when he called it a "coat of mail" They also were fond of ornaments of various kinds, such as ribbons of bright colors in the hair, belts ornamented with human hair, beaded clothing whitening or coloring the face and hair with paint.

The life of the river Indian was very sedentary, for he spent most of his time in his small, shallow "dugout" canoe of cedar. His food consisted almost entirely of fish, especially salmon, "oolachans" or candle fish, trout and sturgeon. In quieter waters a purse-shaped net was dragged between canoes;

(60) See Howay's article in Washington Historical Quarterly, IX. pp. 89 et seqq. Fraser, the first to mention them, says they are made with dog's hair, with stripes of different colors, crossing at right angles, and resembling at a distance Highland plaid (Masson p. 195) and again "dog's hair was spun with a distaff and a spindle as in Europe and made into rugs" (ibid p. 198)

(61) Loc. cit.

(62) So mentioned by Work in his journal (W.H.Q., Vol III.) entry of Nov. 18, which also mentions conical hats of same material.

(63) Masson pp. 196 & 198. Given to Fraser "to make shoes".

(64) Mayne "Four Years in British Columbia & Vancouver Island", p. 61.

(65) Masson, p.203. (66) Work's Journal, Nov.18. (67) Masson, pp. 195-197.

in rougher waters a large dip-net with handles of cedar about
 twenty-feet long was used from the rocks. (68) Dip-nets were
 also used for oolachan. Sturgeon were caught with long spears
 with a forked end. (69) The advent of the salmon season was the
 great event of their lives and brought Indians of many neigh-
 boring tribes, as well as the Halkomelems, to fish on the river,
 especially in the rapids above Yale. (70) The houses and the
 persons of the natives reeked of fish, almost their only other
 articles of food being wild berries of several varieties, such
 as blue and red huckleberries, black-berries, black-caps, sal-
 mon-berries, strawberries, and cranberries. Some hunting and
 trapping was also indulged in, so that their life in this res-
 pect was somewhat transitional, in the upper parts of the val-
 ley at least, between that of the purely coast Indians and that
 of the interior tribes.

Dancing and fighting were the Indians' two principal pre-
 occupations. Dancing was of two kinds, the ritual sort, al-
 ready mentioned, and those for social pleasure only. When the
 Methodist missionary, Crosby, characteristically forbade danc-
 ing, it being "of the devil", a chief replied, "Oh, the white
 man's dance worse than the Indian's dance. Indian man, alone,
 dance all round the house and sit down, and then Indian woman
 she dance all around the house and she sit down. But white
 man (71) "take another's wife and hug her all round the house"

(68) Such as described by Fraser in Masson p. 195.

(69) Work (Nov. 17) describes one "resembling in shape a salmon
 spear", 72 feet in length, 5 inches in diameter.

(70) See Fort Langley Journal, pp. 13, 18, etc. For advent of
 "ullachen" see *ibid.* page 70.

(71) Crosby, "Among the An-ko-me-nums" p. 105.

In many of his dances, however, the Indian worked himself up into a kind of frenzy.⁽⁷²⁾ The chief directed those dances which were not shamanistic in nature, and while a few danced the majority kept up the rhythm merely by pounding with hands or sticks the walls of the house or anything else that would produce a noise.⁽⁷³⁾ This love of rhythmic noise showed itself in other ways, too, such as striking the sides of the canoes when on a war-like or other important expedition.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Rhythm seems to have been an important method of giving vent to a mood.

In fighting, spears were the principal weapons, with wooden shafts "of great length" pointed with bone, horn, or stone.⁽⁷⁵⁾ These were supplemented with bows and arrows, clubs and, according to one authority, the stone pestle-hammers already mentioned.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The principal cause of quarrel appears to have been intrigues to secure the squaws of other tribes, and although breach of the Seventh Commandment is said to have been fashionable, there was a code of honor attached thereto which required the husband to recover his wife and seize another as well, and in the case of a chief it was the duty of the whole tribe to assist him in defending his honor.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Plundering raids of the stronger upon the weaker tribes were also common, and in

(72) Hill-Tout, op.cit. pp. 59-61 describes a variety of Kwatlem dances.

(73) Masson, p. 197. (74) Masson, p. 199 and Mayne op. cit. p. 61.

(75) Masson p. 195. (76) Ibid, p. 199. (77) So Chief Charlie Matsqui told Miss Lehman, but one suspects he was "talking for effect".

(78) Mayne op. cit. p. 75.

this connection the Ukletas of Cape Mudge were the most feared by the Fraser River Indians, and indeed by all those of the Gulf of Georgia area. (79) Generally speaking the river Indians seem to have lived in dread of those of the islands, the reason being possibly that the seafaring life of the latter called for much greater alertness and activity than the rather easy-going life of the lower Fraser, and therefore developed a war-like people.

While it is no doubt true that the trade of Fort Langley drew many visitors to the Fraser who otherwise would never have come, (80) it is nevertheless surprising from what a distance and by what routes Indians whose language differed radically from the Halkomelen tongue came to the lower reaches of the river. For example, we find in February 1828, the widow of an Okanagan, who had been drowned during a visit to the Fort, returning to her own people, the Snohomish, by way of Mt. Baker and the Skagit country. (81) Again in March we find a "large canoe of Con-toomeens" from Lytton passing the Fort on their way to visit one of their chiefs who had wintered on the Pitt. (82) This was probably the head of one of two whole families which had arrived in the previous October. (83) Indians from the east side of Puget Sound were apparently in the habit of visiting the river

(79) Ibid., loc. cit., and Ft. Langley Journal, p. 158. See below pp. 81-2.

(80) See below p. 83.

(81) Ft. Langley Journal, pp. 58, 59.

(82) Ibid., p. 63. For other similar visits during the same winter see below, p. 85.

(83) Ibid., p. 33.

via Boundary Bay and thence overland to the Fraser. (84) Such intercourse apparently involved some trade, for Fraser found a kettle of European make and an axe with an English manufacturer's name, as far east as Ruby Creek though we have no reason to believe white men had ever seen the Fraser. (85) This intercourse did not, however, lead to development of a common language other than a few common words which became the foundation of the Chinook jargon. It waited for the white man's trade to develop the use of that jargon which came to include about five hundred words, nearly half of them Chinook, the remainder composed of words derived from French, English, Nootka, and various Salish languages with a considerable number of sound-words, and with no grammar. (86) The principal result of inter-tribal intercourse was securing of wives, slaves, plunder, and cause for quarrel.

The first results of the advent of the white men were half-breeds and inter-tribal peace. Nearly all the Hudson's Bay men, whether British or "Canadian" (87) or "Kanaka" took Indian wives shortly after coming to the river, if they had not already secured them en route. In some cases the marriages were "legitimate" (88) and in many others permanent and in such cases the children were frequently reared as far as possible ac-

(84) Ibid., p. 32

(85) Masson, p. 195. See below, p. 44

(86) Crosby: op. cit. p. 53. A short dictionary of the jargon is given in "Guide to B. C.", 1877-8, 222-250.

(87) (i.e.) French-Canadian.

(88) (i.e.) In accordance with the custom of the country or solemnized by Catholic or other clergymen, especially in the Oregon territory.

according to the standards of the father, and in the later development of the colony became fairly respected members of the white community. (89) A much larger number were apparently little cared for by the father especially where the "marriage" was but a temporary alliance. (90) and such reverted to the life of the mother's people and have gone to the reserves, or in some pitiful cases have become degenerates, outcast from both races.

The Company thought it its duty to aid those with whom it traded most by pacifying their enemies or aiding in their final defeat. Stories of such repulses of invaders have been handed down to us by company servants and other early settlers.

Samuel Robertson, boat-builder at Langley from about 1838, used to tell of the last raid of the Ukletas that the guns of the fort were trained on their canoes and they were literally "blown out of the water". (91) Mr. Thos. Hicks claimed to have repulsed a similar raid as late as the early 'sixties' when with five Indians he ambushed them at Sumas Mountain and sank the canoes with musket fire. (92) It is likely however, that the last

has reference to a punitive raid of Cowichans who accused the Chilwe-

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- (89) Many such are personally known to the writer. Several were teachers in white schools. Mr. Matthew Hall, R.E., used to tell how at a ball given in Victoria about 1859 or '60 he noticed two or three half-breed girls standing during a dance, so invited one of them to dance with him. The reply was "Halo mika introduce" - you haven't been introduced.
- (90) Many fathers of half-breed children married white women when such were available with later growth of settlement. One who turned out his Indian wife in the hope of getting a white one used at the same time to say "My son Josh-oo-ay is good enough for any white girl." (Personally known to the writer's father.)
- (91) Mr. Otway Wilkie, who heard Robertson tell it.
- (92) Told by Mrs. Walker, his daughter.

yuks and others of crowding the labor market at Forts Langley
(93)
and Victoria.

The Company also introduced many manufactured articles among them, especially blankets, but also clothing and textiles, metal wares, ammunition and trinkets. It provided them with gainful employment, trapping, fishing and berry-picking, packing, paddling, and carrying messages, working at the forts at a variety of jobs, and working on the Company's farm. It also taught them the rudiments of agriculture and introduced among them grains, potatoes, and cattle. The advent of the gold rush brought increased employment and wealth but also the white man's vices in increased measure, and bootleg whiskey. This latter had been described as "alcohol with a mixture of camphor and tobacco juice."⁽⁹⁴⁾ It was such stuff as crimes were made of, and records and newspapers of early days are full of accounts of murders, attempted murders, and thefts committed under its influence. Two Indians were murdered in a single day at New Westminster, and Father Fouquet of that place said he saw an Indian father, while drunk, stab his innocent babe.⁽⁹⁵⁾ It was illegal to sell liquor to Indians, but though prosecution of the vendors, usually Americans or
(96)
Mexicans, and of Indians charged with drunkenness were frequent,

(93) Crosby, op. cit., 184.

(94) Letter of Rev. Fouquet, O.M.I. June 8 '63. Missions de La Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculee (Hereafter called "O.M.I. Missions"), T. III., p. 200.

(95) Ibid. loc. cit.

(96) See Chilliwack Police Court records or the British Columbian or Mainland Guardian, almost any issue before 1880.

the trade was a long time dying out.

Fire-water and the jealous power of the medicine-man were the two greatest obstacles to the work of the Christian missionaries, of whom the Roman Catholics were the first in the Valley, the most persistent and ubiquitous in their endeavours. Rev. Modeste Demers had visited Langley from Oregon as early as 1841 and performed the first Christian marriages there, while Fathers Lemfrit and Lootens had come on similar visits from Victoria in 1852 and 1856 respectively. (97) In 1859, urged by Father Demers, then Bishop of Vancouver, Father D'Herbomez, Vicar of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at Esquimalt, sent Father Richard and Brother Surel to reconnoitre the Fraser and interior country with a view to establishing a mission at Fort Hope, but felt his personnel to be too limited for so great an undertaking. (98) On September 13, 1860, however, an agreement was concluded with Demers whereby the Oblates were to concentrate their principal efforts on the mainland colony and before the end of the month Fathers Fouquet and Grandidier with Brothers Blanchet and Janin of the order were at New Westminster establishing a mission there to serve as headquarters for the territory as far as Yale and Port Douglas as well as along the coast. (99) Grandidier proceeded at once to Hope whence he was to serve the whites there and at Yale and Douglas and all the Indians on the Harrison and on the Fraser from Yale to

(97) Nelson, Fort Langley, pp. 15 and 20.

(98) Letters from D'Herbomez in O.M.I. Missions, I., pp. 130, 134, 137.

(99) D'Herbomez in O.M.I. Missions, I., 146, and Fouquet at p. 200.

(100)
 Sumas. Within a year they had a church at Hope and one each for whites and Indians at New Westminster, all principally the handiwork of Janin and Blanchet, (101) and were planning a school, a hospital, and a "reduction modèle". (102) The hospital at the St. Charles Mission, New Westminster, was under way in December 1861, (103) and the next year saw the establishment of their model centre at St. Mary's, on the north bank a mile above the present town of Mission City. Fouquet himself seems to have chosen the site, for when he took Father Gendre, a new arrival from France, to take charge of the new mission, Brothers Janin and Guillet already had the construction under way. The father assumed the duties of a domestic in order that the two brothers might finish the church before Christmas Eve. Then with the aid of the Indians the place was so decorated that the Holy Child "coming for the first time, on the beautiful Christmas Eve, to St. Mary, forgot he was once born in the poor manger of Bethlehem". The occasion was enhanced by the receipt from le cher P. Fouquet at New Westminster of a box of bonbons with a note: "Mangez sans scrupule le contenu de la boîte; L'Eternel s'est fait petit enfant, il est bon aussi que nous devenons un peu enfants." (104)

The primary concern of these devoted missionaries was of course the performance of the rites of their church, but this alone was no simple matter "among these poor savages you do not

(100) Fouquet in *ibid.*, III, 195 D'Herbomez in *ibid.*, I, 172; and Grandidier at p. 177.

(101) *Ibid.*, I., 172, (D'Herbomez)

(102) *Ibid.*, I, 184. The meaning of the last phrase is obscure.

(103) Fouquet, *ibid.* III., 197.

(104) See Gendre's own vivid and whimsical account of the founding of St. Mary's in *ibid.*, IV., pp. 264-269.

understand, in the midst of these English you understand
 scarcely better." It involved for example, learning to hear
 confessions in three or four different languages, tramping
 through the woods opposite New Westminster and the swamps of
 Mud Bay in midwinter to administer the sacrament to a dying
 chief at Semiamu, and saying la messe de minuit at Yale and
la messe du jour at Hope with only an Indian canoe for trans-
 portation. The only reward expected for such devotion was the
 envied happiness of baptizing a thousand children or the
 joy of hearing at Easter Time three thousand savage throats
 chanting "un millier d'Alleluia." But religious devotions
 were far from their only activities, as witness the fact that
 Father Fouquet, on March 9, 1861, spent the hours from eight
 to eleven in hearing confessions, saying mass, and teaching his
 Indian flock at New Westminster, after which he said a mass and
 sermon for the whites. At one o'clock he began the teaching of
 the Indians, with a service for the whites at three, a temper-
 ance meeting of the "Moskoyams" at six and another for the
 "Skrohamish" (Squamish) between seven and eight. Temperance
 work and moral teaching was a part of their work to which they
 pointed with great pride, and apparently not without justifica-
 tion. D'Herbomez quotes a Victoria paper as praising their work
 among the Fraser Indians in promoting temperance and diminish-

(105) Translated from *ibid.*, at p. 254.

(106) *Ibid.*, page 265.

(107) *Ibid.*, pp. 256 - 264.

(108) *Ibid.*, p. 269.

(109) Second letter, *ibid.*, p. 273.

(110) Fouquet in *ibid.*, III., 196.

ing Sunday work. (111) Fouquet quotes even the "rédacteur d'un journal méthodist" (112) in praise of this aspect of his work, and credits "Bigby et juge O'Reilly" with being very anxious to (113) stop liquor traders. Vaccination was also an important part of their work, Fouquet claiming to have done 8000 cases him- (114) self.

Their enthusiasm for one other type of activity is also of interest. Bishop D'Herbomez refers to ministers of various (115) sects as attacking each other in the press while "we work quietly" (116) but he fears the prejudices of the Anglican Bishop who may go far to combat "la Vraie Religion qui a porté a ses ancêtres les bienfaits de la civilisation chrétienne" for their ministers have everything while the O.M.I. work for duty's sake (117) only. Fouquet says "we must combat protestant propaganda" (118) and rejoices over one protestant convert, while Grandidier arriving in Douglas, and finding the Anglican bishop and some ministers had passed there some weeks previously, records: "Je resolus de detruire ce qu'ils avaient fait." He trusted in Providence to aid a "débutant" who never yet has given battle to the Devil alone, and is encouraged by the news the resident minister had never appeared among the Indians and had declared he wouldn't give a cent to see the savages in his sect rather (119) than another. "Tout cela devait me servir."

(111) Ibid. p. 175. (112) Columbia, June 3, 1863; John Robson, Ed.

(113) O.M.I. Missions, III., 200-205. (114) Ibid., 198.

(115) There were only Catholics, Methodists, and Anglicans, and the latter did no missionary work.

(116) O.M.I. Missions, III., 175.

(117) Ibid., 161.

(118) Ibid., 198.

(119) Ibid., 111-112.

It is interesting to see another side of the story as given by Thomas Crosby, the Methodist missionary. As the appeal of the Catholics was principally by kindness and ritual, so his was by a similar paternalism and the telling of a simple and highly sentimental version of the "grand old Gospel story." The first request for a church at Chilliwack came from an old chief who said "No one ever told us the good word in our own language before; the other laplates (120) did not talk to us like this." But within a week the priest was among them trying to hold them away from the new missionary. When he accused Crosby of stealing his converts, the defence was "I only preach the Gospel to them". When accused of compelling the Indians to give to his church Crosby asked for a case and when the priest presented one told him to tell the priest the truth in Chinook (121) so he would understand. The story left the priest no argument. The Indians seem to have been warned of the war of the sects for before any missionaries a Christian Indian from Oregon had warned them: "The man dressed like a woman will some day come to you but do not listen to him. Wait a while until a man with a short coat comes among you who will teach you out of a book".(122)

Crosby seems not to have noticed the ironic exactness with which he had prophesied the order of arrival of the missionaries. He refers to the Catholic opposition as persecution and illustrates by reference to a large picture which they were disseminating showing above a beautiful place labelled "Heaven"

and below the lurid flames of "hell-fire" and Crosby and his
 (120) Chinook, from French, le prêtre.

(121) Thos. Crosby: "Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums", 171 174.

(122) Ibid., 186.

friends going headfirst into it. His simple method seems to have been effective in winning and holding the Indians, but the writer noticed on visiting an old chief at Chilliwack in 1935 whom Crosby had regarded as one of his ablest young assistants that the walls of his home were hung with Catholic prints while the old Scowkale church (Methodist) across the way is falling to pieces.

Protestant missionary work in the valley was almost wholly confined to that of the Methodists at Chilliwack. Robson and White had visited the Indians there in 1866, 1867 and 1868, but Crosby who visited the Fraser in 1866 and came to Chilliwack in 1869 (124) and Rev. C. M. Tate who succeeded him in 1873 (125) must receive credit for all the early missionary work. Crosby's preaching to the Indians had all the emotionalism of the old time Methodist revivals and was followed up by earnest prayers for salvation and "class-meetings" in which the converts testified to the assurances of faith and the joys of salvation. Some of the Indians were used as "local preachers" and "camp-meeting" of both whites and Indians from distances exceeding a hundred miles lasted for many days. Among his most noted converts were "Captain John" Sualis of Cultus Lake who was transformed from a "drunken, gambling, semi-heathen chief" into a

(123) Crosby, op. cit. 189. This device was commonly called "the Catholic Ladder".

(124) Ibid., 169-171, 176 and 189; and see White's Diary, Aug. 16, 1866, and "Secretaries Book of the Chilliwack and Sumas Trustee Board," first entry.

(125) Crosby, op. cit., 192 and 232.

devout follower of Jesus", "Old Captain", chief at Upper Sumas,
 and Chief Billy Sepass of Scowkale. From a practical and
 secular point of view Crosby's work was identical with that of
 the priests: visiting the sick, vaccination, attacking the
 liquor traffic and teaching the young. The latter work was de-
 veloped by Tate who finally succeeded in laying the foundation
 of the Coqualeetza Industrial Institute at Sardis, which far
 surpasses the St. Mary's School at Mission. In the long run,
 with advance of settlement and development of the machinery for
 enforcement of law and order, punishment of vendors of liquors
 to Indians proved the most effective way of dealing with that
 problem.

One other matter pertaining to the native deserves our
 attention: the land question. Before the advent of the white
 man the Indians seem to have given little thought to the ques-
 tion so long as other tribes kept far enough away from their
 villages not to endanger their lives or livelihood. But with
 the advent of the white man the beginning of agriculture to-
 gether with the fear of being completely crowded out by his
 new, more aggressive neighbor forced his attention to the pro-
 blem. At first the white man's government seems to have had no
 clear policy in the matter. Captain Grant of the Royal Engineers
 on May 1, 1861, after a great deal of the land had been sold to
 settlers and speculators, instructed Spr. Turnbull to stake and

(126) Crosby, op. cit., chs. XVI & XVII.

(127) Ibid., 170-171.

(128) Ibid., 191-193.

mark out lands claimed by Indians, a magistrate to decide in
 (129)
 the case of disputed land, -- nothing more definite than that,
 and the result seems to have been nothing. In 1864 McClure
 laid out three hundred fifty-three acres opposite Langley and
 McColl laid out others from New Westminster to the Harrison ac-
 cording to instructions which Trutch, who later visited them,
 considered "vague and too generous", ranging from fifty to two
 hundred acres per man, mostly never used. For example 9600
 (130)
 acres of Matsqui prairie were given a tribe of twenty-two men
 (forty-seven adults) whose only stock was twelve pigs; and
 12000 acres of Sumas prairie to a tribe of twenty adults and
 fourteen children with twenty-one horses and a dozen pigs. The
 fourteen reserves surveyed by McColl contained 50,700 acres, or
 (131)
 an average of over 3600 acres each. Meanwhile an Indian had
 (132)
 been permitted to buy a lot in New Westminster and white
 (133)
 "squatters" were applying for portions of the reserve land.
 Captain Ball, resident magistrate, and B. W. Pearse, the Assis-
 tant Surveyor-General, managed to get these reduced from about
 one hundred twenty acres per adult to from ten to twelve acres
 with additional allowances for stock, and in such a way to in-
 clude all lands actually used by the Indians. These were mostly
 (134)
 surveyed by Launders by December, 1838. Meanwhile at Chilliwack
 the land question became complicated by the religious one when

(129) Legislative Assembly of B.C., Sessional Papers 1876,
 p. 182.

(130) Ibid., 201-202.

(131) Ibid., p. 207.

(132) Ibid., 183-4.

(133) Sess. Papers, 199-200, 240.

(134) Ibid., 1876, 213-217.

in 1861 Rev. A. Browning complained that Ball had yielded to the boasted influence of Catholic priests and given the land titles to Catholic Indians instead of to the rightful chiefs, "Jim" and "Captain John". Ball accused Browning of trying to make chiefs, attributed the whole trouble to jealousy of "priest and parson", and offered to make separate maps for each. Again in 1869 Volkert Vedder and twenty-seven others made the same complaint to Governor Musgrave but again Ball declared the Catholic chiefs were approved by most of the Indians, and there the matter ended. (135) The Whonock Indians also had their complaint that land which Cromarty had relinquished at the order of Chartres Brew because it belonged to them had now been occupied by a squatter, Brady. Their claim was denied on the ground that the surveys of 1868 closed the matter. The same reply was given to Marcelli Michaud who applied for a part of the Aywaw-wis reserve at Hope on the ground it was the only good agricultural land of the area. This was the situation when the reserves were transferred to the Dominion in 1871. In 1874 the Indians complained they had not been equitably dealt with and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs found the situation still very confusing. On June 12, 1874, an agreement was reached between the two governments that the Dominion would guarantee peaceful reduction to twenty acres per family if the Dominion would grant free land where necessary to make it up to that amount. The final agreement, reached on January 8, 1876, and applying to the whole province, provided for a commission of

three, one for each government and one jointly appointed. A liberal policy was to be adopted having full regard for the needs and habits of the Indians of the various nations or language groups and for the claims of white settlers; transfers were to be made on the basis of the previous agreement, the Dominion to compensate whites and the Province to compensate Indians for lands lost by transfer; and in future all reserves were to be held by the Dominion Government in trust for the Indians, to avoid trouble.

(136)

CHAPTER II

(a) SIMON FRASER

To the onlooker of to-day it is a matter of no small surprise that the first white man to traverse this great valley, ringed with its thousand hills, or to set his foot upon its fertile plains, should have entered not by the broad and comparatively easy way of the sea-gate but by the narrow precipitate defile that leads to its land-gate. How Vancouver, for instance, could have passed from Point Roberts to Point Grey without realizing, from the very appearance of the water, what seems at most times obvious even to a landsman, that a large river entered the gulf somewhere between those two points, must remain forever a mystery. Yet so it was; and thus not until after

(1) See Vancouver: Voyage of Discovery, II., p. 188, where he says: "The intermediate space (between Pt. Grey and Pt. Roberts) is occupied by very low land, apparently a swampy flat....This low flat being very much inundated (the date was June 3, 1792) and extending behind point Roberts... gives its high land, when seen at a distance, the appearance of an island: this is, however, not the case, notwithstanding there are two openings between this point and (See foot-note, page 40)

Simon Fraser had followed the great river which so rightly bears his name from the heart of the mountains to the sea, and discovered that its estuaries lay much farther North than the mouth of the Columbia, was its existence even suspected.

Anyone who approaches Vancouver by either of the great Canadian transcontinental railways or traverses the modern Cariboo Highway must, if he have any imagination at all, realize that Fraser's expedition was fraught with such dangers and difficulties that nothing but the great river itself would be a fitting monument to such daring, such enterprise, such perseverance. A company of twenty-four men, including, besides the leader, John Stuart, Maurice Quesnel, two Indians and nineteen Canadian voyageurs, they left their base in New Caledonia on May 22, 1808, in four birch-bark canoes to secure the Columbia for Canada and the North-West Fur Company. They had already abandoned their own canoes and taken to borrowing Indian canoes between portages when, on reaching the Black Canyon, above Spuzzum, Stuart, who had been sent ahead to reconnoitre, "re-
(3) reported that the navigation was absolutely impracticable."

(1) point Grey. These can only be navigable for canoes as the shoal continues along the coast to the distance of seven or eight miles from the shore, on which were lodged, and especially before these openings, logs of wood and stumps of trees innumerable." Thus he was led to dismiss the river as of no consequence by the very signs which should have told him of its size and importance. The difference between the water in this area and in other parts of the gulf and Burrard Inlet led him only "to suppose that the northern branch of the sound (by which he appears to mean Howe Sound) might possibly be discovered to terminate in a river of considerable extent". (Ibid., II., 192-'3.)

(2) Masson, Vol. I., p. 157.

(3) Ibid., Vol. p. 190.

Natives were therefore engaged to carry the packs along the Indian trail through the canyon where, says Fraser, "we could scarcely make our way with even only our guns," which had to be passed in many places from one to another. "We had to pass", he continues,

where no human being should venture; yet in those places there is a regular footpath impressent, or rather indented upon the very rocks by frequent travelling. Besides this, steps which are formed like a ladder or the shrouds of a ship, by poles hanging to one another and crossed at certain distances with twigs, the whole suspended from the top to the foot of immense precipices and fastened at both extremities to stones and trees, furnish a safe and convenient passage to the natives, but we, who had not the advantage of their education and experience, were often in imminent danger when obliged to follow their example." (5)

So came the first representatives of the white race to the Eastern portal of the Fraser Valley. The Indians living near where the town of Yale now stands reported that similar people "had come from below to the Bad Rock, where the rapid terminates at a little distance from the village, and," adds Fraser in his Journal,

they showed us marks indented in the rocks which they had made, but which, by the bye, seemed to us to be nothing but natural marks." (6)

Why the natives should have fabricated such a report it is hard

- (4) Ibid., loc. cit. (5) Ibid., vol. I., pp. 190, 191.
 (6) The Indians seem also to have had other explanations for the markings in Lady Franklin Rock, which is no doubt the "Bad Rock" of Fraser's Journal. Mr. Paul Whitby, a student of geology and a native son of Yale, informs me that the Indians used to say the grooves were made by the natives sharpening their knives on the rock, rubbing the blades back and forth till, with passing generations, the grooves were worn deep. Mr. Whitby assures me the marks are no different from glacial scratches to be found in many places in this country.

to conceive, but there is no reason for allowing it to take from Fraser the credit for being the first European to visit this locality.

From here the journey was continued in cedar "dug-outs" borrowed or rented, sometimes with no little difficulty, from the natives. For example, on the morning of the second of July, Fraser applied to a chief for his canoe, which, the night before, he had with great difficulty been persuaded to lend to the expedition. He now appeared to have forgotten his promise and not to understand the request. Fraser therefore took the canoe and had his men carry it to the river. The chief had it carried back. Again the experiment was tried, and again the chief resisted, insisting he was not only the greatest of his tribe but equal in force to the Sun. "However", the journal succinctly concludes, "as we could not go on without the canoe, we persisted and at last gained our point. The Chief and several of the tribe accompanied us."⁽⁷⁾

It is well nigh impossible to follow this portion of the journey stage by stage. Of land-marks above the present site of New Westminster only three are mentioned. Leaving Yale about nine o'clock on the morning of June 29, and travelling on a strong current with some rapids through a pine-clad country hemmed in by high, snow-covered mountains, they arrived about two o'clock at a village on an island.⁽⁸⁾ This, judging by the time required, must have been below the mouth of the Coquihalla, fourteen miles below Yale, but from there to the sea is-

(7) Masson, Vol. I., p. 198.

(8) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 194.

lands are so numerous that it is impossible to decide which is the one to which reference is made. Again, after another hour's travel on that day and four hours and about nine miles the next day they arrived at a place "where the river expands into a lake. Here," Fraser reports, "we saw seals and a large river coming from the left, and a round mountain ahead which the Natives called Stremotch".⁽⁹⁾ If we remember that the river would then be in flood we can easily understand the "lake" covering any of the lowlands of the valley and in this case it would appear to be in the neighborhood of Chilliwack, with either the Chilliwack or the Sumas, more likely the latter, as the "large river coming from the left" and Sumas Mountain the one called Stremotch. To one thoroughly familiar with the country this would seem the only reasonable explanation.⁽¹⁰⁾

The seals referred to above must have given great encouragement to the travellers. It was a guarantee of the veracity of the Indian report of good navigation to the sea. A large copper kettle and a large English hatchet stamped "Sargaret", seen on the twenty-ninth, apparently in the neigh-

(9) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 196.

(10) Masson, in foot-notes 1 and 2, p. 196, declares the river and mountain to be the Coquihalla and Baker respectively. The former seems absurd as, subtracting the nine miles specifically referred to, the party would then have taken nine hours to paddle five miles with a strong current in their favor! The latter is equally impossible because at any point where Mt. Baker is visible from the Fraser, which is not until Sumas Mountain has been passed, it seems to be behind rather than ahead of the West-bound traveller. Scholefield (Howay and Scholefield, Vol. I. p. 277) takes the same view as that of the writer, independently arrived at, and mentions that Simpson, just twenty years later than Fraser, named it "Sugar Loaf Mountain."

(11)

borhood of Hope, indicated intercourse between the natives here and those of the coast reached by the maritime fur-traders. At the same place they saw "a man from the sea, which we might, said he, be able to see next day". The Indians, however, showed great surprise and an annoying curiosity at seeing men different from themselves coming from the interior. (12)

The night of June 30 was spent on the right bank where the trees were "remarkably large, cedars five fathoms in circumference and proportionate height. Mosquitoes were in clouds." This, it would seem, was probably somewhere in the neighborhood of Mission City. (13)

Four hour's paddling the next day brought them to a large village where they were hospitably and ceremoniously entertained with a repast of fish and berries and "dried oysters in large troughs", followed by songs and dances as described in a former chapter. But for all their hospitality, the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting these Indians to supply canoes, and one was obtained only after waiting a day, and then almost taking it by force. In other ways, also, he found them a little less hospitable than those above probably, he thought, owing to scarcity of fish just then. Also they were found addicted to thieving, stealing a "smoking bag" from one of the party during the night. The tide here rose about two feet. (15)

At another village, reached next morning, they found still

(11) Masson, Vol., I., p. 195.

(12) Ibid., loc. cit.

(13) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 196.

(14) Ibid. loc. cit.

(15) Ibid., Vol., I. pp. 197, 198.

less entertainment, and had further trouble with thieving. (16)
 The natives did their best here to dissuade them from going further for fear of the "Coast Indians or Islanders", even dragging their canoe from the water. (17) When they tried to embark with the chief, his friends flocked about him and embraced him with "as much concern and tenderness as if he was never to return." This roused the fears of the Indians who had come with the party from up the river so that even they refused to go farther for fear of "Ka-way-chin" (Cowitchan Indians) (18) and the expedition had to proceed without them.

Proceeding about two miles further, past where now stands the city of New Westminster, but where then was a hill clothed in one of the densest forests of firs to be found on the coast, they came to "a place where the river divides in several channels." It was just as they were entering the North Arm that they perceived a canoe following, whose arrival they awaited. Their King he wished to show them the main channel, they permitted one of the Indians to embark in their canoe. It was then noticed that other Indians from the village above, armed with bows and arrows, spears and clubs, were also following in their canoes "singing war songs, beating time with their paddles upon the sides of the canoes." (19) These actions may have been misinterpreted, for as we have seen, singing and beating time with the paddles was customary among the Indians upon the river. But Fraser adds that they also made "signs and gestures

(16) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 199.

(17) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 198.

(18) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 199.

(19) Ante, p. 25.

highly inimical," while the one they had taken aboard became so unruly, "kicking up great dust", that he had to be threatened to mend his manners. "This was an alarming crisis", says the journal, "but we were not discouraged, confident upon our own superiority, at least on water."⁽²⁰⁾

So they continued and at last came in sight of "a gulf or bay of the sea", running in a "South-West and North-East direction" and containing "several high and rocky islands whose summits were covered with snow." This, the journal says, the Indians called Pas-hil-roe.⁽²¹⁾ It is difficult to understand Fraser's confusion in direction, but still the most satisfactory conclusion is that he had reached the Gulf of Georgia.⁽²²⁾

Further confirmation of this conclusion seems to be contained in the references to the village called in the journal "Misquiame". The village of Musquiame is situated a short distance from the northern mouth of the North Arm. Some diffi-

(20) Ibid., loc. cit.

(21) Ibid., Vol. I. p. 200.

(22) Opinions, not always well-founded, differ on this point. For example Burpee: "Search for the Western Sea", p.257, says Fraser probably got only about as far as New Westminster. The most damaging piece of evidence is that quoted by Davidson in "North-West Company", p. 116, fn. 149, which quotes an extract enclosed in a letter to Geo. Canning in For. Off. Records, 5, Vol. 208, by Pelly, and headed "Hudson's Bay House, London, Dec. 9, 1825". The extract is by McMillan who had visited the Fraser early in that year, (See Part II, this Chapter, below) and states that Provia, who had accompanied Fraser and Stuart, described points before reaching them so as to leave no doubt, "Particularly the point from whence those gentlemen returned which is situated about 20 miles above the entrance of the River." One must remember, however, that McMillan was descending the main river (See p. 61 below.) whereas Fraser had gone down the North Arm, so that the point of the river's dividing would be the last Provia could identify.

culty seems to be presented when Fraser tells us he reached it by paddling up "a small winding river to a small lake near which the village stood"⁽²³⁾. Again, however, the high water may offer an explanation. A small creek passes Musquiam and flows through a piece of very low ground between the village and the river. High water from the river, backing up the channel of the creek to this ground might give them the appearance of a small river and a lake.

Here the expedition was forced to turn back, partly through lack of provisions and partly through fear of the hostile natives. All but a few old inhabitants of the village had fled on their approach, and after one of these had showed them about the place, contained within a palisade fifteen hundred feet long by ninety broad,⁽²⁴⁾ they were urged to leave before attacked. At the same time more Indians arrived from above. During the hour they had spent in the village the tide had ebbed, making it more difficult to launch the canoe. This gave encouragement to the natives, who

began to make their appearance from every direction, dressed in their coats of mail and howling like so many wolves, and brandishing their war-clubs. (25)

They were forced also to put their turbulent guide ashore shortly after re-embarking while at the village above the islands, into which they did not this time venture, the recep-

(23) Ibid., loc. cit.,

(24) Undoubtedly a communal dwelling, as pointed out by Sage in Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 1929, p. 183.

(25) Ibid., loc. cit.

tion was no better on the return than had been that at Musquiam. The natives of this place had to be kept at a distance by the use of the guns and a considerable show of determination. So it was decided that a return must be made to more friendly villages, if only to get supplies and come back. (26)

Great as was Fraser's disappointment in not having an opportunity of reaching the main ocean, which he believed to be "almost in view" from Musquiam, he was still more disconcerted by the latitude in which he found himself. He wished very much, he said,

to settle the situation by an observation of the longitude. The latitude is 49° nearly, while that of the entrance of the Columbia is $46^{\circ} 20'$. This river therefore is not the Columbia! If I had been convinced of this when I left my canoes, (27) I would certainly have returned." (28)

O, bitter woe and disappointment! It little mattered that his was the third expedition to reach the Pacific across this mighty continent. It little mattered that he was the first to discover and explore the great river which was to preserve his name when generations of which he did not dream had turned this inhospitable wilderness into a peaceful valley-graden. It was not the Columbia! It was not the river sought by the rival American and Canadian Companies. Two years of preparation and a whole summer's efforts had been wasted in discovering a river which was not wanted. The North-West Company was also disappointed, "and that", says one of the historians of this pro-

(26) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 201.

(27) Near Soda Creek.

(28) Masson, Vol. I., p. 203.

vince,

is why Simon Fraser's exploration has never received the attention it deserves at the hands of the historian. (29)

But their troubles were far from ended. Indeed, so far as the Indians were concerned, they had only begun. Fleeing from the two villages which were now in open hostility, and stopping only for four hours to sleep on the river bank, they came at five o'clock next morning to the village where they had obtained the canoe. (30) Here their Indian interpreter, who had been seized by the Indians below, escaped to them with the news that the natives were organizing the destruction of the expedition. (31) Even then the Indians of this third village were beginning to show unfriendliness. Not a morsel of food was to be had, so that prospects of returning to the main ocean began to diminish. The old chief demanded his canoe at once; "this demand we were obliged to resist," adds the journal. Then,

(29) H. & S., Vol. I., p. 311.

(30) Probably Kikait, the summer fishing village opposite New Westminster.

(31) Mr. Denys Nelson threw some light on this trouble when he obtained from Gabriel, an Indian at Langley, the story told by his grandfather, Staquoisit or Statquoisit, who was present at a meeting at Kikait where plans were made for the destruction of the whole party. According to his story, when the whites recovered the stolen goods they kicked the offenders, an insult which could only be washed out in blood. Even so the chief, who had secured the release of the interpreter, favored peace and tried to console the young braves with gifts. See "Fort Langley, 1827-1927: A Century of Settlement", p. 7. Mr. Wilkie tells a similar story from the Indians and adds that according to their story Fraser came twice, the first time with tobacco pipes, the second time with bagpipes, the latter possibly due to a confusion with the Simpson Expedition of 1829. See below, p. 86.

as Indians from below began to arrive, the natives of the village began to gather about, menacing and pillaging. Fraser himself managed to save the situation by pretending to be in a violent passion while he "spoke loud, with vehement gestures, exactly in their own way." Lastly, members of the crew began to weaken and show signs of panic.

We saw nothing but dangers and difficulties in our way, we therefore relinquished designs and turned our thoughts towards home.

But again the old chief's canoe had to be taken by force, a blanket being left in its place. Then they had no sooner made their escape than the warriors of this village took up the pursuit, menacing and attempting to upset the canoe. Another show of wrath, not hard to feign, one imagines, under the circumstances, secured a measure of sullen peace until nightfall, when the pursuers put ashore for the night.

The next day was to see a repetition of the same sort of troubles. After paddling all night they arrived at a large village probably near the present Fort Langley where the natives were surprised to see them again and wondered at their escape from the Musquiam and "Islanders". Our travellers had not time to explain when their pursuers of the day before arrived, bent on mischief, and trying to stir up hostility in this village. Seeing many canoes here, Fraser returned the canoe used thus far to its owner, an action he was soon to regret. The villagers pretended hospitality, inviting the leaders to a feast, but again the opportunity was seized by the

throng of natives to surround and pillage the baggage. Then, as the travellers tried to get away, they met once more with the difficulty of getting a canoe. "It was then," wrote the leader,

that our situation might be called critical. Placed upon a small sandy island, few in number, without provisions and surrounded by upward of seven hundred barbarians! (33)

After a great deal of bargaining, accompanied by a considerable show of determination, the services of a canoe were again secured and the natives crowded about with such behaviour as to necessitate the use of force to enable the party to get all its baggage and crew safely embarked. Then, as the explorers made their way along the opposite bank, the natives paddled along a parallel course. To make matters worse, a great deal of time was lost in patching the canoe. Nothing serious occurred till nightfall, when they encamped on an island (34) where the exhausted voyageurs slept while Stuart and Fraser mounted guard alternately. (35)

The fifth and sixth of July passed in a similar way, the voyageurs making as good time as they could against the current, the natives following or preceding them with signs of hostility and rousing the Indians along the way to similar behavior. At last, on the fourth day of the return voyage, they thought they had arrived among well-disposed natives, of whom three were taken aboard to help paddle and guide the party.

Two of these had already given some fish and considerable as-

(33) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 204.

(34) Probably Crescent or one of the Matsqui Reserve Islands.

(35) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 205.

sistance but they had not been long aboard, says Fraser, when they struck up the war song. The third, Blondin, a chief who had entertained them on the way down, was soon after caught in the act of trying to steal Quesnel's dagger from its scabbard, (36) so the three were unceremoniously set ashore.

The final crisis came late that afternoon, apparently somewhere between the present location of Chilliwack and Hope, when they came upon a large encampment of Indians apparently gathered for the purpose, who, as our adventurers came abreast of them, set out, some in canoes and some running along the bank, to follow. They tried to seize the canoe, but being prevented in that they gave it such a shove as to nearly succeed in wrecking it. As it was, it was carried into a rapid out of control and its occupants were thankful to gain the shore, where Stuart and part of the crew immediately made some show (37) of occupying the top of a knoll as a place of defense.

It has already been noted that the menacing attitude of the natives was having an ill effect on the morale of the Canadians. Now, after four days of the constant strain, they suddenly showed signs of mutiny, which would have meant the ruin of all. Those who were ashore with Stuart declared un-animously for continuing the journey overland to a point well above Spuzzum. The constant strain to which they had been subjected they declared to be worse than death and they were determined at all hazards to get away from the present situation. Fraser was forced to use persuasion and threats by turns,
 (36) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 206.
 (37) Ibid., Vol. I., pp. 206, 207.

and to exercise his influence to the utmost, supported by Stuart and Quesnel, before they could be persuaded that unity was the first pre-requisite of safety. They then shook hands on the spot, while each and all solemnly took the following oath:

I solemnly swear before Almighty God that I shall sooner perish than forsake in distress any of our crew during the present voyage. (38)

The effect seems almost remarkable. They set off from here, just before sunset, with such spirit, singing and making a great noise; that the natives became disheartened, and some of those from down-river began to take their departure. The night was spent on a small island or bar which the natives carefully avoided. In the morning they had the satisfaction of seeing the last of the enemy depart down the current, while the Indians of the neighborhood showed themselves friendly, supplying salmon and shell-fish. A fishing party just below where the town of Yale was to be founded some forty years later welcomed them with all hospitality so that on the morrow they were able to leave their canoe behind them at the Village of the Rock and face the long portage with renewed energy and
(39)
spirit.

So retreated, through the same Eastern gateway by which they had entered, the first of the white race to invade the valley which, so inhospitable to them, has since become the peaceful home of so many of their successors. Leaving Yale on the eighth of July, they passed the Thompson on the fourteenth,
(38) Ibid., Vol. I., p. 207.
(39) Ibid., Vol. I., pp. 208, 209.

Lillooet on the twenty-second, Soda Creek on the twenty-eighth, and on August the sixth were back in Fort George, the place of departure. (40) Fraser soon withdrew across the Rockies, never to return, but the great river which he discovered keeps his name and school children learn his story in the land he risked his life to explore.

(b) JAMES MCMILLAN

If it was that restless hand of adventurers, the North-West Company, that first blazed the trail into the Fraser Valley, it remained for its erstwhile powerful rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, to put the discovery to any use in the way of occupation and trade. Perhaps it was just because it would have no rivals here that the Canadian company failed to follow up Fraser's discoveries, for rivalry seemed the essence of life. (41) to the daring Nor'Westers. By 1821, however, the cut-throat competition was threatening disaster to both the Canadian and English companies, so in that year an amalgamation was agreed upon, under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, and confirmed by a Royal Charter. George Simpson, then a young man of only twenty-nine, was appointed Governor of the whole of the company's territories, and one of his first undertakings was the

(40) H. & S., Vol. I., p. 281.

(41) Note, e.g., the effect of the activities of the Astorians in speeding up the Thompson expedition on the Columbia and the short work made of Astoria by the Nor'Westers.

reorganization of the trade West of the Rockies, under the able if somewhat despotic rule of Dr. John McLaughlin, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver. (42)

In 1824, when Simpson and McLaughlin arrived in Oregon territory, Fort Vancouver had not yet been built, nor were there any posts on the coast North of Astoria, or Fort George, as it was then known. No one had visited the Fraser River since Simon Fraser himself. Simpson knew, however, that its mouth must be somewhere in the neighborhood of "Burrard's Canal" and thought that there would be the best place for the western headquarters

as it is more central both for the Coast and for the interior Trade and as from thence we could with greater facility and at less expense extend...to the Northland. (43)

Hence, immediately after his arrival at Fort George, Simpson sent McMillan, who had accompanied him from York House, to Puget Sound "for the purpose", as John Work expressed it, of discovering the entrance of Fraser's River and ascertaining the possibility of navigating that river with boats." (44) Simpson was certain the result would be such as to justify the establishment of

the principal Depot at the Mouth of Fraser's River from whence a vessel for China would sail annually with the returns, where the Coasting Craft would receive their outfits and deliver their returns and

(42) Fred. Merk (ed.): Fur Trade and Empire,--Simpson's Journal, 1824-1825. Howay Scholefield, B.C., Vol. I, pp. 337-351.

(43) Merk. op. cit., p. 73. This shows Simpson's purpose at the moment to have been more definite than suggested by Howay and Scholefield (B.C., Vol. I., 363) or by T. C. Elliott in his introduction to Work's Journal (Washington (See ft. 43, on page 57. Also fn. 44.)

from whence all the posts of New Caledonia would be outfitted likewise those of Thompson's River, Spoken, Nez Perce's Flat Head and Comptonais also Fort George if we are allowed to occupy a Post on the Columbia and in that case the Snake Country Expedition from the last Establishment if we are at liberty to continue it. (45)

The expedition left Fort George on the eighteenth day of November, 1824. It was under the command of James McMillan, a former partner of the North West Company who had come into the Kootenay and upper Oregon (Pend d' Oreille) country with David Thompson in 1808, and had been in that country most of the (46) time since. He was accompanied by three clerks, Thomas McKay, son of that McKay who had accompanied MacKenzie to the Pacific (47) in 1793 and step-son of Dr. McLaughlin, F. N. Annance, and John Work, to the last of whom we owe the detailed account of (48) the expedition given in his journal for the winter of 1824. The last named was later to assume a position of outstanding importance in the history of the province as trader and member of the government. A daughter of his married Dr. W. F. Tolmie, and the Honorable Simon Fraser Tolmie, Ex-Premier of British (49) Columbia, is his grandson. The expedition also included an interpreter and thirty-six men, making a total of forty-one, besides an Iroquois hunter and his slave who were allowed to accompany the expedition because of their knowledge of the coast

(43) Historical Quarterly, Vol. III., July, 1912.)

(44) Work's Journal, Nov. 18. (W.H.Q., loc. cit.) (See page 56)

(45) Merk, op. cit., p. 75.

(46) Merk, op. cit., p. 2. Cf. also Nelson, Op. Cit., pp. 7, 8, and 8n. and Howay and Scholefield, B. C., I., 309.

(47) Nelson, Op. Cit., p. 8.

(48) Work, loc. cit.

(49) Daily Province, Aug. 21, 1928.

part of the way. On the way North they were joined by Pierre Charles, who had been among the Indians for some time, who was considered, though but a servant, a very great asset to any expedition, and who was to prove his value as hunter and trader at Langley in later times. They occupied three boats well provisioned with kegs of peas, oatmeal, pork, grease, rum, butter, and sugar and bags of flour, biscuit, and pemmican. (50) (51)

Travelling by way of Gray's Harbour and the Chehalis River, and thence across country to Puget Sound, they arrived on the twelfth of December in Semiamoo Bay with Point Roberts just opposite. This point was

represented by the Indians to form the entrance of the Coweichan River (which is supposed to be the same with Fraser's); on the S.E. side it projects far out to sea and appears like an island but seems to be joined to the mainland which is very low by a sandy ridge which probably may be covered at high water. (52)

Any one looking at the flats South of Ladner from across Boundary Bay might be so illusioned. On the morning of the thirteenth the party set out to cross Boundary Bay and go round Point Roberts, but, finding the water rough, they followed the shore-line instead, passing the present sites of Blaine, White Rock, and Crescent Beach, and so coming into Mud Bay. Here they found the mouth of a small river, the Nikomeckle, up which they proceeded for seven or eight miles and encamped in the middle of the afternoon. (53)

The Indians had told them there was a way--a very bad way-

(50) Work, Nov. 30.

(51) Work, Nov. 18.

(52) Work, Dec. 13.

(53) Work, loc. cit.

by this route to the "Coweechin River". And a bad way they found it. The Nikomeckle is a very small, sluggish stream, and it was found in many places to be choked up with driftwood and heavily overhung with willows growing along its marshy banks. (54) The distance already traversed would have brought them into the flats South of the present Cloverdale and probably somewhat East of the Pacific Highway. Thence they made a total portage of "7,910 yards" (55) or nearly four and one-half miles, following roughly the present route of the British Columbia Electric Railway, to Langley Prairie and the Salmon River, a small stream flowing into the Fraser about eight miles from the point where they embarked upon it, in the neighborhood of the present Jardine Station. (56) They noted in passing through the prairie that "the soil here appears very rich," an important fact for the future of the country, but they also noted what interested them more and signified more for the immediate future of the place, that there were beaver dams and elk in the marshes and on the plains, and that both were in abundance. (57)

The "Coweechin River" they found to be at least a thousand yards wide at the point where they entered it, with an island, now known as McMillan Island after the leader of this expedition, in the middle just above. Its banks were well wooded to the water's edge with "pine" (Douglas fir), cedar, alder, birch, and other trees. They had no doubt, both from (58) its size and appearance, that it was "Fraser's River".

(54) Work, loc. cit.

(55) Work, Dec. 15.

(56) Nelson: Ft. Langley, p. 9.

(57) Work, Dec. 15 & 16.

(58) Work, Dec. 16.

The next day they set out to explore up the river, John Work keeping a careful record of directions and distances, step by step, all preserved in his journal. Though they passed to the North of Crescent Island, there is strangely no mention of the Stave River, though the journal of the Simpson expedition in 1828 passed a "Work's River" on the right three hours before their arrival at Langley. If this be the Stave, as Mr. Denys Nelson thinks, (59) it must have been mentioned by Work in some other account of the 1824 expedition. They then passed two small islands, now known as the Matsqui Reserves, a short way below the bridge at Mission, and encamped at "the entrance of a small river" which was obviously Hatzic Slough, which is, corresponding to Work's record, about four miles above the islands. They noted that for much of the way thus far the banks were low and "composed with clay that has been deposited by the river" and covered with "poplar", or cottonwood. Back of these flats the ground was steeper and covered with "pine" and cedar. They also observed during that morning "a high mountain covered with snow...to the S.W..... and shortly after a ridge also topped with snow was extending from N.W. to N.E. Two peaks in this ridge are very high". (60) 'Tis almost impossible, however, with the confusing information given, to identify (61) these landmarks. On the eighteenth they dropped down the river again to their previous camping-place, just above the present (62)

Fort Langley.

(59) Nelson, Fort Langley, p. 10.

(60) Work, Dec. 17.

(61) See foot of next page.

(62) Work, Dec. 18.

On the nineteenth of December, passing around the North of McMillan Island, they proceeded down the river twenty-seven miles to its mouth. They noted in passing islands which may now be reasonable identified as Barnston Island, so called after a clerk in McMillan's second expedition, and Annance Island, so named after Annance, clerk in this expedition and in the next. They also noted "a bay with an island in its entrance" in such a position that they can now be clearly identified with the mouth of Pitt River and Douglas Island. Towards

(61) T.C. Elliott, who edits Work's Journal in the "Washington Historical Quarterly" for July, 1912, declares, in his footnotes, without any further comment, that the mountain is Mount Baker and the ridge the Cheam Peaks. If this opinion of his is correct, one is forced to the conclusion that at least Work, if not also the other leaders of the party were absolutely without any knowledge of actual direction or idea of relative direction, which would surely be a very grave fault in any member of an exploring expedition. From any point in that part of the river traversed Mount Baker lies in a South-Easterly direction and the Cheam Peaks almost due East, running in a ridge from North to South. On the other hand there is absolutely no peak, high or low, lying South-West from any part of the river traversed so that one must assume that Work meant to have written either "N.W." or "S.E." In the latter case it would seem at first evident that Mt. Baker was the peak referred to, till one remembers that that peak is rarely visible on a day that is "overcast" (Work, loc. cit.) and that in December nearly all the nearer mountains are also "topped with snow". To account for the direction of the ridge in the same way is almost impossible, so that one seems forced to conclude that he refers to the mountains North of the river from Haney Eastward in which several peaks appear from various points to stand out with especial prominence, particularly Mt. Blanchard North of Haney. Yet he speaks (loc. cit.) of approaching these mountains, which would indicate Cheam were it not that from this part of the river all four of its peaks appear of exactly the same height.

(63) See (Ch. I.) p. 6, fn. 14above.

evening, as they approached the mouth of the river by the South Arm they found the country so low and swampy and "liable to be overflowed with the tide" that they turned back to a point probably about opposite Tilbury Island to encamp. They noted, during the course of the day--what was nearly as important as plenty of beaver--that there were signs of a considerable native population along the river, at least "at particular seasons of the year."⁽⁶⁴⁾

The next day, the fifth before Christmas, they followed what seemed the main channel for eleven miles to its mouth, where they found sounding of from three and a half to seven fathoms. They also noticed "a ridge of pretty high land" to the Northland, near which, they believed, must be another large mouth of the river. So departed the first white men to leave the valley by its Western seaward portal.⁽⁶⁵⁾

To Governor Simpson his report must have been disappointing, for he concluded that the Fraser was not navigable above about seventy miles and that due to the nature of the country and the natives no establishment could be maintained with fewer than sixty to seventy men. Headquarters would therefore remain, for the present at least, on the Columbia, the "only navigable river to the Interior from the Coast, we are acquainted with."⁽⁶⁶⁾

(64) Work, Dec. 19.

(65) Point Grey.

(66) Work, Dec. 20.

(67) See Simpson to Adington, Jan. 5, 1826, in Merk, op. cit., pp. 264-5.

(c) EXPLORATION OF THE LOWER TRIBUTARIES.

Fraser, the first explorer to visit the Fraser, came overland from Canada, a fact which would seem to presage the practicability of commerce in that direction and to predict the day when British Columbia should be politically united with that country. He found a country which seemed to him at that time, however, to be noteworthy only for its inhospitable natives and equally inhospitable mosquitoes, and which could promise practically nothing by way of compensation for its extremely difficult accessibility. McMillan, coming as a Hudson's Bay trader from Oregon Territory in search of a location for an additional trading post, was as we shall see, to link the history not only of this valley but of the whole coastal region of the province not only with that company but also with that territory for the second quarter of the Nineteenth Century. He found a country fertile enough, apparently, and, what was to him of vastly greater importance, abounding in wild game and fur-bearing animals. Fraser mentions only one tributary in his journal (68) and made no attempt to explore or examine it. McMillan did explore one small tributary, the Salmon (69) River, unimportant in itself but flowing through an important part of the valley, Langley Prairie, and mentions only one other small tributary, the Hatzic Slough, which he did not explore. The exploration of the country drained into the lower reaches of the Fraser and the naming of its tributaries in

(68) See p. 44, above.

(69) See p. 59.

this region was the work, for the most part, of men actually engaged in the fur trade. It seems advisable, however, to gather a few of the main facts in this connection at this point, rather than scatter them in their chronological order throughout the next chapter.

We have already seen that in his descent of the river McMillan seemed quite unaware of the existence of the Pitt River, the largest of the tributaries of the Fraser. On his return in 1827 he just mentions, in passing, that at five o'clock in the afternoon of July 24 they had arrived opposite (70) "the Quoitle or Pitt's River" (71) but offers no explanation as to the name, probably given in honor of William Pitt the English statesman. Thereafter the river is usually referred to as "Pitt's" or "Pits" River. We have no further record of its exploration but by 1860 its whole course and the lake above seem to have been fairly well known, judging by the fact that in that year Governor Douglas travelled up the river and lake apparently to view the agricultural possibilities of the district as he gives special attention to this aspect of the (72) country in his report and as the government constructed a road (73) into the country from New Westminster in the following year.

The next discovery of importance was made in November, 1828. McDonald, the New Chief trader of the fort, sent Annance
 (70) Kwantlems which he calls Quoitles (p. 9) or Quoitlans (pp. 16, 60) and which his successor, McDonald calls "Quitlands" (p. 112)
 (71) Fort Langley Journal, p. 9.
 (72) "Blue Book, Pt. IV., p. 8", quoted by Mayne, p. 392.
 (73) Columbian, Nov. 14, 1861.

and eight selected men in a boat which McMillan had already built for that purpose, to explore all the rivers as far up as "Simpson's Falls", whatever that ephemeral term may have signified. Leaving the fort on the third, they arrived "at the mouth of the river in question" on the morning of the sixth and a league or so up the river, apparently near the mouth of the Chehalis, found a considerable encampment of Indians. Taking a couple of these as guides, they went a short distance up the lake when the Indians showed them a small stream of "black water" which they said was the only stream flowing into the lake. In view of the discrepancy both in size and in the color of the water between this stream and that which flowed out of the lake--which, as McDonald rightly noted, is of "green" water--the chief factor seemed rather disappointed that somehow or other the party without proceeding to what appeared to be the end of the lake returned upon the strength of this information. (75)

It will be noticed that nowhere in that part of the Langley Journal describing this expedition is any name given either to the river or to the lake. Yet, before any other expedition of which we have record visited that district we find McDonald referring in the Journal to "Harrison's river Indians." And when, in March, 1830, Yale was sent to explore the whole Harrison-Lillooet system of lakes and rivers, the name seems to have become well established for the lake at least. The only

(74) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 106. Gov. Simpson had come to the fort from Canada down the river in October, Ibid., p. 99.

(75) McMillan, p. 107.

(76) McMillan, p. 206.

person of that name known to have been in B.C. up to that time is a certain "Old Mr. Harrison", as Bancroft calls him, who, at an earlier date had commanded at Fort St. James. (77) It seems likely that either McDonald or one of his assistants, Annance or Yale, had known him intimately and named the lake in his memory. A Benjamin Harrison, a Quaker, was a director of the company and became Deputy Governor in 1835, so that it is equally likely the name was given in his honor.

Though it takes us somewhat beyond the province of our present theme it will be worth our while to consider certain aspects of Yale's expedition, to which reference has just been made. The full account of it, given in the Journal, reads as follows:

(78)

Wednesday 31st. This evening I was glad to see Mr. Yale and party safely back after an absence of 23 days.--Including 3 or 4 day's delay about Harrison's Lake they reached Ermatinger's portage from the Pishalcor Lakes, their 12th day--that distance comprehends the aforesaid Lake of 12 leagues--a river not very bad of 20 leagues, and another lake of about 7--at the upper end of which is the portage, and beyond it the party continued up the main Shore for about 20 Miles further, where the Navigation became impossible--For particulars see Mr. Yale's report. (79)

One would gladly avail himself of this last bit of advice should the opportunity present itself. Even without that opportunity, however, one can see clearly enough that Yale had gone through Harrison and Lillooet Lakes to a point probably fifteen to twenty miles up the Lillooet from the Lake of the (80)

(77) Bancroft, B. C. p. 57.

(78) March, 1830.

(79) McMillan, p. 218.

(80) He considerably overestimates the length of the Lillooet below the lake.

same name. What is not so certain, though it would seem fairly evident, is that Yale or McDonald had word of some trip made by Edward Ermatinger, with whom McDonald was on familiar terms from Kamloops via "Pishalcor" (Seton and Anderson?) Lakes to the Lillooet. We have discovered no actual record of such a trip, but it seems necessary to assume it in order to explain definitely the references to the portage in the passage quoted above. And if this interpretation is correct then every portion of Anderson's route from Kamloops to the coast via Seton, Anderson, Lillooet and Harrison Lakes had been travelled by either Yale or Ermatinger just sixteen years before Anderson with five men travelled over the whole route in May, 1846.

Annance had also the honor of being the first to explore the remaining important tributary valley of the lower Fraser, the Sumas-Chilliwack area. On the second of December, 1828, just a month after his fruitless visit to the Harrison, he took a party of six men up the Fraser to the "Smoize River," up that five miles to "a lake of 10 miles long and 6 wide," and above that found Sumas Prairie, "a considerable extent of low clear country intersected with little Creeks and ponds well adapted for wild fowl". Like many who were to follow, they found this a veritable sportsman's paradise and spent three days there, bagging four swans, three cranes, ten geese and

(81) Vide Letters to Ermatinger whom he addresses as "Dear Ned!"

(82) Bancroft, B. C. 157-159. Full account in Anderson, pp. 68 et seqq.

forty ducks. They then went by way of the Sumas and Fraser to the "Chul-Whoo-Yook which was commended to Mr. Annance on his former trip" and ascended it a distance of ten miles but discovered nothing which seemed worth recording. On the eleventh, after nine days of "excessive bad weather" they were
(83)
back at Langley.

So within four years of the time he first set foot in the country, James McMillan followed by Archibald McDonald, had made a fairly complete survey of the Lower Fraser Valley and Delta and all the main branch valleys which are now included under the general name of Fraser Valley.

CHAPTER III - FUR-TRADE(a) FORT LANGLEY⁽¹⁾

The fur-trader was not only the first to explore the Fraser Valley; he was the first to realize and utilize its vast variety of natural wealth. From 1827 to 1858 he was King of the region, the sole lord and master ruling with a power undisputed. From his stronghold at Fort Langley the chief trader compelled the obedience of White, Kanaka, and Native, in the interest of law and order and civilization and especially of the shareholders of the Hudson's Bay Company. Fur was his chief

(1) The history of Fort Langley has been written so often before that a word of explanation as to the relation between this and three of them seems necessary. The late Mr. Denys Nelson wrote a pamphlet on the Centenary of Fort Langley in 1927 which was published by the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B. C. His sources were for the most part identical with those used here, though the use made of them differs considerably. Mr. Nelson had, however, the advantage of a number of years residence at the Fort village which by personal contact gave him information which it would have been practically impossible for the present writer to have obtained.

(See ff. page 70.)

reason for coming into the country, but agriculture came to be almost of equal importance at Langley, while the river supplied salted salmon for many of the Company's Western establishments. The forests supplied him with lumber from which to construct his shelter and the wild game and fruits in which the country abounded afforded a welcome variety in his diet. Coming to Langley first in search of furs, he stayed to establish most of the valley's major industries, and when these industries had ousted him from his place of primary importance, he was to linger a little longer as a general merchant selling groceries, hardware and dry-goods to the settlers who had ruined his fur-trade.

Credit for the establishment of Fort Langley belongs to James McMillan who was sent to Fraser River by McLaughlin again in 1827 for the express purpose of opening such a post. On the

(2)

 (1) Such debt as is owed to Mr. Nelson is scrupulously acknowledged.

Mr. Paul Murphy in 1929 wrote a graduating essay on Fort Langley for the University of British Columbia. It so happens that at that time this chapter was already in rough manuscript, based independently on almost identical sources. Each was totally unaware of the other's work and there seems no reason to acknowledge indebtedness or offer apologies on the part of either.

Dr. Robie Reid read a paper on the subject to the Royal Society of Canada in May 1936 which was reprinted from the "Transactions" of the Society in "The British Columbia Historical Quarterly" for April, 1937. Drawing liberally upon sources in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, not available to the present writer, this paper throws so much new light on certain aspects of the early history of Fort Langley as to compel some last-minute alterations. The indebtedness is recorded in the proper place. Unfortunately a much-needed rewriting of this chapter for this and other reasons is for the present a physical impossibility.

(2) See *ff.* page 71.

twenty-second of July of that year McMillan's second expedition arrived at the mouth of the river in the Cadboro. The expedition included Francois Noel Amance, clerk, Louis Sata Karata, an Iroquois, and Peopeo, a Sandwich Islander, all of the former expedition. There were also on board, besides the officers and crew of the ship, two other clerks, Donald Manson and George Barnston, and nineteen other workmen, including carpenters and cooks, blacksmiths and hunters, Englishmen and French-Canadians, Iroquois and Hawaiians, a party of twenty-five in all, ^(a) bound for some point up the river where they would build a fort, the first permanent establishment on or near the coast of what is now British Columbia. This they were to call Fort Langley, ⁽³⁾ in honor of Thomas Langley, a prominent member and director of the company. ^(#)

This party of twenty-five had left the new Fort Vancouver ⁽⁴⁾ on the twenty-seventh of June in two boats, proceeded by way of the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers to Puget Sound and reached,

(2) McMillan's report on his earlier expedition may have been sent to London (V. Bancroft, History of the North-West Coast, p. 476-7) Certainly Simpson, enlightened by it, wrote less encouragingly to Adington in his letter of Jan. 5, 1826 (Merk, Fur-trade and Empire, 264-5.) It was probably the caution of the Governor and Committee, however, (even if Simpson's letter could have reached London in time) which led them add to their instructions for McMillan to proceed with the fort on Fraser's River the stipulation that it would not become Western headquarters until after at least a year's experience. (Gov. and Committee to Gov. Simpson, Feb. 23, 1826; in Merk, op. cit. 267).

(a) McLaughlin had estimated it would require 20, Simpson 70 after first receiving McMillan's report. (Merk, op. cit., 270 and 265 respectively.)

(3) Ft. Langley Journal. p. 1.

(#) Nelson: Ft. L., p. 10 and fn.

(4) Ft. Langley Journal. p. 2.

while the nation in the East which was later to gain possession of the country was celebrating the Fourth of July, a point which was even then known as Port Orchard, opposite the present city of Seattle. Here they were to await the arrival of the Cadboro which was coming around by the Straits of Juan de Fuca to take them to the mouth of the Fraser. The Cadboro arrived on the eleventh, on the thirteenth they reached "Point Roberts Bay" or Boundary Bay, as it is now called, and here, the next morning, McMillan went ashore with twelve men but was dissatisfied with the place as a location for the new fort. So, after many delays due to adverse winds and shoals, they entered the mouth of the river on the twenty-second, "in Latitude 49° 5' 30".

Headway up the river was made very slowly and with increasing difficulty. On the twenty-fourth of July they passed the upper end of Lulu Island at half past one, yet it was not until five o'clock that they were opposite "the Quoitte or Pitt's River," some six miles above. Two and one-half hours later they dropped anchor "about half a mile above Pim Island." Two days later we find them nearing their destination, but with a wind so light and a current so strong they had gone little over a mile when they were obliged to anchor to keep what they had gained. On the twenty-seventh McMillan, accompanied by McLeod and Annance, and a Cowitchan, Shashia or Joshua, as the whites sometimes called him, who had joined the ship near

(5) Ibid., p. 3.

(6) Ibid., p. 5.

(7) Ibid., pp. 6-8.

(8) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 9.

(9) Ibid., p. 10.

Point Roberts, set off up the river in a canoe to select the exact location for the fort, and on their return in the evening orders were given for all hands to be ready to warp the ship to her destination in the morning. Arrived there about noon on the twenty-eighth, they found it impossible to get within three hundred yards of the shore on account of the "Shoalness of the water". Indeed, they found themselves for a time aground upon a sand-bar in the middle of the river. As it was thought necessary to get the vessel near the landing place for the fort, both to cover the operations of the builders and to facilitate the discharge of the cargo, they drifted back to the last anchoring place, with six or seven fathoms of water a few yards from the bank. So, on Sunday, July 29, 1827, just one week after entering the mouth of the river, we find the expedition arrived at its destination, about thirty miles up the river.

The erection of the fort was at first, of course, the primary concern. By noon on Monday the men of the landing party were all very busy clearing the site. This was found to be no easy task. For the first three days all hands were so employed. "The work is laborious," says the journal, "from the timber being strong, and the ground completely covered with thick underwood, interwoven with Brambles and Briars." On the fourth of August, to make matters worse,

the fires which had been kindled to consume the Branches, and cuttings of the timber that had been felled, communicating with the surrounding

(10) Ibid., p. 11.

(11) Ft. Langley Journal. p. 12.

woods occasioned us much inconvenience and trouble; at one time, states the entry of that date, we were completely enveloped in Flame and Clouds of Smoke, and it was with great difficulty that the People succeeded in getting the Conflagration checked. (12)

Fires broke out again on the eighth, ninth, and eleventh, at times coming dangerously near the camp and taking the men from their work. (13) On the twelfth, however, it was found, as is always the case in this country, that as soon as the dried branches and rubbish had been burned the fire died down. (14)

Another cause of some annoyance and delay was found in the natives, who at that time of the year were very numerous, on their way to fish up the river. In the first place, their very curiosity, unchecked by any conception of self-restraint, made them a nuisance as they crowded about boat and baggage and workmen, eager to see and even to handle every new thing which attracted their attention. In some cases it became necessary to drive them away; (15) in most cases, however, it was thought better to satisfy their curiosity and encourage a little trade to whet their appetites for that business. Again, their thieving habits caused both annoyance and inconvenience. Now it was an axe, now a crow-bar that was missed, and now some personal effects of the men. In some cases the goods were returned upon request; (16) in other cases no trace of the stolen article was found, and then all Indians, after a sound lecturing on the subject, were put off the premises for a time.

(12) Ibid., p. 14.

(13) Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

(14) Ibid., p. 16.

(15) Ibid., p. 10.

(16) Ft. Langley Journal, pp. 11, 13.

Lastly, some fears were entertained that the Indians meant serious harm. On the way up the river the vessel had been threatened by near one hundred fifty natives. (17) On the day of their arrival, Shashia reported that some of the natives planned to annihilate the whole expedition as soon as they had got ashore. (18) Again it was believed that the Indians had deliberately set some of the fires referred to above. So, for the first week it was thought necessary to have all hands return to the vessel at night, but after Sunday, the fifth of August, many of the party slept in rude bark shelters on shore while the clerks kept watch. (19)

A third cause of delay was found in the condition of the horses, which were sorely needed in clearing the ground and hauling materials. They were slung ashore first thing on the morning of Monday, the thirtieth of July, and were apparently glad to be quit of the ship. Yet on the tenth of August we read that eight men were required to carry logs for the fort, "the ground being as yet too Rough, and the Horses too weak to attempt getting any work out of them." (20) Indeed, it was not until the thirteenth, the day after the fires and Indians ceased to give serious trouble, that even one of the horses could be used. Nevertheless, by the seventeenth all three were in use. (21)

In spite of delays and hindrances, however, the construc-

(17) Ibid., p. 10.

(18) Ibid., p. 11.

(19) Ibid., pp. 14, 15, 26.

(20) Ibid., p. 16.

(21) Ft. Langley Journal, pp. 17, 18.

tion of the fort proceeded rapidly. Four days after their arrival some of the men began to prepare materials for a bastion. (22) On the following Tuesday we find the two Sandwich Islanders of the party at work in the saw-pit, at which work they continued to be engaged until the fort and its buildings were all completed. At times an extra saw-pit was operated by a couple of the "Canadians", but not always with much success. (23) At the same time a number of others were taken from the clearing to cut pickets for the fort walls. By the eleventh of August we read,

The Bastion is now nearly at its height, and appears to command respect in the eyes of the Indians, who begin shrewdly, to conjecture for what purpose the Ports and loop Holes are intended. (24)

On the thirteenth the bastion was ready for the roof and two men were set to raise cedar bark for the purpose. (25) So much of this roofing material would be required however that it was soon found convenient to purchase it from the Indians in trade for buttons. (26) On the same date, as mentioned, one of the horses was used to begin hauling the "pickets"--half logs pointed at the top--for the fort walls, while the next day the carpenters who had been engaged on the bastion were set to prepare wood for a store-house. (27) On Monday, the twentieth, most of the picketing was on hand and on the next day four men began digging a trench three feet deep for holding the bottom of

(22) Ibid., p. 13.

(23) Ibid., p. 15.

(24) Ibid., p. 16.

(25) Ibid., p. 17.

(26) Ibid., p. 18.

(27) Ibid., p. 17.

the pickets. By the end of the month the second bastion was completed and thefts by the Indians made it so imperative to complete the inclosure that work was continued as usual on Sunday, the second of September. Just a week later McMillan had the satisfaction of recording:

The picketing of the Fort was completed and the Gates hung. The rectangle inside is 40 Yds. by 45; and the two Bastions are 12 ft. square each, built of 8 inch Logs and having a lower and upper flooring the latter of which is to be occupied by our artillery. The Tout Ensemble must make a formidable enough appearance in the eyes of Indians especially those here who have seen nothing of the kind before. (28)

Six weeks, then, had been required to prepare a place of reasonable safety, but much more building was required for convenience and comfort. The very next day they started to remove the rude bark shelters, used as dwellings so far, to make room for more permanent quarters. On the fourteenth the storehouse was completed, on the nineteenth work was begun in the dwelling itself, which was reported as "rising rapidly", and on the twenty-second of September the shell of the main dwelling was completed and promised to make "snug and comfortable quarters", fifteen by thirty feet in dimension, and divided into two rooms with a fire-place in each. In October (29) there are references to Indians stopping at "the Wharf". It was not, however, until the twenty-sixth of November that the completion of the establishment was officially recognized in the following manner:

(28) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 26.

(29) Ibid., p. 33.

(x) Ibid., p. 30.

This morning a Flag Staff was cut and prepared, and in the afternoon erected in the South East corner of the Fort. The usual forms were gone through. Mr. Annance officiated in baptizing the Establishment, and our men were regaled in celebration of the event.
(30)

Life within the camp and later the fort was more or less like that of any other Hudson's Bay Company post. The men were engaged on long-term contracts and were required to be absolutely subservient to their superior officers. Laziness, unruliness, carelessness and disobedience were severely dealt with, even McMillan, who appears to have been less autocratic than most of the chief traders, records on the very day work was commenced clearing the ground for the fort that

one of the ship's company was this day put in irons for making use of language calculated to promote discontent and create disorders amongst the crew. (31)

This may have been done at the instance of the officers of the ship, but McMillan's successor, a couple of years later, reports that the blacksmith, whom he considered a very poor workman at best, made himself sick by overeating "ulichans", and that his "tone and insolence, not at all uncommon with him, at length provoked me to lay the Ruler across his Skull".
(32)

Food for the company seems to have consisted principally of fish, purchased from the Indians in large quantities, and dried or salted and stored for the winter. Some hint of the quantities available maybe obtained from the information that
in 1829, a good year, 7544 salmon, averaging six pounds each,

(30) Ibid., p. 47.

(31) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 12.

(32) Ibid., p. 225.

were purchased in twelve days with trade goods valued at
 £15, 17s., 2d. At times, in fact, the natives were more
 anxious to sell than the traders to buy, as witness the day
 when trade in this commodity had to be stopped at eight o'clock
 in the morning, eleven hundred salmon having already been
 bought that day. Variety in food was for the first year ob-
 tained only by buying wild berries from the Indians and by the
 fortune of the hunt, at which Pierre Charles proved an adept
 and to which he was allowed to devote much of his time. At
 first the diet seems to have agreed ill with the health of the
 men, who were "now living entirely upon fish, whereas their
 rations before consisted chiefly of grain--say Indian Corn--
 Pease & C., & C." In the Spring oolichans were caught,
 "enough to Keep the Kettle going". Spirits were also included
 in the rations from time to time, especially on festal days and
 special occasions. McMillan himself, in a letter of January
 21, 1828, to John McLeod at Kamloops, sums it up thus:

The winter here this year is very severe and would not
 be thought too mild even at your own quarter. We make
 out to live pretty well, fresh salmon in fish season
 and can procure plenty of dried for the winter. Stur-
 geon can be had also at times and the forest gives an
 occasional Red deer now and then. We could trade at
 the door of our Fort, I suppose, a million of dried
 salmon if we choose--enough to feed all the people of
 Rupert's Land. (38)

Of holiday or entertainment in the fort there seems to
 have been little in early days. The first was on the day of
 the erection of the flagpole. The entry for December 25, 1827,

(33) Ibid., p. 186.

(37) Ibid., p. 70.

(34) Ibid., p. 188.

(38) MS. in Provincial Archives
 quoted in Howay and Schole-
 field, Vol. I., p. 401.

(35) Ibid., p. 14.

(36) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 25.

consists of two words, "Christmas Day", which is our whole account of how the first Christmas was spent in the Fraser Valley. New Year's Day usually saw considerable heavy drinking and such entertainment as might be expected to go with it under the circumstances. Scottish custom seems to govern the festal season.

This might be a good place to say something of domestic arrangements within the fort. No white women, of course, accompanied the expedition, nor were any to be found at the fort for years to come. The first reference to the matter is found in the following entry of July 2, 1828: "One of the fair Laddies (sic) of the Fort presented her Husband with a Son & heir, He being the first born in this quarter (I mean among the whites) he was named Louis Langley". In October of the same year we find references to "Mr. Annances's woman" and an Indian, "Mr. Manson's brother-in-law", who gave trouble by their thievish habits. By the end of November matters began to look more serious. On the twenty-fifth it is reported that the "Scatchats" are about to claim damages of Whittlakenum, a chief from Pitt River, for giving his daughter to "Mr. Yale", one of the clerks, when she had already been married to a "Scatchat". On the twenty-sixth another "Quitland" brings three or four young girls to dispose of in marriage, but fails when it is learned that they also are already married.

(39) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 80.

(40) Ibid., p. 103.

(41) Ibid., p. 112.

twenty-eighth

Whitlakenum in his turn arrives with more women for the accommodation of the Fort and as this commerce now with them seems to Supercede the Beaver Trade--the whole concern was ordered off and I believe Mrs. Yale in the number. (42)

Nor did these women seem always to take the marriage contracted too seriously. On the third of July, 1829, for example, we find one of the Indian wives of the fort returning to her former paramour so that her tribesmen have to be threatened to make them bring her back. (43) In fact, with the Indians, marriage to the whites seems, to have been largely a commercial matter.

Fear of hostile Indians seems to have hovered over the little fort for the first few years. McMillan, in the letter already quoted, says they had to keep their numerous neighbors at as respectable a distance as possible. (44) We find occasional entries such as that of March 15, 1828, which reports Indians skulking at night and throwing two stones at the watchmen on the second watch. (45) Sometimes rumors were brought by the Indians that the fort was to be besieged by natives of more distant parts, particularly by the Ucletas from Cape Mudge, and sometimes reported with such grim humor as the following:

(46a)
A Shissal from beyond Burrard Canal, came to the fort. He informs us that the Yewkeltas are preparing to come and take our Blankets from us Sans ceremonee--As this is rather a cheap way of getting goods, we will not likely come to terms amicably. In that case our Iron Interpreters will have to settle the dispute. (47)

(42) Ibid., p. 113.

(43) Ibid., p. 173.

(44) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., Vol. I. p. 401.

(45) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 62.

(46) Ft. Langley Journal, pp. 59, 87.

(46a) Sechelt.

(47) Ibid., p. 59.

Indian troubles were still more of a nuisance because of the effect on the trade with the local Indians. Local feuds, as that between the "Quoitlams" and "Chiliquiyouks" were disconcerting enough but the raids of Vancouver Islanders was worse. On the tenth and nineteenth of March, 1828, two parties of Cowitchans passed on their way to "kill the Chiliqueyonks" and McMillan declares that

this warfare keeps the Indians of this Vicinity in such continual alarm, that they cannot turn their attention to anything but the care of their families and that they do but poorly. While the powerful tribes from Vancouver's Island harass them in this manner little hunts can be expected from them. And unless the Company Supports them against those lawless Villains little exertion can be expected from them. (48)

MacDonald reports the Ucletas, or "Yeukaltas", as he calls them, creating a similar situation in 1829. (49)

In spite of this trouble, however, and in spite of the laziness of the natives and of the fact that in cold weather the "naked Indians cannot go about in search of Skins", trade at the fort increased. After six months McMillan reports, (50)

Our trade is not very flattering, indeed much could not be expected the first year and we have only half a year this season. Still our losses will not be much felt. We scraped 1,100 Skins--Beavers & Otters. (51)

McDonald, in a letter from Langley dated March 5, 1830, declares that the furs shipped the first three years numbered, for 1827, 1100, for 1828, 1400, and for 1829, 1600. Among Indians reported as bringing in these furs were the "Quoitles", "Quoitlams" or Kwantlems from the neighborhood of the fort.

(48) Ibid., p. 63.

(49) Ibid., p. 158.

(50) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., Vol. I, p. 401.

(51) Letters to Ermatinger, p. 16.

"Cowitchens" or Cowichan Indians and "Nanaimooch" or Nanaimo Indians from Vancouver Island, "Scatchat" or "Scadgat" Indians from the Skagit River in Washington, the "Ylalams", "Tlalams", or "Clalams" from south of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, the "Sinohooms", "Sinahomes," "Sinuwums" or Snohomish Indians from the river of that name, in Washington, "Okinakum" or "Okinagar" Indians from the interior, "Contoomeens" or Lytton Indians, (51a) "Whooms" from "Burrard's Canal", "Nicamen's" family and tribe, probably from Dewdney or Nicomen Island, and "Harrison's River Indians".

Agriculture was also expected to eke out the profits of the establishment. In mid-October, 1828, we find all hands "excepting the carpenter and cook, and the Fisherman" digging potatoes, and within a week we find 290 barrels of white potatoes in the main cellar, 155 barrels of red potatoes in the fish-house cellar, and 56 barrels of white and 17 barrels of red in a pit. In mid-November the last were out of the ground, making a

whole crop of 670 Barrels = 2010 Bushels after 91 Bushels Seed & which at a moderate calculation Seems to yield upward of 100 p. cent more than the soil at Fort Vancouver. (53)

Such was the first field crop raised in the Fraser Valley. The next Spring, in addition to potatoes about three and a half bushels of barley and four kegs of peas were planted but, (54) as has so often happened to farms in various parts of the val-

(51a) Apparently a very bad rendering of "Squamish".

(52) Ft. Langley Journal, pp. 101-104.

(53) Ibid., p. 110.

(54) Ft. Langley Journal, pp. 161-162.

ley since, the whole planted area on the flats was inundated
 (55)
 by "a perfect lake" at the end of June. Nevertheless, agriculture has been an important industry there from that day to this.

In March, 1829, a dispatch was received from Dr. McLaughlin which gave an unofficial hint of utilizing the land near the fort for raising cattle. Consequently, as there was no prairie in the immediate vicinity of the fort, a fine Sunday in April finds the Chief Trader doing a little exploring himself. He examined the parts of Langley Prairie nearest the river and decided that, in spite of shallow water, the fort would have been better built where the prairie does come to the river. Apart from its distance from the fort he thought it a splendid
 (56)
 place for the raising of cattle and pigs. Ironically enough, it was in July of that year, while the whole prairie was still flooded, that the Cadboro brought the first live-stock, other than the three horses already mentioned, to be imported into
 (57)
 the Fraser Valley. This, too, was to prove a permanent feature in the economic development of the valley, and the dairies of Langley were to flourish when the fort had been reduced to a museum and a memory.

Communications with the civilized world were few in those early days, and hailed with joy by all. The Cadboro left them on the eighteenth of September, 1827. As already mentioned, she returned in the Summer of 1829 to bring supplies and take away the furs collected. This became an annual event. But

(55) Ibid., p. 173.

(56) Ibid., p. 155.

(57) Ibid., p. 177.

letters, despatches, and accounts had to be carried more frequently. The first letter to arrive was unexpected. On Sunday, October 7, 1827,

towards night fall two loaded rafts from above stopt at the Wharf. There were upon them two Indians with their families from the Forks of Thomsons River, one of whom delivered a letter, which had been entrusted to his care October 1826 by Mr. Archibald MacDonal'd who it would appear entertained an idea then that this post might possibly be established during the winter. (58)

It had taken just a year to come from Kamloops to Langley, the first letter to reach the Fraser Valley. Two letters were sent back to Kamloops by the same means in January and Indians continued to be used in this way, and to various destinations, from time to time. (59)

The most regular communications, however, were by parties of voyageurs, under one or more superior officers, sent from time to time to carry despatches and accounts. The first of such connected with Fort Langley was that which arrived there the day before Christmas, 1827,--a most opportune time! On the morning of that day

two Indians from the Misquiam Camp near the Quoitile River arrived with a note from Mr. A. McKenzie, the purport of which was, that he was disagreeably situated with only four men amongst a formidable Band of Indians, and requested our assistance in case he might not be able to extricate himself. Messrs. Manson and Annance with nine men went off immediately to his relief, but they had no proceeded far before they met him and his party all uninjured. The Indians had stolen from them a little property but this will soon be recovered. Mr. Mc. is a welcome visitor. He is the bearer of our letters, and home news, from Fort Vancouver. (60)

(58) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 33.

(59) Ibid., p. 53.

(60) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 49.

The return despatch ended less happily. McKenzie was accompanied by McMillan and Annance when he left the fort on the third of January, but the latter two, with the men they had taken from the fort, returned in ten days because of a storm on the Gulf of Georgia which threatened to prolong their absence unduly. Thus McKenzie's party was left to continue the journey alone. Reports that they had met with disaster were brought in by Indians from time to time, until in February Manson took the "express", that is the trade accounts, to Vancouver in a large canoe with seven men and eight days' provisions. It was not until the middle of April that he reappeared to the great relief of the fort, but with the confirmation of the rumors that McKenzie had been killed by the Clalams of Puget Sound. To prevent the recurrence of such trouble an expedition under the direction of Chief Trader Alex. McLeod, assisted by Frank Ermatinger, Dease and J. M. Yale, with about sixty men left Vancouver on June 17, destroyed the Clallum village and avenged the murder.

On the tenth of October, 1828, occurred the first great historic event in the history of Fort Langley, about a year after its construction. McMillan records it thus:

About 8 o'clock last night we had a great alarm of canoes and singing down (at) the river, and in a few minutes after had the agreeable Surprise of taking the Governor in Chief by the hand--he is accompanied from York Factory by Mr. Chief Trader

(61) Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

(62) Ibid., pp. 55, 58.

(63) Ibid., p. 68.

(64) See Frank Ermatinger's full account in Wash. Hist. Quarterly Vol. I., No. 2, pp. 16 et seqq. Ermatinger's account, however, tended to place the whole expedition in a rather (See ft. p. 87)

(65)

Archibald McDonald and Doctor Hamlyn, and 20 men, exclusive of Mr. James Murray Yale and 7 men from New Caledonia and Thompsons River--they left the mouth of that river on the morning of the 9th--and to their (SIC) took them from Kamloops House a day & a half. It would appear the River is much worse than any idea we could have found of it: and renders the practicability of opening a regular communication this way with the Interior most doubtful. (66)

McMillan had already written to a friend:

I do not know when I will be allowed to quit this side of the mountains, but to be plain with you my good sir I am tired of it. I would willingly be quit of it. (67)

It would in any case be his turn for a furlough in 1830 and as the trip out in the Spring might be both dangerous and inconvenient it was decided that he should now accompany Governor Simpson and his party to Fort Vancouver. Chief Trader McDonald remaining in his place. Yale would also replace Manson as Clerk and the complement of men was to be reduced from twenty to seventeen. McDonald, who continues the journal from this point, tells how the party set off in high style on the sixteenth, while,

to remove their chagrin the men of the Fort were allowed each a pint of liquor this evening with which they seem to drown all care. (68)

So the founder of the first establishment in the Fraser Valley passes from our story and from this country. Of how he spent the rest of his days we have no record.

His successor a native of Appin, Argyleshire, and some
(64) humorous light and did Ermatinger much harm in the fur-trade.

(65) The man who sent the first letter from Kamloops to Langley; see p. 85 above.

(66) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 99.

(67) Howay and Scholefield, Vol. I., p. 401.

(68) Fort Langley Journal, p. 100.

time student at Edinburgh University had been sent to Red River by Lord Selkirk in 1813, in charge of a party of colonists and remained there till 1815. The following year he wrote a "Narrative of the Destruction of Lord Selkirk's Settlement at Red River", our most reliable account of that affair. He seems at that time to have entered the Company's service and ten years later we find him in charge at Kamloops sending a letter to Langley. Just two years later he was to be transferred to that post himself. The roving life of the trader seems however to have had little appeal for him. At Langley agriculture and stock raising seem to have held an important place in his interest while domestic matters seem to have concerned him very much. In a letter of February 20, 1831, addressed to "My dear Mc", probably John McLeod, a friend and trader then in the East, he refers to "Jenny and the Boys". "Jenny", or Jane Klyne, daughter of the postmaster at Jasper House, whom he had married in 1825, was his second wife and possibly the first white woman in the Fraser Valley. A year later he writes to McLeod, then stationed in Labrador, of the difficulty of keeping the boys at

(x) Nelson, Fort Langley, p. 12.

(69) Anderson, p. 29 and fn. by M. H. T. Alexander.

(70) See p. 85 above.

(71) Wash. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. I., No. 4. p. 260.

(72) Nelson, Ft. Langley, p. 12, and Wash. Hist. Quarterly, III., 1, 93. It was claimed for Jane Klyne that she was born in Switzerland which was certainly the homeland of her father, Michael Klyne, originally a Selkirk settler. Wm. S. Lewis, in "Ronald MacDonald", p. 83 fn., shows reason for believing she was born in Western Canada, which means she was probably part Indian on her mother's side. The whole matter remains in much doubt. For further information re the MacDonald family see Lewis, op. cit., 94-96 and Wash. Hist. Quarterly, IX., 99-101.

their education and regrets being in Langley chiefly on that
 (73) account. One is also struck with the somewhat contemptuous
 tone in which he refers to the domestic relationships of the
 (74) men at the fort who had Indian wives. And for all his domesti-
 city he seems to have been strict enough with his men. It was
 he who was provoked to "lay the Ruler across the Scull" of the
 blacksmith for making himself sick on oolichans and then "inso-
 (75) lently" demanding to be excused from work. It was he, also,
 who ordered the Indians out of the Fort when he found that
 interest in securing Indian "wives" for the men was superced-
 (76) ing diligence in securing furs for the Company.

We have said that Agriculture was one of his chief
 (77) interests at Langley. We have already shown how cattle-rai-
 sing was introduced in 1829, under his direction. During his
 first six weeks at the fort he had the satisfaction of harvest-
 ing and storing the potatoes his predecessor had planted and
 seemed quite elated over the yield of twenty-two fold, which
 he estimates as at least twice as good as that at fort Vancou-
 (78) ver. In the following May he planted three and a half bushels
 (79) of barley, four kegs of peas and fifty kegs of potatoes,
 which, if the kegs were the three-bushel barrels mentioned
 above, was a large planting. By the end of June however "A

perfect lake" overflowed potatoes and barley and on the third
 (73) Wash. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. I., No. 4; p. 266.
 (74) Ft. Langley Journal, pp. 103, 112-113, and 173.
 (75) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 225.
 (76) See p. 81. above.
 (77) See p. 84. above.
 (78) See p. 83. above.
 (79) Ibid., pp. 161-162.

of July the whole prairie was found to be flooded. We hear
 nothing more of that year's crop but just ten days later the
 first shipment of live-stock arrived. (b.) Neither have we any re-
 cord of agricultural proceedings at the fort in 1830 but in a
 letter of January 15, 1832, already mentioned, McDonald found
 his garden and four "milch cows" worthy of mention and states
 he has killed three pigs and has three more fattening. (81)

McDonald also made fish-packing an important part of the
 work at the post. We have already seen that they were plenti-
 ful and cheap, and were the chief part of the men's diet. (82) (83) Mc-
 Donald tells us that when he arrived at Langley he found a re-
 serve provision of three thousand dried salmon and sixteen
 tiers of salted. (84) McMillan had already hinted at the possibi-
 lities of the trade when he said he could get enough to feed
 all the people of Ruperts' Land. (85) It remained for McDonald,
 however, to try to make a profit from the trade. In 1829 he
 purchased, as we have noticed, (86) over two and one-quarter tons
 of salmon at a price which amounted to something better than
 thirteen pounds for a pennyworth of trade goods. In 1831 his
 letters show he considered this business on the same footing as
 the fur-trade and had prepared two hundred twenty barrels of
 salmon for shipment in 1830. He was at the time preparing two

(80) Ibid., p. 173. (b) Ibid., p. 177.

(81) Wash. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. I., No. 4, p. 266.

(82) See p. 79 above.

(83) See p. 79 above.

(84) Journal of Simpson expedition quoted in Nelson: p. 11.

(85) See p. 79 above.

(86) P. 78-9 above.

to three hundred barrels for the next seasons pack, and adds
 that a cooper is to be sent him, though he has not yet arrived. (87)
 A letter of the following year to McLeod in Labrador says that
 "for all the contempt entertained for everything out of the
 routine of beaver at York Factory", he had, in addition to the
 2500 beaver, prepared during 1831 nearly three hundred barrels
 of salmon, and, he adds,

I have descended to oil and blubber, too, though not on
 your large scale, so that altogether, whatever others
 may think of Fraser's River, I am well satisfied with
 its proceeds. (88)

Apparently he was granted his request for a cooper, for we have
 record that in 1833 one James Rindale, cooper from Langley, was
 granted leave owing to ill health and another cooper sent to
 take his place, while Stave River is said to have taken its
 name from the fact that much of the material for the staves
 came from that locality. (89) Apparently the company found the
 trade profitable since it was continued in increasing propor-
 tions and at an increasing profit. (90)

Fur-trade, however, was the first consideration always,
 and salmon the second consideration. We have seen a gradual
 increase in the number of furs traded the first three years,
 In 1830 the number seems to have dropped to 1400 but the follow-
 ing year McDonald writes with pride of his 2500 Beaver, while
 in 1832, he tells a friend, "in the face of three America
 vessels we collected 2000 skins." (93)

vessels we collected 2000 skins." The effect of the American
 (87) Ibid., I. 4, 259. (92) Letter in Wash.
 (88) Ibid., I., 4, p. 265. Hist. Quarterly,
 (89) See Nelson, p. 12. Vol. I., No. 4,
 (90) See next paragraph and p. 96 below. p. 265.
 (91) P. 82 above. (93) Ibid., II., #2 p. 161

competition, which in part Langley may have been established to thwart, should be noted. In the fall of 1829 McLaughlin had been advised from London to set a "moderate" tariff at Langley to bring in Puget Sound furs from the opposition and in November McDonald wrote him that a reduction to the American standard should be made before the American vessels arrived. We can trace the exact figures of the fur-trade no further than the fifth year, but in 1841 Sir George Simpson reported that the establishment was "intended to collect the trade of the numerous tribes inhabiting the mainland coast and East Coast of Vancouver's Island from Lat: 48° to Point Mudge," had a complement of an officer and seventeen men, and returned about £2500 in furs and four hundred barrels of salt salmon at two Pounds per barrel, "the profits of the post being about £1600 per annum." The importance of the fort in this respect no doubt began to decline with the establishment of Ft. Victoria two years later, in 1843.

McDonald, we have seen, replaced McMillan at the time of Simpson's only visit to the fort, in 1828, to be assisted by Yale, clerk, Annance, trader, and seventeen men. As soon afterward as he could find time for it, McDonald had the fort extended backward from the river a distance of thirty-five feet to give more ample room within the fortified enclosure. A year later, while on a visit to Fort Vancouver, he learned

of a proposal to reduce the force at Langley but to attach the

(94) See the letters in Merk, op. cit., 318 and 319.

(95) Report quoted at length in Howay and Scholefield, Vol. I., p. 424.

(96) Fort Langley Journal, p. 109.

schooner Vancouver thereto to care for the Gulf trade and in 1831 we learn that there are with McDonald only one clerk and ten men "besides 2 or 3 raw Owhyhees." The journal of the fort, kept so scrupulously by McMillan and McDonald, ends with the entry for July 30, 1830, which tells us the Factor is leaving for the mouth of the river to meet the Eagle, Vancouver and Cadboro, the last named now arriving for the fourth time three years to the day since its first arrival at Langley.

While the journal ends in a very cheering note, we learn from his letters that McDonald might have closed in a very different key. The letter of February, 1831, already quoted tells us that one John Kennedy had died in April of the previous year while another man, Therian, was killed in August, accidentally shot by one of the guns of the Vancouver. Strangely enough, another letter of the same date to Edward Ermatinger at Kamloops states that Kennedy was killed when a ship, firing a salute before the fort on August 18, the date of departure of the four ships mentioned above, struck him in the groin with rope wadding. This letter makes no mention of the man Therian. According to the late Jason Allard, a native of Langley, born in 1848, the grave-yard where these and other

- early men of the fort lie buried is among the trees at the side
 (97) Ft. Langley Journal p. 200. McDonald, in agreeing that the force could be reduced to a clerk, 12 men and 2 apprentices, stipulated that it would mean abandoning salmon-packing, lumbering, and trade-extension. (Merk, Fur-T. and Emp., 319, --McD. to McLaughlin, Nov. 14, 1829) We have seen, however, that the fishing was not abandoned.
 (98) Letter, Feb. 20, 1831, in Wash. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. I., no. 4, p. 259.
 (99) Ft. Langley Journal, p. 236. (100) Wash. Hist. Quarterly, I, 4, p. 258 (101) Letters to Ermatinger.

(102)

of Allard Road, near the farm of a Mr. Brouse.

A letter to McLeod, dated February 20, 1833, says McDonald is to be moved, he knows not whither, the next month. Though he does not say so, it seems likely that the move was being made partly to satisfy his own wishes, for though he finds Langley a snug, comfortable place, he is anxious about the education of his boys--"God bless them--I have no less than five of them, all in a promising way". It also seems likely that his penchant for agriculture had much to do with the change. It was he who in 1833 persuaded the Company to enter into herding on a commercial scale on this coast. This was the origin of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company, with which the elder Dr. Tolmie was so long associated. From the journal of Nisqually House and various letters we learn that in May and June of that same year McDonald selected the site and helped direct the construction of Nisqually with the aid of tools sent by Yale from Langley. In July he ascended the Columbia on his way East and spent two years visiting his old home in Argyleshire, Scotland. In the early months of 1836 he took charge at Fort Colville where Ogden wrote of him the following year:

Our friend Archy is at Colville living at his ease with little or nothing but his Farm to attend to. (108)

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- (102) Nelson, p. 13. Mr. Allard showed the place to the present writer in 1929, but no landmarks of any sort remain.
- (103) Wash. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 162.
- (104) Wash. Hist. Quarterly, IX., 2, 95; II, 1, 161-2; VI, 3, 179-188.
- (105) Op. cit., VI., 3, 191.
- (106) Op. cit., VI., 3, 308, 309.
- (107) Op. cit., IX., 2, 96.
- (108) Op. cit., II., 3, 259.

He retired in 1844, and was buried at St. Andrews on the
 Ottawa, 1853, with the epitaph, "One of the Pioneers of Civi-
 (109)
 lization in Oregon."

He was succeeded as officer in charge by James Murray
 Yale, who, with the rank of clerk, had been McDonald's chief
 assistant. Though it was now eighteen years since he had
 entered the services of the company, and though the departure
 of McDonald left him great responsibilities with no fellow-
 officer to share them, for some reason his rank remained un-
 (110)
 changed. Yale is described by Anderson, who knew him, as "of
 small stature, but strongly built, very active and wiry". He
 is also referred to as "recklessly brave" and was generally
 known as "Little Yale" despite the fact he was somewhat touchy
 about his stature, especially in the presence of such giants as
 James Douglas. Anderson tells us that in early days he had
 been one of a party which was reduced to starvation for want of
 supplies and that many had already fallen by the wayside when
 Yale began to weaken. A French Canadian had tried to keep him
 going, but when this became obviously impossible, and Yale,
 bidding his companion good-bye, threw himself down in the snow,
 the hugh voyageur, "swearing as only a French Canadian can

(109) Op. cit., III., 1, 93.

(110) Nelson, Fort Langley, p. 13, would lead one to suppose
 he was promoted in 1836, but this seems unjustifiable
 since an official document of the Company listed him as
 clerk as late as 1843. (Document given in Howay and
 Scholefield, B. C., I., 385.)

swear", exclaimed, "Sacré! Sacré! Misère! C'est trop de valeur! Embarque! Embarque!" and swinging the lad across his shoulder, carried him to safety. John Tod told of him that at a later date, in Peace River, after the union of the two companies in 1821, one of the former Nor' Westers tried to poison him, "but could not succeed, for so invulnerable had the integuments of the latter's stomach become by long acquaintance with the tough fare of that inhospitable stepmother, New Caledonia, that the diabolical attempt altogether failed." (111) (112)

Yale had, till the establishment of Victoria in 1843, control of all the fur-trade from Whidby Island to Cape Mudge and from Vancouver Island to somewhere above the present site of Yale. Sir George Simpson reported in 1841 that (113)

this has for a length of time been a very well regulated post, but as the country has been closely wrought for a number of years the returns in furs are gradually falling off but the increasing marketable produce of the Fisheries makes up for that deficiency. (114)

Bancroft records that by 1846 one to two thousand barrels of salted salmon were exported from Fraser River annually. In that year a fishery was established at Chillinock and A. C. Anderson recommended such an establishment at the mouth of the Coquihalla. In 1851, while sixty fresh salmon could be bought at San Juan Island for a four-dollar blanket, smoked salmon from Langley sold in Hawaii at sixteen dollars a barrel, and we are told that from then on fishing was one of the main industries (115)

(111) Hist. N.W. Coast, Anderson, p. 25, and Bancroft, B.C. p. 171 n. (112) Bancroft, B. C., p. 79.
 (113) Simpson's Report, quoted in ext. in Howay & Scholefield, B. C., I., 424. (114) Ibid., loc. cit.
 (115) Bancroft, B. C., 132. (116) Anderson, op. cit., p. 68 et seqq.

(117)
tries of this province. Nevertheless, in 1859 nothing but the
unused "remains" of the fishing station on the "Chiwayhook" was
(118)
left.

The farm at Langley was also increasing in importance.
From 1833 on Dr. McLaughlin had been giving increasing atten-
tion to agriculture urged on by McDonald, who wished the forma-
tion of a subsidiary company to raise cattle and farm produce
on the Pacific on a large scale. The Company's old fear of
aught that might interfere with the fur-trade prevented this,
but it became necessary to produce so much for the consumption
of the various posts that agriculture became the main business
(119)
at Nisqually House and of considerable importance at other
places. McDonald's work at Langley was being continued. In
1839 the Company's long-standing quarrels with the Russian
traders were given a quietus when the Company leased the Alas-
(120)
kan "Pan-Handle", the rental to be paid in agricultural produce,
and, the sale of agricultural produce to the Russians growing
(121)
very rapidly, Langley became to vastly increased importance
(122)
for this purpose as well as supplying produce to other posts,
(123)
less favorably situated. A new farm was developed in the
prairie between the Salmon and Nicomekl rivers, where the first

(117) Bancroft, B. C., 748.

(118) Mayne, op. cit., p. 59.

(119) McLaughlin's letters quoted in ext. in Howay and Schole-
field, B.C., I., 352-362.

(120) Pelly to Glenelg, Howay and Scholefield, I., 373, and
Nelson, Ft. Langley, p. 15.

(121) Simpson's report, Howay and Scholefield, I., 416-423.

(122) Nelson, Ft. Langley 15, & Howay and Scholefield, B.C.,
I. 458.

(123) Howay and Scholefield, I., 424.

ploughing is reported, by people still living in the district who knew him, to have been done by Etienne Pepin, the farm overseer. This farm was abandoned when the Russian agreement terminated and subsequently in 1877, the land was subdivided and sold. Business at Langley was increasing so that in 1839, the year of the Russian agreement, Yale was given an assistant in the person of Ovid Allard, transferred to Langley from Boise to act as Indian trader.

During the 1830's the company attempted from time to time to make some arrangement whereby the Langley and Nisqually establishments could be combined. Among the sites considered was the "Big Island" (now Lulu Island) in the mouth of the Fraser, but the danger of flooding and expense of dyking rendered it unfeasible. Before the site of Victoria had been decided on, however, Yale had persuaded McLaughlin that Langley must be kept up if only for the fishing. It was therefore decided, instead, to move it further up the river two and one-half miles to the present site and to enlarge it somewhat.

This had been completed and the new fort occupied on June 25, 1839, but on April 11, 1840, the fort was destroyed by fire.

The loss to the Company was very great, and included a supply of cream which, judging by her actions, seemed of greater importance to Mrs. Finlayson, the butter-maker, than the near loss of her infant and the narrowly averted explosion of the barrels of gunpowder stored in the fort.

Douglas was at Nisqually when Nelson, Ft. Langley, pp. 15 and 21. (125) Ibid., p. 15. (126) For a fuller account of this whole matter and a complete list of the sources, which are all in the H.B. Co. Ar- (See fn. p. 99)

he heard of the disaster and was intending to go there in the steamer "Beaver" for a supply of salt food for the Stikeen. When he arrived at Langley he found Yale rebuilding the stockade on a larger scale at the present site of Fort Langley, two and one-half miles farther up the river. He loaned him twenty men from the steamer to expedite the work for a time, then preceeded North to build Fort Durham on Taku Inlet. The loss at Langley had been repaired by the following summer.

In 1843 Victoria was founded on Vancouver Island and threatened to reduce Langley to a mere farm and fishing station, but events of greater historical importance were to give to Langley and the Fraser a new significance to the Hudson's Bay Company.

(b) FORTS YALE AND HOPE AND THE DECLINE

In 1846 a nemesis was found for the Hudson's Bay Company's failure to encourage settlement and a quietus was given to the American political ballyhoo about "Fifty-four-forty or fight" in the Oregon Boundary Treaty signed in Washington on June 15 and proclaimed on August 5. It continued the boundary from the

- Rocky Mountains Westward along the forty-ninth parallel, which
 (126) chives, see R. L. Reid in "B. C. Hist. Quarterly", April, 1937, pp. 73-76.
 (127) Simpson to Council, in Howay and Scholefield B.C., I., 424, Bancroft, B. C., p. 66 & Nelson, Ft. Langley, p. 15.
 (128) Allard as reported in Nelson, p. 12, Fort Langley.
 (129) Bancroft, B. C., 67, and Nelson, Ft. L., 15.
 (130) Finlayson, in Howay and Scholefield, I., 388.
 (131) Simpson, in Howay and Scholefield, I., 424.
 (132) Howay and Scholefield, I., 457-496.

left the Fraser Valley in British Territory, and was to follow the inland channels in such a way as to leave Vancouver Island also in British hands. The treaty provided that property rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and other British subjects should be recognized and that they should be allowed rights of navigation along the Columbia from the boundary to the sea and in the waters between Vancouver Island and the mainland South of the forty-ninth parallel. Despite these safeguards of the Company's interests, however, it was found necessary to change the brigade route in 1848, to remove the headquarters for trade on the Pacific Coast from Vancouver to Victoria in 1849, and to abandon little by little, and often with little or no compensation, their numerous profitable posts South of the boundary, of which Douglas in 1849 listed eleven, until finally in 1860 Fort Vancouver, the last foot-hold, was relinquished.

Since 1826 fine brigades of pack-horses had travelled with mechanical regularity the well-beaten brigade-trail from Fort Alexandria on the Fraser to Fort Okanagan at the confluence of the river of that name with the Columbia, there to meet the bateaux from Fort Colville which would take the furs to Vancouver and bring back supplies. Prior to that date we hear

(133) See text of treaty, Howay and Scholefield, B.C., Vol. I., Appendix XII.

(134) Howay, Raison d'Être of Fts. Hope and Yale, p. 55.

(135) Letter to Capt. Sheppard, in Howay and Scholefield, I., 378.

(136) Bancroft, N.-W. Coast, II., 710.

(137) Howay, Raison d'Être, p. 50.

of two unsuccessful attempts to open a route by way of the Fraser, but the idea had been long since abandoned. It was in (138) 1845 that Alexander Caulfield Anderson, then at Alexandria, proposed to attempt to find such a route, thinking, no doubt, it would prove valuable if the Company's apprehensions about the impending boundary settlement should prove well-founded. It seems likely that before his letter had reached the Governor that gentleman had begun to entertain the same idea for Ogden wrote to Tod and Manson at Kamloops, October 22, 1845:

Shortly prior to my departure from Red River Sir George Simpson suggested to me that it would be most important to ascertain if a communication with horses could be effected between Alexandria and Langley and as Mr. A. C. Anderson has volunteered his services and from his active habits and experience in Caledonia I consider him fully competent to carry it into effect, I have to request that he may be appointed. (139)

He proceeds to suggest in some detail a route by way of Lillooet and the Harrison which Anderson should try on the way out, returning by the Fraser Canyon. A well-known modern authority, commenting on this, wonders how Ogden was able to outline the route so correctly as Fraser and Sir George Simpson are the only two known to have come from the interior to the lower Fraser and neither of them had explored any such route as the one now suggested, and since Ogden's information (140) is "unusually correct" to have been obtained from Indians. We wonder if we may not already have stumbled upon the answer to (141) the historian's inquiry?

(138) See Howay, Raison d'Etre, p. 49.

(139) Quoted in Howay: Raison d'Etre, p. 52.

(140) Ibid., loc. cit.

(141) P. 67 above.

Anderson himself tells, in a report appended to his manuscript History of the Northwest Coast, how he left Kamloops with five men in the middle of May, 1846, crossed the Thompson, followed Cache and Hat Creeks to Marble Canyon, thence down the Fraser from Pavilion to Lillooet, which he reached on the eighteenth. He then followed Seton and Anderson Lakes, which he named, to the Lillooet and Harrison, and so arrived at Langley on the Queen's birthday, May 24, 1846. He had travelled, he estimated, two hundred twenty-nine and one-half miles in nine days, living on the country most of the way, but he strongly condemned it as a possible route for a horse brigade. He did not attempt to follow the Fraser and Thompson back, but instead branched off at the Coquihalla which he followed to the Tula-meen country and thence proceeded across open country to Kamloops. The whole return journey from Langley occupied thirteen days and his report on the route was favorable, with two provisos. First, a summer establishment would have to be made for the horses at the mouth of the Coquihalla, as boats would be more feasible from there to Langley; but this post might be made to pay for itself by using it also as a fishing station. Secondly, the danger of snow in the high summit of the pass would necessitate so timing the brigade that the journey from the interior to Langley and return would be made between July and September.

This second limitation made the route seem impracticable
 (142) Anderson, Hist. N.-W. Coast, pp. 68 et seqq. Raison
 d'Être, pp. 49-57, and Bancroft B.C., pp. 157-177, follow
 this report very closely.

to Douglas, who believed a more suitable way might be found by following near the Thompson and Fraser Rivers to Spuzzum, and thence to Langley by bateaux. In January he wrote Anderson to try out that route and May, 1847, finds that gentleman again on the move with five companions. He soon abandoned the Thompson, however, and struck southward to the Coldwater, crossed the Cascades to the little river which now bears his name, and turning leftward from that again reached the Fraser at Kequeloose near where the suspension bridge now is, a few miles above Spuzzum. He decided the route was satisfactory for the horse-brigade but found three portages would be necessary between the trail-end and Yale, at the foot of the "little kanyon". He also realized that the up-stream passage might be extremely difficult for loaded bateaux, though his party went from Langley to Spuzzum by canoe in five days. Finally, "as though",
 (143)
 says Howay,

he foresaw the disturbing events which were soon to occur on the Columbia and imperiously require the immediate adoption of this route

he left instructions and implements with the Indians to build the horse-trail over the Cascades to the point where he had left his canoe.

Once more, however, Douglas was not satisfied and went in person with J. M. Yale and William Sinclair to inspect the water-course to the lower end of the trail. He condemned the little canyon as impassable but discovered a way

through the mountains in a narrow winding defile on
 (143) Howay, Raison d'Étre, p. 54.

the north side of Fraser's River, which runs nearly parallel with it

and which would be

infinitely preferable to the most perilous piece of water communication in the Indian country. (144)

The route would be made the more cumbersome by the necessity of ferrying the horses across the river at Spuzzum.

The development of a route by the Fraser could not be delayed much longer. Goods for New Caledonia, as the whole interior of British Columbia was then called, were shipped to Fort Vancouver to be sent up the Columbia, which, first, necessitated the paying of duties and, secondly, was made an unpleasant task because of the animus against the Company and its servants in the minds of the American settlers. For these reasons (145) Douglas urged, in a letter of November 6, 1847, that the brigade trail along the route which he and Anderson had selected should be ready for use in the summer of 1849. Just three weeks after the writing of this letter occurred the famous "Whitman Massacre" near Walla Walla, and the ensuing Cayuse War made commerce along the Columbia nearly impossible. Hence the posts of the interior were sent word, as Anderson relates, that they "must break through to Langley at all hazards," and that the supplies from England would be shipped there. It has been pointed out that this was merely hastening the inevitable as the removal of headquarters from Vancouver to Victoria would (146) have necessitated the use of this route then in any case.

(144) Letter of Douglas quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

(145) *Ibid.*, p. 55.

(146) *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

Mr. Jason Allard gives his father, Ovid Allard, credit for building, toward the end of 1847, the small, unstockaded post to be called Fort Yale in honor of the Chief Trader at Langley. We have found no definite reason to doubt his statement, though most writers, without quoting any authority give the date as 1848, in which case it must have been early in the year. At the same time work on Anderson's trail and "Douglas Portage", as Anderson called it, was pushed to completion. In June came the brigade, led by Anderson and our old friend, Donald Manson. Four hundred horses, many of them "unbroken", had to be brought along a rough and precipitous trail and transferred in a make-shift ferry across the river. The bateaux went down to Langley easily enough but found the return to Yale more difficult. At Spuzzum many of the horses were lost crossing the river and one poor driver became so discouraged as to take his own life. His grave, near Chapman's Bar, was well known to the gold-seekers ten years later, and Mr. Allard declared in 1929 he could still point out the exact place. To make matters worse, the general confusion encouraged the Indians to resort to their old pilfering habits so that Anderson declared that the loss due to this cause alone would be ample justification for changing the route while

Douglas' ferrying scheme rendered the present arrangement ut-
 (147) See, e.g., Howay Raison d'Être, p. 56 and Year Book, p. 73, Bancroft, B.C., p. 174 says it had just been built in 1848, while a photostat of the Survey Branch of the Dept. of Lands, 1925, gives the date 1860! (See H. B. Co. Posts in Archives of B. C.)

(148) Howay, Raison d'Être, p. 56.

terly impossible. Douglas had, perforce, to agree to a change and reluctantly fell back upon the Coquihalla route. For want of any alternative, however, the outcoming brigade of 1849 had to follow the same course. (149) Then Fort Yale was abandoned after just over a year of usefulness, and though it was to be reopened later, it was to be neither as a fur-trading post, for which it was never intended, nor as a link in the Company's transportation system, which was at first its only raison d'être.

Meanwhile H. N. Peers had been sent to re-examine the Coquihalla route and reported that with some minor changes in the course the snow would be not nearly so bad as Anderson had feared. Hearing this, and in view of his own experience of the Fraser River route, Anderson himself strongly recommended that the Coquihalla route be made ready for use in the summer of 1849. On October 30, 1848, Douglas wrote two letters, one to Yale instructing him to send Peers with ten men for the establishment of Fort Hope and to commence work on the Coquihalla trail, the other to John Tod at Kamloops to build the trail from that end to connect with that of Peers in the

(150)
Soagua valley. The work was still uncompleted when the brigade (149) Bancroft, B.C. 177; Howay, Raison d'Étre, 57; and Anderson, Hist. N.-W. Coast.

(150) Letters given in Appendix to Howay, Raison d'Étre, Jason Allard said his father built Fort Hope in 1848 and left that place for Langley in August of that year. Nelson, p. 19, says Peers received the orders for Yale but Allard apparently did the work. We have found no warrant for the first part of this statement but have accepted the second part, no conflicting evidence having appeared. If similar explanation to Nelson's is to be taken for Fort Hope, Allard must be wrong in giving August, 1848, as the date of his father's removal from that place. (See fn. p. 102)

gade for 1849, instead of returning by Yale as they had come, turned aside at Hope and helped complete the new trail as they went. Douglas seemed still to hesitate and sent a light express by the Coquihalla to Anderson at Colville in March, 1850, with a letter stating that this was to test the trail and that if snow delayed the express the brigade must resort again to the Keqneloose route. But the snow was not bad, the express was not delayed, and for ten years the long horse trains came down over the Coquihalla trail each June, created a great stir at Hope while they exchanged the bales of furs for loads of supplies from Langley and Victoria, then wound their way back through the narrow defiles of the Cascades, leaving comparative silence behind them for another year.

Hope did a little trade but never flourished as a fur-trading post, as it was never expected it should. After the building of the fort it seems to have been left in charge first of Napoleon Dease, then of Auguste Willing from Langley, then of Donald Walker. The last named was in charge there in 1858 when Douglas brought Ovid Allard from Nanaimo to re-build Fort Yale to sell supplies to miners. Walker was dismissed in that year for allowing prospectors to seize guns from the Company's stores to fight the Indians. He was followed by John Ogilvie.

Sometime before 1863 William Charles took charge there and in
 (150) That maybe, of course, for in speaking to the writer he
 (CWA) depended entirely on his memory for dates of these events, which were before his birth or before the time he could remember.

(151) Letter also given in Appendix to Howay, Raison d'Être.

(152) This enumeration is based on Allard's account supported by Mrs. Flood. (See fn. page 108)

(153) Bancroft, B.C., 374, and J. Allard.

1864 Allard was transferred to Langley and Charles required to look after both Hope and Yale. Hope had ceased to be of importance as a brigade station since the building of the Cariboo Road, which was opened to the interior in 1863, and the gold excitement in the lower Fraser had dwindled away so that there was little to be done at either place except sell supplies to a few settlers, to Indian and Chinese gold-diggers, and to travellers on their way up-river. The building of the railway gave the Company's business at Yale a new lease of life under William Harvey, but as soon as that business was over, the post was closed. We are told that ~~Mr.~~ Donald Smith, later Lord Strathcona, on his way to the coast after driving the famous last spike at Craigellachie in November, 1885, entered the Company's store at Yale while the remnant of goods there was being packed for shipment to Fort Langley. At Hope, where William Yates had succeeded Charles, they may have kept going, selling to settlers, a few years longer.

At Langley the opening of the brigade trail had also its effects. That fort became the Company's largest and most important establishment on the mainland of what is now British Columbia. Bateaux or "Columbia River Boats" were built there

(152) (Con't.) Howay and Scholefield, II., p. 34, quoting the Victoria Gazette for Aug. 10, 1858, speaks of Walker as being agent at Yale then, though on the very next page Allard is called "the company's officer in charge there" in connection with an event which occurred on or before Aug. 18. It would seem the first reference must be to Hope.

(154) Jason Allard.

(155) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II, 102.

(156) Jason Allard.

(157) Mr. W. F. Bradley of Hope says it had just been closed (See fn. page 109)

to take the trade-goods brought to Langley by the ships to meet the brigade at Hope and to bring back the furs collected by the posts of the interior. Thus Langley became for a time the port of British Columbia, still known as New Caledonia.

In 1852 a new type of trouble developed at the fort. Captain James Cooper, a mariner retired through illness from the Company's service, had taken up land at Metchoşin with the intention of entering into farming on a large scale. Then, with Thomas Blinkhorn, a settler at Metchoşin, as his partner, he had bought an iron ship in England, assembled it at Victoria and proposed to enter into trade with the Indians. In 1852 they bought cranberries from Katesey Indians at seventy-five cents a barrel, to be sold later in San Francisco at one dollar a gallon. They expected to be supplied with barrels from Langley where the Company made large quantities of them at a cost which they computed at about thirty cents each, but the interlopers found they could only get one hundred and had to pay three hundred dollars for them. Perhaps the fact that the partners had just the year before protested against Douglas' appointment as Governor of Vancouver Island had something to do with the case, but at any rate that worthy sent orders to Langley that all further berries must be purchased by that post to prevent a recrudescence of private enterprise in that district.

Yale, smarting under Douglas' rebuke, in turn laid the blame (157) and "moved to Yale" when he came there in 1892.

(158) See their petition in Howay and Scholefield, B.C., I., 524-526.

(159) Brancroft: B.C., 256.

upon his Indian trader, Allard. Yale, now getting on in years, was becoming a recluse and had surrounded himself with a number of fierce dogs. Allard feared the brutes and shot more than one in going to Yale's quarters for the keys of the establishment which were always kept by Yale during the night. Just after the affair of the cranberries he shot Yale's favorite dog and this completed the estrangement between the two men. Allard moved at once to Victoria and in the following March was transferred to Nanaimo.

(160)

Business at the fort was still expanding. The officers there in 1858, when Allard was on his way from Nanaimo to rebuild Fort Yale, were Chief Trader Yale; W. H. Newton, Clerk, who had come to the coast in 1851 as assistant to J. D. Pemberton, the Vancouver Island land surveyor and had later entered the Company's service; Auguste Willing, Indian Trader; Napoleon Dease, Assistant Trader; Etienne Pepin, farm supervisor; and William Cromarty, foreman cooper. The extent of the fishing is indicated by the fact that Cromarty had four assistant coopers, Kenneth Morrison, John McIver, Phineas Manson, and Robert Robertson, and by the statement with which Douglas

closed his letter of October 30, 1848, giving Yale instructions
 (160) Jason Allard. See also Nelson, Fort Langley, p. 20. It is interesting to note that Cooper was one of the principal witnesses examined by the Select Committee of Parliament on the Hudson's Bay Co. and that his evidence was largely instrumental in bringing about the loss of Vancouver Island to the Company. See report pp. iv., 190-210.

for the establishment of Fort Hope:

From the present state of the foreign market and the quantity of salt fish on hand, I do not think that we will be able to export with profit more than 1000 barrels of salmon next year and you will shape your arrangements accordingly. (161)

Pepin had to help him in the farm work regularly a shepherd, William Emptage; two teamsters, Donald Gunn and O. Sturgeon; two dairymen, Basil Brosseau and his son of the same name, and seven Indians as milkers for between seventy and eighty cows. There were also the boatbuilder, Samuel Robertson; the blacksmith, James Taylor, and his helper, Richard Bailey; the steward, Narcisse Fallerdo, with three flunkeys; and four Sandwich Islanders or "Kanakas", Peopeo, who had come with McMillan in 1824 and again in 1827, Nahu, Apnaught, and Joseph Mayo, the half Indian son of Peopeo. A large number of Indians were also employed but not allowed to spend the night in the fort. Yale made it a part of his policy to get his men married to native women, securing daughters of chiefs, usually called "Princesses" for the whites. The offspring of many of these marriages still live in the vicinity of Fort Langley, while a directory of B.C.

for 1877 shows that, of the persons mentioned above, William

(161) Appendix to Howay: Raison d'Étre, p. 62.

(162) Written "Peo Bean" in Work's Journal, first page; "Peopeoh", in Ft. L. Journal, p. 1; Pupu in Lot Book, N. W., Gp. 1, lot 402, and Peon Peon in Nelson, Ft. L., p. 21.

(163) List of names supplied by Allard to Nelson, p. 21. Mayo's name is given as Mayo Pupu in Lot Book quoted in previous fn., Fallerdo's as Noel Falerdo in Guide, 1877, p. 353 and Narcis Fallardeau in Directory, 1882, p. 257.

Emptage, Kenneth Morrison, and James Taylor were still at Fort Langley, though whether still in the service of the Company or not it does not say, Mayo was living at Derby, while John McIver and the two Robertsons had moved across the river to
 (164)
 Maple Ridge.

The fort at this time is described as enclosing a space approximately two hundred forty by six hundred thirty feet with in eighteen-foot palisades of split logs, fifteen to eighteen inches in diameter. The lines of this fortification may still be traced quite distinctly upon the ground in most places. At all four corners were square bastions mounting two nine-pounders each and some two and one-half-pounders such as may now be seen in the old fort building. At the South end stood the "Big House", the lower floor for the Chief Trader and Clerk and their families, the upper floor reserved for use of brigade officers and honored guests. The ruins of the main chimney of this building form a rockery at the back of Dr. Marr's house.
 (165)

Near this stood a kitchen and a house for the steward and servants of the officers. Next came the residence of the Supervisor and Indian Trader, residences for the craftsmen and laborers of the fort, the Trader's Shop and Store Room for rations, still standing, with loop-holes on an upper floor to cover the door where the Trader did business with the Indians, a blacksmith shop and warehouses all along the Eastern side of the fort. At the North End were a storehouse for fish, a

(164) See Guide, 1877, 352-356.

(165) Built 1929.

cooper's shop, etc., while along the West side were cabins for the Kanakas. A model of the whole, based upon information supplied by Jason Allard, is kept in the sole remaining building of the fort. Cromarty, the foreman cooper, built a house for himself just outside the Western wall; the old burying-ground, unused after 1858, lay near the South-East bastion, (166) while the barns and cattle-sheds were on the flat to the Eastward. (167) The Russian market for farm produce seems to have declined and with the first arrival of settlers the farm on Langley Prairie was leased out in 1859, (168) never to be operated by the company again. At the fort agriculture and dairying continued for some years longer, but the last of the stock was (169) sold in 1871.

The old men of the days "when fur was King" were passing. In 1858, the year the gold-rush brought so many new faces and disturbing forces, Donald Menson, whom Yale had replaced as Clerk at Langley in 1828, called at the fort on his way to retirement in Oregon. (170) Doubtless he would also stop at Victoria to see his old friend John Work, now an honored member of the Council of Vancouver Island. (171) Less than two years had elapsed

since the latter wrote on the eighth of August, 1856 to

(166) See the writer's account of its discovery in 1929 in "Sunday Province", Nov. 2, 1930.

(167) Description based chiefly on a personal reconnoitre of the ground with Jason Allard. There is at the fort a model patterned after a blue-print prepared under the direction of Mr. Allard.

(168) B. C. Hist. Q., April, 1937, 83-84.

(169) Mainland Guardian, April 26, 1871.

(170) Nelson, Fort Langley, p. 21.

(171) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., I. 569.

Edwd. Ermatinger, Esquire,
My Good Old Friend,

----Our affairs, tho great changes have taken place, go on much as usual, the furtrade still does pretty well notwithstanding many drags upon it and a great departure from the economy of former times, and 85th still brings about £300 a year which is not to be despised as affairs go in the World nowadays.---Gold has been discovered at Colville and even some found at Thompson's River, and at Fort Hope about 80 Miles above Langley. Some of the diggers are reported to have done well and high expectations are entertained.---The old doctor is still alive at Oregon, and old as he is as eager as ever to make Money.---Manson is still in New Caledonia, and Yale at Langley, both like myself getting worse of the wear. I believe these are all of your old acquaintances remaining. (172)

Yale himself, the last of the group, promoted to the rank of Chief Trader in 1844, (x) (173) have retired in 1860 to be replaced (174) by Chief Trader George Blenkinsop. The latter must have been very shortly replaced by W. H. Newton, whose successes seem to (175) have been chiefly agricultural. It is the claim of Jason Allard that he so mismanaged trade that Finlayson, who had by now replaced Douglas in management of the Company's affairs, sent his father, Ovid Allard, to redeem business while he himself, a lad just out of school, took the place of several

clerks to reduce the staff of "gentlemen's sons." Allard died (172) See letters to Ermatinger, also Howay and Scholefield, B. C., I., 555-556. In Memorial Square, all that is left of the old Quadra Street Cemetery in Victoria, are two stones of interest to the student of Fort Langley history. One is inscribed: "Sacred to the Memory of Hon. John Work Late Chief Factor Hudson's Bay Company, who died at Hillside, V. I., the 22nd of December 1861 in his 70th year much regretted by a wide circle of relatives and friends." The other is: "Sacred to the Memory of James Murray Yale a Chief Trader in the Honble. Hudson Bay Co. who died at Stromness Farm Victoria District On the 7th of May 1871 Aged 71 years."

(x) Reid in B. C. Hist. Q., April, 1937, p. 85.

(173) Anderson, Hist. of N.W. Coast, p. 25.

(174) Jason Allard.

(See page 115, for fn. 175.)

in August, 1874, when Newton seems to have returned to control for a few months before his death in the following January. He was followed in turn by Henry Wark (or Work, a half-breed son of John Work) William Sinclair, James Drummond, Walter Wilkie and Frank Powell. The post had long since become a small community store for settlers. Finally, in 1895, Fort Langley, first and last of the trading posts on the Lower Fraser, was closed and dismantled. It had played a lengthy and important part in the history of British Columbia.

- (175) "Columbian", Nov. 21, 1861, says he took prizes for barley, oats, hops, apples, turnips, swedes, carrots, onions, beets and celery at New Westminster.
- (176) This list omitting the name of Wilkie, was prepared on the basis of information supplied by Messrs. Jason Allard and Henry Newton. Dr. R. L. Reid has since prepared a list from information in the Hudson's Bay Co. Archives. (See B.C. Hist. Quarterly, Apr., 1937, p. 85.) It reveals only the one error in our original account.
- (177) June 26, 1895 is the date given in the company's records (Reid, B.C. Hist. Quarterly, loc. cit.) but the writer's father says he attended the closing-out sale in the Spring of 1896, the only year he ever lived in Langley.

CHAPTER IV - PORTAL TO THE GOLD COLONY

(a) EFFECT OF THE GOLD RUSH

British Columbia in the second quarter of the Nineteenth Century belonged to the fur-trader; in the third it belonged to the gold-seeker and adventurer. Though some gold was found early in the upper part of Fraser Valley, between Chilliwack and Hope, the bulk of the excitement was outside our territory. To the average gold-lusting prospector this verdant valley with its dense growth of underbrush and swamps and mosquitoes was an annoying barrier through which he must push his way painfully to the El Dorado beyond. Nevertheless, when the tide had receded, the valley had a different aspect. Quieter souls, quickly disillusioned, saw here, if not a fortune, something better, the peace and contentment of a farm home. Before the gold-rush the valley contained only the Hudson's Bay forts and the Indian villages. After it had sub-

sided there was a thriving town linked by river and road with a number of pioneer agricultural communities enjoying peaceful government and such prosperity as fertile soil in an isolated part of the world could give them.]^(x)

As we have seen gold was reported found near Hope as well as at interior points as early as 1856.⁽¹⁾ It was not, however, until 1858 that this led to what Bancroft calls "the third great devil-dance of the nations within the decade."⁽²⁾ Governor Douglas had already foreseen that a rush of American and other adventurers would take place in the spring of that year and, without any authority for so doing, issued a proclamation forbidding mining without paying to the British Crown through his government a license fee of ten shillings.⁽³⁾ In April he reported most of the mining was done by Indians, though, he adds, some seventy or eighty Americans had entered the Thompson-

Fraser country without licenses. A small band of these, the⁽⁴⁾
 (x) On the place of the gold rush in the history of B. C., see, besides the authorities cited below, W. N. Sage: "The Gold Colony of British Columbia" (Can. Hist. Rev., Dec., 1921.) and "Sir Jas. Douglas and B. C.", Chapter V.

(1) See p. 114 (Ch. III.) above. For a summary of conflicting accounts of the origin of the Fraser River mines see Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 9-15. The conclusion there stated (p. 11, et seqq.) that gold was first discovered in the West Kootenays near Ft. Colville and that "American Adventurers" making their way westward through the Okanagan and Thompson watersheds led to the Fraser discoveries tends to confirm the claims made by their sons on behalf of James Houston and Peter Baker, neither of them Americans but both, "forty-niners" from California. For these conflicting but not irreconcilable claims to first discovery by two of the earliest settlers in the Fraser Valley see below, (p. 203, fn. (x) and p. 210, fn. (360).)

(2) Bancroft, B.C., p. 355.

(3) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 13.

(4) Ibid., II., p. 14.

advance guard as it were, had discovered rich pay at Hill's Bar, about a mile and a half below Yale and sent samples to
(5)
San Francisco. This precipitated the real stampede to the Fraser in the ensuing few months.

It is not our purpose here to trace the history of the rush, but we are compelled to bear in mind something of its proportions. We have records to show that in April, 455, in May, 1262, in June, 7149, in July, 6278, and in August, 254 left San Francisco for Victoria and Fraser River. Every day brought new arrivals, "the greater part of them with no property but the bundle they carried, and with "dollars, dollars, dollars!" stamped on every face." (6) "In short," exclaimed Rev. R. C. Lundin Brown, "never in the history of men has been seen such a 'rush', so sudden and so vast." (7)

At first it seems to have been thought that the Fraser was inaccessible to ocean-going craft. At least, as Bancroft puts it,

the owners of vessels did not choose to incur the risk of going up to Langley. Above Langley it was not expected that river steamers could go far enough to be an object to the miners. (8)

Canoes were therefore in great demand and were brought from points all about Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia. Skiffs and whaleboats were also used, "mostly makeshifts constructed
(9)
by the miners themselves." Many were lost crossing the Gulf

(5) Ibid., loc. cit.

(6) Mayne, op. cit., p. 45.

(7) Brown: Brit. Col.--an essay, p. 3.

(8) Bancroft, B.C., p. 362. See also Norman Hacking: Early Marine Hist. of B.C., Ch. 3, B. MS in Library of U.B.C.

(9) Ibid., p. 363.

and heard of no more, others wrecked by the swift current of the river, now in freshet, and even if these perils were overcome the way was long and tedious, the task strenuous and mosquitoes numerous.

Yet during the first week of June fifty canoes, containing an average of six persons, reached Fort Hope. (10)

Douglas, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company as well as Governor of Vancouver's Island, adopted a policy not calculated to relieve the difficulties. On the eighth of May he issued a proclamation making all boats and their cargoes found on the Fraser or adjacent waters without a licence from the Company and clearance papers from the Customs Officer at Victoria liable to seizure. He failed, however, to notify the Colonial office of this regulation until, toward the end of the month, he proposed an arrangement with the U. S. Pacific Mail Steamship Co. for placing steamers on a regular run between Victoria and Forts Hope and Yale. No American vessel had yet entered the River and the Company's vessels were inadequate yet this grudging concession was given under conditions which, he explained,

at once assert the rights of the Crown, protect the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, and are intended to draw the whole trade of the Gold Districts through Fraser's River to this Colony, which will obtain its supplies directly from the Mother Country. They were:

(10) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., p. 23.

(11) Quoted verbatim in Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., pp. 26-27. Also B. C. Proclamations, p. 5. (MS in Dept. of N.-W. Hist., Prov. Lib. of B. C.)

(12) Bancroft, B. C., p. 363.

- 1st. That they should place steamers on the navigable route between this place and the Falls of Fraser's River one hundred and thirty miles distant from its discharge into the Gulf of Georgia, for the transport of goods and passengers to that point.
- 2nd. That they should carry Hudson's Bay Company's goods into Fraser's River, and none other.
- 3rd. That they carry no passengers except such as have taken out and paid for a gold mining licence and permit from the Government of Vancouver Island.
- 4th. That they pay to the Hudson's Bay Company, as compensation to them, at the rate of two dollars head money for each passenger carried into Fraser's River. (13)

We must remember that Douglas and the Government of Vancouver Island had no legal authority on the mainland, the Company had only a legal monopoly of trade with the Indians, and that the third condition would relieve the Company of part of its obligation to pay all costs of government on the island not provided out of its revenues. Little wonder that Lytton, then Colonial Secretary, wrote to the Governor on July 16:

But I must distinctly warn you against using the power hereby intrusted to you in maintenance of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company in the territory. (14)

He therefore disallowed the earlier proclamation and those parts of the agreement with the Pacific Mail Company referring
(15)
to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Meanwhile this policy combined with a rather flamboyant American patriotism to stir up a keen rivalry against Victoria

(13) B.C. Papers, I., pp. 11 and 12: also Howay and Scholefield B.C., II., pp. 28-29.

(14) B.C. Papers, I., p. 42.

(15) Ibid., loc. cit. Also Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., pp. 30-31.

at several points on Puget Sound, and especially at Whatcom, now Bellingham. This led to the blazing of the first trail into the Fraser Valley, the old Whatcom Trail. On the first of April a mass-meeting was held of those Americans gathered at Bellingham Bay in large numbers on their way to the Fraser. A committee was formed and subscriptions taken to cut a road to Hope. The scheme was described by an enthusiastic resident as follows:

It starts from the town of Whatcom, leads through a timbered country a distance of twelve to fourteen miles, half of which is already cut. Here we strike the Nootsack (Nooksack) prairies...As yet no settlement has been made upon them on account of having no road to them. Proceeding on about ten miles on a well-beaten Indian trail, we reach the Sematz (Sumas) prairies. These prairies extend to Frazer's River, a distance of eight miles, and distant from the mouth of the river about seventy miles. At this point the road intersects with the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade road leading to Fort Hope, a distance of fifteen or twenty miles. The intention is to construct a good practicable road for pack-trains. This road can be travelled in three days from Whatcom to Fort Hope. (16)

It should be noted that the scheme took no cognizance of the fact that the Sumas Prairie was so swampy as to be impassable without the use of split cedar "corduroy" which would float away when the Fraser was in freshet in May and June. It should also be noted that all the distances were very considerably under-estimated; also that the mosquitoes were so bad at Sumas as to cause the boundary survey party encamped there to

(17)

break camp before their work was completed. Nevertheless news-

(16) Quoted by R. L. Reid, K. C., in "Sunday Province", Oct. 3, 1926.

(17) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., p. 307, quoting Lord: At Home in the Wilderness, pp. 274-277.

papers and realty promoters pressed the scheme forward under the hammer of American patriotism, and after alternate reports of hopeful progress and disappointing delays the trail was brought to a rather doubtful kind of completion early in July. On the seventh the first miners arrived at Hope by that route. Many had been waiting at Whatcom all this while under the delusion that a trail through forest and over swamps would prove superior to a navigable river. When it proved a trap to the unwary and a boomerang to its promoters Delacy's trail was built via Mount Baker and the upper Skagit to the Tulameen and Thompson country without entering the Fraser Valley. This was even more of a failure than the first trail and the Whatcom boom-town proved, for the time, a fiasco. The first trail, however, found another use. In 1862, "The British Columbian" of New Westminster declared:

(18)

The inconvenience and expense attending the transmission of stock from this place to Douglas and Yale upon steamers has resulted in diverting the trade to a point south of the Boundary line. Animals in large numbers are landed at Bellingham Bay, and driven thence up to Hope, simply in order to avoid the inconvenience and expense of the river transit. (a)

(18) See a full study of the whole question by R. L. Reid in "Sunday Province", Oct. 3 and 10, 1926. Also Murphy in *ibid.*, May 22, 1927; Howay and Scholefield, B. C. I., 564-567; II., 29-30; Bancroft, B.C., 365;364. On one point all these accounts are vague: where did the trail arrive on the Fraser? The earliest settlers on Sumas Prairie, says Mr. Fraser York, knew of nothing beyond Sumas lake, whence travellers proceeded by canoe, until the trail was cut to Wade's Landing. (See p.230 below.) That there was some other route, however, is indicated on a very early chart of the river, probably made about 1859, (B.C. Dept. of Lands, Chart 30 Tl.) by a note just above Seabird Island: "Bellingham Bay Trail E. S. E. (mag'c.)"

(a) British Columbian, Nov. 1, 1862.

This must also have abated when the driving of cattle to the interior from Oregon via the Okanagan valley began to develop.

Meanwhile, despite their obvious injustice, the terms offered by Douglas had been accepted by the Pacific Mail Company and on the seventh of June, one month before the first arrival by the Whatcom Trail, the "Enterprise", the first steamer to go beyond Langley, arrived at Hope. The "Seabird" followed but was wrecked on the return journey near where Agassiz is now. (Hence the names "Seabird Bar", "Seabird Island" and "Seabird Bluff" in that neighborhood.) The "Umatilla" was the first to pass Hope, and reached Yale on the twentieth of July after a five-hour trip from the former place. It returned to Hope in fifty-one minutes! Other boats on the river were the "Surprise" and the "Maria" and all carried capacity loads every trip.

Of the large crowds which flocked during the summer of 1858 to that part of the river between Chilliwack and Yale, but few remained there for any considerable time. Many no doubt came with unreasonable expectations while others had so used up their reserves of patience and fortitude in getting there as to be in no mood to avail themselves of the opportunities presented. The river was also in flood and covered all but the poorest part of the bars. These conditions made a

(19) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 32.

(20) Bancroft, B. C., 363. For long Seabird Island was more commonly known as Maria Island, while the slough is still so named.

majority glad to escape from what they called "The Fraser
 River Humbug"⁽²¹⁾. A minority looked for dry diggings or rock-
 ledges or just set themselves to await the receding of the
 waters. Even of these a majority left for upstream points as
 soon as they realized that the gold was to be found in dust of
 increasing coarseness, then in nuggets, as they proceeded far-
 ther up. Thus within the year most of the diggings below Yale
 were left to the patient Chinese while the whites sought
 greener pastures ever appearing in the distance.

Nevertheless a great deal of gold was obtained from these
 lower reaches of the river and great was the activity and ex-
 citement while it lasted. At the end of August four hundred
 men were at work on Hill's Bar alone, while in September
 Alfred Waddington counted eight hundred rockers at work between
 Hope and Yale and in November Douglas reported over ten thou-
 sand miners occupied on the river, over half of them between
 Murderer's Bar and Yale. Some got bare wages for their efforts,
 others three or four ounces per day per man while three men on
 Hill's Bar, Winston and two partners with sluices running day
 and night, are said to have obtained as high as seventy to
 eighty ounces in twenty-four hours and to have taken out forty-
 six pounds of gold dust between December 1858 and June 1859.

In the last six months of 1858 the yield was \$520,353.⁽²²⁾ The
 equipment used was generally slight, though at Hudson Bar the

flume is said to have been a mile in length while lower down a

(21) Murphy in "Sunday Province", May 22, 1927.

(22) Howay and Scholefield, B. C. II., 38-41.

wheel thirty feet in diameter was used to raise water for sluices that yielded only five dollars per day per man. (23)

After much research, Judge Howay has enumerated the bars below Yale in the following order:

Fargo's Bar, a mile above Sumas village, was the lowest bar in which gold in paying quantities was found. (24) Next came Maria Bar, near Harrison River. Then followed, in order, Seabird, Prospect, Bluenose, Hudson, Murderer's or Cornish, three miles below, and Posey, one and a half miles below Fort Hope. Between Fort Hope and Fort Yale, a distance of about thirteen miles, the bars lay somewhat in the following sequence: Mosquito, or Poverty; Fifty Four Forty; Union, two and a half miles above Fort Hope and on the left bank; Canadian; Santa Clara, near, and Trafalgar, opposite, the Sisters rocks; Deadwood; Express; Kennedy; American, about four miles above Fort Hope and on the right bank: Puget Sound, Victoria; Yankee Doodle; Eagle; Alfred; Sacramento; French, on the left bank one mile below Strawberry Island; Texas Bar and Strawberry Island, seven miles from Fort Hope; Hunter; Emory, four miles from Fort Yale; Rocky; Trinity; Ohio Bar, a quarter of a mile below Hill's Bar but on the opposite or right bank; Hill's Bar, about two miles below Fort Yale on the left bank, the earliest-worked, longest-worked, largest, and best-paying bar on the Fraser; Casey; and Fort Yale Bar. (25)

There were also the Bond and the George "dry diggings" on the benches near Yale. (26)

Prior to 1858 there was no government in British Columbia (i.e. the mainland) except that of tribal chieftains in the native villages and that of Hudson's Bay Company officials over its employees. Governor Douglas of Vancouver Island had, as we have seen, without authorization proclaimed British sove-

reignty there and interest in its natural resources, in April
(23) Bancroft, B. C., p. 442 fn. quoting Victoria Gazette, April 19 and 28, 1859.

(24) Mayne places it three miles above the "Chiwayhook" (Chilliwack) and says gold was first washed there, but on the latter point, at least seems to have been mistaken, though he was there early in 1859. (Mayne, op. cit., p. 92) (25) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II, p. 39.

(26) Ibid., II., p. 41.

of that year, and then proceeded to reap therefrom what benefits he could for the Hudson's Bay Company. In May he decided to visit the diggings in person and accordingly ascended the river in the steamer "Otter". At Langley he found speculators seizing land and staking out lots and warned them that such proceedings were illegal and would prove fruitless. Finding a number of unlicensed canoes on the river he collected the licences and seized merchandise as contraband. Nothing seems ever to have been done by way of restitution to those who bore these losses. On the twenty-seventh he left Langley and on the twenty-ninth arrived at Hope, having stopped to speak to many along the way going to or from the placers. Hope was at this time the most important place on the mainland and there he established a temporary capital, as it were, and proceeded to assume without authority the powers of a governor. He appointed Richard Hicks Revenue officer at Yale and George (27) Perrier Justice of the Peace at Hill's Bar. He visited the (28) various camps and found gold plentiful and provisions scarce.

In July the miners met at Yale to engage in law-making on their own account and produced the following remarkable code, the first in our province:

Resolved, 1st. That we, the miners and residents of Fort Yale, prohibit the sale of liquors on or in the vicinity of this bar after this date.

2d. For the better protection of life and property, we deem it expedient to destroy in our midst all liquors that may be found on or about the premises of any person.

3d. That anyone, after being duly notified, who shall be found selling liquors without a licence, shall be seized and whipped with thirty-nine lashes on his bare

back and be expelled from the vicinity.

4th. That a standing committee of twelve be appointed to see the above resolutions carried into effect, until the Government sees fit to carry out its own laws. Said committee to be appointed from among the prominent residents of said bar.

5th. That a copy of the above be forwarded to the Victoria Gazette, and also a copy posted at Fort Yale.

6th. That anyone found selling or disposing of fire-arms or ammunition to the Indians shall be dealt with according to Resolution No. 3. (29)

This document is interesting as showing the influence of Californian experience on gold seekers in British Columbia. The committee appointed included the names of Messrs. York, Shannon and McRoberts, pioneer agriculturists of the province. We have no record of the activities of this committee but it seems that only a few days later a party of miners, headed by Donald Walker of the Hudson's Bay Company, raided a place which had become notorious for supplying liquor to the Indians, and despite resistance destroyed the entire stock. (30)

Troubles between whites and Indians farther up the river brought Douglas back to Hope on the Umatilla early in September with fifteen Royal Engineers of the Boundary Survey party and twenty marines from H. M. S. Satellite. The miners had come to accept him as governor and greeted him with due honor and respect. On the sixth he issued a proclamation forbidding the sale of liquor to Indians under penalty of a fine of from five to twenty Pounds Sterling. At the same time he issued licences (31)

for sale of liquor to the miners. He appointed Robert Smith as
(29) Victoria Gazette, Aug. 4, 1858.

(30) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., p. 34, seems to imply this was at Yale but it was probably Hope where Walker seems to have been located. See p.107 above. (31) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., p.36 says on the first, Bancroft, B.C. p.401, the third.

Justice of the Peace and Revenue Officer at Hope and William Ladner as Chief Constable. The former was soon replaced by Peter O'Reilly and the latter by William Teague and Ronald Chisholm in succession. (32) He also appointed one regular and ten special constables. (33) On the fifteenth he addressed a gathering at Yale. He estimated there must now be three thousand miners on the lower Fraser. (34) He organized a police system involving one sub-commissioner, ten troopers, and ten special constables. (35) He also appointed, by a proclamation of the "Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Vancouver's Island and its Dependencies, and Vice-Admiral of the same," three commissioners to constitute a criminal court to try William King, accused of murder,

upon any charge, information, or indictment, now found, or that may hereafter be found against him, by any judicial officer, or grand jury of Fraser's River District. (36)

The appointment was of course illegal, as was also the trial which followed, in view of the fact that Vancouver Island had no dependencies on the Fraser River or anywhere else, and that Douglas had not yet been commissioned to constitute a government of any kind on the mainland as well as in view of the fact that the courts of Upper Canada had been given by the Imperial Government jurisdiction over all unorganized British territory to the Westward. (37) Nevertheless, the accused was

found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to deportation for

(32) B. C. Papers, II., pp. 3-4.

(33) Bancroft, B. C., p. 401.

(34) B. C. Papers, II., p. 5.

(35) Ibid., loc. cit., and Bancroft, B. C., p. 401.

(36) B. C. Papers, II., p. 7.

(37) See H. B. Co. Report, p. 338.

life, but escaped from custody and was never recaptured. (38)

Later Captain Whannell, a cavalry officer from Australia, was appointed Magistrate and Justice of the Peace for Yale, and thus Hicks was relieved of that part of his commission for which complaints showed he was unfitted. (39)

It is important to note that regular occupation of land commenced on the mainland at this time. On the seventh of September Douglas gave instructions for laying out the town of Hope. The front street was to be one hundred twenty feet wide, the main streets leading back from it one hundred, and the cross-streets eighty feet. (40) This plan no doubt added to the natural beauty of its setting and location to make Mayne declare after his visit therein 1859, that Hope was the prettiest town on the Fraser. (41) It enjoys today more generous street allowances than most towns of its size in B. C. Lots were granted on sufferance, terminable upon one month's notice, the monthly payment of ten dollars to be considered part of the purchase price when valid conveyance should be made later. It was intended only as a temporary permission to occupy the land, and not as a lease. A similar plan was followed at Yale, and it was hoped that this and the licence fees of miners would be sufficient to pay the costs of law-enforcement. (42) Douglas was also interested to find a road was being cut between Hope and (43)

Yale and pleased the miners by reducing the price of flour from

(38) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II, p. 38.

(39) Ibid., loc. cit.,

(40) Bancroft, B. C., p. 402, fn. 14.

(41) Mayne, op. cit., p. 95.

(42) Bancroft, B. C., p. 402.

(43) Ibid., p. 401.

the Hudson's Bay Company's stores from thirteen to ten and one-half dollars a barrel. (44)

Towards the end of 1858 Langley was made the principal port of entry of the Fraser. Bevis was made revenue officer with Phineas Manson as his assistant. The whining tone of his letters indicate he was hardly fitted for his trying position between a people unwilling to cooperate and a government slow to realize his difficulties. (45) A miner on his way down from Port Douglas died at Langley "evidently--from exposure to cold and want of proper nourishment." (46) A Captain Robertson was robbed of a boat at Douglas, an Italian beaten and robbed of six hundred dollars, boats were stolen up-river and brought to Langley to be resold to those going up, and a Joseph Miller, staying at the house of W. B. Bolton at Langley, was beaten and robbed of three hundred forty dollars in dust and a watch. The perpetrators of these crimes had no means of earning a livelihood and in desperation were rumored to be contemplating butchering the Hudson's Bay Company's cattle. They refused to pay the licence of one dollar for the right to cut cordwood to sell to the steamers or to pay for miners' licenses and were selling liquor to the Indians. For all this there was no remedy. People took the law into their own hands and refused to help the officers. Hence no arrests could be made and there (47) was no place to keep prisoners if they were taken. To make

(44) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., p. 37.

(45) Archives of B. C., Folio F 149.

(46) Ibid., letter #2.

(47) Ibid., #3 and 3a.

matters worse, he and Manson had a quarrel till the latter was removed and he appointed Robert Lipsett "special detective revenue officer"⁽⁴⁸⁾. Moreover he had to look after both Langley and Derby, at which latter place there was no accomodation for him except that after April he was permitted to sleep in the barracks, and to issue licenses for Port Douglas and Queensborough as well. Finally, at the end of April, he was re-⁽⁴⁹⁾ moved to the latter place and "Mr. O'Reilly"⁽⁵⁰⁾ took his place. But ere this Douglas had tired of his complaints and directed that in future he address his letters to the colonial secretary.⁽⁵¹⁾

In all his arrangements for the government of the country thus far Douglas had been exceeding his authority, though his acts, except when done in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, later received the approval of the Colonial Office.⁽⁵²⁾ The time had obviously come, however, when some legally constituted government must be established on the mainland. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the famous novelist and then Colonial Secretary, was quick to see this and on the eighth of July had introduced into Parliament a bill to provide for the government of "New Caledonia." He pointed out that the unsettled conditions and motley and fluctuating population made representative government impossible for the present and therefore that the

(48) Archives of B.C., Folio F, #8, 12a, 14.

(49) Peter O'Reilly, J. P. and stipendiary magistrate, later Hon. member of the first two Legislative Assemblies of B. C. and County Court Judge for the Northern Mines after 1867. See Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 36, 170, 189, 67a and 676.

(50) Archives of B. C., Folio F 149, 5, 5a, 15-18.

(51) Ibid., #14.

bill, to expire in five years, gave all power to the governor, with the right to establish a representative legislature at his discretion. He predicted, however, that the colony would be permanent, and within the generation linked to Canada by railway, but added that, if it was to be permanent and to flourish

it must be, not by the gold which the diggers may bring to light, but by the more gradual process of patient industry in the culture of the soil, and in the exchange of commerce. (52)

Of no part of British Columbia was this prediction more true than of Fraser Valley. The name of the colony was changed to British Columbia, suggested by the queen, and the Act passed on August the second. (53)

Even before the Act was passed Lytton had written Douglas of his intention of appointing him governor of the mainland provided he would sever his connections directly or indirectly with the Hudson's Bay Company. He also indicated that he expected the colony to be made self-supporting, not by miners' licenses but by perhaps an export duty on gold and a moderate import duty on spirits and such goods as partook of the nature of luxuries. The sale of lands would augment the revenue, but should be gradual and in small allotments so as to prevent speculation and jobbing and to encourage settlement. The expenditures should be of such a nature as to facilitate development of resources and settlement of the country. The governor's salary was mentioned as £1,000 payable by the home government.

(52) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., pp. 47-49.

(53) Ibid., II., p. 49.

Above all the new governor must avoid even the suspicion of favoring the Hudson's Bay Company or its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, or the employees of either, whether in trade, in the sale of land, or in the appointment of government employees. Apparently Lytton was learning from Douglas' past attitude. Douglas replied that he thought £5000 barely enough to meet the expenses of the office and could not see how the colony could pay its way at first. The brick could hardly be made without the straw. In the end it was agreed that his salary should be £1800 plus whatever might be paid out of the revenues of the colony. Also a detachment of Royal Engineers would be sent to serve the colony for a limited time without cost. Lytton also sent from England Matthew Baillie Begbie as Judge, Chartres Brew, late of the Irish Constabulary, as Inspector of Police, and Wymond Hambley as Collector of Customs and suggested that any other officials required should be selected in the same fashion.

On Thursday morning, November 25th, 1858, there appeared in the "Victoria Gazette" the following letter:

"New Fort Langley,
20th November, 1858.

"Editors Gazette:

"Yesterday, the birthday of British Columbia, was ushered in by a steady rain which continued perseveringly throughout the whole day, and in a great measure marred the solemnity of the proclamation of the Colony. His Excellency, Governor Douglas, with a suite compris-

(54) See Lytton's dispatches in B.C. Papers, I., pp. 44-76.

(55) Ibid., II., p. 1.

(56) Ibid., II., p. 21.

(57) Ibid., II., p. 45.

(58) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., p. 51.

ing Rear-Admiral Baynes, Commanding the naval forces on the Pacific Station; Mr. Cameron, the respected Chief Justice of Vancouver Island; Mr. Begbie, the newly appointed Chief Justice of British Columbia; Mr. Lira and others, proceeded on board H. M. Ship "Satellite," Captain Prevost, on Wednesday morning by the Canal de Haro to Point Roberts, where His Excellency and suite were conveyed by the Hudson Bay Company's screw steamer "Otter" to the Company's steamship "Beaver" which was lying moored within the mouth of the Fraser. Both vessels then proceeded in company as far as Old Fort Langley, where the "Otter" disembarked a party of 18 Sappers under the command of Captain Parsons who immediately embarked in the "Recovery" revenue cutter, joining the command of Captain Grant, R. E., who had previously reached the point with a party of the same corps. Both these gallant officers have recently arrived from England with small parties of men under their command. The "Beaver" then proceeded with His Excellency aboard to New Fort Langley, where preparations were made for the ceremonial of the following day.

"On Friday morning, the 19th instant, His Excellency, accompanied by Captain Grant disembarked on the wet loamy bank of the Fort and the procession proceeded up the steep bank which leads to the palisade. Arrived there, a salute of 18 guns commenced pealing from the "Beaver," awakening all the echoes of the opposite mountains. In another moment the flag of Britain was floating, or to speak the truth, dripping over the principal entrance. Owing to the unpropitious state of the weather, the meeting which was intended to have been held in the open air was convened in the large room at the principal building. About 100 persons were present.

"The ceremonies were commenced by His Excellency addressing Mr. Begbie and delivering to him Her Majesty's Commission as Judge in the Colony of British Columbia. Mr. Begbie then took the oath of allegiance and the usual oaths on taking office and then addressing His Excellency took up Her Majesty's Commission appointing him the Governor and proceeding to read it at length. Mr. Begbie then administered to Governor Douglas the usual oaths of office, viz.: Allegiance, Abjuration, etc. His Excellency being then duly appointed and sworn in, proceeded to issue the Proclamation of the same date, 19th instant, viz.: one proclaiming the act; a second, indemnifying all the officers of the Government from any irregularities which may have been committed in the interval before this proclamation of the act; and a third, proclaiming English Law to be the Law of the Colony. The reading of these was preceded by His Excellency's Proclamation of the 3rd instant setting forth the Revocation by Her Majesty of all the exclusive privi-

leges of the Hudson Bay Company.

"The proceedings then terminated. On leaving the Port, which His Excellency did not do until to-day, another salute of 17 guns was fired from the battlements, with even grander effect than the salute of the previous day. On leaving the riverside in front of the town a number of the inhabitants were assembled with whom His Excellency entered into conversation previous to embarking on board the "Beaver," and by whom he was loudly cheered in very good style as he was on his way to the steamer." (59)

Thus was inaugurated, in the very heart of the Fraser Valley, the first government of British Columbia.

(b) THE ROYAL ENGINEERS

It was Douglas' expectation at the time of his accepting the position of Governor on the mainland that he would receive some measure of military support at the expense of the Mother Country. Always an autocrat, he was as great a believer in this type of power behind the throne as he was in the natural disinclination of all foreigners, and especially Americans, to become peaceful and law-abiding citizens unless subdued by at least a show of force. Lytton agreed with Douglas in a limited way. He sent word of his intention of sending a body of Royal Engineers of about one hundred fifty officers and (60) men but hastened to add the following instructions:

It will devolve upon them to survey those parts of the country which may be considered most suitable for settlement, to mark out allotments of land for public purposes, to suggest a site for the seat of Government, to point

(59) From handbill, "Douglas Day," published by the Native Sons of British Columbia. (No date.)

(60) B. C. Papers, I., p. 44.

out where roads should be made, and to render you such assistance as may be in their power.---I shall endeavor to secure---the services of an officer---who will be capable of reporting on the value of the mineral resources. This force is sent for scientific and practical purposes and not solely for military objects. As little display should, therefore, be made of it as possible.

He explained that a show of force might only irritate the miners, whose confidence and support could only be by a policy consonant with their interests. (61)

Col. Richard Clement Moody was chosen to command the detachment and serve as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works of British Columbia, with a dormant commission as Lieutenant-Governor. He was to be assisted by three captains, each chosen for special work. Capt. J. M. Grant, senior officer, was gifted as an architect and almost a genius in structural engineering; the second, Capt. R. M. Parsons was highly qualified in all branches of surveying; Capt. H. R. Luard would be in charge more particularly of whatever purely military services might be required. (62) The total force included six officers besides a surgeon accompanied by an orderly, twenty-nine non-commissioned officers, two buglers, and one hundred twenty-three sappers from England besides three sappers transferred from the Boundary Survey, making a total of one hundred sixty-five officers and men. (63) The number included surveyors, architects, draughtsmen, artists, photographers, carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, painters, miners, and others, all to prove use- (64)

ful in laying the foundations of the infant colony. Two parties,

(61) B.C. Papers, I., p. 45. (62) Ibid., II., p. 64.

(63) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Appendix. (64) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., p. 57, and various relatives and friends of the Engineers.

Capt. Grant with twelve carpenters and others useful in building arrived by way of Panama early in November, in time, as we have seen, to assist at the inaugural ceremonies at Langley. (65)

Col. Moody followed by the same route, arriving at Victoria on Christmas Day too late, as Douglas drily remarks, for Christmas dinner. (65a)

The main body, under Capt. Luard, arrived in April, 1859, having consumed just over six months sailing around Cape Horn in the "Thames City". (66)

They beguiled the monotony of the journey with a paper, the "Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle", published weekly in manuscript and read to the assembled company. (67)

Two ships brought supplies and equipment. With the main body came also thirty-one women and thirty-four children. (68)

It seems worth noting that a force of Royal Engineers was already in the Fraser Valley, cooperating with a similar body from the United States to mark out the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel and incidentally the Southern boundary of the valley as we have defined it for the purposes of this essay. (69)

It consisted of Col. J. S. Hawkins with two officers and sixty-five non-commissioned officers and men of the Royal Engineers, assisted by an astronomer, a naturalist, a geologist, a botanist, and thirty axemen. (70)

The joint body encamped during the summer of 1858 on Sumas prairie, except when the mosquitoes

(65) B. C. Papers, II., p. 25.

(65a) Bancroft, B. C., p. 407.

(66) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Appendix.

(67) Q. V.

(68) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Appendix.

(69) See account of work of this body in Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., pp. 306-309.

(70) Mayne, op. cit., p. 51.

made progress impossible, and by the end of the season had reconnoitred the whole boundary from Point Roberts to the upper Skagit valley, South-East of Hope--a distance of about ninety miles. Later Ebenezer Brown of New Westminster received a contract to erect a granite obelisk to mark the initial point of the line at Point Roberts while the Royal Engineers placed iron posts about four feet high and six inches square at intervals of about a mile and a half over a line from the coast to the crossing of DeLacy's Whatcom Trail on the upper Skagit. Twenty-five were taken to Boundary Bay for use on Point Roberts and Eastward from Semiahmoo Bay, eighteen were taken to Sumas River to be used from Sumas Eastward. (71) The last of the force was withdrawn in 1862, and in April of that year the mules and outfit used by the British were sold at Langley. (72) They had left behind two of their number, at least, one at the head of Chilliwack Lake and another not far from the Lukukuk River at a place known for nearly half a century as "Grave Prairie". (73) Others of both American and British forces, remained as settlers, some of whom we shall meet again.

It will be recalled that during the summer of 1858 Douglas had treated Hope as a capital pro tempore for the mainland, though there seems no reason to think he intended it to be officially or permanently so, and that in September he put a stop

(71) Mayne, pp. 233-234. Archives of B. C., MSS. file 736.

(72) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., p. 309. See acc't. of whole survey, *ibid.*, pp. 306-309.

(73) Mr. Allan Evans, on whose property the second grave is located. He keeps the place marked.

(74) Bancroft, B. C., p. 406.

to certain Victoria realtors who had seized upon a plot of land at the site of the original Fort Langley. His next move was to send J. D. Pemberton to complete the surveying of the townsite at the latter place into one hundred eighty three blocks of eighteen lots, each sixty-four by one hundred twenty feet, with seventy-eight-foot streets, all unnamed, and twelve-foot alleys through the middle of each block. Sixty of the lots were subsequently claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company as rightfully theirs. Then, on November 25, 26, and 29, P. M. Backus was authorized to auction the lots at Victoria. Three hundred forty-three lots were thus disposed of for \$66,172.50 and at prices from \$40 to \$725 per lot. Ten per cent. was to be cash and the balance in one month. In the following February over \$40,000 was still owing. Lots unsold after December first were to be put on the market at \$100 each. Tenders were called for erection of a church, a parsonage, a courthouse, and a jail. Mr. Houston can show in his back yard the lines of the foundation lines of the church, later moved to Maple Ridge. The same gentleman will show you the lines of the jail and courthouse, which Judge Howay says were never built. To the new townsite was given the name of Derby, and Douglas intended it to be the capital of the mainland. He gave as reasons for his choice the natural advantages for trade, the good anchorage with deep water and bold shore (the same that MacMillan

(74) See page 138. (x) Encl. in letter, Dallas to Gov. Douglas, Feb. 17, 1859. (H.B.C. Archives--transcript in Archives of B. C.)

(75) B. C. Papers, II., p. 37.

(76) Alex. Houston. Also "Sunday Province," May 29, 1932.

(77) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., p. 61. Also B.C. Papers, III., 3.

had given) and the

partiality displayed for this site by the mercantile community of the country, whose instincts in such matters are generally unerring. (78)

One wonders if his choice was anyway influenced by the fact that the adjoining ten square miles were reserved by the Hudson's Bay Company, though they had no legal title to the land until 1864. (79)

(80)

(81)

As we have seen, Capt. Grant and his builders were already at Derby before the ceremonies of November 19, and was there joined by Capt. Parsons and the remainder of the advance body of engineers. They were occupied in preparing quarters for the main body expected in the Spring. One may still see the depressions where the foundation-posts of the barracks were, and a heap of mortar marks the location of the stone fire-place at the end of the main hall. It was here Col. Moody joined his command at the beginning of 1859.

It was to this body that word came early in January of terrible happenings at Yale. It was reported that Ned McGowan, who had left San Francisco with a very unsavory reputation and who was now known to be at Hill's Bar, had broken jail and was at the head of an American conspiracy to overthrow British authority. Without waiting for word from the governor, Moody and Grant with twenty-five of the engineers set out for the

scene of trouble in the "Enterprise", the fastest boat on the

(78) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., pp. 59-61; B.C. Papers, II., p. 80; III., p. 3, ll: Bancroft, B.C., p. 406.

(79) Bancroft, B.C., p. 406. The farm was leased to C.J.R. Bedford, resident magistrate, in 1859. (See Reid, in B. C. Hist. Quarterly, Apr., 1937, pp. 83-84.) (80) See Lot Book, New Westminster District, Gp. 2, Lots 21 & 22.

(81) Ante, p. 106.

(82) river. Douglas "borrowed" from Capt. Prevost, principal British officer of the marine division of the Boundary Commission, one hundred marines and sailors from the "Satellite", under Lieut. Gooch, with a field piece, to be taken up-stream in the "Plumper". As this vessel had only a speed of six knots, it was unable to proceed above Langley. Lieut. Mayne was therefore sent on by canoe to get orders from Moody. It is from him we get the most reliable account of this "Ned McGowan's War", as it came to be rather derisively called.

Mayne was supplied with a canoe manned by four half-breed and five Indian paddlers, through the courtesy of Yale, then at Fort Langley. Despite drift ice they made their way safely past the "Smess" (Sumas) and "Chiwayhook (Chilliwack) rivers and Fargo Bar, where he says, erroneously, it seems, that gold was first found. At Murderer's (later Cornish) Bar, three miles below Hope, they met with disaster, and were glad to make their way, soaked through and nearly frozen, to the latter place. Here he found Moody and Judge Bigbie about to proceed to Yale without support. It had begun to appear the reports had been greatly exaggerated. Mayne joined them.

Arriving at Yale on Saturday night, Moody himself conducted the first divine service in that place in the courthouse the following morning, then proceeded to investigate the

(82) Mayne, op. cit., p. 60.

(83) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., p. 62.

(84) Mayne, op. cit., p. 60.

(85) Ibid., p. 70.

(86) Ibid., p. 92.

(87) Ibid., loc. cit. Dept. of Lands Chart 30 T1, which Mayne doubtless assisted in making, says, at Fargo Bar, "First (See fn. 87, page 142)

affair. It turned out to be principally a matter of jealousy between Ferrier, magistrate at Hill's Bar, and Whannell, magistrate at Yale. On Christmas day a Hill's Bar miner had assaulted a negro at Yale. Whannell sent a warrant to Ferrier for his arrest. Ferrier ignored it and sent his constable to Yale to arrest the negro. Whannell imprisoned the constable for insolence. Ferrier, in a rage, roused the Hill's Bar crowd, sent a posse of twenty men under McGowan with a warrant for the arrest of Whannell and to release the constable, and then arraigned his fellow magistrate for contempt of court, found him guilty, and imposed a fine of fifty dollars. Meetings were held at both places to support their respective magistrates.

Moody was satisfied there was nothing illegal in McGowan's actions, and the whole matter would probably have ended with the summary dismissal of Ferrier and his constable had not McGowan met and assaulted an old enemy from San Francisco, which reopened hostilities. Mayne was at once dispatched to Hope in a canoe supplied by Ovid Allard, and the appearance of Grant and his troops in Yale the next morning ready for action had a sudden quieting effect. Meanwhile Mayne returned to Langley in the "Enterprise" for the marines and blue-jackets. He pays a great tribute of praise to the patience and enterprise of the "Yankee skipper" (Capt. Thomas Wright) for the way in which he navigated up-stream. A "trip-pole", weighted at one end (87) establishment on the river." This may be a repetition of the same error, or may mean, rightly enough, the first diggings arrived at in ascending the river. (88) Mayne, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

and attached at the other by a swivel to the hull near the bows was carried roped to the side of the boat. When the steam in the boilers was so low as to make progress in the rapid current impossible, this trip-pole was released, the weighted end dropped to the bottom, and as the current bore the ship backward this threw the nose against the bank and held it there till the ship had "recovered her breath". He was told that a cask of fat bacon from the cargo had once been thrown into the furnaces to produce additional steam for a troublesome rapid.

At Hope Mayne got orders from Moody to leave the sailors there and proceed with the marines only, but even that force proved unnecessary. McGowan was fined for assault and there the matter ended. He showed himself affable and friendly to the authorities, left the country shortly after, spent the rest of a long life in various places and ways, all harmless enough, and in his old age even gained a reputation of piety. The services of the Royal Engineers in a "military" capacity were not again required on the Fraser.

On the return journey, Moody set himself to his appointed task of selecting a suitable place for the location of a capital and on January 28 reported his views to the governor. Derby he condemned as being on the wrong side of the river and indefensible. Moody's first choice seems to have fallen on Mary Hill, between the mouths of the Pitt and Coquitlam Rivers, but for some reason which has not appeared, the choice was

(89) Mayne, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

(90) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., pp. 64-65.

(91)
 moved to New Westminster. Regarding the new site for a capital, the views of Lieut. Mayne, a mariner, are interesting as a supplement to Moody's, and as a contrast to Douglas' reasons (92) for the choice of Derby. He said in part:

Regarded both in a military and commercial light, it was infinitely preferable to the spot which had previously been fixed upon---. New Westminster has many natural advantages in which Derby is wanting, not the least being sufficient depth of water to allow the largest class of vessels capable of passing the sand-heads at the Fraser mouth to moor alongside of its wharves, (93)

and adds that, so far as risk is concerned, he would as soon (94) bring a vessel to New Westminster as to Victoria. Moody's primary concern, however, was the location for a fortress, (a fortress which, it is now clear, is never likely to exist) and to his superior judgment in this matter Douglas was forced to yield, with however bad a grace, the more so as Moody's original instructions included the selection of the site.

Accordingly, on St. Valentine's Day, 1859, public notice was given by the governor that the land there would be laid out into lots to be sold at public auction, one-fourth to be reserved for sale in the United Kingdom and British Colonies. The waterfront lots were to be granted in seven-year leases by the same method. Lots purchased at Derby could be surrendered in exchange, to be credited at the amount actually paid at the time of exchange. The place was to be declared the capital and (95) a port of entry for British Columbia at once.

(91) B.C. Papers, II., p. 60.

(92) P. 132 above.

(93) Mayne, op. cit., p. 72.

(94) Ibid., p. 83.

(95) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., p. 66.

Work at Derby was halted at once and Engineers transferred on the tenth of April to land near the mouth of the Brunette River, to prepare a camp-site in what is still known as Sapper-⁽⁹⁶⁾ton. Here the main body arrived in mid-April, before the camp was yet ready. Some were set to work at the camp, others surveying the townsite, with civilian aid, many at clearing the land. The latter proved, for them, a tough undertaking. Lieut. Mayne testifies to the density of the growth:

Dr. Campbell and I went to examine a part a little north of where the town stands, and so thick was the bush that it took us two hours to force our way in rather less than a mile and a half. It was composed of very thick willow and alder, intertwined so closely that every step of the way had to be broken through, while the ground was cumbered with fallen timber of a larger growth. ⁽⁹⁷⁾

This was, of course, in low ground near the Brunette. On higher ground the trees were larger, if not so thick. Mr. Sheepshanks, the first Anglican Missionary there, is reported to have seen one thirteen feet in diameter (surely a cedar with spreading roots) and to have measured one two feet in diameter ⁽⁹⁸⁾ at two hundred feet from the base. One is not surprised that Mayne wondered if the place would ever be worth the effort of clearing when he reported an officer of marines, "a good axeman", failed to win a wager by falling a three-foot tree in a week, even in two. ⁽⁹⁹⁾ This statement should be viewed, of course, as a comment not so much on the timber as on the incompetence of the workmen on their first arrival. Within the year, two ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ men were able to "fall" the larger ones in a day, while the pre-

(96) Bancroft, B. C., p. 410. (97) Mayne, op. cit., p. 72.

(98) "An Occasional Paper on the Columbia Mission", p. 11.

(99) Mayne, op. cit., p. 87.

(100) Columbia Mission, p. 11.

sent writer knows of a woodsman in the Fraser Valley who, some forty years ago, unaided, felled a tree five feet six inches (101) by six feet on the stump in three hours with an axe. "Soon", however,

a field of stumps appeared which outnumbered the houses built for twenty years and more. To this imperial stump-patch was given at first---the name of Queensborough. (102)

Col. Moody had, as a matter of fact, suggested the name of Queensborough, but on the suggestion of the Colonial Secretary, Queensborough was accepted as a temporary substitute. Meanwhile Douglas requested that the queen be asked to decide the question

so that the colonists of British Columbia, separated from friends and kindred in this, their far-distant home, may be ever gratefully reminded in the designation of their capital of the power that protects their hearths, of the watchful interest that guards their liberties, and of the gentle sway by which they are governed.

The rhetoric was doubly effective. "Her Majesty" was "graciously pleased to decide that the capital of British Columbia shall be called 'New Westminster'". A proclamation of the Governor on July 20, 1859, declared

that the town heretofore known as Queensborough and sometimes as Queenborough, in the Colony of British Columbia shall from henceforth be called and known as New Westminster, and shall be so described in all legal processes and official documents. (103)

Thus the mainland got its capital.

Though we have no records to show just what other work was done in the lower end of the valley by the engineers, there (101) witnessed and measurements taken by the writer's father. (102) Bancroft, B. C., p. 415. (103) B.C. Papers, II., pp. 61 and 86, and III., p. 59; Bancroft, B.C., p. 415, fn. 22; Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., pp. 67-68.

is reason to suppose it was considerable. A pioneer of Co-quitlam (104) said it was Col. Moody himself who came to their home near the mouth of Pitt River and promised them a road to their very door and that this promise was soon fulfilled. The road was built by contract let in 1861, four-fifths of the price to be in land grants, but as Moody was still Commissioner of Lands (105) and Works, no doubt the Engineers did the planning and surveying. (x) The same is probably true of another road, proposed if not actually built in 1862 through the Maple Ridge district from the mouth of the Pitt River to "a point some five miles above Langley, on the opposite side of the river of course" (106) and of a trail from opposite New Westminster (or a few miles (107) above) "four miles towards Langley." (108) The Engineers also surveyed a number of parcels of land disposed of to settlers during the years 1859-1863, and made maps of the country. They also built the first church on the mainland at Derby "(now the Church of St. John the Divine at Maple Ridge)" (109) and Capt. Grant planned and supervised the building of the original Holy Trinity Church, New Westminster, 1861, and St. Mark's Church, Douglas, 1862, while St. Mary's, Sapperton was built by ex-members of the corps in 1865. (110) They also designed the first

(104) Douglas McLean.

(105) British Columbian, March 21, 1861, and Nov. 14, 1861.

(x) It is of interest to notice that the bulk of the best land along this road was bought by Moody himself at slightly over one dollar per acre and held for speculation. See Lot Book, N. W. Dist., Gp. 2, seriation.

(106) British Columbian, Nov. 5, 1862. (107) Ibid., Nov. 1, 1862

(108) Ibid., Nov. 15, 1862. (109) "Sunday Province", May 29, 1932. (110) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Addenda: Columbia Mission, p. 8; Pioneers Honored, p. 4; Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., pp. 109, 628-629.

school-house on the mainland and the government buildings at New Westminster, and even the first colonial coat of arms and postage stamps. (111)

Another task assigned to them is of especial interest to us. Until work was actually begun on the Cariboo Road, the Government favored the route by Harrison Lake to Douglas and Lillooet to the interior. One of the numerous difficulties of this route was that, excepting when the water was high, steam-boats found it difficult and at times impossible to navigate the shallow portions of the Harrison River. One proposed remedy was to cut a canal from the end of the lake to the Fraser which would have extended from the present-day Hot-Springs Hotel through the future site of the town of Agassiz to near the present ferry dock. (x) It was decided, however, to try first to deepen and wall with cribbing the channel of the river through the flats. The difficulties of doing this with almost no machinery must have been almost insurmountable. "This task", says Lieut. Mayne, who saw them at work in water above their waists, "gave Capt. Grant and a party of Engineers very moist occupation for two summers," (112) apparently 1860 and 1861. At the same time Messrs. Dewdney and Moberly were constructing the Dewdney Trail from Hope to Similkameen over a route selected by Engineers under Sergt. McColl. During the following summer, (113)

(111) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 109, *Pioneers Fittingly Honored*, p. 4, and *British Columbian*, June 10, 1865.

(112) Mayne, op. cit., p. 94.

(x) Mathew Bailly Beghie: *A Journey into the Interior of British Columbia*, (Victoria, 1859) p. 247.

(113) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., p. 94.

1862, however, Capt. Grant's party constructed the first six miles of the Cariboo Road above Yale, over the most difficult section of the whole route, "an enduring monument of engineering skill and patient toil." Contracts had been let for the rest of the road to Cook's Ferry (Spence's Bridge) along a route also chosen by Sergt. McColl, and the opening of this route spelled the doom of the Douglas-Lillooet road.

We get also occasional glimpses of the private life of the Engineers. We have seen that the little church at Derby was one of their earliest works of construction. Col. Moody himself read the first divine service in public worship at Yale during the "Ned McGowan War" in January, 1859. Rev. ^{Mr.} Sheepshanks of New Westminster, even before his own church was built, conducted two services a Sunday in the camp at Sapperton, while both Methodist and Catholic were delighted when some of the men attended their services. In the British Columbian of May 28 appeared this notice:

Birth--In Camp, on the 21st inst., the wife of John McClure, R. E., of a son.

And while the Engineers have been justly admired for their skill in their own line of work, they had much to learn to accommodate themselves to pioneer life. We have already seen reason to suspect their ability in felling trees. A native

daughter of British Columbia who became the wife of one of them
(114) British Columbian, July 18, 1863, and Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., p. 100.

(115) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 100-101.

(116) Ibid., II., p. 63, quoting Victoria Gazette, Jan. 11, 1859.

(117) Columbia Mission, p. 8.

(118) O. M. I. Missions, III., p. 198.

(119) Q. v.

said they were "all real Englishmen". She even had to teach her husband how to kill and dress animals for food, and always assisted him. It is but fair to add that her husband sent her to a neighbor, an English batchelor, to learn how to make
(120)
clotted cream and plum pudding.

In 1863 the Engineers were withdrawn from the colony. Those who wished were given an opportunity to leave the service and were offered a free grant of one hundred fifty acres of land each in the colony. Only some twenty of the men returned
(121)
to England with Col. Moody and the officers. Not all of those who remained, however, went on the land. Some continued to ply their former trades. John McClure entered the services of the Overland Telegraph Company before settling near the present Clayburn station and continued occasional land-surveying
(122)
to the very year of his death, 1907. L. F. Bonson, one of Capt. Grant's builders entered the contracting business in New Westminster before becoming in turn Government Road Superintendent, 1876-1880, a liquor merchant, and then a farmer at
(123)
Keatzic from 1892 till his retirement in 1905. Alben Hawkins entered business in his old trade as a mason, and with his partner, R. M. Rylatt built many chimneys, etc. in New Westminster and laid, under contract of September 5, 1870, the founda-

(120) Mrs. Geo. Newton.

(121) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., p. 109.

(122) The writer's recollection; Howay and Scholefield, IV, p. 1061; Guide, pp. 169, 352-356; Mrs. Middleton, Mr. Gatherwood and others.

(123) Howay and Scholefield, III., pp. 10-13. Mr. Hawkins of Gifford has a rabbett plane stamped with his name.

(124) Hawkins Papers, copies of contracts and diary, p. 1.

(125) B.C. Archives, MSS. 1243: "Geo. Newton".
(See p. 151, for (124) and (125).

tions of the old Hastings Mill on Burrard Inlet, before taking
 up land at Matsqui Prairie in 1874. George Newton secured a
 place on the Victoria police force in 1867 on the recommenda-
 tion of Joseph Wood Trutch; next held land at the mouth of the
 North Arm, in 1869; and then took a partnership in a New
 Westminster hostelry, the "London Arms" until the time of his
 marriage in the late 'seventies, when he took up land at Hat-
 zic. Lauanders, McColl, Mohun and Turner for some years found
 plenty to do at land surveying and civil engineering in the
 province. Others found other occupations, went to the mines,
 took up land, or removed elsewhere. The force was scattered.

In 1909, the fiftieth year since the main force arrived,
 a reunion of the survivors still in the province was held at
 the Provincial Exhibition, New Westminister, when Judge Howay
 read a paper prepared by Lt.-Col. Wolfenden of Victoria. The
 gathering included Thomas Argyle, Rock Point, V. I.; Samuel
 Archer, New Westminister; Lewis F. Bouson, Fort Hammond; Robert
 Butler, Victoria; Henry Bruce, New Westminister; John Cox,
 Victoria; Allan Cummins, Vancouver; William Hall, Sumas;
 William Haynes, Victoria; Philip Jackman, Aldergrove; George
 Turner, New Westminister; and Lt.-Col. Richard Wolfenden,
 Victoria. Matthew Hall of Sumas and John Musselwhite of the
 same place, both absent, were apparently the only other sur-
 vivors in the province. Of these the last survivor was Philip
 Jackman, who died in 1927.

(126) Mrs. Geo. Newton.

(127) Pioneers Honored.

(128) Date supplied by his daughter, Mrs. Alex. Murcheson,
 Langley Prairie.

(c) THE ROYAL CITY

It has already been stated that the Colony of British Columbia was officially founded on November 19, 1858, and that Queensborough was chosen its capital on February 14, 1859, and renamed New Westminster on July 20. It took time, however, to make the new capital the real centre of life on the Fraser and in the mainland colony generally. In the first place most of the people were more interested in seeking gold than in founding a colony, and the centre of mining activity at this time was Yale. In the second place Langley was much the oldest establishment on the river, and continued for some time to serve as a base of supplies. Also the hopes of those who put their faith in Derby--and this included the Governor, yet scarcely divorced from the company which had such a large vested interest in the land of the neighborhood--died slowly. Six days after the new capital was proclaimed the first sod was turned for a church at the old, to be built at public expense and presented to the minister by the Governor, and this church was to continue for a year. In the third place the Governor continued to reside at Victoria so that necessarily for a time much of governmental activity centred there, the source of a jealousy between the two cities which was to continue, with much bitterness at times, at least until Vancouver outrivalled both. And finally, in any case, it was impossible to build the new Rome in such a forested wilderness in a day.

(129) Parish Register of St. John the Devine at Derby, first page.

As soon as the survey of the lots was completed arrangements were made to sell three hundred eleven of them by auction at Victoria, the remaining one hundred ten being reserved for sale in other parts of the Empire, perhaps because Douglas feared all might go to American buyers. Only eight of the lots remained unsold and over \$90,000 was realized, the terms being twenty-five per cent cash and the balance in three monthly instalments. Less than \$27,000 was allowed in credit on the lots at Derby, which shows that many must have lost their deposits there, and also discounts Douglas' grudging claim that the success of the Queensborough sales was chiefly due to the Derby credits. Lytton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, objected to the reservation of lots because it would hinder the normal growth of the town, and asked that all the lots be offered locally, but when the auctioneer was sent to New Westminster in the spring of 1860 for that purpose the residents under the leadership of W. J. Armstrong forcibly prevented it because which, it had been promised the money, on the authority of the governor, would be expended on street-grading and local improvements, had not been so spent. Thirty-three of the lots were sold, however, on the second of May by Edgar Dewdney.

On paper, as planned by the Royal Engineers, the new "Royal City" certainly looked imposing with its streets, market place, public squares and parks. In actual fact Queensborough must have looked far from promising,--a partially cleared hill-

(130) B.C. Papers, III., 16 and Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II 66-67. (131) B. C. Papers, II., 86.

(132) B.C. Archives, Memoir VI., 122-123. See very excellent account of the whole thing by F.W. Howay who got (See 154)

side with stumps and charred logs and no streets. Its first
 (134)
 clergyman called it "the forest city," for years it was known
 (135)
 to outsiders as "stumptown", and the historian, Bancroft, de-
 clared that in this "imperial stump-patch" the stumps "out-
 (136)
 numbered the houses built for twenty years and more." Annual
 (137)
 forest fires threatened the city for many years. Nevertheless
 at the beginning of 1860 Bishop Hills was able to write:

"This place during the present year is expected to make great
 (138)
 progress." The first house was built by William James Arm-
 strong who was to remain one of the city's most prominent citi-
 zens for half a century. He had come to Langley in 1858 but
 when the new capital was chosen he bought a shipment of lumber
 intended for Derby and in March, 1859, with the aid of his
 brother Henry and John S. McDonald built the house in which,
 as soon as customers could be found, he opened the city's first
 (139)
 place of business, a grocery and general store. A rude jetty
 was also built, and by mid-April T. J. Scott had opened a
 saloon, Robert Dickinson a butcher shop, and Philip Hicks a
 (140)
 bakery. By that time, too, James Kennedy had brought his wife
 (141)
 to live in the city, where many others were soon to bring their

- (132) it at first hand, in "The Western Recorder", May, 1934,
 Mrs. W. J. Armstrong was an aunt of Mrs. Howay.
 (133) Original by Saunders (n.d.) in New Westminster Public Li-
 brary. Lithographed copies, 1862, Dept. of Lands, 7T1,
 and Henry Newton, Maple Ridge.
 (134) Rev. E. White, Diary, entry of Apr. 1, 1859.
 (135) Letter in British Columbian, Feb. 23, 1867.
 (136) History of Br. Col., 415.
 (137) See, e.g., British Columbian, May 17, 1862.
 (138) Occasional Paper on the Columbia Mission, p. 8.
 (139) Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 89. Gosnell, History of
 (140) B.C., 325; and Howay and Scholefield, B.C., III., 539
 (140) Pioneers Fittingly Honored, p. 4.
 (141) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., III., 551.

families, and the first church services had been held. On April 4, 1861, the British male population of the two-year-old city was reckoned at two hundred four, and Indians still lived in the city. (142)

The story of the establishment of the Wesleyan Methodist Church illustrates much of the early history of New Westminster and a chronological summary of it may therefore be worthy of recording. (143) Rev. Edward White, accompanied by his wife and family, and in company with Dr. Ephraim Evans, Rev. Arthur Browning and Rev. Ebenezer Robson, had left "Canada West" on December 31, 1858, and arrived in Victoria, via New York and San Francisco, on the tenth of February. There they were welcomed by Rev. Edward Cridge of the Episcopal Church and promised aid by Governor Douglas in securing sites for churches. On April 1 Mr. White landed in the "forest city" on his "first visit to British Columbia", and after spending a day "rambling in the bush and boating on the river," there being apparently nowhere else to spend it, he preached his first sermon in the city at eleven o'clock on the morning of April 3 "under some large trees near the river...to some fifty men and one woman."

The last named must have been Mrs. Kennedy, who, like her husband, (144)

was a Presbyterian. In the afternoon he preached "on the British Columbian, Apr. 4 and Dec. 19, 1861.

(143) Taken from Rev. E. White's diary under dates given. Cf. Cecil Hacker: A History of the Methodist Church in British Columbia 1858-1900. MS. in U.B.C. Library.

(144) Ibid., loc. cit.

site of the treasury building." On Easter Sunday, April 24, he preached twice in front of the tent to which on April 22 he had brought his wife and family from Victoria. On May 1 three services were held, one at the barracks where Col. Moody read prayers, apparently to make a real Church service of it despite the Methodist sermon, one at "Scott's Wharf" and one "in the treasury building", which thereafter continued to be so used until March 4, 1860. Meanwhile on May 22 the first "class (145) meeting" was held, on May 25 the first temperance meeting, and on December 4th the first Sunday School, comprising four persons besides the preacher's family. In May, too, he had begun clearing the lots Moody had given him for his church and in June he started to build a parsonage into which he moved within a week from starting to cut the materials. It was used (x) until 1871. In August he became discouraged because "people seem to be all leaving for other parts except those who have no disposition to hear the word," but was encouraged when on December 15 he opened a subscription list to build a church and got twenty-five dollars from a Roman Catholic. On January 4, 1860, he started cutting timbers for "the first church in New Westminster and the first Wesleyan church in B.C." It was to be twenty by thirty-six feet and cost five hundred dollars with

volunteer labor. Among those whom he mentions as helping were
 (145) I. e., a meeting in addition to the regular preaching services, in which members of the congregation offered prayers and "testimony".

(x) Requested of Douglas by Dr. Evans. See B. C., Archives, Mem. VI, pp. 121-2.

(#) Mainland Guardian, Aug. 11, 1871.

John and Charles Robson, William Clarkson, Hugh Brown, and W. J. Armstrong, men who were prominent in the early life of the city, and the last-named an Anglican whose own church was already being planned. On March 11 the building was used for the first time, was dedicated by Rev. A. Browning of Nanaimo on April 8, and on July 1 a melodion was introduced which "Miss Woodman played well for the first time". In July Mr. White noticed that though the mosquitoes were as bad in the woods as during 1859 this was not so in the town, which gave him hope that further clearing would end the pest. He took his family to Nanaimo in an open boat for a holiday. In September he declared his official board was liberal in appropriations though it meant they had to be liberal in their own donations since there were few others to call upon. The church had fourteen members.

Meanwhile other churches were founded. In August, 1859, Rev. John Sheepshanks, a missionary on a special fund, arrived to become chaplain to the troops at Sapperton and rector of Holy Trinity Church, Queensborough, where he was well liked. The Methodist parson took time to hear his service and the two together enjoyed a Chinese New-Year Banquet. Bishop Hills visited New Westminster in February and reported him holding two services weekly in a church at the camp and one in New Westminster where the ground was being prepared for the church building. The building was dedicated by the bishop on the se-

(146) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., III., and Occasional Paper on Columbian Mission, p. 8.

(147) Sister of Mrs. White, later Mrs. Thos. Cunningham.

(148) Entry of Nov. 18, 1860. (See fn. page 158)

cond of December, 1860; Rev. A. Garrett preached and the
 (x)
 Methodists in a body attended. The church was enhanced a few
 months later with a chime of eight bells, the gift of the
 Baroness Burdett-Coutts. All but the bell-tower was destroyed
 (153)
 by fire in 1865 but was rebuilt within two years. An old view
 of the church shows in the foreground a small log hut, the
 (154)
 rectory, surrounded by burnt logs and brush. In 1862 Rev.
 Robert Jamieson arrived to start the first Presbyterian church,
 and preached his first sermon there from the pulpit of Mr. White.
 For over a year he used the court-house until his own church,
 (x)
 St. Andrew's was erected. The fourth protestant sect to make a
 definite appearance was the Society of Friends, represented by
 (155)
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lindsay, but of them we hear nothing more.
 The Roman Catholics, Fathers Fouquet and Grandidier arrived in
 September, 1860, began building in the following April and by
 the end of that year, as we have seen, had two churches, St.
 Peter and St. Charles for whites and Indians respectively, as
 (156)
 well as a presbytery and hospital. In 1864 the mainland dio-
 cese of New Westminster was separated from the island; Father
 d'Herbomez, superior of the Oblates, was consecrated titular
 Bishop of Melitopolis, an extinct eastern see, at Victoria on

- (149) Occasional Paper on Col. Miss., p. 8., and Howay and
 Scholefield, B. C., II., 628.
 (150) White's diary, Sept. 25 and Dec. 21, 1859.
 (151) Ibid., Feb. 26-28, 1860.
 (152) Occ. Paper on Col. Miss., p. 8.
 (x) White's diary of that date.
 (153) British Columbian, Nov. 22, 1865, and Howay and Schole-
 field, B. C., II., 628.
 (154) In B. C. Archives.
 (155) White's diary, Jan. 15, 1860.
 (156) O. M. I. Missions, I., 146, 172; III; 170, 197, 200.
 (#) British Columbian, March 20, 1862; Dunn, Presby- (See 159)

October 9 and installed at St. Charles, New Westminster, a week
(157)
later.

In May, 1860, the governor paid a visit to New Westminster and received from the inhabitants a memorial asking for a municipal charter in order that they might themselves undertake such local improvements as they deemed necessary. The same was granted by proclamation of July 16 and the boundaries widened a
(158)
year later. The first council, which was also the first municipal council in the colony, consisted of Leonard McClure, President, Ebenezer Brown, William James Armstrong, Henry Holbrook, Joshua Atwood Reynolds Homer, Angus Henderson Manson, and W. E. Cormack. The succeeding presidents of the council were John Ramage, 1861 and 1862; Henry Holbrook, 1863 and 1867; Robert Dickinson, 1864; William Clarkson, 1865; John Robson, 1866; Captain William Irving, 1868; and William J. Armstrong, 1869 and 1870; Henry Valentine Edmonds became city clerk in
(161)
1869. In 1871 the city became subject to the Municipalities Act of the Province of British Columbia, and its head was
(162)

thenceforth known as the mayor. Under these early councils a
terianian in B. C., p. 68; Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 645-646.

(157) Short Acct. of the Work of the Congr. of the O. M. I., p. 5. There is at St. Mary's, Mission City, about half a mile north of the mission, a small octagonal sanctuary, Notre Dame de Lourdes, built by Bishop d'Herbomez in fulfilment of a vow made during a visit to Europe in the 'eighties when a severe illness caused him to fear he might not be able to return to his diocese. See Voyage du T. R. P. Louis Soullier en Amerique, pp. 131-132, and memorial hanging in the chapel.

(158) Gosnell, Yr. Bk., 1897, p. 143, and Howay and Scholefield B.C., II., 68.

(159) Homer's full name is so given in Lot Book, N.W., Gp. 1, lot 53. (160) Ibid., lot 4.

(161) B.C. Directory, 1882-'83, pp. 221-233. (162) Ibid., loc., cit., and Gosnell, Yr. Bk. 1897, p. 143.

levee was built along the embankment, gulleys bridged, streets graded and sidewalks built and repaired, and in general leadership supplied to various types of public enterprise. (163)

The first public building in the capital of the colony was grandiloquently called the treasury building. The site had already been chosen and cleared before the main body of the engineers arrived, the floor was laid during the first week of April and the building usable by the first of May. (164) Standing at the north-east corner of Columbia and Mary Streets, (165) it appears to have been a small building to which from time to time additions were made, of one or two rooms each, somewhat as a child makes a train of dominoes, alternately lengthwise and crosswise. (166) These housed the land Registry Office, General Post Office, Assay Office, Mint, and other Government Offices. A public notice signed by W. Driscoll Gosset, treasurer of the colony, under date of August 1, 1860 announced the Assay Office open for business, in 1862 it was assaying about one hundred thousand dollars' worth of mineral a month and in 1864 reached one hundred thirty thousand dollars' worth in a single (167) day. Messrs. F. G. Claudet and F. H. Bonsfield were assayer (168) and assistant assayer. In November, 1861, the Governor decided (163) See, e.g., British Columbian, Feb. 18, 1863, and April 22, 1865.

(164) White's Diary, Apr. 3, April 10, and May 1, 1859.

(165) Lands Dept. Map 7T1.

(166) See photographs in Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., to face p. 141.

(167) British Columbian, March 21, 1861; Oct. 18, Nov. 5 and 19, 1862; Aug. 24, 1864.

(168) B. C. Papers, III., 101-103.

to ask for the establishment of a mint to make ten and twenty-dollar gold pieces of uniform fineness but not fully refined. (169) Then, without getting permission of the home authorities he sent Capt. Gosset to San Francisco, where he bought the necessary equipment for \$8,690. The Governor immediately began to put obstacles in the way, but on May 31 it was announced the "engine and machinery of the Royal Mint (sic) were set in motion and found to work admirably. (170) In July a few specimens were struck and exhibited to visitors "looking exceedingly well. We hope soon", said the editor of the British Columbian, "to realize the practical benefits of this institution in the issue and circulation of the coin." (171) So much for hoping. There came immediately the order of Douglas to "grease it and lay it away". The coins were never legalized and the machinery lay idle till the mid-'seventies, when parts of it were sold to a contractor. (172) The jail was another early institution of the province, with C. J. Pritchard its first warden, followed in 1870 by Arthur H. McBride, father of the late Sir Richard. (x)

At first the only high government official resident in the new capital was Col. Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. Complaints to the governor on this score caused the Treasurer to move over from Victoria in the fall of 1860, and

(169) B. C. Papers, IV., p. 62.

(170) British Columbian, May 31, 1862.

(171) July 9, 1862.

(172) See the study of the whole question by Dr. R. L. Reid in Archives of B. C., Mem. VII. The machinery was inspected in 1871 for the Dominion Government by Hon. Hector Louis Langevin, but nothing came of it. See Main. Guard., Sept. 9, 1871.

(x) British Columbian, Dec. 12, 1861; Mainland Guardian, Apr. 3 et al., 1872; Howay and Scholefield, B.C. III, 5.

when Henry Pering Pellew Crease was appointed Attorney-General in 1861 he also took up his residence in the capital. Repeated complaints at the non-residence of the governor and other officials, and at the absolute lack of any form of representation brought no results until the summer of 1863 when Douglas was compelled to order the election of five members to constitute one third of a Legislative Council. New Westminster was to be one of the five electoral districts but no boundaries, qualifications or procedure were stipulated. The city council took the lead, called a public meeting, limited the franchise to British residents of three months with a small property qualification and fixed the property qualification of candidates at real estate to the value of £500. In November the city and district held public elections with open voting and elected J. A. R. Homer by a majority of eleven votes. The old barracks building at Sapperton was used as a meeting place and Col. Moody's former residence was put in readiness to receive the governor and his family when they arrived on March 15, 1864. This was but a formal gesture, for the new governors of both colonies were already on their way. Farewell addresses came early in April and on the thirteenth of that month, 1864, Douglas departed from the mainland. The new governor, Frederick Seymour, made his residence at the Government House, on the north side of the ravine which today separates the Mental Hospital and the Provincial Penitentiary. Nearer the river new

(173) British Columbian, Oct. 7, 1863.

(174) Ibid., Nov. 14, 1863.

(175) Ibid., March 19 and April 9 and 16, 1864.

(163)

(176)

government offices were erected, and for two and one-half years New Westminster was really the capital of the colony.

The new city rapidly developed into the principal and practically the only sea-port of the colony. Indeed, as we have already seen, this was one consideration in determining the site. In April, 1859, as we have also noticed, Bevis was transferred from Derby and Langley, where it was expected that henceforth the resident magistrate would also act as revenue officer, to Queensborough, which thus became the chief port of entry to the colony. As a result of continued complaints of unfair treatment and lack of accommodation we find him before the end of the year in Victoria seeking reemployment, possibly at Langley, where he hears much smuggling is going on. The revenue station was situated on Columbia Street at the corner of Begbie Street. The first harbor master was Captain Cooper and at first navigation presented numerous difficulties and irregularities due to the lack of specific regulations. The course had, however, been carefully charted by Captain G. H. Richards

and before the summer of 1866 the sandheads of the Fraser and a

(176) Map in Lands Dept., 7T1. Picture of Govt. House in Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., facing p. 67.

(177) P. 144, supra.

(178) Supra, p. 131.

(179) B. C. Archives, folio F 149 #19-22. Among Bevis' earliest successors was Chas. S. Finlaison who, according to his son, was appointed to that position, in 1860. During the 'sixties he built himself a home at Burnaby Lake, possibly the first there. See Brit. Col.--Biographical, IV., 1187-8.

(180) B. C. Lands Dept., L. R. Map 7T1.

(x) No known connection of the Capt. Cooper previously mentioned.

(181) British Columbia, March 21, 1861.

(182) See Charts in Tray 1, B. C. Dept. of Lands.

channel along the South Arm to New Westminster for a draft of twenty feet had been defined and clearly marked with "nunn" and "can" buoys by H. M. S. Forward. The lightship apparently (183) (x) dates from a later time but was not later than 1876. While ships from San Francisco and beyond made New Westminster their terminal port of call boats from Victoria to Yale made it the principal way point and boats of smaller size connected New Westminster with Burrard Inlet, Yale, and Port Douglas. Boats well known on the river before 1871 included the Eliza Anderson, the Enterprise, the Reliance, the Colonel Moody, the Flying Dutchman, the Hope, the Henrietta, the Lillooet, new in 1864, the Onward, launched for Capt. William Irving in 1860, and the Yosemite. In 1865 was also launched for Captain Franklyn the first ship, a schooner, ever built at New Westminster. (184)

While depending principally on river steamers and ocean shipping for connection with the outside world and the rest of the world, the Royal City had from earliest times other means of communication. It was frequently impossible to operate boats, especially up-river, during the winters. Then mails were carried from New Westminster to Yale by Jack Bristol, who

(183) British Columbian, May 19, 1866.

(x) Guide to B. C., 1877, p. 159. Wm. Gardner of Hope says he remembers its launching at New Westminster, but not the date.

(184) Mr. and Mrs. York, Mr. Gardner and others. See Lewis and Dryden's Marine History, also British Columbian, various early issues, and especially Aug. 24, 1864, June 29 and Sept. 30, 1865. Also Mainland Guardian, Sept. 30, 1871. Pictures of the Onward and Yosemite are in the New Westminster Public Library.

lived with his Indian wife on Bristol Island, just below Hope. He made the round trip twice a month, using a canoe or bateau with four Indians when possible, otherwise carrying the mails on his back, and it was said of him that he never made the Indians get out to push off from ice or sand-bar, always doing the worst jobs himself. Travellers to and from the interior frequently had to resort to similar means, even the ice being sometimes made to serve their needs. In 1861 it was two feet thick at New Westminster, with the thermometer at nine degrees below zero. Roads connected the capital with nearby points. Columbia Street was extended through the Sapperton Road into the Pitt River Road in 1861. Much later came the North Arm Trail which became the North Arm Road and was gradually extended to opposite Sea Island. Meanwhile the "Brighton or Burrard Inlet Road" and extension of Douglas Street, led to Captain Stamp's Mill and Spar camp, and over it ran the first stage line out of the city, owned by a Mr. Lewis. Across the river years of agitation preceded the opening of a trail to Semiahmou, to Langley, Chilliwack and Yale. The need, especially for driving cattle, was great, but this was still decidedly a gold colony and the needs of other industries must wait.

(185) Mr. Hugh Murray; Mrs. Flood and others at Hope.

(186) H. Murray.

(187) British Columbian, March 21 and Nov. 14, 1861.

(188) Still unbuilt in 1866, see Brit. Col. of Oct. 27. Open 16 miles, Mainland Guardian, June 14, 1871.

(189) Ibid., Sept. 22, 1866 and Mainland Guardian, Oct. 19, 1870.

(190) British Columbian, Nov. 1, Nov. 15, 1861; Mar. 25, 1865; Mainland Guardian, Sept. 10, 1870; June 28, July 29, Aug. 23, 1871.

Industries in New Westminster were of two sorts, those looking to export and those seeking to supply the domestic market. Of the former the first appears to have been lumbering. During the winter of 1860-1861 J. A. R. Homer exported to Victoria, in the neighboring colony, 300000 board feet of (191) lumber and 100000 shingles. There seem, however, to have been (192) no sawmills in New Westminster until the later 'seventies. Fish canning was the first business widespread in the lower river. In 1864 Annandale's fish saltery was established at New Westminster, and Donald McLean built a general curing plant about three years later. It was probably from the latter (193) that seven hundred cases were shipped to England in 1870. About the same time the first experiment with canning was conducted by James Symes in his own home, with complete success. Consequently there was formed in 1870 the firm of Alexander Loggie and Company,--including Annandale's partner, Alexander Ewen, the pioneer white fisherman of the river--which built at Annieville, about three miles below New Westminster on the south side of the river, the first salmon cannery in the colony. Almost devoid of machinery, and without pressure cooking, the whole process was crude in the extreme, but it was the begin-

(191) British Columbian, Mar. 21, 1861.

(192) Brunette Mill was first, but not mentioned in directory of 1877, though G. W. de Beck, one of its founders, is there listed as a "lumberman", p. 349.

(193) Main. Guard., Sept. 30, 1870. It says, from the "Fish Preserving Co., Sapperton." Stamp's cannery had not yet started.

ning of one of British Columbia's major industries. Captain Stamp started another at Sapperton the following year in old government buildings, leased for the purpose. Other industries in the city were W. H. Woodcock's brewery and grist mill combined, built in 1864, and W. J. Armstrong's Enterprise Flour Mill, built in 1870 and almost destroyed by fire before it had been in operation more than a month. A beet sugar factory was mooted the following year, as it has been at various points in the valley many times since, but none has ever materialized. Most interesting of all, perhaps, was the attempt to establish at New Westminster, in the very year of the Confederation agreement for a transcontinental railway, an agency for a "steam omnibus", with a twenty-horse power engine, a speed of fifteen miles per hour, and a capacity of thirty passengers. Drivers for the "B. X." must have paled at the announcement.

The pioneer newspaper was the British Columbian. It had already made an unsuccessful beginning under the name of The Times and editorship of Leonard Maclure when John Robson acquired it in 1861. He continued to publish it in New Westminster, not only as a journal of local and world news, but as

(194) See account in Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 584-'5. Judge Howay had personal acquaintance with the men concerned.

(x) Mainland Guardian, June 20, 1871.

(195) British Columbian, May 11, 1864; Mainland Guardian, Oct. 22, Nov. 19; Gosnell, Hist. of B. C., p. 325, gives the date of the flour mill as 1867, but this must be an error.

(196) Mainland Guardian, Apr. 22, 1871.

(197) Ibid., March 11, 1871.

(198) Barnard's Express, Yale to Cariboo.

the most influential medium for expression of progressive views on matters of public importance, until 1869, when he moved it to Victoria. In 1870 two rival papers were started, the Mainland Guardian, edited by J. K. Suter, and the Herald, edited by Robson's printer, John Brown. After an absence of a decade Robson returned to the city, bought Brown's paper and in conjunction with his brother David re-established the British Columbian, which they sold to Kennedy Brothers in 1888 and (199) which is still the city's journal.

Certain men prominent in the business and political life of the city during the days of the colonies so inextricably wove their lives into the life and traditions of New Westminster that it seems advisable to recall their names and recapitulate their achievements at this point:

William James Armstrong, as we have already seen, came to Langley in 1858 and to New Westminster in the following spring. Besides the first retail store in the city, he built the first flour mill in the province and later a sawmill. He was a member of the first city council, and of all but two of the next twelve, its president in 1869 and 1870 and repeatedly represented the district in the Provincial Legislature after 1871. He was Minister of Finance and Agriculture in the De Cosmos Government of 1873-1876 and Sherriff of New Westminster County in 1883. In 1861 he had married Miss H. C. Ladner, sister of the pioneers of Ladner, and she was with him among the first passengers eastward over the Canadian Pacific Railway. He (199) For a general account of Robson's life, character and work see B.C. Biographical, III., 996-1002.

continued to occupy an important place in the city's life until his death in the second decade of this century. His brother, Joseph Charles, with his half-brother George, came to the province about the same time, but Joseph continued in gold-mining until 1869, when he began a real estate business and also did some road contracting with his brother George. He was a member of the city council from 1870 for nine consecutive years.

Of all the Royal Engineers who remained in the colony none assumed so prolonged and prominent a part in the affairs of the city and district as Lewis Francis Bonson. A joiner and wheelwright by trade, he had joined the corps which later brought him to British Columbia in time to see service in the Crimean War, like many of those who came with him; also in Gibraltar and Central America. On receiving his discharge in 1863 he turned his attention to building and contracting with interludes of hotel keeping. From 1876 to 1880 he was provincial road superintendent, then turned his attention to hotel-keeping and liquor-vending, while Mrs. Bonson operated a temperance hotel, the only one in the city. He had received the usual "sapper's grant" of one hundred fifty acres and this he more than doubled in 1892, from which year he engaged princi-

(200) Gosnell, Hist. of B. C., 324-326; Kerr, Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians, 89; Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 329, 334, 335, 490, 411; III. 536-540.

(201) Gosnell, Hist. of B. C. 625-626.

(202) Main. Guard., Apr. 29, 1871.

(203) Directory, 1882, 203.

pally in agriculture on his farm at Keatsey. In 1905 he re-
tired to New Westminster where he lived for another decade. (204)

Three other sappers who occupied places of some prominence in the early life of the city were Philip Jackman, policeman till (205) he went farming at Aldergrove in 1885, Sergeant John McMurphy who entered the government service as clerk, became deputy sheriff and held other positions, and Corporal John Murray who engaged in the trades of shoemaker and, later, realtor before removing to Port Moody. All four of these men survived the (206) century.

Ebenezer Brown was another of the city's earliest residents. He built, under contract, the monument which marks the Western land terminus of the international boundary, at Point (x) Roberts. He ran a general importing business, specializing (207) in liquors. He owned property opposite the city where later (208) was built "Punch's Hotel", and gave its name to Brownsville. He was a member of the first four city councils and of those (209) of 1873, '74 and '75, and represented the district in the Provincial Legislature from 1876 to 1881. He was first elected to support the Walker^M government but immediately went over to

(204) B. C. Biographical, IV., 10-13. Mr. Alfred Hawkins has a rabbett plane stamped with Spr. Bonson's name.

(205) Mr. Jackman of Aldergrove.

(206) H. Murray; B. C. Biographical, III., 379; IV., 805; Guide, 1877; Directory, 1882.

(207) Guide to B. C., 1877, p. 349; B. C. Directory, 1882, 208. Advts. in British Columbian and Mainland Guardian.

(x) Nelson, Place Names, Brownsville. See p. 109, ante.

(208) Nelson, Place Names; Mr. Catherwood, Mr. Thrift, Miss Shannon, etc.; Register, Blocks and Ranges, Blk. 5 N. R2W, lots 19, 20; R3W, lot 25.

(209) B. C. Directory, 1882, pp. 221-225.

the opposition, helped depose the government, and joined the Elliott cabinet. He then resigned and voted against his new leader. Re-elected in 1878, this time to oppose Walkin, who was returned to power, he moved the address in reply. To this peculiar type of politics was due his forced resignation in (210) 1881. He is remembered as one of the city's most picturesque, though not always praiseworthy, saloon-keepers and politicians.

William Clarkson came to the city and built one of the first houses there in the early summer of 1859, bringing his family from Ontario a year later. He was prominent in the early development of the Methodist Church,--almost might be called the minister's right-hand man. He was the city's first agriculturist and nurseryman, in which latter business he was engaged for many years. He was a member of the city council for four years, its president in 1865, and its first mayor, also a Justice of the Peace of the province.

Thomas J. Cunningham came to British Columbia at the opening of 1859 on the same boat from Panama with John Robson and the four pioneer Methodist Missionaries. After trying his luck in the goldfields he returned to New Westminster in July, 1861, and entered into a partnership with George Randall Ashwell in the hardware and furniture business. In 1864 he married Miss Emily Woodman, whom he had first met on the boat in company with her sister Mrs. Edward White, and moved to Nan-

aimo, whence he returned to his old business at New Westminster
 (210) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II, 401. (211) White's diary, June 11, 1859, Jan. 4, Aug. 30, Oct. 14, 1860.
 (212) Guide, 1877, p. 349. Directory, 1882, p. 208. (213) Directory, 1882, pp. 221-222; Guide, 1877, p. 82. (See p.172)

in 1882. Meanwhile his brother James carried on the business in New Westminster, of whose council he was five times a member besides being Mayor in 1872 and 1873, and a Justice of the Peace of the province. He also represented the city and district in the Dominion Parliaments after 1874. Thomas Cunningham was a member of the Legislative Assembly and of the city council during the later 'eighties.

Robert Dickinson came to New Westminster in 1859, and as we have seen, established the first meat market there in that year, a business which he continued to own and operate until his death in 1889 at the age of fifty-three. He was eight times elected a councillor of the city, was its president in 1864 and mayor in 1874, 1880 and 1881, and for over a quarter of a century Justice of the Peace.

Henry Valentine Edmonds arrived in 1862 and from then to near the close of the century was the city's most successful realtor. He was also active in organizing several companies including a beet sugar company and the Fraser Valley Railway Company of 1873 which later was reorganized as the New Westminster and Southern, which in turn was bought by the Great Northern. He was city clerk from 1869 to 1872, government agent from then till 1876, then sheriff until 1880. In 1883 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace. He was also active in the organization of many of the city's public bodies.

(214) See p.155 above. (x) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 336.

(215) See White's diary; Biogr. Dict., p. 137; B.C. Biographical, III., 251-252. (216) Directory, 1882, pp. 209, 221-223; Biogr. Dict., p. 142.

(217) British Columbia Biographical, Biogr. Dict., p. 156.

Henry Holbrook was one of the city's earliest residents. He was variously engaged as a hotel-keeper, a merchant and a salmon-canner. The Holbrook House on Front Street was a well known hostelry for many years, keeping the name under various proprietors. He was six times elected to the city council during its first ten years, was its president in 1863 and 1867 and Mayor in 1878. He was an elected member of the first Legislative Council of the mainland colony of British Columbia in 1863, was reelected for Douglas-Lillooet in 1864, and was a magisterial member of the first legislature of British Columbia to meet in the newly selected capital, Victoria, in 1868, and was a member of the famous Yale Convention of that year. He was a member of the first legislature and President of the first Executive Council of the province after it entered Confederation. He was also a Justice of the Peace of the colony.

Joshua Attwood Reynolds Homer, wharfinger and commission agent, we have already seen as the colony's first lumber exporter. Coming to the city in its infancy, he was a member of its first council. Like William Clarkson, he was one of those active in securing a separate governor for the mainland colony. He was the first elected representative of the city in the Legislative Council of the Colony, which position he held until

the union of the colonies. As sheriff of New Westminster he

(218) Directory, 1882, pp. 212, 221-225.

(219) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 169, 189, 252, 283, 329-330.

(220) Directory, 1882, pp. 212, 221.

(221) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 164. British Columbian, Sept. 19, 1864

(222) British Columbian, Nov. 14, 1863 and October 12, 1864.

read the proclamation of the union on November 19, 1866, to
 the hostile ears of the citizens of that place. He was elected
 to Parliament in 1881.

Captain William Irving came from Oregon to the Fraser River in 1859, where his steamers the Governor Douglas, and the Colonel Moody, both built in Victoria, were true pioneers. In 1862 he sold his interests and built the Reliance, followed three years later by the Onward, the best boat of her day, and the first command of Captain John Irving at the age of twenty years. In 1872, on the death of his father, Captain John took command of the fleet, which now included the Lillooet, Hope, Glenmora, and Royal City. In 1874 the William C. Hunt was added and in 1881 the Elizabeth Irving, destroyed by fire at Hope on its second voyage. In 1883 he bought out the Hudson's Bay line, amalgamated it with his own Pioneer line, and formed the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, later purchased from him by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Captain William Irving was twice a member of the New Westminster city council, of which he was president in 1868. "Captain John" died in Vancouver in August, 1936.

William Johnston, the pioneer shoe merchant of the city, was engaged in that business continuously from his arrival in 1859 to his death in 1894. He was a member of the city council

(223) British Columbian, Nov. 21, 1866.
 (224) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 394.
 (225) B. C. Biographical, III., 1058-1061, 1076-1080; Directory, 1882, p. 222, and Biographical District, pp. 203-204.

(226)
from 1861 to 1864.

James Kennedy, who had already brought his wife to live at New Westminster before the Royal Engineers arrived in April, 1859, was an architect and builder who was also for a time, partly under religious constraint, a teacher; and who also developed near the city in the 'sixties one of the earliest successful orchards of the colony. He built or superintended the construction of many of the city's first buildings, including the city Post Office and Provincial Assylum, but most of his works were destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1898. It was with his aid and encouragement that his sons took over the British Columbian from the Robson brothers in 1888.

Another of the pioneers of 'fifty-nine was Charles George Major. He followed the Robsons, for whom he had worked in the East, to British Columbia by way of Panama and arrived in New Westminster on June 1. He worked at clearing land and whatever else he could find to do until 1862 when for over two years he was in the Cariboo, chiefly as messenger for Barnard's Express, though by a coincidence he drove the first stage over the road to Soda Creek. Returning to New Westminster at the end 1864 he entered the merchandising business in partnership with J. S. Clute, whose interest he bought in 1870 when the latter left for Missouri. In 1887 he sold his store and in-

(226) Gosnell, Hist. of B.C. p. 518; Directory, 1882, p. 221.
(227) See p. 193 below. (228) He had, at one time or another, at least three different farms; (1) Just opposite N.W.; Gp. II, lot 15; dated 1861; see White's diary, Nov. 7, 1866. (2) At Langley, while teaching there; Gp. II. lot 313, dated 1868. (3) At top of hill on Scott Road, where Kennedy settlement is named for him; see Nelson, Place Names; probably Gp. II., lots 24, 25, dated 1865.

vested in real estate, in which he was already heavily interested. He also became a director in several important businesses. In 1868 he was married to Mary Elizabeth Clarkson, daughter of William Clarkson and sister of Mrs. J. S. Clute and Mrs. J. C. Brown. Rev. Edward White officiated. Prominent in the Methodist Church, Mr. Major was also several times elected to the city council and served on other public bodies. (230) He died at New Westminster in 1929. John Stillwell Clute came to B. C. in 1862, was president of the city council, of which he was frequently a member, in 1867, returned from Missouri in 1875 and in 1878 became collector of customs for the port of New Westminster. (231)

Much attention has already been given to John Robson, easily the most prominent of New Westminster's pioneers. His first two years in British Columbia were spent digging for gold in the Cariboo and clearing land at New Westminster, where he early became prominent in the Methodist Church. In 1861 he entered journalism, which was his principal business until politics took too much of his time and talent to permit it. Beginning as a member of the city council, of which he was president in 1866, he soon found scope for his abilities in

wider fields. In that same year he was elected to the legisla-

- (229) Gosnell, Hist. of B.C., 412-415, 429-430; B.C. Biogr., III., 551-552. White's diary, Oct. and Nov. 1866; Sess. P. 1878, p. 509.
- (230) Directory, 1882, 223; Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 131; III., 156-160; White's diary, Aug. 3, 27, 1861, Nov. 14, 28, Dec. 5, 1866; Daily Province, Oct. 9, 1929.
- (231) Gosnell, Hist. B. C., 126; Directory, 1882, 221-223.

ture of the united colonies against bitter opposition but also with staunch supporters. The Methodist parson was accused of electioneering for him. He defeated his opponent, Dr. A. W. S. Black by 210 to 194. In his editorials he always supported two policies; first, that the development of a permanent, settled society, based on agriculture and industry, was of vastly greater importance than the gold-mining hubble; second, that the government should be held responsible to the people whom it governed. He supported in press and on platform the confederation movement. He was elected to the provincial legislature several times, became provincial secretary in 1883, held several ministerial posts from then until 1889, when he became Premier. This position he held until his death in 1892.

Honest, conscientious, outspoken and fearless, he made staunch friends and bitter enemies. His attacks on faults in high places brought persecution, personal abuse, and even physical violence, his newspaper office being once burned, but he found comfort in a clear conscience and in the belief that it was the best element which supported him most and the worst which attacked. John Robson came to British Columbia at the same time as his brother, Rev. Ebenezer Robson, one of the four pioneers Methodist missionaries, who was the first parson on the Fraser and of whom mention is made elsewhere. A brother Charles seems

(232) British Columbian, Oct. 20, 1866.

(233) See files of the British Columbian which he edited from 1861 to 1869 and from 1879 to 1883. Also Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 164, 253, 293, 328, 450-456; III, 996-1002 and White's diary, Oct. 30, 1859, Jan. 4, Aug. 3, 1860; Oct. 17, 1866.

to have accompanied them also, but we hear nothing further of
(234)
him. Another brother, David, was a pioneer of New Westminster
and the North Arm, was associated with his elder brother in
the British Columbian from 1879 to 1882, and held various
(235)
government positions.

(236)
John Thomas Scott, as we have already seen, built and
operated the first saloon in the city. He also built and opera-
(237)
ted the first wharf and in 1863 built the Levee along the
(238)
waterfront for the sum of \$2,240. He continued in the con-
tracting business in and about the city for many years, his
most important contract being for the road that now bears his
name, from Brownsville to what was then the Ladner-Semiahmoo
(239)
Road, which he built in 1876. John Alfred Webster was another
(240)
of New Westminster's merchants from the early 'sixties. Both
these men assisted in organizing the city fire brigade and the
(241)
latter also served on the city council.

Probably the first school in New Westminster was that com-
menced by Miss Woodman shortly after the Whites arrived. In-
tending primarily to look after the education of her sister's
(242)
children, she offered her services to other settlers. She also
(243)
began, early in 1860, the first school for Chinese. Other pri-
(244)
vate schools, especially for "young ladies", followed soon.

In 1862 Rev. Robert Jamieson, Presbyterian minister, at the re-
(234) White's diary, Nov. 7, 1859.

(235) Guide, 1877, p. 355; Directory, 1882, 217; B.C. Biogr.
II., 999.

(236) Supra, p.154.

(237) White's diary, May 1, 1859.

(238) British Columbian, Feb. 18, 1863,

(239) Guide, 1877, p. 350; Sess. Papers, 1874, p. 11; 1876, p.
448. (See fns. page 179).

quest of a number of parents, opened a school attended by about twenty children. At the end of nine months he found his church duties too pressing and handed over the school to a Mr. McIlveen, an experienced teacher. The enrolment increased to thirty-five and the government gave a grant of one hundred pounds towards the salary. A committee of three, chosen by the parents, managed the school and raised the funds by a levy. In 1865, with the aid of the government and city, the building of a school was undertaken. It was built according to plans prepared by a member of the Royal Engineers and cost a little (245) under two thousand dollars. This building served for over fifteen years, until the government replaced it with "a handsome and imposing structure...at the head of Mary Street" at a cost of \$2800. (246) In 1871 the government was petitioned to (247) take over school financing, which was accomplished for the province by the Public Schools Act of the following year. (247a) By 1866 the public library was a flourishing institution and a (248) dramatic society was being formed. An agricultural fair for the Fraser Valley was proposed by the editor of the British Colum-

(240) Lot book, N.W., Gp. I., lot 26, etc; Guide, 1877, p. 351.

(241) Directory, 1882, 223-225.

(242) Rev. J. H. White.

(243) Rev. E. Robson; How Methodism Came to B.C., p. 26.

(244) Advts. in Brit. Col., Nov. 11, 1863; March 30, 1864.

(245) Ibid., Dec. 19, 1863; Feb. 13, July 2, 1864; May 23, June 10, 1865.

(246) Directory, 1882, p. 202.

(247) Mainland Guardian, Jan. 5, 1871.

(247a) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 332.

(248) British Columbian, Jan. 17, Oct. 6, 1866.

bian in 1866 but nothing was done about it till 1871 when a society was formed because, as one of its promoters said, he was tired of showing his goods in an "outlying island."⁽²⁴⁹⁾

An important institution in the city has been the Royal Columbian Hospital, built in 1862. After the departure of Dr. Seddall of the Royal Engineers in the following year the only physician in the city for some years was Dr. Arthur Walter Shaw Black, who was returned for Cariboo West in the first election in the colony in 1863. He was entering on his second term as city councillor when in 1871, answering a night call to Burrard Inlet, his horse slipped on the wet "corduroy" and his body was found under that of his horse, in the ditch.⁽²⁵⁰⁾⁽²⁵¹⁾⁽²⁵²⁾⁽²⁵³⁾

Three months elapsed before another physician was found for the city in the person of Dr. Thornber from Seattle. For some reason he failed to inspire confidence and soon left the city to go farming on the North Arm, where he remained for many years. He was followed at New Westminster by Drs. Matthews and Foster and they were followed immediately by Dr. Charles N. Trew, appointed physician to the hospital and jail, and coroner of New Westminster, Langley and Chilliwack. He re-

mained long enough, and obtained sufficient prestige in the

(249) British Columbian, Oct. 3, 1866; Mainland Guardian, March 16, Aug. 9, Sept. 27, Oct. 7, 14, 18. 1871.

(250) Picture in "Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette."

(251) British Columbian, Nov 14, 1863. Full name from Lot Book, N.W., Gp. 2, lot 108.

(252) Directory, 1882, 223.

(253) Mainland Guardian, Mar. 30, 1871; Mr. Hugh Murray.

(254) Ibid., June 10, 20, 28, 1871.

(255) Mainland Guardian, Feb. 7, 1872. Lawson's diary, Aug. 29, 30, 1883.

(256) Mainland Guardian, Feb. 7, 10, Mar. 16, 1872. Guide, 1877, pp. 81, 351.

(181)

(257)

community, to become Dr. C. Newland Trew.

Mention of the tragic death of Dr. Black tempts one to digress a moment to refer to two other cases. One is that of McMicking and his son, who were drowned in the river from their boats capsizing about ten miles below the city. The tragedy was felt by all in the little community, where the funeral was the largest yet witnessed, and where Mr. McMicking was highly esteemed. The other is that of James Keary, one of the Royal Engineers, who had entered the fuel business. In 1871 his team started to run away on a hill, he was thrown under the wheels and so crushed that he died two days later.

No account of the early history of New Westminster would be nearly complete without a special reference to its famous voluntary fire company, the "Hyacks". It was organized in 1861 and annually elected its officers, a chief and assistant engineer, a captain, two lieutenants, three branchmen, and a secretary-steward. The proudest day in its history was the ninth day of April, 1863, when the first engine, the "Fire King", arrived. The efficiency of the organization was generally

praised and on more than one occasion they were credited with

(257) Directory, 1882, p. 218.

(258) This was neither of the McMickings of the overland expedition of 1862, (see Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II, 139) for in 1877 they were still both living, R.B. as superintendent for B.C. and Thos. A. as agent at Vista, between Chilliwack and Hope, of the Western Union Telegraphs. See Guide, 1877, 169.

(259) White's diary, Aug. 25 and 27, 1866.

(260) Mainland Guardian, Dec. 23, 27, 1871; Gosnell, Hist. of B.C., p. 705.

(261) Chinook, hyack--hurry. A picture of the company (n. d.) is in N. W. Public Library.

(262) Directory, 1882, p. 225.

(263) British Columbian, Apr. 11, 1863.

(264)

saving the town. But it was more than a fire company. The "Hyack Hall" was the community hall, used for political and all manner of public meetings, concerts and dances and all sorts of entertainment. And the company was a sort of athletic union and program committee for various public occasions. The May Day was particularly their own, dating from 1871 when Queen Lizzie Irving rode the Fire King, drawn by the Hyacks, to the cricket ground for the crowning. May Day, May 24, July 4 and eventually July 1 were all occasions for New Westminster to celebrate, and this they did with a will. The Queen's birthday was the sports day supreme with athletic contests, horse racing on Columbia Street, and canoe and boat races on the river. The champion on such occasions, up to the year of Confederation, was powerful and headstrong young Alex McLean, son of the old captain of the same name on the Pitt River. In that year July 1 was recognized with copious hunting, but July 4 saw the usual big celebration.

There were at New Westminster three militia units. The oldest was the New Westminster Rifle Volunteers comprising some of the former Royal Engineers and some of the civilian population. Then the New Westminster Home Guards and the Sey-

(264) E.g. Mainland Guardian, Nov. 19, 1870; July 5, 1871.
 (265) Ibid., Mar. 18, May 3, 1871.
 (266) Ibid., May 27, 1871.
 (267) Ibid., loc. cit. See also father's advt. of his running from home, Ibid., Apr. 13, 1872. He died in Vancouver in 1932. (Daily Province, Aug. 31, 1932.)
 (268) Ibid., July 5, 1871. This is not to be taken as an evidence of an annexationist spirit. New Westminster took no part in that movement.

mour Artillery were formed in 1866, the three comprising about one hundred eighty men. Their drills and parades with colorful uniforms and their marksmanship contest constituted important items in the social and sports calendars of the little
(269)
frontier capital.

At the end of 1862, under the chairmanship of J. T. Scott, a Pioneers' Association was formed. Charter membership was granted to those who had been in the mainland colony since the last day of December, 1859, and membership was open to all who arrived before the end of 1862 and remained in the colony.
(270)
Mr. Scott was its first president.

In 1866, by an act of the Imperial Parliament, the two Pacific coast colonies were united, with Frederick Seymour, governor of the mainland colony continuing as governor of the union. In recommending the union he had expected it to meet with much opposition on the mainland, and that the grim silence with which the proclamation was greeted when it was read at New Westminster rendered unnecessary Robson's editorial on "An Ill-Assorted Union" to tell him his fears had been realized. However the opposition rendered him no less popular and considering his recommendation that the royal city be the capital till some more central site presented itself made the mainland-
(271)

ers resigned to hope for the best. In the following January,

(269) British Columbian, June 20, 1866. Governor Seymour's commission to Ensign Robt. Dickinson of the H. G. Volunteers, Jan. 21, 1867, is in the N. W. Public Library.

(270) British Columbian, Dec. 29, 1862; Jan. 7, 1863.

(271) British Columbian, Nov. 21, 24, 1866.

indeed, the new legislature did meet there, but concluded its business by resolving that the capital should be transferred to Victoria. New Westminster was, however, given a year's reprieve by the procrastinating policy of the governor, but on May 25, 1868, he was forced to yield and to proclaim Victoria thenceforth the capital. The inhabitants of the city felt they had been doubly sacrificed for imperial and Victoria interests, and without gaining anything in compensation. The gloom was so intense that, seeing the way things were going, even the dauntless editor of the "British Columbian" for over a decade abandoned the city whose champion he had been since its inauguration and moved to the iniquitous city which had won the fight by deceit and underhanded cunning. (272) The jealousy, not to say hatred, engendered between the two cities at that time was to last till long after the upstart railway terminus on Coal Harbor had shattered the last hope of either to be the metropolitan city of British Columbia.

(272) Even before the union, and while the question was being first agitated, the Yale Tribune had published a "petition" to have the capital situated at Lytton. This called forth Robson's most biting sarcasm upon the guileful methods of Victoria politicians. The Tribune was Victoria owned, and he attributed the petition to the owners' desire to divide the mainland against itself. (British Columbian, Oct. 10, 1866.) He may have had some misgivings on this point, however, when he concluded his editorial welcome to Governor Seymour and his Bride, on Nov. 14, with the statement that the plans which the Governor carried in his head were more important in the future destiny of the colony than the fortunes of all the miners in the country.

(d) FIRST SETTLERS.

Until the Act of Union, indeed until Confederation five years later, British Columbia was almost solely a gold colony. That is to say, the bulk of its population had come to find a fortune and the rest had come in the hope of relieving them of a portion of it, whether or not for services rendered. The first settlers on the land, then, were of two types, those who belonged to the first type just mentioned and had been disillusioned about the hubble fortune and settled down to make the best of it till some way out offered itself, and those who belonged to the second class and thought the better way to a fortune was to provision the miners while their optimism lasted and they were willing to pay a generous price for supplies. Indeed, in order to take double advantage of the mining excitement, many built houses much larger than they needed and combined the occupation of innkeeper with that of agriculturist. The two most noted examples of this sort of thing, but by no means exceptions, as we shall see, were James Codville, of Codville's Landing, on Nicomen Island, opposite the mouth of the Sumas, and Thomas York, whose farm on Sumas Prairie was the practical terminus of the Whatcom Trail, and who built a house

(273)

of fourteen rooms to accommodate guests. There were from the first, however, some who from the first regarded the gold-fever as but a passing phase and agreed with the editor of the Bri-

(273) See Codville's advt. in British Columbian, Sept. 1, 1866, and notice re York's house in Mainland Guardian, Oct. 11, 1871.

tish Columbian that in agricultural and pastoral pursuits and in fishing lay the real future of the country and that in breaking the soil they were beginning a work that would endure when the last fleck of gold had been taken from "them thar hills."

And certainly the prospect was bright enough for those whose eyes were not dazzled by the yellow lure. Beef was being brought in on the hoof from Oregon and more distant points, all meats were selling at from forty cents a pound up, flour at thirty cents and upward, and even the lowly potato was worth twenty dollars a hundredweight. ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ Supposing half these prices ⁽²⁷⁵⁾ were taken up by freight costs, who wouldn't be a farmer?

Land on the lower Fraser was plentiful and cheap. A proclamation of February 14, 1859 declared all lands other than in townsites, mineral claims or government reserves would be sold from time to time by auction and at any other time by contract for the upset price of ten shillings per acre, half cash and the balance in two years. A second one on January 4, 1860, provided for preemption of rectangular blocks, of which the shorter should be at least two-thirds the length of the longer sides, by placing stakes at the four corners, and giving a description with a registration fee of eight shillings to the nearest magistrate. Any land in excess of one hundred sixty acres was to be paid for at the rate of five shillings cash and all of it, when surveyed, was to be paid for at a rate not ex-

(274) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 111.

(275) British Columbian, Jan. 18, 1865, gives freight rates to Cariboo at 15 to 18 cents per lb.

ceeding ten shillings. A third proclamation a fortnight later provided for all surveyed lands to be sold in blocks as surveyed at auction or for the upset price of ten shillings. On January 19, 1861, the upset price was reduced to four shillings one per acre.
(276)

It will be noticed that in the first land proclamation no provision is made for mapping the lands purchased, and that the second and third appear to apply to two different systems. A study of the original lot registers and of some of the older maps in the government agency at New Westminster reveals what these were. Until it became a part of the railway belt and was surveyed into the present system of townships and sections most of the land of the province was unsurveyed and was taken up in "lots" according to the method of the second proclamation above. These are today known as district lots, and in the Fraser Valley are in four groups. New Westminster District, Group I., includes all lots north of the river, with a few exceptions immediately to be explained. Group II, includes all lots on the islands and south of the river. A group III was started on the north side of the river, but never grew beyond nine lots registered, "proved" and paid for. The first six are grouped together between Mission and Hatzic, Lot 7 is at Nicomen Station, Lot 8 at the head of Hatzic River, and Lot 165 includes the flat just west of Mission. Another Lot 7, appar-

ently on Hatzic Prairie, was entered and crossed out and Lots
(276) All four proclamations are given in Mayne, Four Years in B. C. and V. I., 356-361.

(277) Townships are 6 mi. sq., sections 1 mi. sq., i.e. 1Tp. = 36 sects.

11 to 24 appear to have been entered on the register with the name "Ralph and date" 10/5/75^(x) and erased. The fourth group in the valley is the Yale District, but it is an interesting fact that several lots of this group lie in the flats of Kent Municipality in the New Westminster District while Lots 446 and 447 of New Westminster, Group II., lie in Yale District.

The Royal Engineers did, however, survey some of the western area and delta into what are known as "Blocks and Ranges." Moody's letters show that he instructed Joseph Wood Trutch to lay down the base line of this system by starting at post number five (the first four are on Point Roberts) and running due north, the line to be called the Coast Meridian. This line is now the Coast-Meridian Road. From this base line ranges three miles in width were to be marked off east and west and these in turn were to be divided into blocks, three miles square, starting at the International Boundary line or its extension. Each block was then divided into thirty-six square sections of one hundred sixty acres and numbered in exact reverse of the order employed in the present townships. Actually, east of the base line only Blocks 1, 5, and 6 of the first range ever seem to have been surveyed, and they include a great many lots. Westward there were lots registered in seven ranges extending as far north as the sixth block. When the present system was inaugurated, all sections remaining un-

(x) A fourth group in N.W. Dist. was formed out of the old Sumas Lake bed when it was dyked and drained during the 1920's.

(278) Moody (per Burnaby) to Trutch, June 2, 1859 and Moody to Douglas, June 17, 1859. (Archives of B. C.)

registered became quarter-sections in the new system. Sections registered under the old system are dated from 1859 to 1876, (279) the earliest under the new system is 1874, all others being (280) 1876 or later.

A study of the Lot Registers and Blocks and Ranges Register reveals not only the original ownership of the land but also, combined with a knowledge of the history of settlement, some glaring abuses of the system. Referring to the delta in 1882 one writer complained that settlement was retarded because all good land not already under cultivation was being (281) held for speculation. How true! And one of the worst offenders was the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works himself. During his short stay in the colony Moody bought twenty-two lots within a few miles of the capital in Group I. and six sections in the same area, a total of over three thousand seven hundred fifty acres. There was later a rumor of his (282) bringing his sons to farm some of it but nothing resulted. The prices ranged from one dollar and one cent to two dollars forty-two and one-half cents an acre. Other speculators include New Westminster merchants, surveyors, clergymen, and others. Every section of Douglas Island was purchased by the governor and the crown grant issued to Cecilia Helmcken. A considerable amount of the land so secured is still uncultivated.

(279) The last is S29, Blk. 5N, Rsw.

(280) NW $\frac{1}{4}$ S8T40. The new survey was begun in 1873. (Guide, 1877, p. 114.)

(281) Directory, 1882, p. 242.

(282) Mainland Guardian, Jan. 19, 1871.

Despite cheap land, fertile soil, and a flourishing market, however, there were plenty of things to cause the prospective agriculturist to hesitate. First the land had to be cleared and drained, the latter no easy task in the flat lowlands, the former nearly an impossibility in much of the heavily-timbered highland. As one old settler remarked, when he had finished clearing the land he was too old to work it and the boys too tired of helping to want to remain on it. (283) Greater ease of clearing and generally greater fertility would have made the lowlands more desirable but for fear of flooding when the river was in freshet. Some of the early settlers, at great expense of money and labor, dyked their own, but most sought higher lands or faced the annual risk until settlement had advanced sufficiently for dyking to become a public undertaking. Another annual risk, nay annual certainty, was mosquitoes. Every diary and memoir, every pioneer settler, has something to say about this terrible plague in early days of virgin forest, undrained swamp and undyked lowland. No person visiting the country today can realize how bad they were.

Another difficulty which faced the prospective tiller of the soil was that of communication. During the crown colony days the only real road in the valley was that from New Westminster and Sapperton traversing the Moody estate to the Pitt River just north of Mary Hill. (284) In 1862 the editor bemoaned the lack of even a trail to Langley though one or two attempts

(283) Childhood recollection of the writer.

(284) Supra, p.147

had been made at it. There was also a trail of sorts to Mud
(285)
Bay. A "road" was also surveyed to Maple Ridge and, Whonnock
(286)
but never put in a passable condition. In the same year Reece
and Kipp cut a trail from their farm at Chilliwack to Yale,
(287)
where Reece kept a butcher shop. In 1865 the Overland Tele-
graph trail was cut from New Westminster by way of Langley,
Matsqui, Upper Sumas and Chilliwack to Hope, Yale and beyond,
but could not possibly be used to take any quantity of produce
(288)
to market. It had no bridges and in swamps was impassable.
Agitation at the same time for a road on the north side shows
(289)
the earlier scheme had not been developed. On the eve of con-
federation we find the trail to Yale put in a passable condi-
tion--"good for so small a grant"--by Edward S. Stephens, C.E,
and a year later improvements from Sumas eastward led to its
(290)
being dignified with the name of road. The western portions
were still impassable, the North Arm trail to Point Grey was
just commencing and agitation was reaching fever heat for a
trail to Semiamoo and a wagon road to Yale, while North Arm
(291)
farmers were also asking a road to Burrard Inlet. It is rea-
sonable, then, to state that prior to Confederation commerce
on the lower Fraser was confined to river steamers and to

boats and canoes on river and slough.

(285) British Columbian, Nov. 1, 15, 1862.

(286) Ibid., Nov. 5, 1862. Maple Ridge Council minutes, Dec.
5, 1874.

(287) Province, June 17, 1933.

(288) British Columbian, Sept. 5, 1866.

(289) Ibid., loc. cit. and Mar. 25, 1865.

(290) Mainland Guardian, Sept. 10, 1870; June 28, 1871.

(291) Ibid., Sept. 9, 21, 1870, June 14, 28, July 29, Aug. 23,
1871; Jan. 27, 1872.

Primitive and isolated conditions of life were another deterrent to settlement. The easiest way in and out of the country was by ship by way of Cape Horn or Panama. Other routes were by one of the various American trails to California or Oregon and thence by boat or by the arduous and hazardous overland route from Lake Superior or Hudson Bay. Only in 1869 did the linking of the Union and Central Pacific Railways give an easier way to Northwest America. Mails went to San Francisco and thence by the quickest route. On April 18, 1865, the first telegraph message reached New Westminster,--that of the death of President Lincoln. By the end of the year telegraph offices had been opened at various points along the valley,--Langley, Matsqui, Chilliwack, Vista and Hope. Messages between these points and New Westminster cost from fifty cents to a dollar for ten words. Similar messages to the outside world cost two dollars to California and two fifty and two seventy-five respectively to Eastern United States and Canada. Postal rates varied greatly according to location, one settler twelve miles from the river complaining that a letter cost him a dollar, and complaints at the irregularity of mails were frequent. The problem of educating children in such isolation will be immediately apparent. By 1864 there

(292) Encyclopedia Britannica, art. Union Pac. Ry.
 (293) British Columbian, June 17, 1865.
 (294) Ibid., April 7, 1866.
 (295) Guide, 1877, p. 169.
 (296) Mainland Guardian, June 24, 1877. Minutes of Council, Chilliwack Dist. Oct. 24, 1879.

were schools at both New Westminster and Yale to which they might go if proper arrangements could be made but in the agricultural districts the first attempt to establish a school was at Langley at the beginning of 1867 by James Kennedy, to serve both that and Maple Ridge districts.

(298)

Hope, Yale and Douglas were still flourishing towns in those days,--indeed in the early 'sixties were nearly as large as New Westminster. Their populations were almost entirely connected with travel and transport to the interior goldfields, Similkameen, Cariboo, Kootenay, Big Bend, Omineca and others. Their history of this period belongs mostly to that of these gold rushes rather than to that of the agricultural Fraser Valley. They were, however, important to the valley because without them the valley would not yet have had transport and communication systems; because the valley settlers made extra money by keeping stopping places for travellers thither, by wintering transport animals for the pack trains, freight wagons and stages, and by cutting wood for the steamers; because they gave a market for young live-stock, for hay and grain and for all sorts of farm produce, and because waning of business in these towns gave the valley some of its most useful pioneers. Port Douglas, which had at one time boasted a number of stores and hotels, a jail, an Anglican church and a school, was by

(299)

1867 practically abandoned, only George Purcell remaining to
 (297) British Columbian, Feb. 13, 1864. (298) Ibid., Jan. 12, 1867, and White's diary, Nov. 2 to Dec. 1, 1866.
 (299) Mr. MacDonald and Mrs. York. Their father, Wm. MacDonald, was secretary of the school board. See advt. in British Columbian, March 3, 1866.

trade with the Indians. At Yale was an Anglican church, St. John's, started in 1859 by Rev. A. D. Pringle, a school, a court-house and jail, a number of hotels, stores, blacksmith shops and transportation companies,--the two best known, the "B. X." and Kwong Lee. The first teacher was Joseph Burr followed by Miss Nagle and Alfred Pleace who left to become keeper of the toll-gate. The Hudson's Bay Company, as we have seen, was still in business there and at Hope. The latter town was gradually becoming less important as a place of transshipment as the Similkameen Skagit and Kootenay excitement subsided, and was becoming more a residential town. Its most famous resident was Mr. Edgar Dewdney, builder of the Dewdney Trail to Similkameen and its extension to the East Kootenay, who was there married by Rev. A. D. Pringle of Christ's Church to Miss Jane Moir, step-daughter of Thomas Glennie of Hope. Besides Christ's Church, established in 1861, which shared ministers with St. John's, Yale, Hope had a Methodist church, headquarters of the oldest Methodist circuit in the

Mainland colony. The first sermon was preached by Rev. Ebene-
 (300) The parish register is in the synod office. The first baptism entered is that of Thomas Fraser York, born October 21, 1858, baptised August 28, 1859. Rev. A. D. Pringle was followed by W. B. Crickmer, 1861, Henry Reeve, 1864, John Booth Good, 1866, I. Reynard, 1868, David Holmes, 1868, (there seems to have been no incumbent (1873-'77) H. P. Wright ("Up-Wright") 1877, J. B. Good, 1878, Geo. Ditcham, 1879, Chas. Blanchard, 1880, J. B. Good, 1881, Daniel H. W. Horlock, 1882, and Edward L. Wright ("Down-Wright") 1885.

(301) Mrs. York and Mr. MacDonald. Miss Nagle married Rev. D. Holmes.

(302) British Columbian, March 30, 1864.

(303) Ibid., Oct. 31, 1861.

zer Robson on March 13, 1859, and his circuit included all
 mining camps of the Hope-Yale area. The town seems to have
 boasted no school till the 'seventies when Miss Fanny Dewdney
 became the first teacher. There was a sawmill in Yale, be-
 longing to Jonathan Reece, one across the river, and one at
 Hope, started by a man named Coe, which still gives its name
 to Mill Creek, really a ditch from the Coquihalla.

The earliest application for land for agricultural pur-
 poses of which we have record is that of W. K. Squires for one
 hundred acres on Croft Island, opposite Hope. Richard Hicks,
 commissioner of crown lands at Yale, granted him right of pur-
 chase as soon as law permitted, meanwhile to pay rental to be
 applied in reduction of the purchase price. We hear nothing
 more about it. Nor were there any farms between there and
 Yale till the railway commenced. Marcelli Michaud applied for
 land above Hope, but being refused, because it was Indian Re-
 serve, seems to have found land to suit him at Hope and later
 moved down the river eighteen miles on the north side. The
 next in order as we descend the river was William Bristol on

Bristol Island, well-known to all old-timers on the river as
 (304) Robson, How Meth. came to B.C., p. 9. The date 26th for
 the previous Sunday at Langley must be misprint for 6th.
 See White's diary, Mar. 2 and 27, 1859. Robson was fol-
 lowed after one year by Rev. A. Browning.
 (305) Mrs. Flood (Miss Susan Suckley) who taught them in 1881.
 (306) Gosnell, Hist. of B. C., p. 500.
 (307) Mr. W. F. Bradley of Hope; Mrs. Walker; Dept. of Lands,
 L. R. map (d) 18T1 shows it as "Sawmill head" (dated
 1861) Chart 30T1 shows mill opp. Yale.
 (308) Howay and Scholefield.
 (309) Guide, 1877, pp. 358-361.
 (310) See ante, p. 28; Sess. P., 1876, p. 240; Guide, 1877, p.
 359; Directory, 1882, p. 269.

(311)

the winter mail-carrier. At the head of Maria Slough lived Thomas Benton Hicks, who, like Bristol, had an Indian wife and a career as a frontiersman rivalling that of Cooper's hero of the "Leatherstocking" series. He lived on his "Cassiar Farm" at Wableach principally raising cattle and children, from 1865 to 1910, when he moved to St. Elmo. He seems to have been saved from death at the hand of Indians by his wife's caution on more than one occasion. Next, on the same side of the river, was "Fernycoombe", one of the oldest and most successful farms in the whole valley. In 1862 Louis Agassiz, late captain of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and now postmaster at Fort Hope, came down the river with Rev. A. D. Pringle and some Indians to what is at present the Agassiz Slough, paddled up it to a place without too much large timber and staked his claim for a future home. For the next five years he remained at Hope while

(311) Alex Beers, of Hope, is his grandson.

(312) Born in Devonshire in 1831, he had gone to Mississippi, thence with the Mormon migration to Utah where he became a friend of David Crockett (See Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Dec. 1, 1903). Together they had gone into the Indian Wars and entered the U. S. Govt. service in Washington Territory. Hicks had a part in starting the San Juan trouble, then joined the Boundary Survey, helped open that part of the Whatcom Trail from Sumas towards Hope, opened a stopping-place on the Lukukuk, and helped Coe start his sawmill at Hope. There he married "Princess Kilkalam" of Nicola, whose father was a packer for Dewdney, and who worked for Mrs. William Charles. He then joined the Cassiar gold rush before taking "Cassiar Farm", Lot 66, Yale Dist. at Wableach in 1865 (Mrs. Hicks, Mrs. Walker, and Miss Agassiz, and folio of "Pioneers", p. 170, in B.C. Archives.)

(313) Old family records held by relatives in Australia show that two Swiss gentlemen went to Paris about the middle of the Eighteenth Century. One, Jaques Necker, secured a satisfactory position in a bank and remained to become the most prominent person in France on the eve of the Revolution. The other went on to England, (p. 197)

his eldest son, Louis Arthur, a boy in his teens, came down the river on a raft and cleared the farm. Then the family moved down. An Englishman named John Walker worked for them for a time before taking land of his own and becoming their only near neighbor. They appear to have been the only all-white settlers between Harrisonmouth and Hope before the 'seventies. The hot-springs, discovered and named St. Alice's Well in honor of one of Douglas' daughters in 1858, belonged to George Purcell who offered to sell them in 1866 for \$1500. He seems otherwise never to have made any use of them.

At Harrisonmouth the earliest settlers appear to have been the Donellys, Pat and Jim. The latter, who had operated a water ditch at Texas Bar in 1858, lived there from 1862 until his death in 1871, and with his brother, who was still farming there in the later 'seventies, ran a stopping place especially to accommodate travellers between Douglas and Yale waiting between boats. A negro by the name of Bloomfield had a similar establishment. At the beginning of 1863 several others

- took up land at the mouth of the river, but we have not learned where his grandson Louis N. Agassiz was born. With others of the family he went to Australia, then to Charlottetown, P.E.I., where his eldest son was born, and to London, Ontario, where his wife had been raised, before coming to Hope. J. Louis R. Agassiz, Swiss-American naturalist, is of another branch of the same family.
- (314) Mr. and Miss Agassiz and Mr. L. J. Walker; B.C. Biographical, III, 614-617. (The names under the pictures are in reverse order.)
- (315) A Journey into the Interior of British Columbia, pp. 245 and 247; and Victoria Gazette, Dec. 30, 1858, quoted by Denys Nelson in his "Place Names" etc. "Harrison". T. McInnes' account ("Chinook Days") of his discovery of the springs belongs to the realm of romance rather than history, though his experiences may have been genuine enough. (See fn. page 198.)

their names. They may or may not have been among the sixteen
 (318) persons giving that address in 1877. The Harrison was also
 one of the province's earliest lumbering centres. In 1870 the
 local papers carried the advertisements of the Harrison River
 Saw Mills, Henry Cooper, proprietor, manufacturing dressed
 (319) flooring, cedar, white pine, maple and rough lumber.

We come now to the oldest and at all times the largest
 agricultural settlement in the valley. The first person to ob-
 tain a title to land in the Chilliwack area was Jonathan Reece,
 butcher and mill-owner of Hope and Yale, where he had come
 early in 1858. The only cattle in the colony belonging to the
 Hudson's Bay Company, he went to Oregon and drove in about two
 hundred young steers over the first blazed trail from Whatcom.
 At the Chilliwack he left them to fatten in charge of one Alex
 Ling, taking them to Yale as required. To part of the land on
 which they grazed he obtained a preemption title from England,
 apparently in 1859. In October 1862 his cousins, Isaac and
 Henry Kipp, returning discouraged from Cariboo, sought his fin-
 ancial aid to leave the country. Instead he offered them the
 work of looking after his cattle at Chilliwack, where they im-
 mediately settled and took up land in partnership with William
 Teague. In 1863 Teague sold his interests to the Kipps, who
 (316) Mainland Guardian, Sept. 20, 1871.
 (x) Guide, 1877, p. 353.
 (317) Mr. MacDonald and Mrs. York.
 (318) British Columbian, Jan. 31, 1863; Guide, 1877, pp.
 352-356.
 (319) E. g., Mainland Guardian, May 10, 1870

also bought out Reece's partner on the land, John Lawrence. On March 22, 1865, at New Westminster, Isaac Kipp married Miss Mary Ann Nelems the first white woman at Chilliwack, and in 1866 was born their daughter, Mary Jane, the first white child in the settlement. In 1869 Reece sold his business and moved to Chilliwack, where the Reece and Kipp land was equitably divided into three separate farms. (320)

While Reece and the Kipp brothers may rightly have claimed to be the founders of the Chilliwack settlement, they were not the first of those who settled there to see its possibilities. This honor might go to Volkert Vedder who came to Oregon in an ox-wagon sometime in the early 'fifties and is said at that time to have visited the valley and determined to settle there. He returned to his home in New York for his sons, Alathear and Adam, making the return journey again by ox-cart, thus traversing the plains three times, so that by the time he had his lot of six-hundred forty acres registered it was the year 1865. (321)

His sons, after helping him clear his farm where the Vedder

(320) British Columbian, Oct. 11, 1862; Chilliwack Pioneers; Gosnell, Hist. of B.C. 500 et seqq., 508 et seqq; Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II., 592; III., 1020-23; Kerr, Biogr. Dict., 274 et seqq; Mrs. Knight; Province, June 17, 1933; Horatio Webb, MS., Chilukweyuk Valley, pp. 1-3.

(x) Commonly Albert.

(321) Authorities disagree as to the date of the Vedder settlement. The lots, registered in 1865, '67, and at some later date prior to 1875 (Lot Book) are no aid. A. S. Vedder is probably, despite the personal factor, the most reliable. He claims to have arrived at Sumas in 1860 and to have built the first house in either Sumas or Chilliwack. (Gosnell, Hist., p. 495, and Kerr, Biogr-Dict., p. 315). It is curious that the name of Vedder appears nowhere on a rough diagram of the area, showing location of settlers, made by Wm. McColl, R.E. in 1864. (Dept. of Lands, Reserves, 31T1.)

Creek emptied into Sumas Lake, at the foot of Vedder Mountain, took land of their own at Sardis, to which Adam Swart Vedder gave its name. They had meanwhile spent several years freight-
(322)
ing on the Yale and Cariboo roads.

If the two are to be considered separate settlements, then it may justly be claimed that Sumas is older than Chilliwack, for a few months before the arrival of the Kipps at the latter. David William Miller and his two brothers-in-law, James and Chester Chadsey, secured work helping put up wild hay on Sumas prairie and then settled on land just east of the foot of the lake. In the following January Mr. Miller went to Oregon and brought in a herd of cattle and he and the Chadsey's began dairying. Mrs. Miller and her infant daughter had already come from Victoria and the Millers soon moved to Miller's landing on the Fraser a mile above the mouth of the Sumas. They were the first family in the Chilliwack area. In 1864 they opened the first store in the district, also the first post-office.

- The settlements grew rapidly. When the Kipp brothers ar-
(322) Chilliwack Pioneers; Gosnell, Hist. of B.C., 495; Kerr Biogr. Dict., 315; Nelson, Place Names, "Sardis", "Vedder"; New Westminster Lot Register, Gp. II., lots 83, 267, 449; Province, June 17, 1933; Webb, Chil. Valley, p. 4.
(323) British Columbian, Jan. 31, 1863; Lewis Chadsey; Chilliwack Pioneers; Gosnell, Hist. of B.C. 717; Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 593; Province, June 17, 1933; Webb, Chil. Valley, p. 3.

rived they found Thomas Marks and Matthew Sweetman living in
 tents on the banks of the Chilliwack. Both became prominent
 pioneers of the valley. Before the end of the year others were
 arriving with the intent to make it a town. By the time of
 the union of the colonies there were settled at Chilliwack,
 Sardis and on the Achelitz, besides those already mentioned,
 James Bertrand, late of the Boundary Survey, John Blanchard,
 Henry Cooper, who soon left farming to start his mill on the
 Harrison, William Hall, late R. E., Reuben Nowell and John
 Shelford, all with paying farms partially under cultivation
 and stocked, which, with the farm of Charles Evans, manager of
 Barnard's Express at Yale, made ten developed farms. There
 were also, by that time, settled in Chilliwack, John Barber,
 working in partnership with Marks, Robert Garner, John Hardis-
 ton, Henry Nelems, brother-in-law of Isaac Kipp, William and
 Thomas Shannon, for whom the hill just East of Chilliwack is
 named Shannon Mountain, John Sicker, John Stewart, Herman
 Thompson, operator for the Western Union Telegraph, and Richard
 Willoughby. All but the last three were to become successful
 agriculturists within a few years.

(324) Horatio Webb said Henry Kipp so told him. See his
 Chil. Valley, p. 3.

(325) British Columbian, Dec. 17, 1862,
 (x) Or Gardner.

(326) There is some doubt as to the spelling of this name in
 "Nelums" (Brit. Co., March 23, 1865) Nelams (Gosnell,
 Hist., p. 641 et al.) and Nelmes (Chil. Pioneers.)

(327) British Columbian, Sept. 19, 1866; Chilliwack Pioneers;
 New Westminster Lot Register, Gp. II; et al.

(328) Stewart accompanied Cooper to the Harrison. (Guide, 1877,
 355.) Willoughby had crossed the continent twice before
 coming to British Columbia, in 1858, then discovered and
 named the famous Lowhee Creek in the Cariboo in 1861.
 (Fn. 328, continued on page 202.)

The Chadseys were joined by two more brothers within three years, William and George Washington. Other settlers in the same neighborhood not later than 1866 were William Collinson, Crawford and Charles Wilson, for the latter of whom Wilson Creek north of Chilliwack Mountain, is named, Thomas Lewis and Donald McGillivray, first member of the provincial Parliament from the district, whose name is preserved in McGillivray Slough. There were also, by this date, besides Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Kipp and their two daughters, the wives of three Chadseys, Chester, James, and William, and Mrs. McGillivray. By 1871 the double community had grown to include also Mr. and Mrs. George Randall Ashwell, Miss Alma Bonter, living with her aunt, Mrs. Miller, Mrs. George Chadsey, Mrs. Jane Evans and her three children orphaned by their father's suicide at Yale, Mr. and Mrs. John Forsyth, Samuel Greer, later of Greer's Beach, Vancouver, Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Hall, the former another of the Royal Engineers, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Hodgson, Robert Kennedy, Mr. and Mrs. John McCutcheon, the former operator for the

Western Union, replacing Thompson, David Nelems, Alexander
 (328) While at Chilliwack he seems to have interested himself chiefly hunting and in this connection an interesting story is told of him. It seems he was something of a ventriloquist and practical joker and that having shot a bear on the Harrison River he donned its skin to play a joke on the Indians, but acted the part so well the natives got out their guns, so that the joke, if it was still that, was on Willoughby. (Mr. Webb and Mainland Guardian, July 12, 1871; the latter gives no names.) This is the latest reference to him we find anywhere in the province.

(x) See p.201, fn. 327.

(329) Mainland Guardian, March 16, 1871.

Peers, the first teacher, and his wife, who was a sister of A. C. Wells, Charles Morgan Richards, Mrs. William Rose, Mrs. Sicker, J. J. Sperry, Horatio Webb, the last survivor of the group, and Mrs. Allen C. Wells, the latter a sister of Mrs. Evans, and "Doctor Willie", besides a number of children.

The records show that Emanuel Chapman, John Craswell, Edward Hall, George Hall, Richard Kelly and Charles Thomas Young had acquired their lands in the district, but whether they had yet gone there to live remains uncertain. The community had also by this time, acquired the services of its first resident Indian missionary, Thomas Crosby, and of its first clergyman, Rev. George Clarkson.

The Chilliwack-Sumas settlement was also the centre of a somewhat larger and more scattered area. The settlers on the Harrison were generally considered a part of the same community, as were also those on the upper Sumas. The first settlers in this area were Thomas York who had formerly kept a hotel at

Yale and run a ferry at Spuzzum before the Alexandra Bridge was
(330) John Willy, a Dutchman, was one of the settlement's most picturesque characters. After farming in a small way for a number of years he deserted his Indian "wife", went to Oakland, made a fortune by selling "Willy's Discovery", a cure for nearly all ills that flesh is heir to, and married a lady of fastidious, if somewhat garish, tastes. Mrs. Knight has a photograph of him and his bride. See his advt. in Mainland Guardian, March 16, 1872.

(331) See p. 201, fn. 327; also Chas. Evans, Chilliwack Pioneer Ladies; and B.C. Archives, folio Pioneers.

(332) Crosby, Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums; "Secretaries Book of the Chillewhack & Sumas Trustee Board"; Webb, Chil. Valley, p. 5.

built, his son-in-law, William Moore Campbell, Peter Lonzo Anderson and Company, butchers from New Westminster and soon (334) to be ranchers in Nicola also, John Musselwhite of the Engineers, John English, Alfred ("Shanks" or "Jock") Nelson, (335) (336) (x) brother of Uriah Nelson the Yale forwarder, and apparently (337) Henry Oliver Melville. On Nicomen Island, opposite the Sumas, was James Codville of Codville's, later MacDonald's Landing. He ran a stopping-place, wintered cattle and sold hay and he had the first rural post-office in British Columbia, which was intended to serve the whole Sumas-Chilliwack area, before it (338) was transferred to Miller at Sumas. On the slough at the other side of the island Joseph Deroche had a place to winter (339) his cattle off the Cariboo Road and at the foot of the slough and giving it the name by which it was first and for many (340) years known, lived Mr. Harris. Codville and Harris seem to have left by 1870; the former was succeeded by Sam MacDonald, and on "Kanaka Prairie", at the foot of Harris' Slough, were (x) Robert Granville McKamey and Henry P. Bales, and William

- (333) Mr. and Mrs. York.
 (334) British Columbian, Sept. 19, Dec. 15, 1866; Guide, 1877, 352, 362.
 (335) N. W. Lot Register, Gr. II., lot 353.
 (336) N. W. Lot Register, Gr. II., lots 224, 227; Guide, 1877, p. 353.
 (x) Mr. Hugh Murray.
 (337) The writer believes him to be the subject of the story told by Crosby, Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums, pp. 176-177. Crosby's omission of names makes the subjects of his stories sometimes hard to identify, though in many cases they are obvious enough to one familiar with the characters of the district.
 (338) Mr. Deroche. Deaville, Alfred Stanley: The Colonial Postal System and Postage Stamps of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849-1871, pp. 117 and 150."
 (339) British Columbian, Sept. 1, 18, 1866; Rev. H.H.K. Green.
 (340) Lands Dept. Res. Map 31T1. (See page 205, footnote.)

Pickles on the island. McKamey and MacDonald were both "bull-punchers" and took Indian wives, as did also Ralph Burton at the head of Hatzic or Burton's Prairie. East of St. Mary's Mission, where Hatzic Station is today, lived Michel La Croix, formerly with the Hudson's Bay Company at Babine Post and Fort Simpson, with his Babine wife and children. Lots 2, 3, and 4 of Group III belonged to the Oblates, the first by purchase in the name of D'Herbomez, the second and third the gifts of Daniel Deasy and James Keary, Catholics of the Royal Engineers who received them as military grants. The land opposite the mission along the river also belonged to the Oblate fathers. On the Mission flats lived Mortimer Cornelius Keleher, the earliest white inhabitant of that place. On the Matsqui Prairie at its southernmost extremity lived John McClure and his family from the time of the failure of the Overland Telegraph. A good deal of the rest of the prairie had been purchased or preempted before Confederation, but it seems doubtful if any of the holders of crown grants actually settled there until about 1870, when we find Colin Buchanan Sword and his

- (x) (From p. 204.) Bales is said to have given Kanaka Prairie the name of Dewdney in honor of Hon. Edgar Dewdney and in appreciation of his land lot and Indian woman, neither any longer wanted. (Mrs. Newton.)
- (341) Mr. McKamey, Mr. and Mrs. Phare, Mrs. Newton; N. W. Lot Register, III., 8.
- (342) Mrs. Newton: N. W. Lot Register, III., 6.
- (343) Lot Register, Lot 1 belonged to Donald McDonald of the H.B. Company, Victoria. (Ibid. and Mr. Catherwood.)
- (344) Lots 66 and 68, Gp. II, are registered in the name of Chas. Grandidier; 67 and 69, of two Indians, Alexis Sronctselough and Joseph Swatalem respectively. Hence this conclusion.
- (x) N.W. Lot Register, II, 411; Mr. Catherwood and others. A son, Cornelius, raised at the Mission, lives in east Matsqui. (See fn. page 206.)

partner Leggatt running cattle there and George Turner, sapper and land surveyor, doing a little farming between engineering engagements and hotel keeping.

The earliest European agriculture in the valley we have seen to be that of the Hudson's Bay Company at Langley. The land used by the company was crown-granted to it in 1864 "by authority of H. E. the Governor" in four lots totalling two thousand two hundred two acres. Of this two thousand acres covered the best part of Langley Prairie about the headwaters of the Salmon and Nickomekl rivers, two hundred lay about the fort along the river and two were at the mouth of the Salmon where goods from the prairie might be transferred from barge to ship. About these areas, along and across the river, servants of the Company began independent agriculture at an early date. The earliest of these was undoubtedly Samuel Robertson, boat-builder and carpenter at the fort. His orchard on the flat east of Kanaka Creek was probably the first in British Columbia not owned by the company, though how long it had been planted before he took a Quantlem wife and settled there it is hard to say. Another was W. H. Newton, who while he was at

(x) Main. Guard., Oct. 5, 1870, Apr. 29 and Oct. 21, 1871.

(345) See the full account of this notable family in B. C. Biographical, IV., 1061-1064.

(346) N. W. Lot Reg., Gp. II. Lots 19, 20, 21, 22. All goods from the farm were towed down the Salmon by Kanakas. (Messrs. Towle, Wilkie, Morrison.)

(347) Mr. Wilkie says when he first saw it in 1878 it was a well-developed orchard and that Robertson said he had planted it forty years earlier, i.e. immediately on his arrival in 1838. Robertson had already served his full time with the company at Vancouver, and had to be given increased pay and much independence to hold him. Dunn, Presb. in B.C., p. 26, gives the date of Robertson's arrival as 1843 and of his entrance into agri- (See fn. p. 207)

Langley began to farm at Katzie with sufficient success to take prizes at Victoria, though most of these, or at least those for hops and apples, were probably for products of the company's land at the fort. Another was William Cromarty, the cooper, who with his half-breed sons, developed land on Cromarty's Slough, now Beaver Creek, Glen Valley. Kenneth Morrison and John McIver had also begun to clear their own lands by 1860, the former just east of the fort, and the first registered land in Langley, the latter on Maple Ridge, just east of the present Hammond. Other British servants of the company

who turned to farming were William Emptage, the ex-sailor shepherd culture as "some years after." Mr. Robertson, who was born there in 1862, says the orchard was mature as early as he can remember. Mr. White claims that his father planted the first apple tree on the mainland. See also Province, Feb. 10, 1928. In his father's diary, Nov. 12, 1866, we read: "Visited Kennedy (across River) and bought snow apple (worth \$5.)"--certainly not the first apple tree in the valley!

(348) Mr. Newton, Lot Book, II., 280; Lands Dept. Res. Map, 1871; British Columbian, Nov. 21, 1861.

(349) James Cromarty is still living there.

(350) Mr. Morrison and Mr. McIver are living on their fathers' old places. Morrison and McIver were natives of Stornoway, Hebrides, who joined the service of the company in 1852 or 1854, came to Churchill, thence to spend a winter at York Factory. They helped build Ft. Carlton, roped a buffalo on the prairies and met with such adventures as two youths might expect on the unsettled prairies and finally were sent with a brigade via the Yellowhead to Langley. There, adventure having lost its glamor, they quit the brigade by hiding in the woods on what was later Morrison's farm. Yale, as in duty bound, imprisoned them for desertion but finding nothing else to do with them, set them to work in the cooperage or at anything else they could do till their second four-year term of service was ended. They then joined the gold-seekers in the Cariboo, McIver also joining the Chilcotin expedition where he was one of those nearest McLean when he was shot. They soon decided to go farming. (Messrs. Morrison, McIver, and others.)

herd, James Taylor, the blacksmith, and James Elkins, a Missourian who entered the service of the company after the gold rush all near the fort, and Robbie Robertson, the hardy Scottish boatman who made his home at Whonnock from about 1860 to his death in 1912. One of the company's "Canadians" also took land, Fallardeau between Morrison's and Cromarty's as did also Henry Wark, while still in charge for the company on Langley Prairie. Nor must we forget the half-breed sons of the Company's Hawaiians, Mayo, Wivicari, and Apnaut, who preempted land and developed farms near Kanaka Creek, which thereby got its name.

Probably the first settler at Langley not connected with the company was James Houston whose life to this point seems to have consisted of a very rapid series of adventures. He

- (351) Mr. Towle. For a glowing tribute to Robertson, see Dunn, Presb. in B.C., 52-54.
- (352) Mr. Morrison. See p. 90, ante. Mr. Murcheson; also.
- (353) Group II., lot 311. In all cases it must be assumed the lot books have been consulted.
- (354) Mr. McIver and others. Wivicari's name is variously spelled and pronounced. All who knew him like to tell how once, when asked how to spell it, answered in all seriousness, "Don't spell it, just put it down."
- (x) At an early age, it is said, he ran away from Scotland to America in company with his friend, Andrew Carnegie. During the voyage he decided to follow the sea, which led to many adventures in Latin American ports during political wars and among South-Sea pirates and slavers. Shipwrecked in Mexico he made his way to California where he took part in the gold excitement and then started droving cattle. Following this, his life business henceforth, he went to Oregon, whence he took a herd to Colville when gold was first discovered there. He brought to that point first news of gold in Rock Creek, but in bringing in a second herd of cattle he was waylaid by Indians, his partner killed and he barely escaped with his life. Travelling alone up the Okanagan he came at last to the camp of a man named Todd who as-
(See fn. page 209)

immediately settled to farming on his arrival in Langley about 1860, took an Indian wife and travelled no more. He had been a cattle dealer, and now, with a herd from Oregon driven in by the Nickomekle he made stock raising his chief business. Other early settlers in the district, probably living there before 1871, were George ("Black") Robertson, Edward Sharpe, late of the Overland Telegraph, William and Adam Innes, two Cariboo freighters, Cudlip and Clark, later teamsters in Granville, and a squatter named Wiley, all on the prairie south of the company's land; James Kennedy of New Westminster while he was teaching the first school in Langley, John Jolly, later for a time captain of the lightship at the sandheads of the Fraser, who was the first farmer to bring his wife to Langley in 1869, Gross his partner and James James their father-in-law on the farm adjoining, John Maxwell, and James W. Mackie, both Cariboo miners, all just back of the fort and in the Salmon River flat; Murdock McMillan, on the hill eastward, along the tele-

graph trail from Maxwell's; and William Jenkins, another Cariboo (x) assisted him to reach Kamloops, where for a time he lived with Donald McLean, Hudson's Bay Chief Trader, who was killed during the Chilotin "war". While there he found gold at Tranquille and mined a considerable quantity of it, which McLean sent to Victoria. This, he claimed in after years, was what started the Fraser gold-rush. (The above is the best story having regard for established historical fact, the writer has been able to construct out of the conflicting accounts given him by Messrs. Boulanger and Houston and by the latter to Mrs. C. F. Schoonover as she reported it in the Vancouver Sun, Dec. 9, 1933.)

(355) Guide, 1877, p. 356.

(356) Ibid, 354.

(#) See Dunn, Presb. in B.C. p. 49. Mrs. Newton came to Langley in 1857, (See letter of Henry Newton in Province, Aug. 13, 1936.) but when her husband started his own farm he apparently moved her and their children to Keatsey.

boo miner, and Alfred Freeman below Derby opposite McIver's. Away to the eastward, at the lower end of Mount Lehman, apparently a squatter, lived Joseph Patterson whose real name was Bonsolei! and who translated it Prettysun, so that it soon became metamorphosed to the form in which we find it. (358)

On Maple Ridge the first settlers other than the ex-Hudson's Bay men already mentioned seem to have been William Justus Howison and Henry Dawson followed a year later by William Nelson. (359) The first two appear to be the first lots registered by bona fide settlers anywhere in the valley, the date being October 15, 1860 and Howison's was one of the first to produce very tangible results. In the British Columbian of April 4, 1863, we read:

Mr. Howison, who commenced farming opposite Langley last year, raised 500 bushels of as fine potatoes as we remember to have seen or eaten in any country. They are very large, dry and well flavored. Mr. H. brings down a canoe load about every ten days for sale here.

Within a couple of years the district also contained William and John Hammond, and John Bell, between Newton's and McIver's, James O'Bryan Thorne on Kanaka Creek back of Robertson's, and (360)

Peter Baker at the east end of the same flat. Other settlers
 (357) This list compiled with the aid of Messrs. Morrison, Towle, Houston and others, and with the aid of Lot Books.
 (358) Mr. Boulanger and others.
 (359) N. W. Lot Register, Group I, lots 247, '8 and '9. Nelson later married the widow Apnaut, sister of Mayo, and Dawson, we suspect, became a son-in-law of Wm. Cromarty.
 (360) Pierre Boulanger, a French Canadian, in early life became a sailor, but in 1849, hearing of the gold-strike in California, he deserted ship at Panama, translated his name to Peter Baker to avoid detection, and made his way to the Sacramento. After a short while there he heard of the discovery of gold on Pend Oreille Creek, near Fort (See fn. page 211).

before Confederation certainly included John McKenney and his brother-in-law James Lindsay, two of the many sappers who held military grants in the district, both near McIver's; John Brough, who had already tried the delta and apparently moved because of floods, on the ridge west of Katzie, John Wickwire where the town of Haney now stands, and William Nickles who kept a "Half-Way House", half-way to Harrisonmouth from New Westminster and one mile above McMillan Island, or about the same distance west of Whonnock. (361)

Between the above districts and New Westminster and opposite the latter and at Mud Bay there were a few isolated settlers, all very early. First of these we should mention was Captain Alexander McLean who had come from Glasgow to San Francisco in 1849 in his own ship, the Rob Roy, thence to Whatcom and finally to the mouth of the Fraser in 1859, bringing stock (360) Colville, and made his way there. There he met Houston with reports that he had been selling cattle to men in better workings to the northward so in company with Alex Robinson and Ben Menier, both from Quebec, and "Little Peter", an Iroquois, they made their way thither, mined at Rock Creek, Tranquille and various places along the Thompson and Fraser to Hope. Finding the Indians hostile, they stopped only for coarse gold, and at the end of 1857 returned to California. There their reports caused a stampede. Baker returned, bought gold from Indians till the Hudson's Bay Company put a stop to it, then went to Cariboo with Robinson where both did well on Lowhee Creek. The winters he spent at Langley, where he married a daughter of Basil Brousseau, and began clearing land at Albion, where he soon settled for the sake of the family. (Mr. Boulanger.)

(361) The last from Mainland Guardian, Dec. 7, 1870, and Guide, 1877, p. 353. His lots 326 and 329, though on the north side of the river are listed in Group II, under the name William Nickales. The rest from Lot Book and Messrs. McIver, Robertson et al.

and effects still in his own ship. Finding the land at what is now Ladner too subject to overflow he moved, early in 1860, to the right bank of the Pitt, just above Mary Hill, where he sold his ship and made his home for the rest of his days despite floods, mosquitoes, wolves and thieving Indians. To protect himself from the first he dyked a part of his land and against the last he appealed to the government and resorted to such ruses as sprinkling flour in the potato pit to suggest (362) poison. Before the year was out they had two neighbors, George Black, cattle herder and butcher, on the Pitt and Edward Atkins with his Indian wife on the Coquitlam, whence he later joined the Chilcotin expedition of Chartres Brew and where he continued to live until the second decade of the present century. (363) Though all land between Mary Hill and New Westminster was taken up during the time of the colony, there seems to have been only one farm in the whole area, that of Dalziel and Brighthouse, principally engaged in dairying. (364) Across the river, (365) directly opposite Sapperton, was the farm of Samuel W. Herring and further down that of James Kennedy. Away to the south, near Mud Bay, lived a "lone settler" whose name we are unable (366) to ascertain.

(362) Mr. McLean; B.C., Biographical III, 848 et seqq; Province Aug. 31, 1932; British Columbian, Aug. 10 and 14, 1867.

(363) Mr. McLean; Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II., 188; Dept. of Lands, Res. Map 16T1. Re Black see Kidd, Hist. of Richmond, 22-23.

(364) British Columbian, Dec. 22, 1866. See B.C. Biographical IV, 342-346 for a full account of Samuel Brighthouse. The farm was apparently Dalziel's lot, 14, where Maillardville is today.

(365) Lands Dept. Res. Map 13T1.

(366) Anonymous letter in British Columbian, Nov. 15, 1862,

Below New Westminster settlement naturally tended to divide into North Arm and South Arm in those days when canoe and steamer provided almost the only means of travel and transportation. On the North Arm the first settler of importance was Hugh McRoberts. After completing the trail from Spuzzum to Boston Bar and taking a lead in public matters at Yale, he came to New Westminster at the end of July, 1861, intent on cattle-ranching. He secured another trail-making contract, however, this time from the capital to Musqueam. The proceeds he invested in Sea Island Lands, most of which he came eventually to own, with some on Lulu Island. During the winter he cleared and dyked an area which in the spring of 1862 he planted in wheat and fruit trees. In the fall he was joined by his nephews, Fitzgerald and Samuel McCleery, also Irishmen, who took up land opposite and were among the first settlers within the borders of the present city of Vancouver. Fitz McCleery went to Oregon with George Black and brought back the first cattle to the delta. By 1870 they were getting forty-five bushels of wheat to the acre. Meanwhile Henry Mole and Elija John Betts, Englishmen, and Hugh Magee, another Irishman with a considerable family had started to farm just below New Westminster but

(367) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II, 94-95, 164.

(368) White's diary, July 30, 1861.

(369) It is impossible to fix the exact date of the McCleery arrival. John Morton came to his claim on Burrard Inlet on Oct. 16, 1862. (Daily Prov., March 17, 1937.)

(370) Kidd, Hist. of Rich., 21-23; Howay and Scholefield, B.C. II, 602.

(371) Mainland Guardian, Dec. 7, 1870.

(x) Kidd, Hist. of Richmond, p. 24; Province, May 4, 1931.

in 1864, with the aid of William Shannon, they moved down by river and trail to near the McCleery's. Magee sold his first holding, Rose Hill farm, to W. J. Scratchley who a year or two later went into partnership with Samuel Brighthouse. George Garripie, a French Canadian, and an old Hudson's Bay man known as French John (372) lived where Marpole is to-day and just above there, respectively. This constituted the whole North Arm settlement before the union of the colonies, but in that year Lulu Island got its first family, that of W. D. Ferris, from New Westminster, who was also the first settler on the north side of Lulu Island. Scratchley came the same year, leaving his partner, Brighthouse, to run the Rose Hill dairy while he started development of their large Lulu Island holdings. At the same time Messrs. Hugh Boyd, another County Down Irishman, and Alexander Kilgour, Scotch-Canadian, both retiring from the Cariboo, formed a partnership which lasted twenty years, farming on the south side of Sea Island. Rosebrook Farm, as it was called, was for many years known as the most productive in the province. (x) A year later came James Smith and Dan Robson to develop a farm west of the Brighthouse property, on the Middle Arm. In 1868 Howard L. De Beck, in partnership with his father, bought twelve hundred acres of Sea Island from Mc-Roberts, but when in 1871 his wife died, leaving a new-born (373) girl, the first baby in Richmond, he left the farm and went to (372) Probably J. Sapplien. See Guide, p. 355. (Ex) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II, 602-603. (373) See Main. Guard., Sept. 23, 1871.

logging. Later, in partnership with his brothers, Clarence and George, he started the Brunette Mill at Sapperton and was for a time partner of Fraser York in a hotel at Yale during construction days. The small portion of Sea Island remaining in the hands of the government, together with Dinsmore Island in the Middle Arm, were bought by John Brough, who built a house on the smaller island, long known as Brough's Island, in 1869, but moved immediately to Keatzie. The arrival about the same time of John Thompson, son-in-law of W. D. Ferris, and on land adjoining his to the eastward, completes this settlement under the colony. About midway between this North Arm settlement and New Westminster, and a welcome stopping place for the weary rower on his way there, was the farm home of the fairly numerous household of William Henry Rowling, late corporal of the commissary of the Royal Engineers, who had kept a hotel and saloon at Sapperton before moving down the river in 1868.

The South Arm settlement was a little later in development. The first serious attempt at agriculture there seems to have been that of William McNeely who in 1863-'4 dyked a field of fifteen or twenty acres on the south side of Lulu Island and

in 1865 got William Shannon and Hugh Boyd, with the former's

(374) Mr. York; B.C. Biographical, IV, 18-21 and 402-405, gives accounts of his brothers.

(375) See p. 211, above.

(376) Kidd, Hist. of Richmond, pp. 21-36, checked with N.W. Lot Register, Gp. I., and Blocks and Ranges and other sources, is the basis of the above and the next enumeration.

(x) B.C. Biographical, III, 26-29; Nelson, Place Names, "Rowlings"; Col. Hawkins' letters (B.C. Archives, M.S.S. folio 736, no. 6) show he had been transferred from the Boundary Survey. (377) Both he and his brother Thomas owned land in the neighborhood but seem (See fn. p. 216)

three-yoke ox-team and a deep plough, to break it for him. On the south side the first was William Henry Ladner who in May, 1858, decided to have a farm there as soon as he had made his fortune in mining. Ten years later, the fortune still unmade, he preempted and bought, for about one dollar per acre, six hundred forty acres of land where the town of Ladner named after him, now stands, and in a long lifetime came near to realizing the fortune he never made in the Cariboo. Almost immediately came his brother, Thomas Ellis Ladner formerly constable at Yale and Cariboo freighter and more recently pro-
(378)
prietor of a feed store at New Westminster, and bought a
(379)
tract of land just to the eastward and nearly twice as large.

Though still a very minor factor in the life of the colony, agriculture had become a factor of considerable importance in the life of the Fraser Valley. In the spring of 1863 the editor of the British Columbian had begun to hope that ere long the banks of the river would be one continuous settlement from the Harrison to the gulf, for already there
(380)
were some two hundred fifty farms under cultivation. Some of these had as much as forty acres under the plough besides ex-
(381)
tensive hay lands. Crops were good, as we have already seen in the case of potatoes. Timothy hay frequently yielded as
(377) never to have developed it.

(378) British Columbian, March 10, 1866.

(379) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II, 603. Howay is a son-in-law of W. H. Ladner.

(380) Jan. 31, Apr. 25, 1863.

(381) Ibid., April 1.

much as three and one-half tons to the acre over long periods
 of years without fertilizing or cultivation, and wheat and
 oats frequently went as high as sixty bushels, with six-foot
 straw, Ovid Allard grew at Langley a dozen cauliflowers aver-
 aging twelve pounds each. W. H. Newton bought a threshing
 machine, probably the first in the valley, early in 1871,
 hoping to make it pay by contracting to thresh the Hudson's
 Bay Company's grain, but did not live long enough to get much
 benefit from it. Kipp brothers got one in the fall; and
 cabbages at Chilliwack and Sumas were reported up to twenty-
 five pounds. Dairying was also commencing, chiefly at Sumas,
 where Thomas Marks wrote in 1866: "It would please you to see
 the Messrs. Chadsey's dairy operations....they quite outdo
 every other settler there." In 1866 Reece and Company began
 the manufacture of cheese at Chilliwack and in 1868 Chadseys
 sent two thousand five hundred pounds of butter to Cariboo
 by oxteam, hermetically sealed in tins. Stock raising was
 also extensive, as we have noticed by the way. How well
 suited the country was, in its wild state, for this purpose

- is shown by the fact that in 1862 Reece took seventy-five
 (382) Howay and Scholefield, B. C., II, 603; Crosby, Among the
 An-Ko-Me-Nums, 183-4.
 (383) Crosby, op. cit., loc. cit.; British Columbian, Aug. 4,
 1866.
 (384) British Columbian, Sept. 8, 1866.
 (x) Mainland Guardian, Feb. 18, 1871; Mr. Newton.
 (a) Mainland Guardian, Sept. 30, 1871.
 (b) Ibid, (Col.) Sept. 19, 1866.
 (385) British Columbian, Aug. 4, 1866.
 (#) Ibid., July 21, 1866.
 (*) Howay and Scholefield, B.C., II, 593.

pounds of loose fat off a steer just driven from Chilliwack
 (o) Prairie. Among the Cariboo freighters who used to winter their oxen there were in 1866, Evans with fifty-two, Smith and William Ladner, forty, Sam MacDonald and Dick Phare, thirty-two, Vedders twenty-eight, and Bill Lane, ten, while others then or later were John Rider, Deroche, McKamey, on Kanaka Prairie, and the Innes brothers of Langley Prairie. Cattle came down poor in the fall but went back fat and lively in the
 (a) spring. Fraser Valley farmers were taking many of the prizes at the Victoria Exhibition, and by the year of Confederation (386) were influential in getting one started at New Westminster.

In 1861 the white population of the whole valley to Yale
 (387) was estimated at not over three hundred; within the decade a census showed one thousand two hundred ninety-two, including four hundred women and girls two hundred fifty of whom arrived in the year 1869-70. The valley in 1870 contained two hundred eighty-six farmers who had over twelve hundred acres under cultivation, besides pastures and hayfields. There were two hundred thirty-five horses, over four thousand head of cattle, nearly two thousand pigs, but only twenty-two sheep. The valley also contained three saw-mills, a grist mill, and a
 (388) savings bank; a distillery. Where in 1864 there were only two schools, one at Yale and one at New Westminster, in 1871 there

(o) British Columbian, Oct. 11, 1862.
 (.) Ibid., Sept. 5, 1866. Mr. Hugh Murray and others.
 (a) Webb, Chil. Valley, p. 4.
 (386) Mainland Guardian, Oct. 14-21, 1871.
 (387) O.M.I. Missions, I., 184.
 (388) Report of census of 1870 in Main. Guard., May 6, 1871.

was another at Langley and a fourth was in process of being organized for Sumas and Chilliwack combined, besides three private schools in New Westminster so that by the end of that year nearly two hundred of the some four hundred seventy children of the valley would be in school. Farmers were organizing and making demands for more and better roads and schools, for fall fairs and a railway to the East, for mills to handle their grain and for more polling places in the agricultural communities. The formation of a Farmers' Association in 1870, headed by such men as Samuel Robertson, Kenneth Morrison, Howard de Beck, Jonathan Reece, the Kipp brothers and the Ladners showed that agriculture was about to demand recognition as a real factor in the life of the colony. The gold rush had brought the beginning of agriculture and the prediction of the editor of the Columbian that farming and ranching would prove more important than gold-mining might yet be realized once access were found to larger markets.

(389) Main. Guard., July, 19, Oct. 8, 1870.

(390) In 1870 it was 160 out of 467. Ibid., May 6, 1871.

(391) See, e.g., Brit. Columbian, Mar. 25, 1865; Main. Guard., Sept. 9, 1870, Jan. 5, 1871.

(392) Main. Guard., Oct. 15, 1870.

(393) As early as Nov. 5, 1862, he had written: "If there is one thing more important than another at the present juncture, it is the promoting and fostering of the settlement of our agricultural lands."

CHAPTER V PIONEER AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES

(a) Confederation and the Years of Waiting

The later 'sixties were for the colony of British Columbia a period of disillusionment. Just as the Fraser had yielded place to Cariboo, so that had yielded to the Kootenay and Big Bend and they in turn to Omineca and Cassiar. Was the El Dorado a pot of gold at the rainbow's foot? The colony had piled up debts to build a road to Cariboo and trail and steamer routes to Kootenay, Big Bend, and the northern interior. Would it ever pay? Vancouver Island had joined the mainland in hope that she might share in the revenues from mining. The mainland felt it had lost much by the union; the island was beginning to wonder if it had gained anything but a share of the mainland's burdens. Agriculture, fishing and lumbering might fare better if markets were made more accessible. The mining camps were

(1) See Howay and Scholefield, B. C., Vol. II, Chap. II, V, XIV, XVI.

probably of only temporary value from this point of view. A general depression was being felt; could the government find a remedy? When the British Columbian said of Governor Seymour's return to the colony with his bride that the plans he carried in his head were of more vital concern, for well or ill, than the work of all the miners in the country, Rev. Edward White confided to his diary, with a mixture of piety and despair: "It is hoped that he may do something to cause better times, but it is my impression that the present depression to make to cure is not in his hands." Nature had endowed the land with plenty; could man turn it to his own account?

It was out of some such feelings as these that the Confederation movement in British Columbia arose. Two things at least, and for the mainland we may say three, it was hoped might come out of it. First, it was hoped that the Dominion would aid the province in the matter of its large and growing debt and its burden of a highly-paid and overstaffed public service. Second it was hoped that a railway might link the province to the East and so open a way to better markets and encourage immigration. In the third place the mainland hoped that it might help to free the province of an insular bureaucracy and a government dominated by the selfish interests of Victoria. A meeting at Langley in November, 1870, is significant. Messrs. James and Jolly moved that responsible government with the present arrangements would only enable the

(2) Op. cit., Nov. 14, 1866. (3) Nov. 10, 1866.

(4) See e.g. British Columbian, April 29, 1868; May 18, 1869.

(5) Ibid., Aug. 22, 1868. The first demand was for a waggon road, not a railway.

Victoria politicians to "plunder" the mainland more and that the Langley settlers demand Confederation as an escape; Cromarty and Taylor moved that whereas the government had enabled Victoria to get "unjust demands" in the past, the community would join the rest of the mainland in severing all connection with the island if the policy continued; and Allard and Maxwell moved a resolution to petition the governor for protection from "the unbounded cupidity" of Victoria. All three resolutions were heartily endorsed by the meeting. (6)

(7) The history of the Confederation movement is outside our field. Though its ablest leader was probably Amor de Cosmos of Victoria, its greatest strength, for reasons already suggested, was on the mainland, and nowhere greater than in the Fraser Valley. At the well-known Yale Convention the settlers of that area were more fully represented than of any other area in the province. The delegates included Henry Holbrook, John Robson, David Withrow and Dr. Black of New Westminster, David Miller and James Donnelly of Sumas and Harrison respectively, and Charles Evans, Joseph Armstrong and Hugh Nelson, who were among the delegates from Yale, Quesnel, and Burrard Inlet respectively, but who belonged to the Fraser Valley quite as much as to the districts they represented. In the legislature two of its strongest supporters were John Robson of New Westminster and

Edgar Dewdney of Hope, sitting as member for the Kootenays.

(6) Mainland Guardian, Nov. 30, 1870.

(7) There is a good account of it in Howay and Scholefield, B. C., Vol. II, Ch. XVII.

(8) Ibid., II, 283.

while Henry Holbrook gave it his support once he was sure it
(9)
was politically safe to do so. In the elections of 1870 both
candidates were committed to Confederation on "favorable terms".
(10)
New Westminster papers and public meetings there, at Langley,
and at Sumas endorsed the movement either before or after Con-
(11)
federation had become a legal fact.

One immediate effect of Confederation, which included an
agreement to build a railway from Canada, was a boom in land
(12)
sales. In a judicious attempt to prevent speculative holding,
which would hinder rather than advance settlement, the govern-
ment issued a new Land Ordinance requiring more strictly bona
fide residence, allowing only two months leave, which might be
increased to four under special circumstances, and allowing
(13)
six months of substitution. The government at this time gave
its first aid to scientific agriculture by having Mr. Claudet
of the Assay Office at New Westminster perform some experiments
(x)
in soil analysis. Settlement of a genuine sort went ahead

rapidly for the first five years, as indicated by hopeful news-

(9) Howay and Scholefield, B.C. II, 292.

(10) Main. Guard., Sept. 9, 21, 1870. The candidates were Hugh Nelson and W. J. Armstrong, whose nomination papers were signed by such valley settlers as "Mc" Sweetman of Chilliwack, La Croix and Pickles of Kanaka Prairie, Kelcher of St. Mary's Mission, and Howison and Brough of Maple Ridge. Nelson was elected.

(11) Ibid., Nov. 12, 16, 19, 30; 1870.

(12) Ibid., Oct. 5, 1870.

(13) Ibid., Oct. 26, 1870.

(x) Main. Guard., March 16, 1872.

(14)
 paper reports, recordings in the Lot Registers and Blocks and Ranges Register, and by the number of pioneer settlers whose first arrival was during the early 'seventies. An example of the effect on land values is to be found in the case of a farm at Chilliwack which sold for four hundred fifty dollars at the end of 1869 and two years later was purchased by G. R. Ashwell (15) for a hundred. The surveys for the railway also gave employment to many in the valley, including such former Royal engineers as George Turner and John Maclure of Matsqui, and for a short time provided an additional market for farm products. (16)
 Demands for schools, churches, roads and trails, for exhibitions and public markets, all were signs of the change wrought by the new hope.

And then misgivings began to rise. Perhaps Victoria would get its way and the railway would not come through the valley. (17)
 Later, as time passed and delays were caused, first by doubt as to the possible route, then by a change of policy on the part of the Dominion Government, (18) perhaps the railway would never come, or, if it did, it would come too late to be of any rise to the present generation. Perhaps in any case, the benefits would be slow of realization and not nearly so great as at first hoped. Perhaps, when the scheme was taken over by a company, the experiences of the United States would be repeated.--

(14) Main. Guard., March 9, May 6, 1871.

(15) Ibid., March 16, 1872.

(16) Ibid., June 3, 1871; April 3, 1872.

(17) This problem will be treated later; see below, p.303 et. seqq.

(18) This question is treated at length in Howay and Scholefield B.C. II, chapters XX--XXII.

the company would get all the benefits and the people pay the bills. Such fears were made more depressing by another general depression. The gloom was darker than before, for no longer were there new gold-strikes to kindle old hopes. Rev. Alexander Dunn writes: "From 1875 to 1885 the population of the province remained all but stationary. The Cariboo gold-fever had almost spent itself. Money was so scarce in some quarters that difficulty was experienced in obtaining the necessaries of life;" and again speaking of Langley in the mid-'seventies: "Many of the settlers around me would have given much to have been in a position to leave the country." A visitor to Maple Ridge found that the Cook brothers seemed to be "prospering in this British Columbian wilderness," yet accepted their advice, emphasized by Mrs. Cook "who felt herself an exile", that if he "could do at all well in Canada...it would be madness to leave a home there and run the risk of making one in this province." A thorough examination of the country convinced him of the soundness of the advice. Though all his family subsequently moved to British Columbia, he never saw it again.

Perhaps more than anything else this discontent was due to the feeling of loneliness and isolation and to the lack of those refinements which we associate with a settled civilization. Houses were nearly all of logs, occasionally of split

(19) Presb. in B. C., p. 69.

(20) Ibid., p. 5

(21) James Lawson, Lawson's diary, Aug. 23, 1883.

(22) Mrs. B. C. Freeman, Vancouver, his daughter.

cedar, furniture was crude and often home-made, and nearly al-
 ways limited to the barest necessities. Clothing consisted
 chiefly of working clothes; women's styles changed so little
 many made the same apparel serve for dress occasions for de-
 cades; and during seven or eight months of the year men and
 women both wore gum boots even to church or to dances. Roads
 were few and nearly impassable, except in summer, "so that the
 horse, instead of cantering along easily, had to wade and tug
 and pull....When the streams were swollen by heavy rains...it
 was necessary to draw up one's legs on to the saddle, so as to
 prevent even long boots from getting filled." In going to
 church it was not uncommon for two persons to use one horse by
 the method known as "ride and tie", one riding a mile, tying
 the horse to a tree and walking on, while the other, having
 walked the first mile, rode the second, and so on. Even a hay
 rake was once pressed into service as a vehicle. Oxen and
 sleds were the chief form of transport, "certainly superior in
 a roadless district to horses and wagons." Wherever possible
 canoe routes were used, so that in some districts canoes and
 boats were almost the only means of travel and transport. But
 But in winter the river sometimes froze, and the smaller streams

and sloughs more frequently. It then took the hardest travel-

(23) Dunn, Presb. in B. C., pp. 4-5, 74.

(24) Thrift MS, Notes on Surrey; Kidd, Hist. of Richmond,
 99-100.

(25) Dunn, op. cit., 13. See also p. 54.

(26) Webb, Hist. of Chil. Valley, 5.

(27) Mr. Webb.

(28) Dunn, op. cit., 62.

(29) Dunn, Presb. in B. C., 56.

lers eleven days to get from Yale to New Westminster, while passengers from Victoria and beyond had to land on Burrard Inlet and proceed by the crude roads of the day to New Westminster or the delta country. Even where there were schools to attend children found great difficulty in getting there along woodland trails or slough-banks, on horse-back or by canoe. Churches were few, small, and plain, with wooden benches, often backless, for pews, organs non-existent in nearly all cases and persons capable of following a tune, much less leading the singing, almost as rare. Catholics, for want of anything more to their liking, attended Methodist revivals, and Anglican clergy reprimanded Presbyterians and Methodists in their congregations for not kneeling and for kneeling with their backs to the altar. People even, like Robinson Crusoe, lost count of the days when there were no regular steam-boat days to keep them straight. Everywhere the solitude was impressive. Mr. Dunn, who for years travelled the thirty-three miles and return from Fort Langley, via Langley Prairie and the Yale Road to Upper Sumas every third Sunday, records that only twice did he meet a traveller, and of one of the most central homes in Langley he says:

On coming to live in the Mackie house, what struck me very forcibly was the overwhelming stillness and solitude of the situation. Immense fir trees stood within a short distance of the dwelling. The underbrush was densely thick. Pestilential mosquitoes were there in myriads. Seldom was

(30) Main. Guard., Jan 6, 1872; Kidd, op. cit., 47.

(31) Dunn, op. cit., 6-8.

(32) Crosby, Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums, p. 181.

(33) Kidd, op. cit., 101-102.

(x) Kidd, Hist. of Richmond.

(34) Op. cit., p. 5.

a breath of wind felt. A whole week might come and go without seeing a traveller pass. When the short dark days of November came, with long continued rains, the picture of desolation and isolation was complete. (35)

Nevertheless the country had, even with its greatest crudities, its charm and attractions. Of these probably the greatest was the friendliness, cheerfulness and hospitality of its people. None ever mentioned lonesomeness or homesickness. (36) Every writer of the day hears eloquent testimony again and again to the hospitality he met with everywhere. The writer has been impressed, in conversation with old pioneers throughout the length and breadth of the valley, with the way in which everyone knew everybody else from Yale to Westham Island in the 'seventies and early 'eighties. Hardships they expected and learned to make the best of them and even enemies helped each other in misfortune though not a word even of thanks might pass between them. (37) Pleasures were of their own making, hunting and fishing, picnics under the trees; quilting and "raising" "bees"; dancing, gum boots and all, in somebody's barn or kitchen with a squeaky "fiddle", lanterns on the wall and few women present; decidedly amateur concerts in church or school-house; and most of all friendly visits over long distances, with tables laden, friendly gossip and home-made "treats" for old and young, and often, it must be admitted, "hard drinking" when the men got together. Fortunately most

(35) Ibid., p. 4.

(36) Ibid., p. 55.

(37) Ibid., p. 9

people were healthy, for there were no physicians between Yale and New Westminster. It is said that in ten years at Langley Mr. Dunn conducted only two funerals, though his field extended from upper Sumas to the delta. The outdoor life, the beauty of natural surroundings, despite privation and loneliness, tended to keep a healthy mind and cheerful outlook. It is recorded that though some availed themselves of opportunities to quit the country, most of them soon returned better satisfied.

Many must have felt, with Rev. Mr. Dunn:

Having once seen Langley Prairie, with its three thousand acres of rich, black soil, having seen Pitt Meadows, Lulu and Sea Islands, Sumas and Matsqui Prairies, together with the great stretches of splendid bushland, extending from Chilliwack westwards to the upper end of the Delta, I felt and often said that the Lower Fraser was destined to become, sooner or later, great and populous, and that those who possessed houses or lands there would one day deem themselves fortunate.

There was, as a matter of fact, a good deal of development during the fifteen years of waiting for the railway. Though the number of farms did not increase materially after 1875, their size and productiveness were greatly enhanced by clearing, dyking, draining, building, planting and increasing and improving stock and equipment. Steam-boat, mail and telegraph services were improved. Local governments were organized and road and school facilities improved. Churches and associations of various kinds were formed. Fishing, lumbering, and other industries were started in various parts of the valley.

Years of waiting they certainly were, but for those who had

(38) Mrs. Vanetta.

(39) Dunn, op. cit., 55.

(40) Ibid., p. 5.

cast in their lot with the country they were not idle years.

Of the development of a road system it seems necessary to say something here. At the time of confederation there was a road of sorts from New Westminster to Pitt River; a road quickly diminishing to a trail down river to Point Grey a distance of sixteen miles; a road by Burnaby Lake to Burrard Inlet; the telegraph trail, in some places nearly untraceable but for the wires, in others widened into a passable sleigh road, through Fort Langley, Sumas Prairie and Chilliwack to Hope and Yale; and possibly an ill-defined trail of sorts from Langley through Hall's Prairie to Semiahmoo. There was at that time a good deal of agitation for a trail from opposite New Westminster to Semiahmoo, which produced results only after a petition had been signed by "every male inhabitant". Within three years we find the first thirteen miles of the North Arm ("McRoberts'") trail widened to ten feet; another one branching from it towards False Creek, three miles; the "New Westminster and Yale Sleigh Road" improved with bridges at the Chilliwack and at Silver Creek; a four-mile sleigh road across Matsqui Prairie, a trail or narrow road over the little Sumas Mountain from the prairie to the river; and the Semiahmoo Trail widened into a rough-graded and corduroy road, sixteen miles in length. The next year, 1874, saw the real building of the Yale road, now dignified with the title of "New Westminster and Hope Wagon Road." Nearly all of it west of Upper Sumas was

(41) Main. Guard., June 14, 1871.

(42) Ibid., June 28, Aug. 23, Sept. 16, 1871.

(43) Sess. Papers 1874, 11-12.

re-routed, an extension was carried through the delta to Ladner's Landing, and a truss bridge built over the Luckukuk. In all, between Ladner's and Popkum, an expenditure of close to one hundred thousand dollars was made that year. A road was also built from New Westminster to Port Moody. In 1875 a road was built from Fort Langley to connect with the new Yale road at Langley Prairie, the Scott Road was started and the trunk road to Ladner completed. In the following ten years, though the government made grants to municipalities, as we shall see, for road purposes, it otherwise contented itself, so far as the Fraser Valley was concerned, with keeping the existing roads open during the summer and passable in emergency during the winters.

Of industries started during these years the one which attracted most attention and raised most hopes was the silver mining at Hope. The Department of Mines made an extensive report on the scheme in 1875 and the Guide to British Columbia for 1877-'78 contains frequent and optimistic references.

Traces of silver had already been found on the river bank near Hope but proved of no importance. In 1868, however, an Indian discovered native silver six miles south of Hope and at an altitude of five thousand feet on Holy Cross Mountain. He showed

samples to "Happy Tom" Schooley of Yale, who gave the Indian a

(44) Sess. Papers, 1875, 318-320.

(45) Ibid., 1876, 447-450. The Fort Langley road must have been started late in the year, for see Dunn Pres. In B.C. 61.

(46) "The Westminster-Yale road was not gravelled and put into good passable condition until 1897-98. No one travelled these roads unless urgent business or duty called him;" Dunn, Presb. in B.C. 73. (See fns. 47-48 on Page 232)

rifle to show him the location. With some partners, including Sewell Prescott Moody, the pioneer Burrard Inlet sawmill man, he took out samples which assayed from twenty-five to one thousand fifty dollars to the ton. In 1871 a new Eureka Mining Company was formed, including Moody, George Dietz, Hugh Nelson, R. P. Rithet and other well-known pioneer business men of the province, and capitalized at \$150,000. The idea began to boom and another company, the Victoria Silver Mining Company, with a capital of \$600,000 started to develop an adjacent claim. These and the Van Bremner property adjoining were the first three silver claims recorded in B. C. The Eureka, whose vein was well-defined, four to seven feet thick and traceable for three thousand feet, was described as "argentiferous gray copper." Its tunnel was driven one hundred ninety feet, that of the Van Bremner, where chloride of silver of higher value was traceable half a mile, sixty feet. No record remains of the amount of ore taken out, packed down the steep mountain side by Indians, by mules to Hope and thence by steamer. It must have been considerable. A sample shipment to San Francisco brought four hundred twenty dollars to the ton, and some

(47) See esp. Sess. Papers 1875, 557, and Guide, 1877, pp. 51-52.

(48) The tragic story of Schooley's sudden reputation of wealth, hasty marriage in Victoria, his mania of jealously and murder of his father-in-law, Forman, belongs to the history of Victoria. It was told the writer in detail by Mr. Sinclair, who was there at the time and had first-hand knowledge of much of it. It will be found, with the initial letter dropped from Schooley's name, in Province April 15, 1928, and the dates are given in Directory 1882, 359.

is said to have been shipped to Wales. Then suddenly in 1876 the operations cease, apparently because of some problem of ownership, and nothing has been done with the property since. (49)

Much less spectacular but much more important was the development of the logging industry. Though in no way comparable to the great mills on Burrard Inlet, small mills here and there--at Emory, Hope, Popkum, Harrison and New Westminster especially--supplied local needs and gave considerable employment. The largest in sawing capacity was the Brunette Mills at Sapperton, owned by the De Beck brothers, which cut fifty thousand feet per day and employed up to thirty men, besides those in the logging camp on Pitt Lake. More important generally, however, was the mill of Hendry, McNair and Company, established in 1878 and incorporated two years later under the name of Royal City Planing Mills Company, Limited. Besides a sawmill with a capacity of twenty-five thousand feet and a planing mill of twenty thousand, they had a plant which turned out one hundred doors and one hundred windows a day, a box factory making twenty-five hundred boxes a day with printed ends, and equipment for scroll-sawing and turning. All told.

(49) The above account has been compiled from the Mines reports for 1874 and 1877 in Sess. P., 1875, 557 and 1878, 406; from Guide, 1877, 51-52; from Howay and Scholefield, II, 389, based on the Mines Reports; and from an article by David Loughman in Province, Apr. 15, 1928. Despite its many inaccuracies, the last is quite the best account of the Hope silver Mines which has been written, the more so because it contains new evidence from the workings themselves. Among the miners who carved their names in the Van Bremner tunnel is "Ned Atkins", possibly Edward Atkins of Coquitlam and the Chilcotin War. See p. 212 above.

it gave employment to about one hundred twenty men per day, including loggers. Webster's Mill, also at New Westminster had about the same sawing capacity and employed twenty men. (50) Oxen were used entirely in logging to the river bank or booming grounds and wages in woods or mill ranged from twenty-five to fifty dollars a month and board. (51)

Most important, however, were the fisheries. We have no way of judging the number of men engaged in fishing, but it must have been considerable. All the Indians and most of the farmers on the lower part of the river were engaged in fishing from time to time and there were many who made it a whole-time occupation. Sockeye salmon were the only fish used in the canneries but others were used locally and sometimes caused no little interest, as when "Dutch Bill" caught a sturgeon twelve feet long and weighing five hundred pounds. (52) About 1873 Loggie and Company moved their cannery from Annievill to New Westminster where Lane Pike and Nelson had already established one to can whole salmon. This rather fantastic idea proved a failure because the pressure due to the vacuum crushed the cans. In that same year Brodie's cannery was established on Deas Island.

In 1877 English's cannery was started at Brownville, in 1878 Laidlaw organized the Delta Canning Company with T. E. Ladner and others at Ladner's Landing, and in 1879 Haighs opened the

(50) Directory, 1882, 204; Howay and Scholefield, B. C. IV, 18-21, 402-405, 720-725.

(51) Guide, 1877, p. 52.

(52) Main. Guard., April 10, 1872.

Quoquitlam Cannery opposite the mouth of the Coquitlam. In that same year Stamp's Cannery at Sapperton, which had twice changed hands, was destroyed by fire. Laidlaw replaced it with two canneries there in 1881 and 1882. The latter year saw also the erection of the Richmond Cannery on Lulu Island, of English's North Arm Cannery, and of the British Union and British American on Canoe Pass, below Ladner. It will be noticed that the newer canneries were closer to the mouth of the river. The thirteen canneries in operation in 1882 packed about two hundred fifty thousand cases of four dozen one-pound cans. Each cannery employed from one hundred fifty to four hundred fifty men during the season. The fisheries, as yet confined to the estuaries of the Fraser, constituted the province's second largest industry in the 'eighties.

New Westminster was still by far the most important town on the whole mainland. It was the principal marketing centre for the farmers of the valley and the lumbermen of Burrard Inlet. It contained, besides the industries already mentioned, a biscuit factory, two breweries, a brick-yard, two cooperages, a foundry, a shipyard, a soda-water plant and a tannery. The foreign shipping of its port amounted to about sixty thousand tons; coastwise, about one hundred twenty thousand. It boasted in 1883 a "collegiate and high school" and a college for girls, both under the auspices of the Methodist Church, Catholic schools for boys and girls, a public school of four

(53) Directory, 1882, 203, 234, 243, 246-7; Howay and Scholefield, B. C. II, 585-6.

divisions with an enrollment of over two hundred but an average attendance of fewer than one hundred, a free library and mechanic's institute, a hospital, a fire department, four fraternal societies, a militia unit, two banks and one incorporated company, the Eureka Silver Mines. Its principal public buildings were the Dominion Government and Post Office Building, erected in 1882-'3 at a cost of \$17,000; the Provincial Lunatic Assylum at the east end of the city overlooking the river, a brick edifice with stone corners built in 1876; the penitentiary, built of stone, on the old sappers' camp-ground; and the new Episcopal Church, Holy Trinity, recently rebuilt in stone. It was, by the way, the residence of two bishops, D'Herbomez and Sillitoe. Its mayors were William Clarkson, 1871, James Cunningham, 1872-3, Robert Dickinson, 1874-'5 and 1880-'1, Dr. Thomas R. McInnes, 1876-'7, Henry Holbrook, 1878, William D. Ferris, 1879, and Dr. Loftus R. McInnes, 1882-'3; city clerks, following H. V. Edmonds, were James Morrison from 1873 to 1880, Oscar D. Sweet in 1881, and James Orr. In 1872 most of the inhabitants still lived on Columbia Street by 1874 there were only one hundred fourteen qualified voters, in 1877 the city directory still contained only some one hundred sixty names in 1879 there were two hundred thirty three voters; by 1883 the number of names in the directory had risen to nearly six hundred.

(54) Sess. Papers, 1878, 509.

(55) Main. Guard., March 23, 1872.

(56) Scholefield and Gosnell, Brit. Col., 60 Yrs. of Progress.

(57) This summary based chiefly on Directory, 1882, 199-231. For figures in last sentence see also Guide, 1877, 348-51 and Sess. Papers, 1879, 53-56.

By 1885 the New Westminster District contained, besides the city, six organized municipalities: Chilliwack, Langley, Maple Ridge, Surrey, Delta and Richmond. In 1874 there were four hundred thirty nine voters in the whole district outside the city. The Guide for 1877 lists about three hundred sixty names apart from New Westminster City and Burrard Inlet, the voters list of 1879 contained five hundred twenty-three names for the same, and the Directory for 1882-'3 listed, for the same areas, about five hundred eighty names. This indicates a much slower growth than in the city. The total population of city and district in 1882 was reckoned at 5,643. City and district comprised one Dominion electoral district and was represented in the first and second Parliaments by Hugh Nelson, in the third by James Cunningham, in the fourth by Dr. T. R. McInnes followed by J. A. R. Homer when the former went to the Senate, and in the fifth by Homer. In the days of the united colony they had also been entitled to one representative in the Legislative Council and had chosen John Robson consistently until 1871, when he was replaced by Hugh Nelson, but after Confederation they were made two ridings, the city electing one and the district two representatives to the Legislative Assembly. Those elected for the former to the first four parliaments were, in order, Henry Holbrook, Robert Dickenson, Ebenezer Brown, and William J. Armstrong, and for the latter J. C.

(58) Scholefield and Gosnell, B.C. 60 Yrs. of Progress; Guide 1877, 352-6; Sess. Papers, 1879, 57-65; Directory 1882, 242-267.

(x) Directory, 1882, p. 377.

(59) Ibid., p. 365.

Hughes and W. J. Armstrong, Brown and Armstrong, Wellington Harris and Donald McGillivray (farmers, both), and John Robson (60) and James Orr. If the country was somewhat better represented than the city, in proportion to population, the city was still more powerful politically, for only once had the farmers ventured to elect men from their own number to represent them.

(b) Chilliwack and its Neighbors.

One of the two oldest rural municipalities in British Columbia is Chilliwack. In 1872 an act had been passed to allow a community of thirty or more adult male residents to be incorporated as a municipality and elect councillors and a warden to manage local affairs. (61) On April 26, 1873, the first two municipalities under the act were issued letters patent, (62) Chilliwack and Langley, and on June 10 the first council met. John McCutcheon, farmer and telegraph operator, was the first warden, John Blanchard, C. W. Grafton, Henry Kipp, D. W. Miller, William Shannon, who claimed to have helped frame the Municipalities Act of 1872, and Volkert Vedder completed the council. (63) The first meeting was held in Sumas school-house, but it was decided to hold them in future at the Chilliwack school. At the second meeting Samuel Shannon was appointed clerk pro tem. at two dollars a meeting. It was not until the following February that G. R. Ashwell was appointed clerk, assessor and (64) collector at the munificent salary of ninety dollars per year.

(60) Directory, 1882, pp. 381-4.

(61) Guide, 1877, 38-9; Howay and Scholefield, B.C. II, 332.

(62) Gosnell, Yr. Bk., 1897, p. 143.

(63) Gosnell, Hist. of B.C., 448.

(64) Chwk. Council Minutes, June 10, 20, 1875; Feb. 7, 1874.

Johnathan Reece had acted as returning officer and was appointed first treasurer. (65)

The community was growing rapidly. A small store had been opened by Robert Garner at his home near Chilliwack Landing, which was bought from him in 1873 by George Randall Ashwell. In 1869, due largely to the efforts of Reverend Thomas Crosby, the Methodist missionary to the Indians of the district, a church was built to serve the two communities of Sumas and Chilliwack and in 1871 the first school in the district was opened. The Catholics had a church for the Indians at Squiala which was blown down in 1872, and "Episcopalian" voiced the first demand for an Anglican church in 1871. In 1870 five new barns were built in the area and Kipp Brothers, Nowell and Blanchard bought the first "thrashing" machine on shares for one thousand dollars the next year. Though built for ten horse-power fifteen horses were frequently required to turn it, due in part, at least, to the length and toughness of of the straw. Chadseys bought a reaper the same year and a year later James Chadsey built a grist mill. The farmers had also held a number of meetings in the interest of community

development, of which the most important were possibly two held

(65) Chwk. Council Minutes, June 10, 30, 1873.

(66) Mrs. Knight.

(67) Gosnell, Hist. of B. C. p. 605.

(68) "Secretaries Book of the Chillewhack and Sumass Trustee Board."

(69) Main. Guard., Nov. 29, 1871.

(70) Ibid., Jan. 13, 1872. "Swy-al-ah."

(71) Letter, probably by Horatio Webb, in ibid., Sept. 30, 1871

(72) Webb, Hist. of Chil. Valley, p. 6.

(73) Ibid., 6 and Main. Guard., Mar. 16, 1872.

in January, 1872. One met at Chilliwack to ask the government for two thousand dollars for a bridge over the Chilliwack River, a like amount for a road from the new Luckukuk bridge through the settlement to Kipp and Reece's landing, a five hundred dollar bridge over the Atchelitz, removal of log-jams from the Chilliwack to prevent flooding, and the opening of the New Westminster to Yale road. The other meeting was at Sumas to seek from the same source one thousand dollars to bridge the eight fords between Miller's Landing and Volkert Vedder's farm, five hundred dollars for a road as far eastward as the Sumas-Chilliwack Methodist Church, and a survey to determine the cost of dyking to save from fifteen to twenty thousand acres of good farm land from almost annual flooding. In 1872 there were two post offices in the district, one at Sumas where David W. Miller had apparently for some time been acting as post-master, in succession to Codville, whose landing had been across the river, and the other at Chilliwack, at the house of John McCutcheon, telegraph operator.

The school system antedates the municipality by about two and one-half years. In the fall of 1870 a school board was appointed at Chilliwack consisting of John McCutcheon. William Shannon and Isaac Kipp, all of that place. They seem to

- (74) Main. Guard., Jan. 13, 1872.
 (75) Ibid., Jan. 17, 1872.
 (76) Mr. Webb said that he sent mails all over the countryside in a sack carried by an Indian who could not read. Each settler sorted out his own mail.
 (77) See above, p. 204.
 (78) Deaville, Col. Postal System, p. 153.
 (79) Main. Guard. Oct. 8, 1870.

have engaged a teacher who held classes in the morning in a small building near the landing and in the afternoon at the cabin of Matthew ("Mack") Sweetman, an Irish bachelor on the Luckukuk. In the following summer Sumas built the first school house in the district with the aid of a grant of two-hundred dollars from the government. Alexander Peers, brother-in-law of A. C. Wells, was engaged as first teacher and ten children were in attendance, two sons of William Hall, a son and three daughters of Matthew Hall, Tom Lewis and his sister, William Hodgson and Lizzie Miller. Peers at times spent only three days a week here and two at Chilliwack. After some years he turned his whole attention to farming and was succeeded in the school by Miss McWha, a Mr. Burr and a Miss Burr, then by William Atkinson who married Elizabeth, daughter of D. W. Miller. Meanwhile changes had taken place in the Chilliwack settlement, as we shall see presently, and schools were opened at Centreville and later at Cheam settlement. The reason for the separation of those school areas was that though there were over twenty pupils enrolled only about seven usually attended because of the scattered settlement. There were thus, during

(80) Mrs. Knight. Evidence however, is conflicting.
 (81) Main. Guard., July 19, Nov. 29, 1871.
 (82) Mr. Chadsey; Sess. P. 1874, 16-18. For account of A. Peers see Biographical, B.C. III, 62.
 (83) Ibid., neither W. H. nor Hugh Burr, both early teachers in the province mention having been at Sumas; B.C. Biographical, III, 223, 392.
 (84) B. C. Archives Folio of Pioneers, p. 16.
 (85) Mrs. Knight.

the later 'seventies, three school districts in the municipality: Sumas with a school population of twenty-eight but poor attendance owing to the apathy of parents; Chilliwack with a school population of over fifty, only about eighty per cent. attending at all and an average daily attendance of about twenty-five; and Cheam, about the same size as Sumas, with a daily attendance of about fifteen. (86)

Because of its profound influence on the subsequent history of the settlements it seems advisable to give some further history of the first church in the Chilliwack-Sumas area. The first preaching service had been held there by Rev. Ebenezer Robson, Methodist preacher at Hope and Yale, in 1865 in the house of Isaac Kipp. Mr. White had also preached there and at Miller's. When Thomas Crosby was sent there as lay missionary to the Indians, the latter immediately collected twelve dollars and a half and asked him to build a church. He proceeded to ask further contributions among the Indians of neighboring villages till the sum had reached about one hundred. He then left the list with A. C. Wells. In the following January he returned, and though he was not an ordained minister nevertheless partly because of his religious ardor and partly, no doubt, for the sake of his Indian converts, he started a real old-time Methodist revival among the whites of all the neighboring settlements with remarkable effect. (89)

- (86) Sess. Papers, 1877, 108; 1878, 22, 23.
 (87) Robson, How Meth. came to B. C., 12; Mrs. Knight.
 (88) White's diary, Sept. 26, 27, 1866.
 (89) Robson, op. cit. 12; Crosby, Among the An-Ko-Ne-Nums, 171-182. The date on p. 176 must be an error.

Browning came to Crosby's aid for a time, partly in order to legalize the marriage of the white converts to the mothers of their half-breed families, thus remedying a state of affairs which Crosby declared involved hell-fire and damnation, yet which, being yet un-ordained, he could not remedy. This particular revival, reached its climax in May when Mr. White held a two-day "field meeting" and organized a church board. This board, consisting of D. W. Miller, James and Chester Chadsey, Volkert Vedder, Ralph Hodgson and Isaac Kipp, together with A. C. Wells, treasurer, and G. W. Chadsey, secretary, proceeded to secure the field used for the meeting, on the Atchelitz, for the "sight" of the church. The reply from the owner, Charles Evans of Yale, not under the influence of the tide of religious emotionalism, is worth quoting in full as representing the spirit of the time: "I have no idea of selling any of my land but shall be only too happy to present to the church a couple of acres for the purpose of the Methodist Church and not for any other purpose--Chas. Evans," "--which offer", adds the secretary, "was respectfully accepted." Meanwhile the subscription list had been extended to include fifty eight names besides the collections from local Indians and including whites, Indians, Chinese and corporations, some from as far away as Victoria and Hope. A total of four hundred thirty-six dollars was obtained. The building was completed in October by John Pennington, dedicated on the last day of that month by Rev.

(90) Crosby, op. cit., 180, 182.

(91) Ibid., 190.

(92) "Secretaries Book", etc., entries of Aug. 30, 1869.

Amos E. Russ, and a collection taken there and then which placed the church free of debt. Rev. George Clarkson was the first incumbent, followed by Cornelius Bryant and Joseph Hall. In 1872 a parsonage was built and ten years later another church was built at Chilliwack, which had already begun to hold its own Sunday school and church in the schoolhouse. Revivals and camp-meetings seem to have been fairly regular occurrences till in 1884 five acres of land for the purpose were leased from Jesse Lapum at one dollar a year. In 1886 the present Sumas Church was erected. The result of the prolonged spirit of religious enthusiasm was that Methodist influence was dominant in the community. It is said, too, that it was prolonged by a sort of voluntary system of land settlement. Whenever a prospective settler appeared in the community he was referred to Mr. Wells. The latter usually invited him to dinner, discovered his religious inclinations and habits and then helped or discouraged him accordingly. One effect of this Methodist dominance was that until well into the present century no one was able to secure a license to sell intoxicants. On June 15, 1885, a petition bearing one hundred eighty-six signatures was presented to the municipal council to revoke a restaurant license which was the "means of bringing, a blitening curse on our community." The council voted fifty dollars to prosecute Mrs. Bartlett on a charge of selling liquors and only forty three signatures could be obtained to a counter-petition.

(93) Directory, 1882, p. 262; Mrs. Knight. The "Secretaries Book" contains no entries from 1875 to 1884. (94) "Secretaries Book." (95) Mr. Chadsey. (96) Chwk. Council Minutes, June 15, July 7, 1885.

Nevertheless it appears to have been the arrival of the first Anglican Church which determined the focal point of the settlement and the site of the city of Chilliwack of today. Settlement was by that time spreading eastward. Wilder, Brown and others had cut a road southward into the prairie land east of the Semihault Slough, David Nelmes and Cory Ryder had taken land eastward of Mount Shannon where with Donald Gillanders, McConnell and others soon to follow there arose the Chiam settlement while the Greyells and others settled on the islands and A. C. Henderson went as far eastward as Rosedale, to which he gave its name. (97) Therefore it is said that when Bishop Hills was asked to choose a site for the church he fixed upon a point on Isaac Kipp's land about midway between Sumas Lake and the Chiam reservation and between where the Chilliwack emerged from the hills, now Vedder Crossing, and the Harrison mouth. (98) Here, on an acre of land donated by Mr. Kipp, St. Thomas' Church was reerected after being brought sixty miles by canoe from Port Douglas, where it had originally been built in 1859. With new pews, pulpit, reading desk and bell, it was opened by the bishop and dedicated debt-free, though for the first few years it had to depend for a clergyman upon Mr. Holmes of Yale and Hope, who came down by canoe. (99) Rev. Charles Robert Baskett was the first resident incumbent. (100) Within a year Nevin had erected a blacksmith shop nearby, while McKeever's Hotel was moved from the

landing and a new public school was built. The new Yale road

(97) Webb, Chil. Valley, 6, 9. (98) Directory, 1882, 261.

(99) Webb, op. cit. 8.

(100) Directory, 1882, p. 263.

also passed the same point, from which later roads were also to lead to the landing, to the island settlements and up the Chilliwack. Thus originated the "Five Corners" or Centreville, the Chilliwack of today.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The organization of the municipality in 1873 and the opening of the Yale Road the following summer began a new era for Chilliwack and Sumas. Heretofore the only routes of travel were by rowboat or canoe along river and slough or on horseback or afoot, with rubber waders in winter, along ill-defined trails through brush and across prairie and swale. The best of these was the telegraph trail which with some of the others was occasionally usable as a sleigh-road. Some sort of exception may have been the road from Chilliwack to Sumas by way of the church at Atchelitz. Crosby takes credit to his "revival" and church for building the first real road in the district, with pole bridges over the sloughs.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Like all the earlier roads, however, it was innocent of gravel and made up in depth, during much of the year, what it lacked in width. Nor was the Yale Road, built five years later, much better, excepting the bridges, but it helped open up new lands, especially to the eastward, and it was a permanent right-of-way which would be improved in time. One of the earliest accomplishments of the municipal council was to give Mrs McGuire a contract to open the road around Shannon Mountain and four months later, before the government had started to widen the "Yale New Westminster

Sleigh Road". John Ryder, Cariboo freighter, was given the muni-
 (101) Webb, op. cit. p. 8. (102) Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums, 179.
 (103) Chil. Coun. Minutes, June 20-21, 1873.

cipality's first bridge contract, on the Atchelitz beside the
 church. Six road overseers were appointed, without salary,
 but one wonders just what their work could have been. In 1874
 Cory Ryder built the first bridge over Hope Slough to encour-
 age settlement on the islands, while a road of sorts extended
 from the "Trunk Road" to Cultus Lake. Thus we see the Yale
 Road becoming a sort of spinal column of a road system, but the
 parlous state of the sideroads is indicated by the request to
 Matthew Hall to put a gate in his fence crossing the road from
 Vedder's to Miller's until a surveyed road can be opened.
 Slowly over a period of years roads were surveyed, bridges
 built and gravel laid on, and indeed even long after the period
 of this review was ended most of the roads continued to be all
 but impassible during the winter months.

Some highlights of the early history of the council itself
 may here be given. McCutcheon was followed as warden by Reece
 in 1874 and 1875, McCutcheon again in 1876, '7 and '8, Adam
 Vedder in 1879, William Gillanders in 1880 and George Chadsey
 in 1881. In that year the government was asked for new letters
 patent to allow for new boundaries as surveyed by George Turner,
 R. T., and in accordance with the newer Municipalities Act a
 reeve had to be elected whereas formerly the council had

elected a warden from its own number. The number of councillors

(104) Chil. Coun. Minutes, Nov. 27, 1873.

(105) Ibid., May 16, June 13, 1874.

(x) Ibid., Sept. 27, 1873.

(106) Ibid., June 23, July 4, 1874.

(107) Ibid., Aug. 22, 1874.

(108) Ibid., Jan. mtg. of each year.

was also reduced from seven to four. Chadsey completed the year as first reeve, followed by George R. Ashwell in 1882 and 1883, and Donald McGillivray in 1884 and 1885. New letters patent were also issued in 1883 but this was only to facilitate holding a second election because of alleged irregularities in the first. The first salaried clerk was George Randall Ashwell, who was also to be assessor and collector for a total salary of ninety dollars per year. After one year he was followed by Donald M. McMillan who was given an extra fifteen dollars, in addition to his annual salary of seventy five, to buy a new and larger minute book, copy the minutes kept by Shannon and Ashwell, and having removed the used pages from the old book, turn it over to the Agricultural Society. He was also to be assisted by D. S. Wilder as assessor and collector at fifty dollars per year. McMillan was followed by Thomas E. Kitchen in 1880 and William L. Gillanders five months later. The first source of revenue was a land tax of one quarter of one cent per acre and two days "statute labor" from every man resident in the district. Within about a year it was found necessary to tax personal property also, growing crops excepted, and to allow many persons to work out taxes on the roads at two dollars per day. Chadsey Brothers' Mill was exempted from

(109) Chil. Coun. Minutes, Feb. 26; Oct. 26, 1884.
 (110) Ibid., July 28, 1883.
 (111) Ibid., Jan. to Apr. 1875; Jan. 15, 1877. The new minute book measures 10½ by 17 inches and contains 640 pp.
 (112) Ibid., Oct. 30, 1880; March 26, 1881.
 (113) Ibid., Sept. 16, 1873.
 (114) Ibid., May 23, Nov. 14, Dec. 5, 1874.

taxation, also all church property. Some unpleasant tasks fell to the lot of the council of 1875, which in June posted a reward of one hundred dollars for the finding of the body of John Sicker, a well-known settler who had recently disappeared, and in December voted ten dollars "to care for the wants of John Hardison". The body was found by "Mack" Sweetman in some driftwood on the bank of the Luk-uk-uk in the following February. Sicker's death was the first tragedy in the little community, the report that James Bertrand had been found dead beside his gun on Matsqui Prairie in 1872 having proved false. In 1876 the first suggestion to remunerate members of the council was given a six-month's "hoist" and not revived. In 1878 the first public borrowing on behalf of the municipality was in the sum of two hundred dollars for current expenses. In 1880 the council faced its first suit for recovery at the hands of George Banford through William Norman Bole (later Judge Bole), counsel, and two years later received its first bill for damages from Rev. Joseph Hall, who claimed a broken bridge had caused his horse to run away. In 1882 the council lodged a protest on behalf of the community because the first sitting of the County Court at Chilliwack, scheduled for December 3, had been postponed by Judge J. F. McCreight. The

(115) Chil. Coun. Minutes, June 13, 1874.
 (116) Ibid., June 12, Dec. 3, 1875.
 (117) Ibid., Feb. 1876.
 (118) The report is in Main. Guard. Apr. 3, 1872. Mr. Webb had a picture of Bertrand chopping wood, taken in 1929.
 (119) Chil. Coun. Minutes, last Sat. in Aug., 1876.
 (120) Ibid., Sept. 8, 1880; Nov. 20, '82.
 (121) Ibid., Dec. 22, 1882.

year 1884 saw Chilliwack Council affairs brought before the Supreme Court of the province when Judge Crease declared the election of Councillor William Branchflower illegal. (122) As early as 1878 the question of a "town hall" had been mooted, but when the new school was built the council of 1881 decided to make the old school-house serve it for another year. In 1882 the first debenture by-law submitted to the ratepayers included in a total of \$4000. the sum of six hundred for a "town hall" but the heading for the June meeting, "in council chambers", was only making the best of the old school-house. In the following year one meeting was held in the new school-house and in 1884 another "town-hall" by-law was presented to the ratepayers and defeated. So the year 1885 finds them paying Isaac Kipp, on whose land the old school-house had been built, twenty-three dollars for a year's rental for the "council chamber." (123)

A few items of more than curious interest, however, deserve special notice because of the importance with which they seemed fraught for the future development of the community. In August of 1876 the sum of fifty dollars was voted for the suitable engrossing of an address to the Governor General, Lord Dufferin, then visiting the province with Lady Dufferin. The address and the Governor General's reply are quoted verbatim at the end of the minutes of the September meeting of the council. The address asks for a protective tariff for agriculture similar to that of the province before Confederation and opposes

(122) Chil. Council Minutes, Apr. 21, 1884.
 (123) Ibid., passim.

the building of a railway from Victoria to Nanaimo, in which matter "citizens of Victoria do not by any means convey the true sentiments of the Province, at large." The Governor General's reply was, of course, non-committal. Further efforts of the council to influence the location of the trans-continental railway will be dealt with later. In 1880 a petition was sent to the provincial government to open a trail from "Kultus" Lake to the Skagit mines to accommodate the large number of miners expected in the Spring. Chilliwack still had faith in gold-rushes. In the same year the name of Centreville appears for the first time and in August James Chadsey was given a bonus of \$500 to move his flour-mill thither from Sumas. Apparently it was at last becoming clear that Chilliwack was destined to be the business centre for the whole area. Chadsey was, in return, to bond himself in the sum of \$500 to make good flour of all wheat brought in the next five years at not over six dollars a ton.

Throughout the whole area, as in all the lowland portions of the Fraser Valley, one of the greatest handicaps to the agricultural settler was from the constant danger of early summer flooding. The attempts of individuals to safeguard their

own properties by private dyking was of course ineffectual and

(124) See below, p. 303.

(125) Chill. Coun. Minutes, Feb. 7, 1880.

(126) Ibid., July 31, '80.

(127) I.e. Centreville, the present city, not the landing a mile or so away. Note that the city is Chilliwack; the district, Chilliwack. Either spelling seems to be used for the river, lake and mountain, so here the simpler is used.

(128) Chill. Coun. Min. Aug. 14, 1880.

for such a large area quite inadequate. Some damage was done almost every year, but in 1876 practically the whole area was flooded, crops ruined and fences floated away. (129)

Mr. Edgar Dewdney, C.E., of Hope was sent by the Provincial Government to study the whole area and to report on the feasibility of dyking from Cheam to Sumas Mountain and draining the lowlands. His report, dated at Hope, November 27th 1876, divides the district into two drainage areas each having a separate dyking problem. The first was the country east of the Chilliwack River, which he thought would be very difficult to bring under control because of the sloughs. A dyke along the outside of the islands would probably be the ultimate solution, with dams at the ends of the sloughs. Meanwhile a little building up of the south bank of Hope Slough at the low places might help in normal years. The second or western area contained an area of 31340 acres, including the 11500 acres covered by Sumas Lake, all of which was flooded annually, the depth of the water in the lake having risen in that year's freshet from four to twenty-seven feet. To salvage this area would require three dykes. The first would extend from the Chilliwack Mountain southward a distance of possibly two miles up the Atchelitz to land which was above flood levels. It would require four small floodgates. The second would extend from the western end of the same mountain westward along the Fraser to "Millar's Mountain" a distance of 5478 feet, would require an average height of eight feet seven inches and, al- (129) Webb, Chil. Valley, p. 7.

lowing for a six-foot top and a slope of two to one on the water side and one and one-half to one on the land side, would contain 48,805 cubic yards of earth. It would also require three flood-gates. The third, from the rock at Miller's Landing which had been dignified with the name of mountain to the base of Sumas Mountain, would be 6,636 feet long, fourteen feet high and contain 124,909 cubic yards of material. It would require only one gate, for the Sumas River, but that would be of such proportions as to necessitate a further special survey and would have to be of solid masonry over forty feet high. The dykes would require to be set in a two-foot trench both to prevent slipping and to get down to clay so impervious as to be proof against seepage. They would also need to be protected with sod along the whole water side and with brush and rocks where they adjoined the bases of the mountains.

One further difficulty which Dewdney saw must be overcome introduces one of the most interesting phases of Chilliwack history, and one in which man played little part. No one who stands to-day on the bridge at Vedder Crossing and watches the river thrust itself so wildly from the narrow gap in the hills only to be swung sharply to the Westward by its banks and carried along the base of the Vedder Mountain would dream that within the memory of living people it spread itself out in a fan over rocks and fallen trees in every direction, never to reassemble itself, but to flow in several dif-

(130) The report is given verbatim in Guide to B.C. 1877-8, 117 et seqq.

ferent streams across the valley to the Fraser. Yet so it was, and now one and now another of its distributaries seemed the main stream. In the earliest days of white man's knowledge of the stream what is now the Chilliwack Slough seemed the main river and was navigable nearly to the base of the hills. That is why, on government maps, the river above Vedder Crossing still bears the name of Chilliwack. Then in 1873 part of the stream found its way into the headwaters of the Vedder Creek or Slough which rose at the base of the hills a mile or so west of the Chilliwack and flowed into Sumas Lake. Then in 1875 came the greatest winter flood ever experienced in Chilliwack. A month of heavy rain turned to snow in the middle of November, quickly piled up over thirty inches on the hills, and then came a "Chinook" wind. The Chilliwack sought every avenue of escape and washed out all bridges. The Luckukuk seems to have taken the brunt at first and at Wells' farm, where had formerly been a thirty-foot bridge the stream widened to a hundred feet overnight and before the flood subsided had torn away the banks to more than twice that width. The Vedder took also a good share of the flood. The farmers in trying to save their own lands by wing-damming only injured their neighbors. Dewdney advised abandoning hope of confining the stream to its old bed but thought it must be confined to one or two. He recommended keeping it out of the Vedder, using instead the Luckukuk and the Atchelitz which lay outside the area he proposed for immediate dyking. But his advice was not followed and the Vedder gradually took the whole stream, the dividing area became overgrown

with brush, and the Chilliwack, Luokukuk and Atchelitz became, (131)
as they are today, merely sloughs draining the flats.

The expense of the undertaking was probably the reason the government did not see fit to act upon the Dewdney Report, but one suspects that a certain amount of jealousy between the Chilliwack and Sumas settlers may have killed any chance they did have of getting substantial aid. In the following January, the Municipal Council asked the government to dam Hope Slough and in November a special meeting of the council agreed to the petition of Sumas residents to ask the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council to separate them from the municipality for dyking purposes. (132) It may be inferring too much to interpret this as the result of the communities trying to pull the council in opposite directions, but one knows that for years there were people in Upper and Lower Sumas who believed the Chilliwack settlers aided the diversion of the Chilliwack to the Vedder to the advantage of Chilliwack and disadvantage of the Sumas settlements. (133) In 1878 the Sumas Dyking Act gave E. L. Derby the right to dyke both areas as well as Matsqui Prairie, to be paid for in extensive grants of land, but nothing seems to have been

- (x)
done about it excepting in the last-named place. In any case
- (131) Although making full use of material contained in Mr. Webb's "History of the Chil-Uk-Way-Uk Valley" (MS) and in Dewdney's Report cited above, this account of the history of Chilliwack (now Vedder) River is chiefly the result of much questioning of Mr. Webb, Mr. Edwin Wells of Chilliwack, Chief Billy Sepass of Skowkale and many others.
- (132) Minutes of Chil. Coun., Jan. 15 and Nov. 10, 1877.
- (133) From pioneers in both groups, especially Mr. Webb of the one and Mr. York of the other.
- (x) Howay and Scholefield, B. C. II, 594-'5.

the still higher Fraser flood in 1882 ruined crops through the district and the flood of 'ninety-four, the highest on record, caught the settlers still unprepared. (134)

The community was growing rapidly. In Hibben's "Guide to the Province of British Columbia for 1877-8" fifty-nine adult male settlers gave Chilliwack as their post-office address. Mrs. Jane McDonald was now postmistress there. Miller still had the post-office at Sumas and of the thirty-four men who gave that address we can positively identify thirteen as settlers within the confines of the Chilliwack municipality and some of the doubtful ones probably were. (135) In "The British Columbia Directory for the Years 1882-83", lists eighty-six farmers and a dairyman at Chilliwack and twenty-two farmers and a dairyman at Sumas resident within the municipality. As a matter of fact most of those giving other occupations were also primarily farmers. These others include five general merchants, a Chinese grocer, a hotel keeper and a boarding-house keeper, three blacksmiths, two milliners (sisters), a flour mill owner and his miller, a shingle mill proprietor, a millwright, a cooper, a shoemaker, a plasterer, two carpenters, two laborers, a pastor, a vicar, and a justice of the peace and deputy sheriff. This last double office was held by A. C. Wells, G. R. Ashwell and J. C. Henderson at Chilliwack, and Miller, Atkinson and Co. at Miller's Landing were the principal merchants, George McKeever ran the Chilliwack Hotel and Mrs. Harrison a boarding-house. Mrs. McDonald was still postmistress (134) Webb, op. cit., p. 7. The Chilliwack dyke came in the late 'ninties. (135) Guide, pp. 165, 352-'6.

(136)

at Chilliwack and John McCutcheon telegraph operator. In a doggerel poem entitled "Chilliwack Pioneer Ladies, by One of the Old Boys", Mr. Charles Evans commemorates seventy-six pioneer first-generation women of the municipality all resident there before 1885, all but one of them married, and from what we know of one or two of the families we should say the population was growing.

Moreover the communities round about were beginning to take form. Up the river was the settlement of Popkum where in 1877 was David Airth and two associates, probably even then beginning to do some small saw-milling. At any rate within a couple of years Knight and Airth were selling lumber and in 1882 it became Knight Brothers' while a tannery of some size and for a time an excelsior mill were operated by Orre and Company or Knight and Orre. There was also a post-office there. Across the river at Ferny Coombe Louis N. Agassiz died between 1877 and 1882 but his widow and family kept up the farm and had as neighbors William and Joseph Tarre. At the Harrison in 1877 there were some sixteen men, probably mostly loggers and mill workers, but in 1882 the place seems to have been fairly deserted. Between these settlements and Hope little change has

taken place since Confederation but one or two settlers are

(136) Directory, '82-3, pp. 265-7.

(137) Evans, Ch. Pion. Ladies, 1-20.

(138) Guide, 352-6.

(139) Minutes of Chill. Coun., July 26, 79.

(140) Mrs. Knight; Directory, '82-3, p. 261, 269.

(141) Guide, loc. cit.; Directory, '82-3, 263 and 268-9; Miss Agassiz and Mr. Walker of Agassiz.

(142) Directory, 1882-3, 263.

worthy of note. Peter Anderson settled on an island near Popkum and Thomas Hicks got thereby a son-in-law. Henry Hunter-- "old man Hunter"--had a little store at Huntersville, the present Hunter Creek resort. Owen Jones had a farm at Ohamil and gave his name to Jones Creek. Some time shortly after his three brothers established Cloverdale, Joe Shannon moved to the present site of Laidlaw and spent the remainder of his days there. (x) Altogether there were eight farmers, one store-keeper and one miner listed between Popkum and Hope in 1882. At Hope the post-office was in the hands of Miss Wirth, but the mail for the settlers above Popkum, addressed to Hope, was actually dropped along the way by the steamers. At Hope there were two general stores, Wardle's and Miss Wirth's, besides the Hudson's Bay Company's, operated by William Yates and his son. There were also a Chinese bakery and two hotels, the Hope and the Columbia, owned by James Carrigan and Joseph James respectively. The saw-mill now belonged to W. L. Flood who a few years later took a farm a few miles lower down and gave his name to the settlement there. (143)

On the Upper Sumas prairie in the early 'eighties we find all the original settlers and several others. A school district was made there in 1874 and a school was opened by 1877 (144)

but not kept open for long. Thomas York still kept a "hotel

(x) Mr. Robertson.

(143) This account generally based on Directory for '82-3, pp. 268-9, supplemented by Mr. Gardner, Mrs. Flood and others.

(144) Sess. Papers, 1875, p. 30; 1877, p. 108; Directory, '82-3, p. 262.

and small store", chiefly of liquid goods according to those
 (145)
 who knew him, but there was no post-office or store. Fraser
 York started a stage route over the Yale Road to New Westmin-
 ster but, with the railway construction, found it more profit-
 able to open a hotel at Yale in partnership with one of the De
 (146)
 Becks from New Westminster. His brother-in-law, William Camp-
 bell, was Justice of the Peace and had the task of trying to
 keep Massatche and Louis Sam within the law and of finding the
 (147)
 murderer of Harry Melville.

A little to the west of where the Yale Road left the
 prairie, in a gap in the hills, a road branched off to the
 Matsqui Riverside. At the junction, where stands the village
 of Abbotsford today, the only settler in the 'eighties was "the
 man in the stump", Freeman by name. He saved himself the
 trouble of building a house by roofing a hollow cedar stump,
 living in the base of it, and climbing pegs set in the sides to
 his sleeping-loft above. He brought his own supplies from New
 (148)
 Westminster, taking two days to walk each way.

About Matsqui prairie there grew up a scattered settlement
 in the 'seventies. While the earliest settlers, as we have
 (x)
 seen, were on the hills at the extreme south, not far from the
 Yale Road, another group settled during the early 'seventies at
 the west end, with homes along the base of the hill known as
 Mount Lehman. The first settler here was Malcolm Nicholson.

(145) Directory, loc. cit.

(146) Messrs. Murcheson, York, and Wilkie.

(147) See above, p.204

(148) Mr. Catherwood.

(x) See p.205above.

In 1874 he was joined by Alben Hawkins, late of the Royal Engineers, who has left us a very interesting diary covering fairly completely the period from his arrival there until his marriage in 1878 to a daughter of William Perkins of St. Mary's (149) Mission. In the winter of 1874-5 S. W. Lehman and his cousin Christopher Musselman built a cabin on the ridge westward, but Lehman's family of six children was not brought over from Victoria till the following Spring. Musselman had died meanwhile (150) and now Lehman's brother, Isaac, took land on the ridge. Of the homes along the edge of the prairie in 1873 John Fannin wrote:

Along the sides of the hills, their roofs just peeping above the dark green foliage of fruit and shade trees, were to be seen three or four farm houses, each with its field of yellow grain, or surrounded by carefully cultivated gardens rich with every necessary that the soil and climate can produce. (151)

Though all used the prairie for pasture. The only settlement was at John Evans', known as Riverside, less than a mile below the Mission on the opposite side. Though there were not the legal number of children a school was built somewhere in the district by community effort, but the government was saved the necessary two hundred fifty dollars for a teacher's salary because the children failed to attend. All lands remaining unclaimed on the prairie were acquired in 1878, under the "Sumas Dyking Act," by Colin Buchanan Sword, already the most exten-

(149) A son, Alfred Hawkins, born there in 1880, still lives there. He recently (1937) placed the diary in the Prov. Archives.

(150) Mrs. Middleton; Hawkins' diary.

(151) Sess. Papers, 1874, p. 4.

sive landholder in the older settlement about McClure's. By (152)
 1882 he was said to have expended some \$70000 in dyking, but (153)
 apparently it failed to resist the flood of that year. It had (154)
 to be gradually strengthened and much of it eventually rebuilt.

At Kanaka Prairie, the modern Dewdney, and back of it on
 Burton's, now Hatzic, Prairie, there was also considerable
 settlement, some of it dating from before Confederation, as we
 have already seen. Gradually the Cariboo teamsters, Deroche
 and MacDonald on Nicomen Island, Johnson and McKamey at Kaneka
 Prairie, and Burton and Phair on Burton's Prairie, gave up
 driving their ox-wagons and stayed on their wintering farms.
 Perhaps their families tied them down and possibly the begin-
 ning of railway construction was also a factor. The land at (155)
 the lower end of Burton's Prairie was acquired from James Kelly
 in 1873 by Captain James Robinson of the Burrard Inlet and (156)
 Howe Sound Steamer "Ada", and turned into a cattle range. He
 used, during the freshet, to take his steamer right up the
 Slough for loading and unloading stock. S. L. Lehman moved his

family there in 1875 and tamed some of the cattle for dairying
 (152) See Lot Book, N.W., Gp. 2, Vol. 2. Actually the dyking
 of Matsqui as well as Sumas and Chilliwack was given to
 E. L. Derby who started the Matsqui dyke but Sword took
 it over in 1880 and was given a year in which to complete
 it. (Sess. Papers, 1879, p. 62; Howay and Scholefield, B.C.
 II, 594). The Lot Book merely records that Sword got the
 land, about 6000 acres.

(153) Directory, '82, p. 262.

(154) The writer's father in the late 'eighties could see the
 water mark on the barn of John Barnes at Riverside. On
 the same barn the mark of '94 was still visible in the
 writer's childhood. Grandfather worked for Sword and
 Barnes when the dyke was rebuilt. Traces of the original
 dyke are still discernible.

(155) Mr. Deroche, Mr. and Mrs. Phair of Hatzic (son and daugh-
 ter of Phair & Burton respectively) Mr. McKamey.

(156) Lot Bk., N.W., Gp. 3, 1. 7)

purposes. After three or four years there, on Nicomen Slough and at the foot of Hatzic Lake, Lehman gave up because of floods and returned to his hill-top homestead. But others were found to stay and in 1882, a school was built beside the new railway right-of-way a half-mile east of the lake, where a Miss Todd was teacher for the first two years. At first the settlers got all their supplies from Wade's, at the foot of Sumas Mountain, or from Fort Langley or New Westminster. When railway construction began Gabriel Lacroix opened a store at
(157)
Hatzic.

At St. Mary's Mission there were no new settlers during the 'seventies. There was at the mission a grist-mill, and James Trethewey, an English miller who had left his family in the Muskoka district while he came prospecting in British Columbia in 1874, had set it up and generally operated it during the winter. He had taken land on Nicomen Island and set up and operated the Chadsey mill at Sumas, and another for Lee at Pavilion Mountain above Lillooet. In 1882 he brought his wife and the younger members of his family to spend a winter at Alexandra Bridge, above Spuzzum, but the following spring returned to New Westminster. Then he bought an acre of land just below the mission built there a house and store, and this gave
(158)

promise of the founding of Mission City. A year or two later
(157) Mrs. Middleton, Mrs. Newton, Mrs. Phair, Mr. Catherwood, Mr. McKamey; also Mrs. Sam Smith of Mission, one of the Vaseys who came to Johnson's Landing (Dewdney) in 1882.

(158) Mrs. Brett. There is a graphic account of their arrival at Mission in Mr. Lawson's diary and letters. (See Appendix II). Some further account of this family might be of interest:

(1) When the town of Mission (See fn. 158, page 263)

he acquired some land a mile farther west, and here a school was built, the first in the district. Boswell McDonald of Yale,

brother of Mrs. Fraser York, was the first teacher but was re-
 (158) was established half a mile westward with the building of the branch line to Huntingdon in 1896, Mr. and Mrs. Trethewey sold out their business. He had spent most of his time prospecting and millwrighting away from home, while she took care of the store and family. They subsequently moved to Chilliwack where they lived until her death in 1906 and his in 1910.

(2) Joseph, the oldest son, stayed in Ontario some years, then located and developed the Providence mine on Harrison Lake. After making some money in the Cobalt mining boom in Ontario he invested in the Abbotsford Mill and bought the Chilco Ranch of 20000 acres at 150-Mile House. On his retirement in 1920 he sold it for \$220000 (Daily Province, Apr. 28, 1920).

(3) James also remained in Ontario, but when the railway was opened built the "Ontario House" hotel in Mission. Leaving that shortly he acquired a small saw-mill at Chilliwack, then developed the Harrison Mills, later sold to the Rat-Portage Lumber Company, and then assisted his brothers in developing the Abbotsford Lumber Company. Today he operates, almost single-handed, a small water-power mill near Squakum Lake.

(4) Samuel took over his father's original holding on Nicomen, but subsequently joined his brothers in the Harrison Mills and other lumbering and mining enterprises.

(5) Elizabeth, Mrs. Taylor, opened the "Albion House" in Mission at the time of James Welton Horne's real-estate boom in the 'nineties, but shortly moved to Vancouver.

(6) William started as a newsboy on the C.P.R., became a notary in Vancouver, and then became interested in the Cobalt mines where he cleared \$1,500,000 and received the newspaper title of "Cobalt Millionaire". He bought an estate in England but after his wife's death returned to Canada and died in Florida some years ago.

(7) Arthur assisted his mother as long as she had the store, then joined his brothers in the Chilliwack, Harrison and Abbotsford Mills, being manager of the last enterprise.

(8) Emma, Mrs. Richard Brett, attended school in Mission. After her marriage lived on a farm at Dewdney till 1904, when they moved to Chilliwack, where her sons have an extensive automotive business. She and her brother James are the only surviving members of the family.

(Information from Mrs. Brett and the writer's father who knew the whole family well.)

placed at the end of 1885 by John Catherwood, who had come with
 a railway survey party from Ontario two years earlier. (159)

From the beginning of settlement the mission had become also the post-office, and, possibly because the most numerous settlement in the 'seventies was across the river, it was known as Matsqui Post Office. Indeed even after the railway was completed and until the townsite was established westward, the postal address remained: "Matsqui P.O., St. Mary's Mission, B.C." (160) The voters list for 1876 contains the names of thirty voters at this address, scattered along the river from Harris' (Nicomen) Slough to Mount Lehman and back to the heads of the prairies at Burton's and McClure's. Incidentally Mr. Passmore gave his place, the present flat of Mission City, the name of Ivy Bank,--just another fine name that refused to stay. (161) In 1882 we still find Burton and Kanaka Prairies by Harris' has become "Nicoaamen". The Directory for that year, very obviously incomplete for this area, lists fifteen farmers, Father Carion as post-master, and Francis E. Wade, trader, Sumas. (162) Farther west lived two old-time prospectors, now settling down to farm and raise families. One was Marcus Cox, just west of the present Silverdale, near the Stave River; the other was Joseph Robson Hairsine, who married a daughter of Mrs. Brett, Mr. Catherwood. (159)

(160) The writer's father. Deroche and McDonald on Nicomen Island got their mail at Sumas as did Tretheway, (See Directory, 1882, pp. 266-7, where Deroche is written Derushau.)

(161) Sess. Papers, 1876, pp. 40-41.

(162) Directory, 1882, p. 258.

of James Cromarty, ex-cooper at Fort Langley and had a clearing
 (163)
 about three miles up the Stave. After 1883 the beginnings of
 railway work brought more settlers, especially tie-hewers at-
 tracted by the timber. Foremost among these were John Wren,
 whose landing was just east of Silver (now Silverdale) Creek
 and whose tie-roads extended nearly to Cedar Valley, and Ro-
 bert Pickens, whose tie camp was fairly in the middle of the
 later Mission City townsite. About the same time the post-
 office was taken from the mission, first to Perkins' house,
 (164)
 then to Trethewey's store.

(c) Langley, Maple Ridge and Surrey.

Fort Langley was, as we have seen, the first home of agri-
 culture in British Columbia. Introduced on a small scale at
 the building of the first fort, extended on a large scale on
 the prairie after 1834, and adopted on a small scale by the
 (165)
 Indians of the whole neighborhood during that decade, it at-
 tracted a few men to the Langley district immediately the tide
 of the gold-rush swept over the country. But with the abandon-
 ment of the company's major agricultural activities and the es-
 tablishment of the chief business centre as well as political
 capital at New Westminster in 1859, a dead hand, as it were,
 rested on Langley until the 'seventies, when a considerable in-
 flux of settlers took place. Some of the earliest of these we
 have already noted. More scattered along any ridges near the
 river front and along the telegraph trail from Jenkins' and

(163) Mr. Hairsine, Mr. Boulanger.

(164) Mr. Catherwood, et al.

(165) Letter of C.T. Jas. Douglas to H.B. Co., Oct. 14, 1839.
 (H. B. Archives.)

Yeomans' places some distance below Derby to Mathers' and Paterson's on the western slope of the Mount Lehman promontory.

The company's farm now, used only for pasture and growing up in brush, occupied the best lands of the whole district, impeding

settlement and forcing settlers to take heavy bush-land. To the southwards, beyond the settlers we have already discovered

at the south end of the prairie, some more settlers came in the early 'seventies. Notable among these was Alexander Murchison who came from Ontario (by way of Dakota) with a family of three daughters and two sons, and accompanied by a prospective son-in-law, took up a piece of bush-land west of Innes' and south of where the Yale Road was cut through a year later. This was the most south-westerly clearing in the Langley settlement till after 1865; so far westward, indeed, as to be left mostly outside the municipality. South-eastwards of Innes'

corner along the new Yale Road another family came in the following year, consisting of Paul Murray, a prosperous Scottish farmer from Ontario, then in his sixty-third year, with his wife, his stalwart sons, John, William and Alex, and three daughters. The land which they chose lay along a heavily-

wooded hillside on which stands the Municipal Hall of Langley today. The district has come to be known as Murrayville.

(166) See account of his arrival in Hawkins' diary, where the name is in the first instance given as "Withers".

(167) Mr. Murcheson. See Fannin's report to C.C.L and W. in Sess. Papers, 1874, p. 3; also Dunn; Presb. in B.C., p. 43.

(168) See above, p. 209.

(169) Mr. Murcheson, Mrs. Vanetta, Mr. John Murray. See the appreciative accounts of the heads of these families in Dunn, Presb. in B.C., 42-3; 60-62.

In 1876, fifty-five men were listed as residents of Langley, though two or three of these lived across the river. By 1882 the number had grown to eighty-five, of whom all but (170) nine were classed as farmers. Of the bush farms of this period, along the old telegraph trail, for example, where a series of such farms extended westward from the prairie four miles, one writer said:

Most of the occupants of these farms came here with little or no capital five or six years ago. Single handed they have now 15, 20 and 30 acres under crop this season--have comfortable homes--have oxen, cows, hogs, fowls, and are free of debt....The two most advanced and successful bush farmers in the district... have some 87 and 45 acres of cleared bush land respectively. (171)

This last probably refers to Murcheson and Murray. Note the lack of reference to horses and wagons. In 1875 there was only one settler possessed of a wagon and team. All others (172) depended on ox-sleds.

On April 26, 1873, the municipality of the District of Langley was issued letters patent. (173) Unfortunately owing to loss of all early municipal records by fire, we have no details of membership, meetings or business of the early councils. James Mackie was the first warden, Adam Innes the second. W.W.

Gibbs, who thus far had held the office of clerk, was the third (170) Guide, 1876, pp. 352-356; Directory, 1882, pp. 257-8.

We wish to point out that we are unable to find any connection between Joseph Michaud who came to Murrayville from Quebec with his family in 1880, Marcelli Michaud who at a much earlier date settled near Hope, and Maximilian Michaud, owner of the famous "Maxie's Saloon" on Burrard Inlet.

(171) Directory, 1882, p. 256.

(172) Dunn, op. cit., 61-'2.

(173) Gosnell, Yr. Bk., 1897, p. 143.

(268)

(174)

warden and held office in 1877. Thereafter the reeves were, in order, John Maxwell for two years, Adam Innes in 1880 and '81, James McAdam, John Jolly and John Maxwell one year each, and Adam Innes again from 1885 to 1887. Gibbs was followed in the clerkship for one year by George Towle and then G. B. Murray until 1890. Thereafter George Rawleson or Rawlinson (175) held the position until well on in the 'nineties. The municipality until 1894 did not include a strip two and one-half miles wide along the international boundary, all heavily wooded highland. It is said that in one year the total tax revenue was about one hundred forty dollars and that as late as 1883 only forty-two votes were cast in the municipal election. The council first met in the original school building (176) at Fort Langley, but later a town hall was built there. Only one bit of the internal history has come down to us. The story is the Rev. Alexander Dunn's and has to do with W. W.

Gibbs:

The inglorious and unprincipled Reeveship of the new Warden was of short duration. Before many months

(174) The pamphlet, "Langley, Fifty Years of Progress," shows Gibbs as reeve for '76 and '77, but seems to admit the list may be incorrect. Dunn, Presb. in B.C. pp. 10-11, says only for '77. This seems much more reliable, as his antagonism to Gibbs would help fix the period in Dunn's memory. Dunn is careful to avoid Gibbs' name but he is easily identified, not so much by the date as by the fact all the other reeves of the 'seventies and 'eighties were honored members of Dunn's church and greatly admired by him, while Gibbs styled himself an "Importer, Dealer in Wines, Liquors, Drygoods and Groceries", (Bill in possession of Jas. Cromarty) and was likely to become the leader of the anti-Presbyterian group and to be a heavy drinker. Moreover Dunn's bête noir left Langley shortly after his reeveship; Gibbs is listed in the Guide for 1876-7, but not in the Directory for 1882-3 (pp. 257-8).

(175) Based chiefly on "Langley Fifty Years of Progress."
(176) Ibid.

had passed he and his followers began to quarrel over finances. On a certain forenoon a large number of both parties gathered round his cabin, and demanded that the minute books of the Municipality should be produced for their inspection. He saw they were enraged and determined, and he dared not refuse. On examination it was found that whole leaves here and there had been cut out, and a system of fraud and embezzlement carried on. Pale and trembling he pleaded for leniency. They let him alone, but from that day his quondam friends forsook him with two exceptions. Soon afterwards he left Langley. (177)

One problem Langley did not have was that of dyking, but such of the land as was subject to overflow remained for years unoccupied, but most of the land lies well above high water. It made up for this lack, however, in road problems, partly because of a few very low patches of ground, such as "St. Andrew's Flats" which lies between the fort settlement and the "portage" at the lower end of the prairie. Here at first there was no road at all, then corduroy which floated away periodically. (178) The Hudson's Bay farm was undoubtedly another cause. The first road in the district, except right at the fort and not counting the telegraph trail, was the Yale Road, roughly built in 1874. Apparently the first municipal road was from the fort to the foot of the prairie, built by William Henry Vanetta. Just a little later the McLellan Road was started from Innes' westward to past Murcheson's, finished later across Surrey as a government road under contract to (179) McLellan, the work largely done by the Murrays and Murchesons. It put a severe strain upon the slender exchequer of the municipality to link the roads converging at Innes' with that which

(177) Presb. in B. C., D-11.
 (178) Dunn, op. cit., pp. 72-'3.
 (179) Mrs. Vanetta, Mr. J. Murray. Dunn, op. cit., 61.

started from the fort, and we find it was not until 1834 that Adam and Bill Innes put the first gravel on a Langley road, the raised half-mile across St. Andrew's flat. (180)

In earliest gold-rush days W. H. Bevis, customs and revenue officer, had had to act as post master without pay, but from his transfer to Westminster in 1860 onward there was no one acting in either capacity at Langley until 1870, when W. W. Gibbs was appointed post-master at Fort Langley. Thereafter, until the advent of electric railway and the motorized highway, Fort Langley was the chief centre of the district. It boasted two stores and a post office, a school and a church. After Gibbs left the community the post office was transferred to Henry Wark at the Hudson's Bay Company's store and Wilson Towle started a store and boarding house at his farm below the prairie where Jardine is today. There was also a telegraph station there in charge of M. W. Herring until the telegraph lines were moved from the trail back to the Yale Road in 1880. About the latter year the first sawmill in the district was built and operated by Henry West, near Morrison's, a mile or so east of the fort. A grist mill was started by J. K. Nelson a year or two later. (181) (182) (183) (184) (185)

The first school at Langley was established, as has been seen, by James Kennedy of New Westminster. Among his successors in the same school was W. W. Gibbs who first came to Langley in (186)

that capacity. From 1875 to 1878 the school had an English lady (180) Dunn, op. cit. 61, 73. (181) Deaville, Col. Post. Syst., 149, 151. (182) Guide, 1877, p. 165. Directory 1882, 257-8 (183) Guide 1877, p. 169. (184) Mr. Wilkie, who helped move it. (185) Mr. Murcheson; Directory 1882, 258. (186) Mr. Towle.

teacher who taught not only the required subjects but also art and needlework to the girls, and who subsequently, as Mrs.

(187)

Arthur Herring, wrote a number of books on pioneer life in the

(188)

West. The school population had grown from twenty-eight in 1873, of whom only nineteen were in actual attendance, to

(189)

forty-eight in 1877. Another teacher was an Australian,

Richard H. Holding, who was farming in the district and whose talents were apparently better suited to that calling. In 1882

James William Sinclair, who had made a success of the school

in Maple Ridge, was asked to take over the Fort Langley school

(190)

in the hope of improving it. Meanwhile the growth of the

settlement in the Innes neighborhood had necessitated the

building of the Langley Prairie school in the mid-'seventies,

(191)

though it was found impossible to keep it open continuously.

Miss Coulthard, daughter of a well-known settler who came there

(192)

in 1875, was the first teacher.

(193)

After the closing of the Anglican Church at Derby the only church established in the district up to 1885 was the Presbyterian. Anglican and Methodist ministers continued to hold occasional services there in the schoolhouse or elsewhere, but the congregations were too small to warrant permanent establishments until towards the end of the century. The

(187) No connection of the telegraph operator, apparently, nor of the farmer opposite Sapperton.

(188) B. C. Biographical, IV, 232-236.

(189) Sess. Papers, 1874, 16-18; 1878, 22.

(190) Mr. Sinclair; Mr. Towle; Guide, 1877, 353; Directory 1882, 258.

(191) Sess. Papers, 1877; 107; 1878, 22.

(192) Mr. Towle.

(193) See p. 152 above.

Presbyterian minister at New Westminster began the same practice, but so many Scottish settlers had come that in 1872 a small church was built at Fort Langley. This was the only church there until a new church was built by the same congregation in 1885. In 1875 Rev. Alexander Dunn, a missionary of the Church of Scotland, directly from Glasgow, was sent to save the Presbyterian communities on the south side of the Fraser. For over ten years he made his headquarters there and held service every Sunday morning. In the afternoons he held services at Upper Sumas, whither he rode every third Sunday afternoon for several years, at Langley Prairie, at Mud Bay, at Delta, at the North Arm or at Maple Ridge. Besides these preaching appointments he made calls at settlements and scattered homes along the way. From end to end his field extended more than fifty miles but always Langley was his principal care. He approached it with some misgivings, having heard of it as a rowdy, hard-drinking community, but so far as his Scottish communicants were concerned he seems to have found no fault except that their conversation had somehow lost the "Sabbeth tone." At the church door, even at a funeral, they would discuss mundane matters in more than audible voices, a fault which the devout minister was at great pains to correct. But despite this fault and despite their frequent inability to follow a tune, he found them hospitable, faithful and devout, and at all services almost every Presbyterian within a radius

(194) Dunn, op. cit., p. 5.

(195) Ibid., loc. cit.

(196) Ibid., p. 6.

(197) Ibid., p. 7.

of ten miles was certain to be present, both for religion's sake, and for an antidote for loneliness and homesickness. (198) Hospitality, cordial and bountiful, was never lacking in any part of the field. The missionary found them strong of body and stout of soul. At the school-house at Innes' Corner, (199) which was used for services for the Prairie community, the first three elders of the Presbyterian Church on the mainland of British Columbia were ordained in December 1876. James McAdam of Lower Langley died in 1899 at the age of seventy-six years; Alexander McDougall of Mud Bay died a year later, aged eighty; and Paul Murray of Murrayville, last of the three, reached the age of ninety-two before his death in 1903. (200) During his ten years' mission in Langley Mr. Dunn is said to have conducted only two funeral services. (201) The first person buried in the Fort Langley public cemetery was Robert Mackie, father of the reeve, in 1882. (202)

One extension of the Langley settlement which came just at the close of the period under review must be mentioned before passing on to other areas. We have already noted settlement eastward through what is now Glen Valley to Mather's place (198) Ibid., 6, 69, 73.

(199) The name Langley Prairie was not especially applied to this community until the opening of the B. C. Electric Railway line to Chilliwack in 1909. Prior to that date it applied rather to the whole area between Jardine and Langley Prairie of today.

(200) Dunn, op. cit., p. 43.

(201) Mrs. Vanetta.

(202) Dunn, op. cit., p. 39.

on the western side of Mount Lehman. The higher land to the southward was more difficult to clear. Fannin's report refers to the land about Murray's as having been burnt over and growing up in a tangle of brush. Numerous evidences, including elk and deer heads in great abundance, showed a great fire had swept the whole hill-top from Langley more than half-way to Upper Sumas, and this area was growing up in brush. Where this brush was chiefly young alders the clearing was easier and the land generally better. In a section of such land along the Yale Road a settlement was formed in the mid-'eighties whose principal pioneers were Robert Shortreed, a C.P.R. bridge-builder, and his brother Duncan; Messrs. Bruskey and Goldsmith who preceded the Shortreeds by a year or two and who seem to have been the first to settle there, though little else can be ascertained regarding them; William Henry Vanetta, son-in-law of Alex. Murcheson of Langley Prairie; and Philip Jackman, late of the Royal Engineers and the New Westminster police, who opened a store and post-office in 1886 and gave it the name of Aldergrove.

From the beginning of land settlement Langley overflowed into the district across the river, or rather the first Langley people to settle on the land did so over in the area known as Maple Ridge. The name was first given by John McIver to the land in the neighborhood of his farm. By 1871 this area boasted a population of not fewer than twenty-three men, of whom at least four, Henry Dawson, Wellington Harris, Adam (203) Report in Sess. Papers, 1874, p. 3. (204) Mr. Shortreed, Mrs. Vanetta, and Mr. Arthur Jackman of Aldergrove (x) Nelson, Place names.

Irving, and John McIver had white wives, while others had Indian or part-Indian wives. There was also a widow, Mrs. Newton. West of Pitt River lived five other settlers. The B. C. Directory for 1882-1883 lists forty-four farmers, two teachers, two store-keepers, a hotel keeper and two loggers resident in the district.

In 1874 the district was organized into the Municipality of Maple Ridge and on October 3 a meeting to nominate and elect seven councillors was called at the home of John McIver by W. H. Burr of New Westminster, special returning officer. Only seven men attended besides the host and the returning officer: George Howeson, Wellington Harris, John Bell, John McKenney, Henry Dawson, Thomas Henderson and John Hammond. These seven proceeded to nominate one another in turn, whereupon they were declared elected by acclamation. A week later they met for the first time as a council at the same place, un-aminously elected Wellington J. Harris the first warden and appointed James Thorne clerk. Thereafter they made the home of William Justus Howison the place of their regular monthly meetings. In December they appointed McIver the first assessor, fixed the tax rate at one and one-half per cent., and remunerated the clerk with the sum of fifteen dollars for his services at the four meetings. They also decided to build the first road "from a point on the prairie parallel to the railway survey to the government road, thence along the government road,"

Guide to B.C. 1877, pp. 352-356; Dunn, op. cit., 43-4;
 Messrs. McIvor, Newton, Robertson. (205)
 (206) Pp. 254-5.

which is approximately the line of the present "River Road" from south of Pitt Meadows through Hammond and Haney. The road, it appears, was not immediately built, however.

For the Council of 1875 notices of election were posted in the post-office and the elections held in the school-house which thereafter was used as the regular meeting-place of the council. McIver and Francis Bates replaced Dawson and Henderson on the council, Harris was again made warden, and the clerkship went by auction to Henry Dawson. John Brough was made treasurer at a salary of twenty-five dollars a year. From the opening of the year 1876 the clerk was James William Sinclair, the school teacher, who received twenty-five dollars annually for acting as collector. In 1878 he was replaced by James Syson who received forty-five dollars for his work in the dual position, and who was succeeded a year later by Henry Dawson on the same terms. In 1880 Jeremiah Callaghan was appointed clerk pro tem. at the opening meeting in which a quarrel over appointment of officers ended in an order for the late clerk, Dawson, to hand over all books and papers pending a law-suit. Thereafter there are no minutes until November 7, 1885, with the exception of a meeting on February 8, 1881, at which James Sinclair was again appointed clerk at thirty dollars and all persons having books or papers of the municipality were ordered

(207) Minutes of M. R. Council for 1874.

(208) Mr. Sinclair insists he was the first clerk, the first two holding temporary and not legal appointments. See copy of his letter to Mrs. J. C. McFarlane of Maple Ridge (N.D.) There is nothing in the records to support his claim, while the fact he was a minor raises some question of the legality of his own appointment.

to hand them over. Apparently one whole book was missing, (209) while pages had been cut from the others. In the years from 1876 to 1880 inclusive the wardens were Henry Dawson for the first three years, John McKenney and Daniel Dockstader respectively. In 1882 and 1885 George Howison was reeve and in the latter year Paul Murray, the teacher who had succeeded Sinclair, was clerk, and Sinclair appeared as one of the auditors. (210)

In 1875 the council made a request to the government for \$2000 with which to build its proposed road along the river and some side roads, but apparently without results. It also let the first contract to Henry Dawson to build this road from Henderson's, east of the present Haney, to the swampy flat west of the present Hammond, whence a path was to extend to Harris' on the highland back of Keatsy, the path across the swamp to consist of two logs "flated at top". The quality of the rest of the road may be judged from the fact that Dawson was to be paid \$412 per chain. Other road tenders at that time were "two high" (sic) to be "excepted" (sic). (211) The side roads and improvements came but slowly and corduroy was used extensively. In 1876 Samuel Edge built four bridges on the River Road, three hundred yards were ditched and at dollar a rod, and the road was extended eastward from Kanaka Creek,

where a ferry was established at a cost of fifteen dollars, to

- (209) Note to transcribed copy signed by Edmund Pope, who made the transcription.
 (210) Minutes of M. R. Council, passim. B.C. Directory, 1882, for reeve of that year. (p. 254)
 (211) Ibid., 1875, passim.

Peter Baker's, the present Albion. To pay for these a loan of a thousand dollars was proposed and withdrawn as was the adoption of statute labor at two dollars per ten-hour day, a wild land tax of one and one-half per cent. and a road tax of one and one-half cents per acre were imposed, and finally a loan of six hundred dollars with the approval of a ratepayers' meeting had to be resorted to. As in Chilliwack, people had to be ordered to remove fences and obstructions from the roads. (212)

In 1877 on motion of Thomas Haney councillors were paid \$1.50 per day's sitting, wages on the roads were fixed at \$2.50, two hundred dollars were borrowed and the government was asked for three thousand for roads in view of the "large influx of population". Like Chilliwack, Maple Ridge refused, on grounds of economy, to support Langley's demand for a stipendiary magistrate for New Westminster city and district. There are evidences of difficulty in collecting taxes. In 1877 William Norman Bole, New Westminster lawyer and later judge, was engaged to collect back taxes, and a year later to draft a tax-sale by-law, in 1878 the rates were reduced first to one and then to three-quarters of one per cent. In this year a retail licensing bylaw was introduced with a maximum fee of ten dollars and Mrs. William Isaac paid the first license of five dollars. The municipality was also divided into two wards with four councillors each. Incidentally, Maple Ridge is probably the only

municipality in B.C., if not in all North America, which has

(212) Minutes for M.R. Council, 1876, passim.

(213) Ibid., 1877.

(214) Ibid., Dec., 1877, Cf. Minutes Chil. Coun. Oct. 27, 1877.

(215) Minutes of M.R. Council, 1878, passim.

ever had a "Kanaka" on its Council. George Apnaut was elected
(216)
to the Council in 1879.

Passing over the five years for which the records are missing, we find that in 1885 there is a new bridge at Kanaka Creek, a government road at Whonnock station, a town hall which is used for a Christmas Eve entertainment, a Sunday Observance Bylaw to be strictly enforced, and a bounty of two dollars and one-half for bears' heads. Collections for the month of October were \$132. and disbursements \$256.22. The municipality was becoming modern.
(217)

The first school in the district was built in 1875 and James William Sinclair, a great grandson of Dr. John McLaughlin, "Father of Oregon", and a ward of Sir James Douglas, was sent by the Board of Education at Victoria to take charge at fifty dollars per month. He was seventeen years of age. There were times when there was danger of the school being closed for lack of attendance, a danger which the teacher obviated by buying a boat for twenty-five dollars and bringing pupils, including members of the Jenkins and Muench families across from "West Langley", that is, along the river west of Derby. In 1877 there were forty attending with a daily average of twenty-seven, and the salary was accordingly raised to sixty dollars. Among his pupils was Henry Newton, son of William Newton of Fort Langley and grandson of John Tod of Kamloops, Hudson's Bay officers. He claims to have taught high-school subjects there be-
(216) Minutes of M. R. Council, Jan. 20, 1879.
(217) Ibid., 1885, 11th and 12th meetings.
(x) Sess. Papers, 1878, p. 21.

fore there was a high school in British Columbia and there is
 (218)
 no reason to doubt it. The members of the first board were
 Henry Dawson, Thomas Henderson, and Justus Howison. In 1882
 Sinclair transferred to Langley and was succeeded at Maple
 Ridge by Paul Murray who continued to teach in that vicinity
 until his retirement a few years ago and who now lives retired
 (219)
 at Pitt Meadows.

The most dramatic incident in the history of the community
 occurred on February 28, 1878. As a result of a period of
 rain the high bank of the ridge along the river had become
 softened so that some thirty acres of the ridge slid into the
 river, thus forming the low part in which the lower town of
 Haney is now located. Mrs. Thomas Haney, living on the old
 Wickwire place just beyond the eastern edge of the slide, was
 the most intimate witness of the terrifying sight. James Sin-
 clair, taking a stroll on the river-bank immediately after
 school, saw it from the western end. A tidal wave, some sixty
 feet high swept across the river to where William Edge, the
 only other known eye-witness, was working. He was carried some
 distance back into the woods by its force and died of injuries
 received, the only casualty. A roaring eddy swept down the
 river past Barnston Island and even at the edge of the sand-
 heads in the Gulf of Georgia thick, brown, muddy water told of
 (220)
 the disturbance of nature.

(218) The Public Schools Report for 1875 (Sess. Papers, 1875,
 p. 21.) urged the need of high schools at Victoria and
 New Westminster.

(219) Mr. Wm. Edward Gladstone Murray of the Canadian Broad-
 casting Corporation is a son. Most of the information
 for this paragraph was supplied (See p. 281 for fn. (220))

The first church in Maple Ridge was built by the Methodists on the brow of the hill overlooking the river, sometime about 1870. They had no minister of their own but were regularly visited by ministers from New Westminster. In the fall of 1875, Rev. Alexander Dunn held the first Presbyterian service in the home of John McIver. Thereafter for over ten years he held services in the Methodist Church, alternating with Methodist ministers. The two congregations were practically identical, and William Howison, a Methodist, rang the bell for both services alike. In 1881 Rev. T. H. Gilbert was appointed to the Fraser Valley Mission of the Anglican Church with headquarters at Maple Ridge and Langley and a field extending from the Pitt to the Harrison River and beyond. In the following year the old Church of St. John-the-Divine was torn down at Derby and reconstructed on its present site at the corner of the River and Laity Roads on a much smaller plan. It is the oldest church building on the mainland of British Columbia and is still in regular use. The Haney, Callaghans and others being Roman Catholics a church of that denomination was built on the Haney property where services were occasionally held.

Maple Ridge was the only municipality in British Columbia through which it was planned to build the Canadian Pacific Rail-
 (219) by Mr. Sinclair, corroborated by others, by School Reports, etc.
 (220) Mr. Sinclair, Mrs. Hawley, Mr. Callaghan, Mr. Edge, Mr. Gardiner.
 (221) Dunn, Presb. in B.C. 43-4 et passim.
 (222) Parish Register of St. John-the-Divine of Derby.
 (223) Mr. Callaghan helped move the building.
 (224) B.C. Directory, 1882, p. 253.

way. Already there was a steamer landing just below McIver's
 (225)
 where mail was received twice a week by William Howison who
 had been post-master since the establishment of the post-office
 (226)
 in the mid-'seventies. George Howison ran a store here in op-
 position to Mrs. Isaac. Plans for the railway, however, called
 for the station to be farther east, near where Thomas Haney had
 established himself in 1877 close to a clay bank from which he
 would derive the materials of his trade as a brick-maker when
 the railway should open up a wider market. To this was to be
 given the name of Port Haney. Here, as soon as construction
 began, Hugh Ross established the Port Haney Hotel and Saloon.
 (227)
 The townsite was subdivided in 1884. The land just below the
 steamer landing belonged to the Hammond brothers, William and
 John, and to Mrs. Mohun, widow W. H. Newton, née Tod. Mohun
 and William Hammond were civil engineers and with the comple-
 tion of the railway in 1885 they planned and subdivided a town-
 site and gave it the name of Port Hammond, expecting it to
 rival Port Moody as an ocean port. When James Sinclair left
 his school at Langley to establish a hotel here, Port Hammond
 (228)
 was also a town, the second in Maple Ridge.

Meanwhile a third municipality had been added to the Lang-
 ley neighborhood. Surrey was, however, not so much a community
 as a number of widely scattered settlements with little to draw
 them together excepting the fact that the neighboring communi-

(225) Ibid., loc. cit.

(226) Guide to Prov. of B.C., 1877, p. 165.

(227) B.C. Directory, 1882, 253; B. C., Biogr. III, 707-8;
 Nelson, Place Names, "Port Haney"; Mrs. Hawley, Mr.
 Callaghan.

(228) Nelson, Place Names, "Port Hammond"; Mr. Newton, Mr. Sin-
 Clair.

ties, in organizing, had turned their backs on them, forcing them to turn to each other. Oldest of these, no doubt, was Brownsville, opposite New Westminster, where the Yale and Scott Roads brought farmers from Langley and Delta points to be carried over by Robert Johnston, dairyman and ferryman, to the city opposite. Nearby were the fish canneries of English and Haight and Son.

(230)

On Mud Bay was another settlement dating back to 1862. Before 1873 there were one family, the Hazelton's some two miles up the Nikomekl, and three bachelors, Charles Connep, Charles Gilpin and Charles Hunt, on the south side of the river and bay. No one lived between the Nikomekl and Serpentine because of floods. North of the mouth of the latter lived Captain Henry K. L. Morgan, late of the Irish Imperials, discharged with wounds from the Maori War, to which wounds his queerness and hermit life were attributed. He had apparently been there some time for he had a herd of half-wild cattle. There were also, along the north side of the settlement William Woodward and his son John, W. J. Brewer, later of Cedar Cottage Vancouver, and Lancelot Grimmer. In February, 1873 came Alexander McDougall and his son William. The womenfolk of the

Woodward and McDougall families came shortly afterward. Others

- (229) Thrift, Hist. of Surrey; B.C. Directory, 1882, pp. 251-2.
 (230) See letter in British Columbian, Nov. 15, 1862, by "lone settler near Mud Bay", who seems to have been several years in the colony.
 (231) Letter of Wm. C. McDougall to Dr. Kaye Lamb, Aug. 12, 1937. Morgan Mayor may not have been, as Mr. McDougall thinks, the "lone settler" of 1862.

who followed during the next decade were the Stuarts, Donald and Finlay, and John Stevenson in 1876, Daniel Johnson, followed by his wife and family in 1879, and William Johnston to the north-eastward on the Johnston Road. In 1882 a post-office was established at the home of William Woodward.

Starting a little later, but growing more rapidly, was the settlement of Hall's Prairie, about three miles eastward from Semiahmoo. The place is said to have taken its name from a "squaw-man" of that name who was its first settler but who had been driven out by wolves before any other settlers came. Other settlers there during the 1870's were James Adams, who could be heard swearing at his oxen a mile away, his son Tom, Henry Stander, a Dutchman, Fred Heine, Bob Reister, A. J. (Jack) Watson, William Brown and Thomas Andrew McMillan on the Coast Meridian line, Jacob Hintz, a Dane, the Smithers brothers, two "green Englishmen", Joseph Yeitzener, Swiss, and Dave and Archie Brown. By 1882 twenty three farmers were listed in this settlement, one of whom, William Brown, raised sixty tons of potatoes on about six acres of land.

Clover Valley, later known as Cloverdale, was named by William Shannon, who came there following his brother Joseph, in 1876, and was followed the next spring by his brother Thomas and family from Upper Sumas. The three owned about a thousand

(232) Information supplied by Dr. Kaye Lamb Provincial Libraries and Archivist, grandson of Alexander McDougall.

(233) B. C. Directory, 1882, p. 251.

(234) Brown brothers, sons of David Brown.

(235) B. C. Directory, 1882, pp. 252-3; 250.

acres on the south side of the old McLennan Road from Langley Prairie to Ladner's Landing. The only roads in Surrey at that time were the Yale Road, the McLennan Road, and the Semishmoo Bay Road. Bears came into the clearings and killed pigs, and Fort Langley was the nearest place to mail a letter. The only other family in the neighborhood was that of George Boothroyd farther westward and to the north of the McLennan Road. There were also three batchelors, Connor, Higgins, and O'Brien, on the McLennan Road. Shortly after came the McKenzie family, and when Henry T. Thrift moved into the house of Joseph Shannon, who had hauled masonry materials for him at Yale during the previous winter, there were, in 1882, sufficient children (236) to warrant forming a school district. By that time there were some fifty-five farmers in all Surrey, most of them batchelors (237) on small clearings. Only two of those not already mentioned need be named: Henry Kells, at the head of the Serpentine, for whom Port Kells was subsequently named; and Edward Parr, an old Nevada miner, the first settler on Kensington Prairie, southwest of Cloverdale, located and named by H. T. Thrift. (x)

The first school in Surrey was at Clover Valley. John Oliver, later Premier of British Columbia but then a young Surrey batchelor, Thomas Shannon, George Boothroyd and Henry Thrift, fathers of three of the four families which would attend, and Abraham Huck petitioned the government for a school.

(236) Miss Shannon.

(237) B. C. Directory, 1882, pp. 252-3. Mr. Thrift doubts if there were 25 two years earlier.

(x) Thrift's MS "Notes on the Early History of...Surrey."

The government agreed to appoint and pay a teacher provided the community would elect a board of three to build and equip the school. Only the three parents already mentioned attended the school meeting, which was on a cedar log at the corner of the McLennan and Clover Valley Roads, the latter now the Pacific Highway. They constituted themselves a board, took possession of a cedar shack nearby, and split more cedar to repair it and make desks. (238) Martha Jane Norris of Langley was the first teacher followed for three years by Robie L. Reid, who married Miss Lily McKenzie, daughter of the McKenzie household. (239) The only other school in the district seems to have been that at Hall's Prairie, in the abandoned house of Hintz, the Dane, established at the time Thrift's removal of his family thither in 1865. (240) The first teacher was J. C. McLennan.

From the time of Thomas Shannon's settlement in Clover Valley, Rev. Alexander Dunn, who had visited their home at Upper Sumas and baptized their first-born, Samuel, in 1876, held services from time to time in the house of this son of a Northern Irish Presbyterian minister. (241) He also visited the David Browns at Hall's Prairie and held services the first in the home of Alexander McDougall and then some years at William Woodward's at Mud Bay, where the first Presbyterian Church in Surrey was built in 1865. (242) The only other church in Surrey at that time was Christ Church, Anglican, at Surrey Centre, built by W. L. Flood of Hope, the corner-stone cut by H. T. Thrift (238) Thrift's MS "Notes on the Early History of ... Surrey." (239) Ibid., and Miss Shannon. (240) Brown brothers. (241) Dunn, op. cit., p. 36, Mr. Wilkie. (242) Dunn, op. cit., 15, 30-31, 51.

and laid with Masonic ceremony on August 6, 1883, by Rev.
(243)
Bishop Sillitoe.

We have already noted a post-office at Mud Bay in 1882. In that same year Henry Thrift received a contract to carry mails from New Westminster to Clover Valley, where Alex McKenzie was post-master and Hall's Prairie, at which place David W. Brown was Justice of the Peace and post-master. In 1884 Langley Prairie, where Adam Innes was post-master, was added to his route, Surrey Centre and Clayton perhaps a little later. (244) In 1882 the only merchant in the district was Mrs. Robert Johnston, wife of the ferryman at Brownsville, in the old Ebenezer Brown property. (245) Here in the mid-'eighties, after the establishment of the steam ferry, was Jim Punch's famous hostelry and saloon where settlers from the south side from Ladner's to Langley met convivially on their way to and from market. (246) The only other business before 1885 was that in 1883 John Henfry and associates of the Royal City Mills started logging the ridge between the Nikomekl and Hall's Prairie. (247)

The Municipality of Surrey was formed by an order in council of November 10, 1879. Alexander McDougall was the first returning officer, the council elected consisted of Thomas Shannon, warden, William Brown, James Gray, probably the first settler on the Serpentine flats along the Yale Road, M. O'Brien, (248)

- John Armstrong, Robert Johnston, Isaac Johnston, and John
(243) Thrift, op. cit. Also Vestry Book, Surrey.
(244) Thrift, op. cit.
(245) B. C. Directory, 1882, p. 252. (246) Article by late Dr. Mark S. Wade in "Sunday Province", Sept. 2, 1928.
(247) Thrift, op. cit.
(248) Guide to Prov. of B. C., 1877, p. 353.

Pickard. The first meeting was at the house of Joseph Shannon on January 12, 1880, when W. J. Brewer was appointed clerk pro tem. and instructed to borrow the Langley rules of order. The second meeting was at Brown's landing, the third at O'Brien's house. At the second meeting a petition was received from an anti-Chinese association and the "Logging Camp Boys" were ordered and warned not to float logs down the Nikomekl as they were rendering the Semiahmoo Road bridge unsafe. At the third, John Oliver was granted his petition to have his taxes applied on a trail to his property, and Alfred Smither was appointed clerk, assessor, and collector at the rate of \$150 per year. In March the Dominion was petitioned for postal services and in April the Provincial government was asked for a school. In June the clerk resigned and D. G. Armstrong was appointed. Seven road-masters were appointed at the same meeting, and in July the first five road contracts were let, covering improvements on the Semiahmoo Road, the Coast Meridian, where one hundred dollars were spent, on the road from Hall's Prairie to Gray's (now Fry's) Corner, and on the McLennan Road, the five contracts totalling less than eight hundred thirty dollars. All meetings of 1880 after the third were held at Robert Johnston's "hotel" at Brown's Landing or Brownsville.

The warden for 1881 was William C. McDougall, who was also the first elected to the title of reeve in 1882. At the first meeting in the former year, held at the house of Abraham Huck in

(249) Minutes of Surrey Council, 1880.

(250) Mr. McDougall, an uncle of Dr. Kaye Lamb, Provincial Librarian, is still living and active at Olalla, near Keremeos, B. C.

in Surrey Centre, it was decided to ~~accept~~ his offer of an acre of land for a town hall and to build one twenty by thirty feet with a twelve-foot ceiling. Huck was given one dollar for the land, and Brewer and Ballson built the hall for four hundred. In 1882 only four councillors were elected, by wards. Early in 1880 the residents of a half-mile strip between Langley and Surrey had petitioned for incorporation into the new municipality, and to accomplish this and other changes the letters patent were surrendered in 1882 and new ones issued on July 7. McDougall was again elected reeve, with five councillors by wards, and John Oliver was appointed clerk for the balance of the year. John Armstrong was reeve in 1883, Arthur Milton for the first three months of 1884, and McDougall again for the remainder of 1884 and 1885. H. T. Thrift was clerk, assessor, and collector from the beginning of 1883, Norman Bole legal adviser in 1884 and James Corbould in 1885. (251)

In 1883 the council embarked on one of the most momentous enterprises in its career. Hitherto persons wishing to cross from Surrey into New Westminster or the reverse, failing private means, were dependent on Robert Johnston to row them across in his skiff. Transportation of livestock or heavy freight was dependent on the river steamers. On one occasion Johnston, returning alone, was only saved from drowning, when the bottom of his skiff was broken on an icefloe, by the courage of his wife who unhesitatingly put out to the rescue in a light rowboat amid storm and drift-ice. (252)

(251) Minutes of Surrey Council, passim.

(252) Thrift, op. cit.

Now on October 1, like a bolt from the blue, comes the motion of the council to contribute two hundred fifty dollars to the establishment of a steam ferry. Within a week a provincial license was secured by the city and district jointly and sublet with a subsidy of two thousand dollars to Captain Grant of New Westminster. He was obliged to make the round trip hourly from six o'clock in the morning until eight in the evening unless prevented by ice, with fewer trips on Sundays. A complete schedule of rates was attached to the contract, from which we select the following as examples:

- Passengers over ten years, twenty cents, thirty-five return.
- Wagons, from fifty cents empty to one dollar with two horses and a load.
- Buggies, sleighs and cutters from twenty-five to seventy-five cents.
- Sheep, pigs, and other animals under one year, ten cents.
- Oxen, cows, heifers, horses or mules, twenty-five cents each.
- Reaper or mower with one span horses, two dollars; threshing machine, two dollars and fifty cents.
- General freight, fifty cents per ton.

(253)

The ferry-boat was named the "K. de K." A year elapsed before a proper ferry-wharf was built. It became the immediate ambition of every farmer, not only in Surrey but in all municipalities on the south side of the river, to own a wagon and team so that he might have his own transportation to the city. The days of the ox-sleigh were numbered.

(254)

(d) The Delta Municipalities.

On the tenth day of November, 1879, the same date as for Surrey, Letters Patent were issued to the municipal districts

(253) Pronounced "Kadie Kay."
(254) Minutes of Surrey Council, Oct. 1, 7, 1883; Sept. 13, 1884.

of Delta and Richmond. The former included all the South-western corner of the mainland of the province, south of the main channel of the South Arm of the Fraser, and west, generally, of the Scott Road or, more particularly, of the defined boundaries of Surrey. Richmond was to include all other islands in the Fraser west of the New Westminster city limits. The districts on the north side of the North Arm were left unorganized until the incorporation of South Vancouver, Point Grey and Burnaby. The plan of division as between Delta and Richmond appears natural enough from the map or from the point of view of present conditions, but as a matter of fact it was something of a defiance of conditions when the incorporation took place. It divided two natural communities down the middle and united in each municipality two districts which had little intercourse with one another. This is less true in Delta where the Trunk Road, barely passable, served a little to unite the Ladner settlement with the fringe along Boundary and Mud Bays than in Richmond which could boast no roads of any description. As a matter of fact, the routes from New Westminster to Ladner's Landing by the Scott and Trunk Roads (x) and to Musquim by the North Arm Trail were not generally practicable except for droving cattle, for ox sleighs, and for gum-booted pedestrians. Almost the sole means of travel, then, to 1880, was by row-boat or steamboat along rivers and sloughs. The result was the formation of two communities, the North Arm one on the mainland and on Lulu and Sea Islands, (x) Built 1874-76. See p. 231 above.

and the South Arm one on Lulu Island, Crescent and Chillukthan Sloughs, Westham Island and at Ladner or Trenant, with a fringe along Boundary Bay. It may be assuming too much to say that the division between the two municipalities foreshadowed the advent of land and the passing of water transportation as the chief mode of conveyance. Certainly no one can have foreseen the effect of such a change, that the fortunes of Richmond would be closely associated with those of the future metropolis on Burrard Inlet, while the Delta would continue to be more closely bound with the markets of the Royal City.

During the eighteen-seventies little change took place along the North Arm excepting in widening and improving the area under cultivation. A number of new arrivals came in 1875, including Harry Eburne, James Miller, John Ferguson and Duncan and Hugh McDonald, the last two giving their time to working in the logging crew of Jeremiah Rogers on Walse Creek until 1881 when they settled on their Sea Island farm. In 1877 J. W. Sexsmith acquired the Ferris farm, started a cheese factory, opened the North Arm Post Office in 1881, and the following summer started a steamboat service with the "Alice", a scow with a paddle-wheel driven by a threshing engine. In 1881 Eburne abandoned his sporadic attempts at farming and opened a store on the mainland opposite the head of Sea Island. The post office was moved from Sexsmith's in 1885 and rechristened "Eburne", a name which long attached to Marpole district and the tip of Sea Island.

(255) Kidd, op.cit. 46-52; Mr. McDonald; Lawson papers.

(256) Kidd, op.cit. 48-9; Nelson, Place Names, "Eburne", "Marpole".

On the South Arm considerable development took place and more was foreshadowed. On Lulu Island two settlers arrived whose names have been perpetuated as place names. In 1874 Nathaniel Woodward and his son Dan settled at what is still known as Woodward's Landing and in 1877 Manoah Steves settled at the mouth of the river where his wife and six children joined him the following spring. To the efforts of the eldest son, William Herbert, at a later date to found a rival metropolis to Vancouver is due the name of Steveston. In 1882 the first steamboat landing on this side the South Arm was built by M. M. English at the Phoenix Cannery, of which he was proprietor. Deas Island took its name from a mulatto fisherman of that name, long connected with Brodie's Cannery on the island. On Westham Island were a number of settlers, most prominent among them John Kirkland who settled there in 1872, and Nathaniel Mitchell. The British America Cannery was on this island.

On the South side of the river the Ladner brothers and their neighbors engaged principally in cattle raising, both beef and draught animals, and horses. William Ladner specialized in the heavy seven-foot girthed oxen demanded in logging and in whip-broken horses. Benson, on Boundary Bay, had good horses, but many of the other settlers had to use cayuses for

(257) Kidd, op. cit. 41-2; Nelson, Place Names.

(258) Kidd, op. cit. 52-4; Nelson, Place Names, erroneously says W. H. Steves son of Joseph Moore Steves, actually his younger brother.

(559) Kidd, op. cit., 80-81.

(260) Mr. Ladner.

(261) B.C. Biographical, III, 729. (263) B.C. Directory,

(262) Sess. Papers, 1875, p. 292. 1982, 247.

haying. James Arthur, on the Chilluckthen Slough, was the
 (264) only dairyman. In 1875 John McKee and his three stalwart sons,
 John, David and Robert, founded the so-called McKee settlement
 of East Delta, attempting to dyke and drain the lowest land in
 (265) the delta. The only post office in the district was that es-
 tablished in 1867 at the home of W. H. Ladner, who was also
 (266) Justice of the Peace. Arthur tried to make his place the loca-
 tion of the town which he knew was certain to develop, and in
 the mid-'seventies called it Centreville, but without avail.
 Thomas Parmiter gave his place the pretentious name of Tiptree
 (267) Hall, Thomas Ladner called his Trenaut Park. When a school
 was opened for the district it was given the name Trenaut,
 which it retained for several years. As in all other lowland
 districts, rains made school attendance poor, but here the
 provincial inspector felt in 1877 that an enrollment of twenty-
 three out of a school population of thirty-one, with an average
 attendance of fewer than twelve, must also be due to parental
 (268) indifference to education. The first church at Ladner an
 Episcopal church, Rev. W. Bell the resident clergyman, also
 (269) bore the name of Trenaut in 1882. In 1881 a Presbyterian church
 had been built at the McKee Settlement, a part of the extensive
 (270) mission of Rev. Alexander Dunn. In 1882 the district boasted
 (264) Mr. Ladner.
 (265) B.C. Biographical, IV, 202, 418, 421, Dunn, op. cit.
 28-29.
 (266) Deaville, op. cit., 151; Sess. Papers, 1874, p. 4.
 (267) Sess. Papers, 1875, p. 292; 1876, p. 36.
 (268) Ibid., 1877, p. 106; 1878, p. 21.
 (269) B. C. Directory, 1882, 246-7.
 (270) Dunn, op. cit., p. 29.

some sixty farmers and cattle raisers. It also had, besides the three already mentioned on the islands of the South Arm, two canneries, the Delta at Ladner's, in which Thomas Ellis Ladner had a principal interest, and John Adair's British Union, on Canoe Pass. While some twenty-four men in the district claimed no occupation apart from the fishing and canning industry, most of the younger men worked at fishing during part of the year, so that, as one of them has said, this area was probably unique in that men were equally at home in saddle and canoe, as "cattle-punchers" and fishermen. In that year, 1892 "Doctor" Donald Chisholm bought from W. H. Ladner eight acres on the river-bank, built a store and hotel thereon which he leased to McNeely and Buie, general merchants, and subsequently subdivided the remainder. Thereafter the names of Centreville and Trenaut disappeared and Ladner was the accepted name.

The municipality of Delta, founded, as already said, in 1879, elected William Henry Ladner, its first and most prominent settler, to be its first warden. The remainder of the council consisted of Messrs. Benson, Hunter, Page, Pybus, Stinson, and Thomson. William McKee was appointed clerk, assessor and collector at a salary of one hundred dollars. This appointment was the only business concluded at the first meeting, which was held in the Trenaut school-house on the evening

(271) B.C. Directory, 1882, 246-9.

(272) Mr. Ladner. The palm for versatility should go to William Kent of Crescent Slough who in 1875 was a "physician and farmer" and in 1882 "agent of new and second hand machinery." (Sess. Papers, 1875, 292, and B.C. Directory, 1882, 248.

(273) Mr. Ladner. For a full account of Chisholm, a colorful pioneer, see B.C. Biographical, IV, 64-67.

of January 12, 1880. On April 10 was passed the first bylaw, "To prevent Swine from running at large within the limits of the Corporation of Delta." Any person might impound such animals, notice to be given the clerk within three days and to be posted in a public place near at hand on payment of damages incurred, a two-dollar fee with fifty cents per day for keep. If unclaimed after seven days' notice the animal was to be sold at public auction. Wild hogs might be killed with the written sanction of three councillors. Five other bylaws were passed at the same meeting, dealing with revenues and procedures. On May 1 a petition to raise money for roads on ten-year debentures was rejected as "not practicable", but nevertheless on June 28 a bylaw for \$3000 for ten years at ten per cent. was approved by the ratepayers, thirty-three for, thirteen against, and one spoilt ballot. Meanwhile a road-tax of three dollars had been imposed which might be worked out at the rate of one dollar and one-half per day of eight hours. The assessment for 1880 was \$97, 844. On July 10 Charles F. Green was offered the position of municipal constable, to be paid three dollars per day while on duty. His refusal left the position open until October 23, when it was filled by Henry Kirkland. In the late summer ten road contracts were let, one to Alex and Finlay Murcheson of Langley Prairie, two to John Oliver, one to J. S. Harris, one each to J. C. and J. B. Todd (if the different initials be not an error), two to William C. McDougall of Mud Bay, and one, for bridges, to William Morrison.

(274)

(274) Now living at Olalla, B. C.

Contract number five was let to the settlers along the road to be constructed. On September 18, in a panic lest funds should not be forthcoming, the council tried to stop work on the contracts, but a week later an agreement had been reached whereby, in return for a ten-months' extension of time the contractors would accept part payment in debentures.

The second council was elected by show of hands, for the sake of economy, and consisted of H. D. Benson, warden, and Messrs. Arthur, Kirkland, Ladner, McKie, Page, Sutherby and Williams. Its only business of note is fully explained in a report presented on May 7, 1881, which contains enough of interest to seem worth quoting in full:

To the Warden and Council of the Corporation of Delta.

Your committee appointed to inquire into the alleged vested rights of Councillor Ladner in that portion of the trunk road in front of his cow shed beg leave to make the following report. Your Committee elicited from Councillor Ladner an acknowledgment of the fact that the trunk road was gazetted as a public thoroughfare, Sixty six feet wide throughout, to its terminus at Ladners Landing on the river bank.

Your Committee find that the said road immediately in front of Councillor Ladners Cow shed, is limited to a width of about twenty five feet, most of which is appropriated by Councillor Ladner as a receptacle for his dung heap under the assumption that as it was used for similar purposes before it became a public highway his right thereto is undisturbed. It is scarcely necessary for your Committee to state that such an assumption is utterly untenable since its creation as a Queens highway disposed of any private rights which might theretofore have existed in any particular portion thereof. with these facts in view your Committee cannot accede to Councillor Ladners demand for a money payment of \$25.00 as compensation for relinquishing a right which was obliterated upon its investment in Her Majesty as a public highway. They therefore recommend

(275) Delta Council Minutes, dates quoted, 1880.

that Councillor Ladner be deterred from using the public highway as a receptacle for a similar nuisance in the future. Your Committee would also further recommend that the Warden be requested to confer with the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the purpose of having the bounds of the trunk road defined between the bridge over Chilocklin Slough and the Steamboat landing. All of which is respectfully submitted

(Signed)

Francis Page)
 J. R. Sutherby) Committee
 John Kirkland)

May 5th 1881.

On December 10 a bylaw was passed "for Protection of Highways." It forbade any obstruction of public roads, leaving unhitched wagons on the roads for more than twenty-four hours, leaving dead animals within three hundred feet of highways, trotting or running animals on bridges over thirty feet long, destroying fences or railings or building fires within one hundred feet of road structures, or leaving "manure and other noxious and offensive substance" on road allowances. (276)

In 1882 and for many years after, W. H. Ladner held the office of reeve, with a council reduced to five in accordance with the Act of 1881, but increased to five besides the reeve in 1883. In the latter year the council commenced meeting in the Delta Hotel at Ladner. It was also asked to contribute to the cost of exhibition buildings at New Westminster. While refusing to make an appropriation the members volunteered to contribute and collect prize-money for the fair. The establishment of the steam ferry at New Westminster led to an appeal of the government for one thousand dollars, to which the municipality would add half of that amount, to be spent in improve- (276) Delta Council Minutes, dates quoted, 1880.

ments to the Trunk Road. The council objected, however, to contributing to the cost of the ferry-slip, maintaining that a cheaper drop-apron slip would suffice and that New Westminster could pay for that. A list of sources of revenue for 1885 includes two curious items: a license fee of twenty-five dollars per half-year for opium vendors other than prescription druggists, which was five dollars less than for a liquor merchant, and five dollars per half-year for opium smokers. The reeve was empowered to employ Chinamen on the Trunk Road so long as white men were not available, and a reward was posted for information regarding the stealing of planking from the roads.

Main roads in the district were nearly all planked in early (277) days. On September 5 a new town-hall was accepted from the contractors, Glawson and Coulter, at the contract price of three hundred dollars, and insured for one thousand. It seems to have been something of a community hall as well for in November the Quadrille Club was granted free use of it for the year, and in December a night school in this community where the opportunities of education were "not appreciated, was (278) granted its use four nights per week "when not otherwise enjoyed," the school to provide its own light, heat and cleaning. (279)

The history of the other "mud-flatter" municipality has been told in great detail by the late Thomas Kidd, who enlivened the information of the records with his personal recollections (280)

in his "History of Richmond Municipality". Its first council

(277) The writer's mother lived there in the '90's.

(278) Cf. above, p. 216.

(279) Minutes of Delta Council, 1882-1885, passim.

(280) Published 1927.

was elected without a poll on January 5, 1880, and comprised Hugh Boyd, warden, Alexander Kilgour, Walter Lee, James Miller, W. J. Scratchley, J. G. Smith, Manoah Steves, and Robert Wood. Meetings for the first year were held, with the exception of (281) that of May 27, at the home of Messrs. Boyd and Kilgour on the South Arm. Samuel Miller entered the lowest tender for the office of clerk, assessor and collector at eighty dollars per year and held that appointment till 1884 when he resigned on account of ill health and died a few months later, still under forty. He was not a resident of the municipality but of that part of the North Arm flats which is now in Burnaby. The organization work seems to have devolved upon J. G. Smith, the best educated of the councillors. W. Norman Bole was appointed legal adviser at twenty-five dollars for the year, but his services were little required. All dyking was private and as in the Delta continued to be so till many years after incorporation. There were no roads in the municipality and the only public works of the first year was the erection of a town hall by contract to James Turnbull of New Westminster for \$434 on a five-acre plot on the Middle Arm bank of Lulu Island, purchased from Brighthouse for \$100 dollars. It was the most central point in the municipality which could be reached by (282) boat.

Hugh Boyd continued in the office of warden and reeve till the end of 1885. Positions on the council were not sought but (281) Minutes of Richmond Council of that date, which Kidd, op. cit., p. 60, overlooks.
 (282) Ibid., for 1880, Kidd, op. cit., 60-72.

rather volunteered for, so that there were no polls in the early election. In 1881 fourteen roads were gazetted by number, the present roads One to Fourteen in the municipality. Eight were surveyed by George Turner and work commenced on four of them in that year. In 1882 the government was petitioned to build a road across Lulu Island to connect the North and South Arm communities. In December it was also asked for new letters patent to accord better with recent legislation and to include the islands of the North Arm. Early in the same year the council had received from Hon. H. P. Crease a threat to resist collection of wild land taxes. Judge Crease, one of the chief non-resident land-owners of the district, also used his influence to prevent road allowances from being expropriated. Early in 1883 the council appealed to Delta for support, and to the government for lawyer-proof legislation on the wild-land tax. The Delta council agreed that withdrawing the tax would be a concession to speculators prejudicial to bona fide settlement. While Richmond pressed taxation of the rich speculator who barred municipal progress it granted Alfred Janes a receipt for his taxes in full for 1882 and 1883 "as a gift of charity". Like Delta, Richmond in 1883 was asked for a contribution for exhibition buildings, to which cause she promised one hundred dollars. Like her sister municipality she also contracted

(283) Rich. Coun. Minutes, 1881-1882.

(284) Kidd, op. cit. p. 75.

(285) Rich. Coun. Minutes, March 5, 1883.

(286) Delta Coun. Minutes, Mar. 12, 1883.

(287) Rich. Coun. Minutes, Sept. 4, 1882; Aug. 6, 1883.

with Chinese for road labor to be paid out of a thousand-dollar grant from the government. In 1884 O. D. Sweet became clerk of the municipality. In 1885 new letters patent were granted which transferred the eastern end of Lulu Island, "Queensborough", to the city of New Westminster and reduced the number of councillors from seven to five. By the end of that year there was a road, Number 2, across Lulu Island, side-roads of sorts to most farmsteads on both the North and South Arms, especially the latter, and some road work on Sea Island. There was also a wharf at the south end of Number 2 Road which shortly after led to the establishment of Lulu Island Post Office there.

In 1877 the North Arm School District had been organized to accommodate residents of both the mainland and the islands in that part. School was held in the little North Arm church on the mainland and various well-known residents served as trustees, including George Garripie, Fitzgerald McCleery, Alex Kilgour and J. W. Sexsmith, whose daughter was a teacher there. On February 6, 1882, arrangements were made to use the Richmond town hall for the school building for a monthly rental of five dollars. At the time of transfer the trustees were Reeve Boyd of Richmond, Dr. L. Thornber, a Lulu Island farmer, and James McCleery of the mainland; Miss Sweet was the teacher and the school consisted of fourteen boys and twelve girls.

While Eburne post office was the only one on the North Arm, mainland residents continued to be dependent on Richmond for

(288) Ibid. Nov. 5, 1883. (289) Ibid. March 3, 1884.

(290) Kidd, op. cit., 87-89.

schools until about the end of the century.

(e) The End of the Pioneer Era.

British Columbia's foremost hope, in entering the Canadian Confederation was undoubtedly the building of the trans-continental railway. The long story of delays and conflicting demands, of the Carnarvon terms, Dufferin's peace-making, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the "Pacific Scandal" form no part of our story. They were but contributing factors in the period of gloomy waiting. Chilliwack had, as has been (292) noted, protested to Lord Dufferin against the proposed construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railroad as a selfish project for the local benefit of the island residents and not in the interests of the province as a whole. Four years later the municipal council voted its support for the New Westminster demand that the railway come to the coast by way of the Fraser Canyon and Valley, but added that it would be better to build it on the south side of the river and proposed inviting the other municipalities of that area to join in demanding a sur- (293) vey with that aim in view. Possibly Langley, the other senior municipality also on the south side, gave its support if the matter came to its attention, but whether it did or not, the records are lost. There is no reference to the matter in the records of the newer municipalities of the region, not even to indicate Chilliwack had communicated its wishes to them. It

(291) Ibid., 79-80.

(292) Ante, p. 251

(293) Minutes of Chill. Coun., Nov. 27, 1880.

seems, however, that residents on the north side were nearly as surprised at the location finally chosen as those on the south side were disappointed. Trutch is said to have told Agassiz (294), the road would never be built on his side of the river, yet actually it cut right through his property. Which reminds us that Samuel Greek of the well-known legal contest with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company over English Bay property in 1885 was previous to that time for some years a resident of (295) Chilliwack, and that at Hatzic William Perkins managed to get an orchard planted in time to collect five thousand dollars for (296) the right-of-way across his property.

However little part the residents of the Fraser Valley may have had in determining the route the railway would follow, at least a few of them had some part in its location and construction and a few who came to this part of the world to work on the railway remained to become leading citizens. As early as the spring of 1872 we find Edgar Dewdney, pioneer engineer of Hope and locator of the Dewdney Trail to the Kootenays, in charge of Trutch's V Party exploring a location down the Fraser. George Turner and John Maclure of Matsqui, both late of the Royal Engineers, were also to be found in Trutch's survey parties as leveller and transit man respectively. (297) From Fort Langley came Jason Allard, son of Ovid Allard, and Otway Wilkie a recent arrival from Ireland, protegee of Samuel Robertson and son-in-law of James Taylor, to work on the later survey work.

Indeed Allard claimed to have been consulted by Cambie about
 (294) Miss Agassiz. (295) Mr. Evans, B.C. Directory, 1882, p.
 265. (296) Mr. Catherwood. (297) Main. Guard. April 3, 1872: 6

the important question of naming stations along the lower portions of the Fraser River section of the line. Another local resident, Dan Callahan of Maple Ridge offered a suggestion and a warning to the engineers which might easily have saved the company much expense and inconvenience in the first quarter-century of its existence. Recalling the great slide at Haney he advised that the route leave the river a mile or so east of that point and cross northwards of Maple Ridge to the Lillooet (now Alouette) River and thence to the Pitt Meadows. Until the close of the first decade of this century serious slides at Maple Ridge were of common occurrence. Among the men who came to British Columbia to work on the railway and became well-known residents of the Fraser Valley we would make special mention of John Catherwood of Mission who was sent from Ontario to work on the surveys, became a farmer, teacher and business man there, served frequently on the school-board, as reeve of the district, village commissioner and member of the Legislative Assembly for Dewdney riding. Another is Henry T. Thrift of Surrey, who arrived in British Columbia hoping to work as a mason, became a farmer, mail carrier and real-estate dealer, was one of the first school trustees of Surrey, served as clerk of the municipality and justice of the peace, and was a prime mover in organizing the Farmers' Alliance and Farmers' Institute of British Columbia.

(298) Messrs. Allard and Wilkie.

(299) Mr. Callahan.

(300) See Mr. Thrift's MS Hist. of Surrey.

reed, first of the brothers of that name to settle at Aldergrove who came from the East as a bridge-builder and whose name was given to a postoffice and a railway station in the Aldergrove neighborhood. (301)

The Burrard Inlet terminus was determined upon in 1879 on the basis of Sir Samford Fleming's recommendations of the previous year, and the first contracts in British Columbia, from Emory Bar eastward were let towards the end of the same year. Once more Yale became a boom-town as Onderdonk established his headquarters and shops there. His principal supply

depot and warehouses were a few miles below, at Emory, where river boats plying the river as of old landed the materials of construction and most of the machinery. It was the last boom-period for the steamboat men. The western contract, number 22, from Port Moody to Emory, was not let until the spring of 1882, also to Andrew Onderdonk. The work of this section was comparatively light, the cost averaging only \$30,000 per mile as compared with \$80000 from Emory to Boston Bar (North Bend) where some individual miles cost \$200000. (302)

The most westerly contract was not built from one end but in sections from almost any convenient landing-place on the river bank. The first grading done on it, in the spring of 1882, was from Harrison River eastward and by fall rails were being laid in that part. Westward from there work in grading proceeded more slowly from such points as Port Moody, Pitt River, (303)

(304) Mr. Shortreed. Also Nelson, Place Names, "Shortreed".
 (302) B. C. Directory, p. 373.
 (303) Mr. Catherwood, Mr. York, and others.
 (304) B. C. Directory, 1882, pp. 373-5.

Ports Hammond and Haney, Hatzic and Nicomen, and was not completed till 1884. The work, largely with shovels and wheelbarrows, was nearly all done by Chinese coolie labor in this part. In the eighty-five and one-half miles from Port Moody there were 3,355,000 cubic yards of materials to be removed, of which 2,700,000 cubic yards were of earth.

Indirectly a number of early Fraser Valley settlers derived income from the construction. Fraser York of Upper Sumas and George de Beck of New Westminster ran the finest hotel in Yale during the construction period. James Sinclair left his school at Langley for a similar enterprise at Port Hammond. The rise in land values enabled many, as we have seen in a few instances, to dispose of portions of their land at handsome profits. Tie-hewing became a fairly lucrative if strenuous occupation for skilled woodsmen already in the country or newly arrived from the east with such work in view, and fortunate was the man who owned a saw-mill however small. Farmers, too found a ready market for their produce in surveying parties and construction crews. Indeed so great was the demand for beef that Mr. Levi Cartier of Harrison devoted his time chiefly to getting Indians to raise cattle which he bought for re-sale to the constructing company.

Finally, on November 8, 1885, the first train from the east passed down the Fraser Valley to Port Moody. Just what it meant to settlers in this western wilderness is indicated less by the oft recounted reception with which it was greeted than by the words in which old-timers, some of them resident

(x)
 in the valley since long before the gold rush, expressed relief from the feeling of loneliness and isolation, a feeling made more intense by the sense of relief which even the sound of an occasional steam-boat whistle could bring to a forest (310) home. As one who knew them well has said on their behalf:

No brighter or more cheering day in the history of the Province ever dawned than the day on which it became known that the C.P.R. had actually commenced railway construction at Emory's Bar near Yale. When the people of Langley could see the right-of-way being cleared on the north side of the Fraser River, the last vestige of doubts in the minds of reasoning men as to the future greatness and prosperity of the country utterly vanished. (311)

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- (305) Mr. Callaghan, Mr. McKamey, Mr. Sinclair and others. See also Lawson's diary.
 (306) B. C. Directory, 1883, p. 375.
 (307) Mr. Wilkie, Mr. York, etc.
 (308) Mrs. Middleton, Mrs. Newton and others.
 (309) Mr. Cartier.
 (x) E. G. Samuel Robertson of East Haney (Albion) Robert Robertson of Whonnook and John McIver of Maple Ridge.
 (310) Dunn, op. cit., 54-5.
 (311) Ibid., p. 55.

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2. Archives of British Columbia. Numerous letters, documents, copies, photographs, and records of pioneers.
3. Chadsey, George Washington: Secretaries (SIC) Book of the Chillewhack (SIC) and Sumass (SIC) Trustee Board, in possession of Rev. James H. White, D.D., Sardis.
4. Chilliwack, Corporation of the District of: Minutes of Council and other records, in office of the Clerk, Municipal Hall, Chilliwack. Also photographs of settlers in Chilliwack Municipality in colonial times, at the City Hall, Chilliwack.
5. Cromarty, William and Family: Records in family Bible and other documents, all in very poor condition. In possession of James Cromarty, Glen Valley.
6. Delta, Corporation of the District of : Minutes of Council and other municipal documents in office of the Clerk, Municipal Hall, Ladner.
7. Department of Lands, Victoria: Original maps in Reserves, T. 1, and Charts, T.1.
8. Ermatinger, Edward: Letters to-- , from John Work, William Tod, Jane Klyne McDonald and Archibald McDonald, Jan, 2, 1828 to Nov. 14, 1856. A stenographic copy in Dept. of North-West History, Provincial Library, Victoria.
9. (Fort Langley Journal.) Journal of the Voyage from Fort Vancouver to Fraser's River and of the Establishment of Fort Langley, commencing the 27th June 1827 and carried up to the 17th February 1828--2d (SIC) part, commencing with outfit of 1828/29 in (SIC) February 18th, and ending (SIC). Stenographic copy in Provincial Archives, Victoria, from original journals of James MacMillan and Archibald McDonald. (N. B.: The exact authorship of the journal in either part is uncertain.)

10. Hawkins, Alben, R. E.: A diary covering period April 1, 1874 to Nov. 30, 1878 with several entries later, all at Matsqui; also other records, a letter, and several documents, formerly in possession of Alfred Hawkins, Gifford P. O., Matsqui. Now in Provincial Archives, Victoria.
11. Hudson's Bay Company: An extract of correspondence relative to Fort Langley, 1831-1858, from originals and letter-books in the Company's Archives, London. In office of the Provincial Archivist, Victoria.
12. Lawson, Joseph: A diary and four letters written en route from Elginburg, Ont., via San Francisco and while sojourning in British Columbia, 1883. Originals in possession of Mrs. Ida Freeman, Vancouver. Copy now in Provincial Archives, Victoria.
13. Maple Ridge, Corporation of the District of: Minutes of Council. Stenographic copy by Edmund Pope, Chief Constable, by authority of the Council, Feb. 13, 1917, in office of the Clerk, Municipal Hall, Haney.
14. Nelson, Denys: Place Names of the Delta of the Fraser. Typescript in possession of the Librarian, Public Library, Vancouver.
15. New Westminster District: Lot Register, Group 1, in office of the Government Agent, Court-House, Vancouver. Lot Register, Groups 2 and 3 and Blocks and Ranges Register in office of the Government Agent, Court-House, New Westminster.
16. Parish Registers of St. John the Divine, Derby; of the Parish of Yale; and of St. John's, Maple Ridge, at the Synod Office, Vancouver.
17. Richmond, Corporation of the District of: Minutes of Council, in office of the Clerk, Municipal Hall, Brighthouse.
18. Sinclair, James William: The Golden Wedding of Mr. and Mrs. James W. Sinclair of 232 Third St., New Westminster, B. C., and a pencil copy of a letter to Mrs. J. C. McFarlane, n. d., both in possession of the author.
19. Surrey, Corporation of the District of: Minutes of Council, in office of the Clerk, Municipal Hall, Cloverdale.
20. Thrift, Henry T.: Some notes on the early history of the

Corporation of the District of Surrey after its reincorporation in June, 1882, and White Rock. In possession of the author, White Rock.

21. Webb, Horatio: Chilukweyuk Valley, formerly in possession of the author, now of his family.

22. White, Rev. Edward: A diary covering intermittently the period from Dec. 31, 1858, to the end of November, 1866, mostly at New Westminster. Stenographic copy in possession of Rev. Jas. H. White, D.D., Sardis.

APPENDIX C. PIONEERS CONSULTED.

1. Agassiz, Louis Arthur and Constance Theresa; Agassiz. Former at Hope, 1859-62, Agassiz ever since. Latter born there.
2. Allard, the late Jason Ovid; New Westminster. Born Fort Langley, 1848, returned there some ten years later, and lived there during most of his active life. Died New Westminster, 1932.
3. Boulanger, August; Whonnock. Son of Peter Baker, who carried news of gold on Fraser River to San Francisco, 1857. Maternal grandfather, Basil Brousseau of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley. Born at Albion.
4. Brett, Mrs. Emma (Trethewey); Chilliwack. From Ontario to Spuzzem, 1881, to Mission, 1882. There, Dewdney and Chilliwack ever since.
5. Brown, D. W. and P. S.: Hall's Prairie. Brought there by father, David Brown, 1878 or '9. Both stone-deaf.
6. Callighan, Daniel; Pitt Meadows. Brother-in-law of Thomas Haney. Came to Maple Ridge, 1877.
7. Campbell, the late Mrs. Phoebe (York); Mission. Came with mother, Mrs. Thomas York, to Nanaimo in 1854 and Yale in 1858. Moved to Upper Sumas, 1865, married William Moore Campbell, J. P.; lived there and latterly at Abbotsford till 1935. Died Mission, 1936; then undoubtedly longer resident on the lower Fraser River than any other white person.
8. Cartier, Levi; Harrison Mills. Has lived there since Jan. 1, 1885. Nephew(?) of Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.
9. Catherwood, John A.; Mission. Came there in 1882 with C. P. R. survey party. There ever since.
10. Chadsey, Lewis; Chilliwack. Son Chester Chadsey, nephew of James, William, and George Chadsey and of Mrs. David Miller, earliest settlers at lower Sumas. Born there Aug. 29, 1868. Lived there and Chilliwack.
11. Cromarty, James; Glen Valley. Son of William Cromarty. Born Fort Langley, April 23, 1853. (Date in

- Family Bible.) Mind deranged by "stroke."
12. Deroche, Alphonse: Deroche. Son of Joseph Deroche, Cariboo teamster since 1860, Deroche after 1870. Born at Deroche.
 13. Edge, Joseph; Albion. Born West Langley, 1878, moved East Haney (Albion) when mother married Samuel Robertson, 1885. Nephew of Samuel Edge of Maple Ridge.
 14. Evans, Allan and Charles; Chilliwack. Born Yale, accompanied mother to Chilliwack on death of father in 1871. Brothers of Mrs. Chris. Spencer, Vancouver.
 15. Flood, Mrs. Susan (Suckley); Floods. Teacher at Hope, 1881. Married W. L. Flood, pioneer builder and saw-mill proprietor of Hope.
 16. Gardner, William; Hope. Born at Keatsey. Father, William Freeborn Gardner, in American party, Boundary Survey, 1859, then cut wood for Fraser River Steamers; was killed in American Civil War. Mother died when William two years old. Raised by mother's people at Keatsey and W. M. Campbell of Upper Sumas. Worked on steamers to Hope till end of C. P. R. construction. Illiterate; keen memory.
 17. Hairsine, Joseph Robson; Dewdney. Cariboo prospector, 1862-1886. Homestead on Stave River in 'seventies; married daughter of William Cromarty, Glen Valley, about 1880; left Stave River when B. C. E. R. Ruskin dam built, 1929. Very feeble.
 18. Hawley, Mrs. J; Haney. Daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Haney, who came to Maple Ridge in 1877.
 19. Houston, Alexander; Langley (Derby). Born at Langley, son of James Houston, who claimed to be school-chum of Andrew Carnegie, first to find gold in the Fraser-Thompson area, and first land settler at Fort Langley, where he settled in 1858.
 20. Knight, Mrs. Jenny (Kipp); Chilliwack. Born Chilliwack, 1866, first white child. Daughter of Isaac Kipp, one of first settlers there.
 21. Ladner, Paul Edward: Ladner. Born New Westminster, 1869; son of William Ladner, first settler at Ladner, first reeve, J. P., and M. L. A. there.
 22. MacDonald, Alfred R.; Chilliwack. Born Port Douglas, 1862; Yale, 1867; Cariboo teamster, 1876. Brother of

Mrs. T. Fraser York and Boswell R. MacDonald, retired customs officer, Vancouver, who was first public school teacher at Mission.

23. McDonald, Hugh; Sea Island. Owned farm there since 1875.
24. McIver, John A.; Hammond. Born there 1883. Son of John McIver, who came to Fort Langley via Hudson Bay from Stornaway in the Hebrides, 1854.
25. McKamey, Thomas; Dewdney. Born there 1870, eldest son of Robt. Granville ("Grat") McKamey who came from Missouri to Fraser River placer mines, 1858.
26. McLean, the late Donald; Coquitlam. Born whatcom (Bellingham). Accompanied parents to farm, the first, on Pitt River in 1860. Died 1932.
27. Middleton, the late Mrs. M. (Lehman); Mission; lived Mount Lehman, Hatzic Prairie and Mission since 1875. Died 1933.
28. Morrison, Joseph; Fort Langley. Born there 1860, eldest son of Kenneth Morrison, who came there with John McIver in 1854. Mother was daughter of Ovid and sister of Jason Allard.
29. Murray, Hugh; South Westminster. Born on "Thames City," son of John Murray, R. E., and arrived New Westminster, April, 1859. There till 1873, Cariboo and Chikotin till 1901; in or near New Westminster since.
30. Murray, John; Chilliwack. As young man accompanied father, Paul Murray, and brothers from Ontario to Yale Road (Murrayville) in 1874. There nearly forty years, then Clayburn and Chilliwack. Feeble.
31. Murcheson, Alex; Langley Prairie. Came there with father, of the same name, and family, in 1873. Mrs. Murcheson is a daughter of Phillip Jackman, R. E. A brother, Richard Jackman, lives at Aldergrove.
32. Newton, Mrs. (nee Lacroix); Dewdney and Mission. Born Babine Post, 1859. Father settled at Hatzic, 1865. Widow of George Newton, R. E.
33. Newton, Henry; Maple Ridge. Born New Westminster, 1864, son of William Henry and Emma Jane (Tod) Newton, who were married at Victoria, 1856. Father in charge Fort Langley, mother daughter of John Tod of Fort Kamloops. Mother married (2) Edward Mohun, C. E., who developed part of Hammond town-site out of old Newton property.

34. Phare, William and Mrs.; Hatzic. The former, a son of Richard Phare, Cariboo miner and teamster on Douglas-Lillooet and Cariboo Roads from 1860. The latter, a daughter of Ralph Burton, Cariboo teamster, and first settler on Burton's (Hatzic) Prairie.
35. Robertson, James; Albion. Born there 1862, son of Samuel Robertson, former H. B. boat-builder at Fort Langley, who came there about 1840. Married daughter of Wm. Yates, H. B. trader, Hope.
36. Sepass, Chief Billy; Chilliwack. Chief of the Skowkale Indians and one of Crosby's early converts.
37. Shannon, Mary and Samuel; Cloverdale. The latter born Upper Sumas, former at Cloverdale. Children of Thomas Shannon, one of four brothers who came from Northern Ireland to the Fraser Valley in Gold-Rush days. Mother was daughter of Samuel and sister of James Robertson.
38. Shortreed, Duncan; Aldergrove. Came there with brother, John, C. P. R. bridge-builder, in 1884.
39. Sinclair, James William; New Westminster. Born Fort Cowlitz, 1858, grandson of Chief Factor William John McLaughlin of Fort Vancouver. Raised and educated by Sir James Douglas, Victoria. Teacher at Maple Ridge, 1875, Fort Langley, 1882. Hotel-keeper, Port Hammond, 1885. Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, teaching on Gulf Islands, B. C. Electric Railway Lines till retirement.
40. Smith, Mrs. Samuel (nee Vasey); Mission, Dewdney, 1882-1929.
41. Thrift, Henry T.; White Rock. Yale, 1880; Clover Valley, 1882; Hazelmere (Hall's Prairie), 1884. First mailcarrier and municipal clerk of Surrey.
42. Towle, the late Stanley; Jardine Station, Langley. With parents, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Towle, at English Bay two years, then Langley 1873 to death, 1937.
43. Vanetta, Mrs. William Henry (nee Murcheson); Aldergrove. With parents to B. C. in 1873, to Langley Prairie in 1874, aged 13. Husband came to B. C. same time. They moved to Aldergrove about 1885.
44. Walker, Mrs. L. C. (Hicks); Agassiz. Daughter of Thomas Benton Hicks, frontiersman, who came to B. C. in

1858 and lived at head of Maria Island, 1865 to 1910, then moved to Laidlaw. I am indebted to Rev. Heber H. K. Greene of Dewdney and Agassiz, who saved me a third special trip to Agassiz to see Mrs. Walker. I had a short interview at Laidlaw with her mother, a Nicola Indian, who claims the title of Princess Kilkalam; aged nearly one hundred years.

45. Webb, the late Horatio; Sardis. Farming there from 1870 till retirement. Died 1936. First secretary Chilliwack Pioneers Association.
46. Wells, Edwin; Chilliwack. Born there, son of A. C. Wells.
47. Wilkie, Otway; New Westminster. To Fort Langley in 1878. Close friend of Samuel Robertson and son-in-law of James Taylor, both of Hudson's Bay Co. Mail carrier and provincial constable for many years.
48. York, Thomas Fraser and Mrs. Josephine (MacDonald); Huntingdon. Fraser York was the first white child born on the Fraser River with the probable exception of the sons of Archibald and Jane (Klyne) McDonald of Fort Langley. He was born at Fort Yale, Oct. 21, 1858. Lived in neighborhood of either Yale or the present Huntingdon all his life. Mrs. York born San Francisco 1858; came to Port Douglas, 1860; Yale, 1867; Chilliwack, 1874; teacher at Upper Sumas, 1875; Stanley, 1877. Married 1880.