

THE ROAD TO CARIBOO

by

J. H. Stewart Reid.

A thesis submitted in partial
fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of History.

*Accepted
April 27, 1942*

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

OCTOBER, 1942.

April

FROM 'CARIBOO RHYMES'.

And sae ye think o' coming here,
And leavin' a your guid's and gear,
Your wife and bairns, and home, eh, Sawney,
If ye wad listen to advice,
And sae ye will if ye be wise -
Just bide at home and work awa'
Ye mauna think we houk up gold,
As ye the tatties frae the mould.
Gude faith, ye'll maybe houk a twa'l mot
And never ev'n get a glisk o't!
And then what comes o' us puir deevils,
We get as thin and lean as weevils;
O' wark we canna get a stroke,
We're what they ca' oot here 'dead broke',
Which means we hinna e'en a groat
To line our stomach or our coat,
Sae doon the country we may gang,
And this the burden o' oor sang.
To ilka ane that comes alang,
Freend, be advised and turn aboot,
For Cariboo is noo 'played oot'!

(Lines written by James Anderson to a friend, in February 1864, at Richfield in the Cariboo.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

CHAPTER I. The Discovery of Gold - - - - - page 1

An account of the discovery of fine gold on the bars of the Fraser and other rivers of British Columbia.

CHAPTER II. The Gateway to the Gold Fields - - - - - page 10.

The provision of steamboat facilities on the river, as far as Yale and Hope.

CHAPTER III. The Douglas-Lillooet Trail - - - - - page 15.

The building of the trail and later the wagon road from Port Douglas by way of the portages to the town of Lillooet.

CHAPTER IV. The Canyon Highway - - - - - page 48.

The construction of the wagon road through the Fraser canyon to Lytton and Clinton, to link with the wagon road from Lillooet through Clinton to Soda Creek.

CHAPTER V. The Bute Inlet Wagon Road - - - - - page 70.

The attempts of Alfred Waddington and his associates to build a road from the head of Bute Inlet to connect with the Fraser.

CHAPTER VI. The Americans and the Overlanders - - - page 87.

The attempt to build the Bellingham Bay Trail from Whatcom to the Thompson River; and the attempts to open a route overland from Eastern Canada to the Upper Fraser.

CHAPTER VII. The Traffic on the Road - - - - - page 98.

A brief account of the operation of packers, express companies and government services on the road, and some notes on a few of the early travellers.

APPENDICES - - - - - page 113.

BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - - page 130.

PREFACE.

The bitterness which James Anderson expresses in the lines quoted on the frontispiece was fortunately not the feeling of all who came to British Columbia during the gold rush. Otherwise the field of this work would have been much narrower and probably much less interesting in its subject matter.

For invaluable assistance in this work, the writer has to thank the staff of the Archives of British Columbia at Victoria, B. C., and especially Dr. Kaye Lamb, formerly Provincial Archivist, now Librarian of the University of British Columbia. In addition, the staff of the Northwest section, Library of the University of Washington, gave the writer every assistance possible.

To Dr. W. N. Sage, head of the Department of History a double debt is due; first, for his direction and assistance in the task, second for the fact that his suggestion has opened for this writer a field of study which promises a great deal of future enjoyment.

CHAPTER 1

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD.

A new link was forged in the world-encircling chain of British Imperial possessions when, on August 2, 1858, there was created by Act of Parliament, the new Colony of British Columbia. Exactly one month later, James Douglas, already governor of the older colony of Vancouver Island, was appointed governor of the new territory. These formal steps had become necessary, according to the framers of the Act, since so many British subjects had "by the license and consent of Her Majesty, resorted to and settled in certain wild and unoccupied territories of the northwest coast of America ...for mining and other purposes." (1) What these other purposes could have been, is very doubtful; certainly very few of Her Majesty's subjects, or of the motley horde of all nationalities which poured into British Columbia in 1858, were drawn by anything except the magic word "Gold!" For a new El Dorado had been discovered.

The lands into which miners were now pouring by the
- - - - -

(1) An Act to Provide for the Government of British Columbia, (on first reading the name used was that of New Caledonia). Text of debates and formal notice of royal assent in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. LV of issue for session 1857-58.

In his speech of formal introduction of the bill, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton said that such a bill had become "necessary to the maintenance of law and the preservation of life in the district". He also stated that already 1000 ounces of gold had been taken out of the colony. (Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. LV, Issue for session 1857-58, pages 1101ff.

thousands, had been, prior to the gold discovery, simply British territory, in which the only vestige of British authority was the Hudson's Bay Company's exclusive license to trade, and in which the only representatives of British jurisdiction were the Company factors and traders. Throughout the whole mainland region there were in all, probably fewer than two hundred white men, nearly all company officials, together with a few trappers, and in 1856 and 1857, a very few prospectors, drawn there probably from the California gold fields by rumors of the existence of placer gold.

Although it was the discovery of gold in the Thompson River valley, and on the richly auriferous bars of the lower Fraser which led to the great rush of 1858, this was by no means the first indication of the existence of precious metal in the territory. In 1851 a flurry of excitement had been caused by the news that the Hudson's Bay Company vessel, the "Una" had brought from the west coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands, some sixty ounces of gold. (2) Two mining expeditions from American settlements on Puget Sound, visited the Islands, but the hostility of the Haida Indians prevented any operations. In 1852, at least eight separate parties left California for the new strike, but none met with any success. The Hudson's Bay Company itself sent an expedition in 1852 on

- - - - -

(2) Howay and Scholefield, "British Columbia, From the Earliest Times to the Present", Vancouver, B. C., 1914, Vol. 2, page 1.

the brig "Recovery" to Gold Harbor on Moresby Island. Gold quartz to the value of £90 was obtained, but the expedition showed a loss to the Company of almost £1000. (3) Hopes were still high, apparently, for in April of 1853, Governor Douglas felt it his duty to issue a proclamation and a series of mining regulations for the islands; by that time, apparently, they were no longer needed, for the gold rush was over.

The Queen Charlotte excitement did serve one purpose, however. Indians of the mainland were made aware for the first time of the great value of the yellow metal, and in widely separated areas, dust and nuggets were brought in to Hudson's Bay posts. In 1852, Chief Trader McLean purchased gold from Indians who brought the dust to the Hudson's Bay post at Kamloops. (4) White men, too, began to look for traces of the gold. In 1853, while surveying a road through what is now northern Washington, between Walla Walla and Fort Steilacoom, George McLellan found and washed gold on the banks of several streams in that area. (5) In 1855 Hudson's Bay Company employees at Fort Colville washed

- - - - -

(3) Idem - page 6. Douglas reported on the activities of 1852 to the Colonial Secretary, saying that the miners had not altered their opinion of the richness of the prospects. Douglas to Sir John Pakington, Queen Charlotte Island Papers, August 27, 1852.

(4) Wade, M. S. - "The Thompson Country", Kamloops 1907, page 81.

(5) Gilbert, Frank T. "Historical Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties", Portland, 1882, page 136.

gravel and found gold on the beach near that post. (6) In his diary, Governor Douglas records that in 1856, an Indian found a large nugget while drinking from the Thompson River just east of its junction with the Fraser. (7) In the summer of that same year, a party of American miners arrived on the Fraser itself, camped on a bar near Fort Hope, and began to obtain good returns by washing the gravel. (8)

As a result of these incidents, apparently the number of goldseekers in the mainland increased appreciably. At any rate, Governor Douglas now took official cognizance of their presence for the first time. In July, 1857, he reported to Her Majesty's chief Colonial Secretary the discovery of gold in what he called "the Couteau country", the tablelands lying between the Fraser and Columbia. Threats of friction between the prospectors and the Thompson River Indians caused the Governor to request, in his report, the appointment of an official with authority to give the natives protection if trouble did arise, for, he said the Indians "have lately taken the high handed," though probably not unwise course of expelling all parties of gold diggers, composed chiefly of persons from the American Territories, who

- - - - -
(6) Howay and Scholefield - op.cit. - page 10.

(7) Diary of Sir James Douglas, Archives of British Columbia. Entry made August 14, 1860.

(8) John Work to Edward Ermatinger, August 8, 1856. Included in the Ermatinger papers, a collection of letters to Edward Ermatinger from Work, Archibald MacDonald and others. M. S. S. in Archives of British Columbia.

have forced an entry into their country." (9)

Later in the same year, Douglas again reported to London concerning the new developments. "The reputed wealth of the Couteau mines is causing much excitement among the population of the United States territories of Washington and Oregon, and I have no doubt that a great number of people...will be attracted thither with the return of fine weather in the spring." (10) At the same time, Douglas reported that although doubtful of his authority and of his jurisdiction over the mainland, he had already taken steps to cope with the extraordinary conditions which were arising, by issuing regulations for and collecting licence fees from would be miners.

His prophecy regarding the influx of the spring was fulfilled in a degree which he himself had probably deemed impossible. The first shipment of gold from Victoria to San Francisco by the Hudson's Bay steamer "Otter" created the interest there which already existed in northern towns. The Olympia publication, the "Pioneer and Democrat", on March 5 of 1858 carried a story concerning the new diggings under the headline "Reported Gold Discoveries." On March 12 a follow-up story was headed "Good News From Gold Mines".

- - - - -

(9) Douglas to Labouchere, Despatches to London, July 15, 1857. Douglas' own copies are in the Archives of British Columbia.

(10) Douglas to Labouchere, Despatches to London, Dec. 29, 1857.

For the rest of the month and in April issues, "Highly Favorable Reports" and "Encouraging News" crowded other material from the front pages. (11) Farther south, the San Francisco "Herald" of April 20, 1858, described the departure on that day of the steamer "Commodore" with 450 passengers, "bound for the new diggings in Frazer's River." (12) The "Bulletin" of San Francisco, in its issue of June 4, printed for its readers a "full vocabulary of Chinook jargon, as used by the Indian tribes on the Frazer and Thompson Rivers". (13) The same paper reported in its marine intelligence that in the first two weeks of June, 15 ships of all types sailed from San Francisco to the new gold field, each one with every available inch of space occupied.

Nor was the interest in the new field confined to the immediate vicinity. It is not to be wondered at that thousands of diggers, disappointed in the California fields, would flock to the new field, but it is astonishing to see how quickly the fever spread to other parts of the world. The "Pioneer and Democrat" of November 26, devotes space to comments from other journals in such widely separated cities

- - - - -

(11) Pioneer and Democrat, Olympia. Issues of March and April 1858. Copies in Northwest Section, Library of the University of Washington.

(12) Begg, Alexander - "History of British Columbia", Toronto, 1894. Page 265.

(13) This vocabulary was reprinted in the Appendix to Hazlitt, W. C. - "British Columbia and Vancouver Island", London, 1858, "as calculated to be of great use to miners and all parties traversing the country".

as Melbourne, Omaha and London. (14) English opinion was described by Kinahan Cornwallis, who told his English readers in 1858 that "nations have been awakened to the knowledge of another - a new - El Dorado, outvying all beside", and that as a result "that which but a brief period gone, reposed a solitary, yet riant wilderness, is now alive with the clamors of a rushing sea of men, and the foundations of cities are already laid from the Rocky Mountains to Vancouver, that hilly and forest-clad isle of a thousand beauties and a nation's promise - the England of its ocean". (15) One can well imagine the feelings of the Englishman who read that "men who have been groping in the hazy squalor of poverty for years in this country, and might remain so forever, may at once take a plunge into the arena of wealth and all its attendant glory by embarking for the golden shores of our dazzling El Dorado". (16)

These claims were not by any means the most fantastic to be advanced about the new mines. Even the austerity of the London Times was disturbed to the extent that a special correspondent, Donald Fraser, was commissioned to send reports

- - - - -

(14) In New York excitement was such that a prospective gold-digger had to stand in line for a whole day to get a ticket on a ship leaving for San Francisco, (McCain, C. W. "History of the S. S. Beaver". Vancouver, 1894. Page 120.)

(15) Cornwallis, K. - "The New Eldorado", London, 1858, page 147. Officials of the Vancouver Island Tourist Bureau would do well to read other references in this same volume.

(16) Idem. Page 154.

from San Francisco. (17) The glowing phrases of his letters must have persuaded many to embark for the new colony, and apparently caused many, a year or so later, to wish that they could lay hands upon him. (18)

The summer of 1858 saw the peak of the first rush to British Columbia. During the months from April to August, sixty-seven scheduled sailings were listed from the port of San Francisco to Victoria and the Fraser River. (19) During that time, according to the passenger lists, over 15,000 set out for the new fields, but it is significant that there was always a discrepancy between the number of passengers officially embarked, and the number who poured down the gangplank at Victoria. For example, the "Commodore" left San Francisco on April 20, with 300 passengers, but arrived at Victoria with 450 on board. (20) The "Sierra Nevada" left on June 25

- - - - -

(17) His letters appeared regularly in the Times, beginning on June 14, 1858. Much of his correspondence is quoted in Hazlitt, W. C. - op. cit., and there are quotations from his letters in Johnson, R. B. - "Very Far West Indeed". London, 1873.

(18) The Rev. John Sheepshanks met them on the trail in 1862, and their plaint was "O, that Times correspondent! If I catch him! O, this God-forsaken country!" This is the same reverend gentleman who held the first divine service at Antler Creek, in one end of a saloon which had been cleared for his purposes. At the other end the bartender continued to sell his whisky and cigars. (Duthie, Rev. D. W. - "A Bishop in the Rough". London, 1909.

(19) Wright, E. W. (Editor) - "Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest", Portland, 1895.

(20) Douglas to Labouchere, May 8, 1858. Despatch printed in the Correspondence Relative to the Discovery of Gold in the Fraser's River District in British North America. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1858.

with 900 passengers, but landed 1900 at Victoria on July 1.

Fares on these vessels sometimes were as high as \$75.00 per passenger, but deck room could be procured for half that sum. Accommodations, even for the cabin passengers must have been of the worst, but there is no record of any who demanded a refund of his fare. Apparently almost anything could be endured, if it brought the gold seeker closer to the fortune which awaited him.

CHAPTER 11.

THE GATEWAY TO THE GOLD FIELDS.

The summer of 1858 was an eventful time for the Hudson's Bay post at Victoria, for that town became the "jumping-off place" for the Fraser mines; those months must have been trying ones for James Douglas, who felt it his duty to act in a double capacity - as the nearest representative of the British government and at the same time as the official guardian of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading interests in the mainland region.

The problems which confronted him might have caused a man of weaker stuff to throw up his hands in despair. Faced with the fact that his jurisdiction over the mainland was shadowy at best, and with the fact that the miners who poured into Victoria and thence to the Fraser river bars, represented the wildest and most lawless cross-section of society, Douglas yet strove to introduce British laws and to provide for their enforcement. Simultaneously he was endeavoring to give all facilities to the miners, yet still to secure the trade of the gold regions for his company.

The governor had set himself a stupendous task - the more so as immigration continued unabated, even though all but a few of the Fraser bars were still under water, with

no prospect of being worked until fall. As more and more men established themselves on the river banks from Langley up to Yale, and as more and more reached Victoria ready to begin the last lap of their journey, it soon became apparent that the most urgent task was to provide facilities for the transportation of men and supplies from Victoria to the Fraser. And the government, as represented by Douglas, must take the lead in this matter if there was to be any supervision of the immigration of miners to the river "by boats, canoes and every species of small craft" (1), in most cases without the payment of the licence fee which was supposedly required.

As a solution for this difficulty, Douglas proposed an arrangement with the agents of the United States Pacific Mail Steamship Company, to operate steamers between Victoria and the falls of the Fraser River. The arrangement was to be of one year's duration, and would have given the American firm a monopoly of transport facilities in the river. In return, the steamship company would agree to carry no passenger who had not already purchased his mining license from the Government of Vancouver Island, to carry up the river only Hudson's Bay Company goods, and to pay to the Company in addition two dollars for each person carried. (2) As a result, no person might enter the Fraser territory until he had paid, over and above his fare as a passenger, the sum of seven dollars, of which five went into public revenue, and two into the treasury

- - - - -

- (1) Douglas to Labouchère - Despatches to London, May 8, 1858.
- (2) Douglas to Labouchère - Despatches to London, May 8, 1858.

of the Company. Opposition to Governor Douglas' proposal was freely expressed (3) - so freely and so vociferously that the governor was forced in June to extend his "sufferance" plan to privately owned craft as well. The opposition was not merely vocal; unauthorized vessels were entering the Fraser in such numbers that late in June, H. M. S. 'Satellite' was sent to patrol the mouth of the river to stop such unauthorized traffic, while a force of marines was stationed on the 'Recovery' anchored in the river near Langley. When one reads in the Victoria Gazette of June 30 that over one hundred small boats were being built in "French Ravine", just behind Johnson Street, one can see that many were apparently preparing to circumvent the government's edict.

The final blow to the operation of the proposed scheme came from the office of the Colonial Secretary. The new Chief Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, objected in no uncertain terms to an arrangement which he considered to be a deterrent to immigration, and which was obviously designed

- - - - -

(3) An editorial in the Pioneer and Democrat of Dec. 3, 1858, is a good example. Probably a good deal of the resentment which was expressed was directed at Douglas as a Company official, "exercising all the petty prohibitions, restrictions, annoyances and pompous formalities of the little tyrants of the Company". Perhaps, too, certain of the Governor's personal idiosyncracies may explain the wrath which his policies invariably aroused among the free and easy American miners. Even the scholarly English traveller and schoolmaster, Mathew Macfie, seems to have been irked by the Governor's manner. In his "Vancouver Island and British Columbia" published at London in 1865, Macfie, makes fun of Douglas' pompous manner, his uniform, the orderly who always paced behind him, and calls him "an imitation, Birmingham Dr. Johnson". (Page 328)

to safeguard Company interests. Said the Secretary, "I must distinctly warn you against using the powers hereby entrusted to you, in maintenance of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company in the territory. The Company is entitled, under its existing license, to the exclusive trade with the Indians, and possesses no other right or privilege whatsoever". (4)

By the time Douglas received this communication, however, the "sufferance plan" had been dropped. In addition to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company vessels, the privately-owned "Surprise" and "Sea-Bird", and soon after, the "Umatilla", the "Enterprise" and the "Maria" were competing freely for passenger and freight traffic on the river. (5) Rates were still high; in October of 1858 the freight rate on the "Enterprise" was \$60 per ton. (6) By 1861 rates had dropped so that passengers paid \$10 for the trip to New Westminster, and shippers paid \$20 on each ton of their merchandise.

The story of the operation of these pioneer vessels through the swift currents of the river, over its hidden shoals and around the murderous snags that lay in its channel,

(4) Lytton to Douglas - British Columbia Papers - July 16, 1858. Despatches to and from the Colonial Office together with relevant documents, published by the Colonial Office. In Archives of British Columbia.

(5) Howay "Early History of the Fraser River Mines", Victoria, 1926, Page IV, Introduction.

(6) Victoria Gazette. Advertisement October 16, 1858. File of issues July 28, 1858 to November 26, 1859, in Archives of British Columbia.

is a story that richly deserves the telling. (7) Suffice it here, however, to note that the steamboat service to Hope or Yale, while it may have been replete with thrills and dangers, and certainly was costly, nevertheless was at least adequate to meet the demand for transportation during the next four years of heavy traffic.

But the miner who reached Hope, or even Yale, by means of these steamers, had still only begun his journey; the real "road to Cariboo", or at least that part which was fraught with the greatest danger, still lay before him.

- - - - -

(7) Particularly is this true of the stories of the steamboat races on the river. Rival skippers, jealous of the reputations of their respective craft for speed, often pressed passengers into service to help fire the high pressure boilers with which most of these vessels were equipped. On occasion during one of these impromptu races, cargoes were ransacked to find sides of bacon which were tossed into the flames to give those extra two or three pounds of steam which might mean victory. Naturally, the boilers sometimes blew up. The Jameson family of Victoria lost two of its four sons when the boilers of the 'Yale' exploded in April of 1860, and the remaining two when the 'Cariboo' mysteriously blew up shortly after leaving the dock at Victoria on its maiden voyage on August 3, 1863.

The attitude of the passengers is perhaps best illustrated by the story still told by steamboat men on the river, of the Yankee skipper who, when asked about the safety of a certain vessel, replied "Wal, she may do very well for passengers, but I sartinly wouldn't trust my gold on her!"

CHAPTER III

THE DOUGLAS-LILLOOET TRAIL

In the provision of means by which the miners could reach the banks of the Fraser itself, Governor Douglas personally had played a comparatively minor role. In the immeasurably greater task of providing transport to the hinterland of the territory, the governor was the leading figure. In May of 1858, Douglas himself went to Fort Langley on the Company steamer, the "Otter". After appointing a revenue officer and a justice of the peace for that place, he went on up the river. On the bars near Hope he found over two hundred miners, some few of whom had already made expeditions past the falls and into the great Fraser canyon itself. These men all told of the coarser gold which was to be found above the falls. On the readily accessible diggings on the bars of the Lower Fraser, miners who had been fortunate enough to secure a claim, were making satisfactory, although by no means fabulous returns. But by the very nature of the operations, the number of claims available on the dry bars, was limited. Already hundreds of the disgruntled unfortunates who had arrived too late to stake claims, were returning to Victoria bitterly condemning the "Fraser River Humbug!" Only a few - a very hardy few - were willing to face the hardships of the

trip through the canyon to the upper reaches of the river. Some there were, however, who went on through the rocky gorge. Others reached the country above the canyons by the more devious overland route from the Washington towns of Whatcom and Secome, by way of the old brigade trail, to Kamloops and thence down the Thompson River to the Fraser. (1) From parties who had succeeded by either method in reaching the upper Fraser, had come word, if not proof, of the riches which lay above. These reports, which Governor Douglas heard in May, had become accepted facts by early fall, (2) and the conviction grew that the "El Dorado" for which all were seeking, lay in the country above the "Great Canyon". In view of these facts, the governor determined to provide access to that country, rightly conceiving this to be his first and most pressing duty.

Of the two routes which up to this time had been most travelled, the first, the overland trail from Bellingham Bay, could not be considered by the government, since it had its point of departure in American territory and would completely by-pass the British port of entry at Victoria. But the other

- - - - -

(1) Further mention is made of this route in Chapter V.
 (2) A correspondent of the Victoria Gazette, in a letter published on January 29, 1859, told of meeting a French prospector at the Fountains (just above the present town of Lillooet), who had been 200 miles further up the river. This man told glowing stories of the rich gold-bearing sands, and, best of all, had in his possession, \$3,000. in very coarse gold. (Victoria Gazette, January 29, 1859).

- the direct route up the river itself - presented almost insuperable obstacles. The rapids in the gorge were difficult and dangerous enough; in addition the high, precipitous rock walls of the canyon made portages well-nigh impossible. Simon Fraser, the first white man to follow this rugged passage, spoke eloquently of its nature in the journal of his expedition. "It is so wild that I cannot find words to describe our situation at times. We have to pass where no human being should venture." (3) Neither words, nor photographs and certainly not an inspection of the canyon from the heights above, where present day tourists stop to gaze and wonder, can convey and adequate impression of what Simon Fraser must have felt. One must stand where the gold seekers stood, on the edge of the river itself, one must feel the solid rock beneath his feet tremble under the awful surge of the current through the bottle neck of the famous Hell's Gate; then only could the reader adequately appreciate the hardships and the dangers which lay between the miner and his goal.

In spite of these dangers, and urged on by the lure of "coarse gold above the falls", scores made the trip through the canyon, hauling canoes and rafts up the torrent of white

- - - - -

(3) Fraser, Simon - Journal of a voyage from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific Ocean, performed in the year 1808.

Original in the Toronto Public Libraries, Reference Library. Photostat copy in Library of University of British Columbia. The document is reprinted with some additions in Masson, R. L. - "Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest." Quebec, 1889. See also Sage, W. N. "Simon Fraser - Explorer and Fur Trader". Proceedings of Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 1928 - 1930.

water, following Indian paths cut in the solid rock, placing clumsy miner's boots in footholds where only the Indians moccasin had heretofore found safety. Wrecked canoes and broken bodies recovered from the stream at Yale bore mute testimony to the horrors of the passage.

In addition to the natural difficulties of the passage, the Indian hostility of which Governor Douglas had already warned, (4) now turned to actual violence and in July and August war parties added to the dangers and discomforts of the miners. One pitched battle took place, on July 14, between a large party of natives and a force of some two hundred miners. In addition, smaller groups of miners were on several occasions ambushed and many individuals lost their lives. (5)

On August 21, a mass meeting of miners and residents at Hope drafted a communication to Governor Douglas apprising him of the dangerous situation, explaining that "decapitated, denuded corpses of unfortunate adventurers are daily picked up on the river", and asking him to take steps "to check the

- - - - -

(4) See page 4 above.

(5) Files of the Victoria Gazette for July and August, 1858, in the Archives of British Columbia, contain many reports of such incidents, some of which were probably exaggerated. Ned Stout, one of the last survivors of the '58 rush, related to many residents of Yale the story of how he and three companions withstood a three day siege in a narrow cave in the rocks behind China Bar.

effusion of blood" and to restore law and order. (6) In response to this appeal, the Governor himself arrived at Yale on August 29. His proclamation forbidding liquor sales to the Indians, combined with the chastening effect of an expedition up the canyon of a party of five hundred well-armed miners under Captain Snyder, did much to quiet the stormy atmosphere. Nevertheless, during 1858 and 1859, latent Indian hostility continued to be one of the many obstacles to safe travel through the canyon to the gold fields above.

To build a road which would follow the river through the mountains was obviously not impossible, but just as obviously it would prove a very difficult undertaking and one which would involve the expenditure of much money, the employment of much labor, and the passage of much time. No one of these could be afforded in 1858, either by the government or by the miners. Another route to the northern waters of the Fraser must be found.

In a report to London in July, Governor Douglas hinted at his plan. "Another important object which I have in view, is the improvement of the internal communications of the country which at present are for all practical purposes, nearly inaccessible beyond Fort Yale, in consequence of a range of mountains running north and south, which there

- - - - -

(6) Victoria Gazette, August 24, 1858. A letter from Captain H. M. Snyder in the same issue said that all miners were "off the river" because of the troubles.

interpose an almost insurmountable barrier to the progress of trade....

"It is evident that the construction of a good road through that mountain barrier would be of prodigious advantage to the country; such a road might, I think, be carried through the valley of Harrison's River, at a moderate expense, to a point near the Great Falls of Fraser's River, to the eastward of the mountains in question, from whence the country is easy of access. Should no instructions militating with that design be in the meantime received from Her Majesty's Government, I will probably make the attempt this summer". (7)

The route which Douglas mentioned in his despatches, while less travelled than the other two which have been mentioned, was new neither to the miners nor to Douglas himself. Prospectors who had succeeded in forcing their way up the Fraser itself to the gold fields above the Fountains, had used this route on their return journey rather than face the awful trip back down through the canyon. Douglas himself had official knowledge of this road to the interior through the explorations of Alexander Caulfield

- - - - -

(7) Douglas to Lord Stanley, Despatches to London, July 26, 1858. It is interesting to note that even if such instructions had been sent, they could not possibly have reached Governor Douglas before the first of October, by which time the trail was practically completed. In fact, five days after dispatching this communication, an agreement was made concerning the building of the trail, and twelve days only had passed when work started.

Anderson, some twelve years before, and the same Anderson was now one of Douglas' officials at Victoria. (8)

Acting on instructions from the Hudson's Bay Company, Anderson had traversed the route from the upper Fraser to Fort Langley by way of a chain of lakes which lay connecting streams ~~west~~ of the river itself. The journey took five days, and the distance, according to his calculations, was two hundred and sixteen miles. His object, of course, was to locate a trail suitable for the passage of the brigades, but in his report he stated the route to be impracticable. The only feasible method of using it would be by a combination of packing on the trails by horses or mules and on the lakes by rafts or bateaux. Such a combination, requiring as it would a great deal of handling and repacking of goods, would be, according to Anderson, "intricate and troublesome". In part, his report reads: "Upon the whole I cannot recommend the route in question as eligible under ordinary circumstances In an emergency, it might, I consider, be rendered available; but at best would offer a route extremely tedious and unsuited for the passage of a large Brigade." (9)

The emergency which Anderson had mentioned, undoubtedly was present in the summer of 1858. No longer was there

- - - - -

(8) Anderson, A. C. "Report of Explorations 1846". Letter from Fort Langley, May 25, 1846. M.S. in Archives of British Columbia.

(9) Anderson, A. C. Report cited above.

question of the "tediousness" of the trail; men already above the Fountains were in dire need of supplies, and other men were gripped by a desire which was almost as strong as necessity, to reach the El Dorado above.

The initiative in the matter of opening this route was apparently taken by the miners themselves, although Douglas when interviewed by groups waiting at Victoria, had spoken several times of the possibility of constructing such a trail as had been suggested. (10) To secure more recent information than that made available by Anderson's report, a special voyage was made by the "Umatilla" under Captain J. C. Ainsworth, from Victoria up the Fraser, through Harrison River and up to the most northerly end of Harrison Lake. On board was a "special correspondent" of the Victoria Gazette, who reported to his paper that the voyage proved the Harrison River and the Lake as well, to be "perfectly navigable". (11) The correspondent notes, however, that near the mouth of Harrison River there were shoals which might hamper navigation if the river dropped to any appreciable extent - the same shoals which later caused so much of the difficulty of transport over this route.

With facility of navigation to the head of Harrison Lake apparently assured, further plans were soon laid. When the "Umatilla" returned to Victoria, Captain Ainsworth waited

- - - - -

(10) Victoria Gazette, July 28, 1858.

(11) Victoria Gazette, July 28, 1858.

upon Governor Douglas at the official residence. The interview took place on the porch of Government House before a keenly interested audience of several hundred miners. At its conclusion, Douglas addressed the crowd, "assuring them of his interest". (12) Three days later, on July 31, the Victoria Gazette gave great prominence to a story that a group of miners had approached the Governor with a proposal to build a trail themselves. (13) Douglas himself, in his report to London, stated that the miners had volunteered their services on terms so advantageous that "it would have been unwise of me to decline them". (14) Five hundred miners were to be enrolled as a working corps, and each of them was to deposit with the Hudson's Bay Company, the sum of twenty-five dollars as a guarantee that the work would be completed. No pay would be given for the work, but the government, that is, James Douglas, undertook to transport the workers to the commencement of the trail, free of charge, and to refund their deposit when the trail was completed, such refund to be in goods at Victoria prices. In addition the miners agreed to construct bateaux on the lake, with tools and nails supplied by the government. For two weeks after the completion of the trail it was to remain closed to promiscuous travel, so that its builders might have a fortnight's advantage in

- - - - -

(12) Victoria Gazette, July 28, 1858.

(13) Victoria Gazette, July 31, 1858.

(14) Douglas to Lord Stanley, Despatches to London, August 19, 1858.

finding and staking their claims.

This rather unorthodox contract was agreed upon at a miners' meeting held on August 2, in the Company Fort. All next day applications and deposits were received. On Wednesday, August 4, a notice appeared in the Gazette that registrations were complete and that no further applications would be accepted. On Thursday, under Alexander C. Anderson, the first working party left Victoria. Most of its members were British or American, but there was a decided sprinkling of Danes, French, Germans, Africans and Chinese. The workers were divided into groups of twenty-five, each under an elected captain who was in turn responsible to Superintendent Adams, elected by the miners to represent their interests, and to Commissioner Anderson, appointed by the governor.

The Gazette of August 6, devoted most of its space to a graphic description of the departure of the miners, and to an announcement that it had, at complete disregard for expense or trouble, arranged to have a correspondent among the workers, so that those miners left at Victoria might have accurate information as to the progress being made. Quite obviously the construction of the new trail was the matter of greatest importance to the Gazette's readers of the moment. In another section of the same issue there appeared a brief announcement that Messrs. Donahoe and Company, of San Francisco had already commenced the construction of a small sternwheeler for use in the Harrison River.

The working party arrived at the head of Harrison Lake

on August 7. Here they found a party of at least two hundred miners encamped, waiting until the Lillooet River, which empties into Harrison Lake at that point, should fall in level and strength to a point where it would be possible to pull or tow their canoes up its length to Lillooet Lake. (15)

Without further delay the party fell to work, On August 8 a storehouse was erected, not at the mouth of the Lillooet River itself, but at a point some thousand yards to the east, on the shore of a smaller lake opening out of the Harrison, and joined to it by a short, navigable creek. Later reports would indicate that the choice of the road terminus was most unwise; for this and all other errors in judgment on the part of the road-builders, the excuse that must be offered would be their impatient zeal and their driving urge to hurry on the road to the upper mines. To illustrate both their speed and their methods, we can turn to the proud reports sent back to Victoria by the Gazette correspondent. On the morning of August 9, work started on the actual cutting of the trail. By nightfall two and a half miles had been opened, and optimism ran high. On the tenth a heavy rain fell, and

- - - - -

(15) C. C. Gardiner, a miner who had made such a journey some six weeks previously, recorded his experiences in a letter to the editor of his home newspaper, the "Islander" of Charlottetown, P. E. I. The letter with an introduction by R. L. Reid, was published in the B. C. Historical Quarterly for October, 1937 (Vol. 1, No. 4). With two companions, Gardiner spent 23 days covering the 35 miles of the Lillooet River, and arrived on Lillooet Lake with a wrecked canoe, and lacking \$350 worth of supplies lost in the turbulent stream. Small wonder that he strongly advised the readers of the "Islander" to stay away from Fraser River.

little work was done, but a discussion concerning supplies and their availability brought the sudden realization that unloading facilities would be necessary back at the terminus, so a group of workers were sent back to commence the construction of a wharf. At the same time, a name was chosen for the site, and the town of Port Douglas formally came into being. (16)

By the thirteenth of the month, ten miles of trail had been completed; on the nineteenth, Gustavus Blin Wright (17) arrived in Victoria and stated to the editor of the Gazette that in his opinion five weeks of work should see the road completed. Not all comments were as optimistic, however, for as work progressed, the difficulties of getting supplies to men engaged in work on upper portions of the trail, increased tremendously. Eventually Commissioner Anderson procured mules to pack supplies in, but not before much bitter recrimination had been hurled at him, and at Governor Douglas for their carelessness.

By September 3, the advance party had reached Little Lillooet, or Tenass, Lake. By this time the difficulties and dangers of their self-imposed task had been impressed upon the builders. The party was completely out of provisions, and three men who had been sent back down the trail to speed

- - - - -

(16) Victoria Gazette, August 20, 1858.

(17) Later and more intimately connected with the building of the road from Lillooet to Alexandria. (cf Chapter IV). His comment on the road appears in the above issue of the Gazette.

up the promised mule-train, had failed to return. Stories of the hostility of the Lillooet Indians above them found receptive ears among men who already had heard of the reported massacres of miners by the Thompson Indians in the Fraser canyon. (18) Fear that the party was cut off spread from an entirely imaginary report that Port Douglas itself had been burned by hostile natives. (19) Two extremely nervous days passed, but late in the afternoon of September 4, a pack train of five mules arrived at the camp.

Occurrences such as this inevitably led to strife and dissatisfaction among the miners. The mule team service had not assured, indeed never did assure, a satisfactory means of hauling supplies. Commissioner Anderson, who might have acted as a liaison officer between the men on the trail and the officials in Victoria, found it necessary to precede the working parties along most of the route, blazing trees or otherwise outlining the path. In his absence, Superintendent Adams, a miner, became the recipient of gibes, protests and epithets. One of the worst spots on the trail was named, in his honor, "Adams' Hole".

As work progressed on the next section of trail, that
 - - - - -

(18) See above, page 18.

(19) Fortunately none of the builders seem to have heard the Harrison Indians' stories about the giant Susquatches - hairy monsters who inhabit the remote valleys behind Harrison Lake. Perhaps one would be unkind in assuming that the Indians themselves did not know the legend-yet.

between Lillooet Lake and Anderson Lake, the difficulties still multiplied, even though the country through which the road passed was much more level, and presented apparently fewer barriers. Instead, swamps lay before the builders and methods of building over them had to be devised then and there. (20) Then too, as a result of the murder of a Lillooet native by two "Boston men", the Indian scare rose again. Fires which broke out near Port Douglas made necessary almost complete rebuilding of some sections. Even the weather seemed to turn against the crews, to make the inadequacy of supplies more cruelly effective.

In spite of all these difficulties, by the middle of October the trail was completed except for a stretch of several miles from the eastern end of Seton Lake to the banks of the Fraser. Just as the end of their labor was so nearly in sight, the miners received what to them was the severest blow of all. For orders arrived that the miners, upon completion of the trail, should report back to Port Douglas for full settlement of their contracts. Men who had been working for two months, without pay, and who were now within a few miles of the rich claims which they sought, could hardly be

- - - - -

(20) Part of this section runs through the valley now known as Pemberton Meadows. In spite of the assurances of loyal Pemberton settlers, the Meadows can be decidedly moist early in the fall of the year, as the writer found to his sorrow when attempting to retrace the steps of the trail builders in Aug. 1937. The present town of Pemberton Meadows lies about eight miles up the valley of the Lillooet, northwest of the old town, and on the line of the P. G. E. Railway.

made to see the necessity of retracing their steps to Port Douglas, there to receive supplies which they had already paid for, and then to pack those supplies back up the trail once more. Demands were made that the twenty-five dollar deposit should be refunded in supplies at Victoria prices and delivered, not at Port Douglas, but at the other end of the trail. The government at Victoria was unwilling to meet this demand. Finally a compromise was reached after much bitter recrimination. The road-cutters were offered the alternative of accepting goods in Port Douglas at Victoria prices, less \$100 per ton, or of receiving these goods at the other end of the trail with the \$100 per ton charge added to Victoria prices.(21)

- - - - -

(21) Certain historians have stated that the dispute was settled by delivering the goods at a spot half-way up the trail. It is highly possible that such a compromise was suggested, although this writer could find no evidence of such a plan either in official correspondence or in the newspapers of that period. On the other hand, the settlement of the dispute on the lines suggested above, was apparently accomplished, since the correspondence columns of the Victoria Gazette carried letters from miners who later returned to Victoria still protesting that they had been cheated by the terms of the above agreement. (cf. Victoria Gazette, December 15, 1858, February 18, 1859 and March 6, 1859.)

This error, is such it is, appears in several works Bancroft, H. H. - "History of British Columbia, 1792-1887" - San Francisco, 1887; page 366.

Begg, Alexander - "The History of British Columbia" Toronto, 1894; page 237.

Coats, R. H. and Gosnell, R. E. - "Sir James Douglas", Toronto, 1908; page 251.

Since the packers who immediately after began to operate over the trail, charged \$560 per ton, it will be seen that the miners who accepted the latter offer were perhaps the wiser.

Though the trail was now virtually completed, the story of the wranglings and the bitterness connected with its building, had just begun. In the first place, the trail, itself was soon to prove inadequate partly because of the fact that the men who built it were much more concerned with forcing their way through the difficult spots than with making the ^{road} easy for those to follow. In addition, the trail had been intended for use by men and pack trains only, but the increasing numbers of men soon established above the Fountains, made a wagon road an essential if sufficient supplies were to be freighted. In the words of the governor, penned soon after the trail opened, "A considerable traffic is now being started by way of Harrison's River, which will eventually become the great commercial thoroughfare of the country". (22)

The expenditure of £14,000 for the completion of the trail had been a severe drain upon the resources of the infant colony, but by the spring of 1859 further expenditures had become necessary for the widening and improving of the road. Freight charges were still high - packers were now charging 9d. per pound of merchandise (eighteen cents in

- - - - -

(22) Douglas to Bulwer-Lytton, Despatches to London, November 30, 1858.

American coin). (23) In addition, steamboat proprietors had found it almost impossible to navigate the shoal water at the mouth of the Harrison, where in the winter at times the water had dropped to a level of only eighteen inches.

Fortunately for Governor Douglas, the problem of the improvement of the Harrison trail was simplified somewhat by the arrival in British Columbia of the Royal Engineers. (24) This corps now assumed charge of surveying duties in the new colony, and its Commanding officer, Colonel Richard Clement Moody, became Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. Among his other responsibilities was that of widening and improving the trail from Port Douglas to the new town of Lillooet on the Fraser.

Governor Douglas was apparently at first skeptical of the value of the Engineers as an aid to his road-building program for 1859 and 1860, feeling that "the day would be far distant when the Royal Engineers could supply the country's needs" (25) in the matter of its communications. Of some of Colonel Moody's subordinate officers, apparently, the governor

- - - - -

(23) Douglas to Bulwer-Lytton, Despatches to London, November 30, 1858. of Gazette Nov. 26, 1858. It is interesting to note that these sources both mention that packers were still taking goods through the canyon route, and charging, according to Douglas, 2 shillings per pound. The Gazette gives the charge in American currency at 46½ cents per pound.

(24) The first detachment of Royal Engineers left Southampton on the "La Plata" on September 2, 1858, and were followed by the main body on the "Thames City" on September 17. In all, 156 officers and men were dispatched to the new colony.

(25) Douglas to Duke of Newcastle - Despatches to London, February 25, 1860.

held a much higher opinion - certainly of the work of Lieutenant Palmer in surveying the whole trail, and of Captain Grant in deepening the dangerously shallow mouth of the Harrison. To the first of these men we are indebted for what is still the most accurate and most detailed description of the Harrison-Lillooet road. (26)

As an engineer and surveyor, Lieutenant Palmer was surprised by the lack of care with which the route of the trail had been chosen. He objected first of all to the site chosen for Port Douglas, situated as it was on a small land-locked inlet, connected with Harrison Lake itself by a creek which was navigable as to depth, but which was so narrow and tortuous as to present serious difficulty for any steamboat larger than the little "Umatilla" which had pioneered the course.

The trail from Port Douglas there began, rising abruptly from the town to attain a height of five hundred feet in the first two miles. Many a "tenderfoot" on his way to a fortune in the gold fields must have gulped when he first saw the toilsome slope ahead of him. The miners themselves called this slope "Sevastopol", perhaps because it was so fiercely defended by its garrison of giant mosquitoes.

The trail then followed the east bank of the Lillooet River along its course from Lillooet Lake, some thirty-four

- - - - -

(26) Palmer - Lieut. H. Spencer, R. E., - "Report on the Harrison-Lillooet Route", published at London in Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, Volume 31, 1861.

miles to the north. Lieutenant Palmer was of the opinion that a more sensible path lay along the western bank, where already ran the old Indian trail. According to Lieutenant Palmer "it is a well-known circumstance that the Indian trails throughout North America invariably follow the best line of travel through a wild country". (27) Short of re-locating the entire road, however, nothing could now be done to remedy this error.

About twenty-nine miles from Port Douglas, the trail reached Little Lillooet, or Tenass, Lake, where a terminus eventually was built. Over low marshy ground the road continued about half a mile to the shore of Lillooet Lake itself. In 1860, the year after Palmer's survey was made, boats were being used on Tenass Lake, thus eliminating the boggy trail around it, but in the same year by a combination of Royal Engineer and civilian labor, the short distance between the two lakes was covered by a road of wooden corduroy construction.

Transportation was by boat through the entire length of Lillooet Lake - some thirteen miles in all. At first flat-bottomed bateaux were used, but by October of 1860 the stern-wheeled steamer "Martzelle", owned by William Goulding, was

- - - - -

(27) Palmer, Lieut. H. Spencer, R. E. - op. cit., page 230. Perhaps Lieut. Palmer changed his mind after longer residence in the colony. It has been this writer's experience that Indian trails invariably follow the shortest but not necessarily the easiest line through 'wild country'.

in operation from Port Pemberton at the northern end of the lake. Governor Douglas made a trip through this district in 1860 and reported that settlers had already taken up residence in and around this new town. "I never saw", he said, "better garden stuffs of all kinds, especially tomatoes and cucumbers, which were exceedingly fine". (28)

From Pemberton to Anderson Lake the trail which Lieutenant Palmer followed ran in a general north-easterly direction for about twenty-five miles. Over Anderson Lake rowboats and bateaux carried the traffic until October of 1860 when the sternwheeler "Lady of the Lake" commenced operation. The governor in his despatches to London, commented on the building of this and other lake steamers. One such quotation will serve to illustrate the spirit and determination of the pioneers of this road. "Two large sternwheel steamers, intending to ply on Lakes Anderson and Seton, are nearly completed by an association of settlers, who, at much labor and expense, packed the boilers and the engines from Douglas over the Harrison road. To give an idea of the difficulty of the undertaking, I may mention that the boilers, being too large and too heavy to carry on mules, were cut into five sections and rolled over the trail as far as the '28 Mile House'". (29)

- - - - -

(28) Douglas to Duke of Newcastle - Despatches to London, October 9, 1860.

(29) Douglas to Newcastle - Despatches to London, April 23, 1860.

From the end of Anderson Lake, a short portage of one and a half miles led to Seton Lake. This stretch of trail had not been completed by the miners of '58, for when they became involved in their dispute with Victoria officials over the delivery of supplies, an enterprising individual named Carl Dozer had completed the road himself, established a wagon service of his own, and was already reaping profits from a charge of one cent per pound of merchandise. (30)

The last stage of the journey was once more by boat down Seton Lake to its most easterly point, and thence by trail again to the new town of Lillooet on the banks of the Fraser near the point where Cayoosh Creek empties into the larger stream.

Upon completion of his survey and his return to headquarters, Lieutenant Palmer made his report to Colonel Moody and to Governor Douglas, (31) and many of the recommendations of that report were soon implemented. To change the location of Port Douglas, in which town lots had already been sold, was manifestly impossible, and to re-route the whole trail on the west bank of the Lillooet River would involve expenditures which at that time could not be considered. Widening of the

- - - - -

(30) Victoria Gazette, Feb. 14, 1859. Letter to the editor signed by Walter Moberley. Dozer laid down a track of wooden rails and employed helpers to push wheeled carts over these rails. Sections of this famous wooden tramway are in the possession of the present publishers of the Bridge River-Lillooet News.

(31) Report already cited, page 32 above.

original trail, construction of heavier bridges and re-routing of some sections, were however, tasks which the increasing traffic made necessary.

Early in the spring of 1860, the Royal Engineers began this work. Captain Grant and a party of eighty men were engaged by April, in deepening the channel of Harrison's River, at the point where shoals had so hindered navigation in the two preceding winters. A system of coffer-dams was employed by Grant to force the stream into one main channel across the shallows. This work, though not permanent in form, proved of tremendous value during the following winter and spring, since it facilitated the shipment of the great quantities of goods required by the hordes of miners on their way to the new strikes at Antler and Williams Creeks.

Upon the completion of this task, the party moved to another equally as important, - the construction of a wagon road over the Douglas Portage. On this undertaking the Royal Engineers were not alone, for Governor Douglas had also engaged the services of a civilian contractor, Joseph W. Trutch, who undertook the building of a section from the 10 Mile House to the 16 Mile House, at a cost of £550 per mile.-(32) Trutch commenced the building of his part of the road at the same

- - - - -

(32) Douglas to Newcastle - B. C. Despatches, April 23, 1860. Cf Victoria Colonist, July 26, 1860. A correspondent who signed himself "Nuncio" protested about this contract, claiming that Trutch was paid \$3000 per mile for a job which he finished in six weeks with a crew of forty men. J. W. Trutch was even more prominent in the building of the Cariboo Highway, and lived to become the Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

time as the Engineers on the first section. The last thirteen miles of the wagon road were then completed by the Engineers with the assistance of a crew of day laborers. Under this scheme construction was so pushed forward that by October the Douglas Wagon Road was ready for the governor's personal inspection. (33)

To finance this job, as well as other road work in the colony, Douglas' ingenuity was often taxed to the utmost. For the construction of the Douglas Wagon Road the suggestion was made that English capital might be used. The Chief Justice of the colony, Mathew Baillie Begbie, after making his first journey up the Yale-Lytton trail and back by way of the Harrison, proposed a scheme for interesting English capitalists on a basis of being permitted to levy a toll of five cents per pound on the goods carried over the road. (34) Douglas, however, preferred to find his own way out of his difficulties, particularly since work had already started and he was expecting its completion by the spring of 1861. It was typical of the governor and his public works program, that construction itself was always the first step in any undertaking, financing always the second. Already the government had by proclamation of December 10, 1859, imposed a levy of twelve shillings per ton on "all wares, goods and

- - - - -

(33) See page 34 above.

(34) Begbie, M. B. - "Journey into the Interior of British Columbia" - published at London in Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, Volume 31 appearing in 1861.

merchandise transported or taken from New Westminster to any place in British Columbia", such levy to become effective on January 1 of 1860. (35) By this means, and aided by a rapid increase in the revenue from customs duties, (36) the work on the Douglas Road was eventually financed.

The construction of the wagon road from Port Pemberton to the shore of Anderson Lake was also undertaken in 1860, when the government awarded a contract to J. C. Colquhoun of Victoria. (37) By the spring of 1861, this contract was completed, and the "road to Cariboo" was at last a reality. In the process of construction almost three years had elapsed; it is perhaps characteristic of the new colony that the heaviest traffic on the road occurred during those three years, and that during the same time government plans were already under way for the building of a more direct highroad to the Upper Fraser. In 1862 the heavy reverberations of blasting in the Fraser Canyon signalled the beginning of the

- - - - -

(35) Douglas to Newcastle, Despatches to London, February 9, 1860. An attempt was made also to levy the famous "mule tax" by the proclamation of January 31, 1860. By this means the government hoped to collect a fee of £1 sterling on every horse or mule leaving Lytton or Douglas for the interior. It was discontinued after only \$150 had been collected. (Victoria Colonist, February 9, 1860).

(36) See page 55 below.

(37) Victoria Colonist - September 14, 1860. This contractor seems to have been singularly fitted for his job by his past experience as Superintendent of the chain gang at Victoria.

end for the Douglas-Lillooet Road. (38)

The latter highroad had proven, as Alexander Anderson had claimed it would, too tedious and troublesome to be of real commercial importance. Goods were handled, in their passage from Victoria to the Cariboo fields, at least eight times; the multiplicity of charges (39) for this handling and portaging inevitably increased prices of goods to such an extent that flour, as one example, never fell below 50¢ per pound, and butter never lower than \$1.25. It is little wonder then that even while the Harrison Wagon Road was being built that demands were heard that the alternative route through the canyon should be made available.

During its very brief heyday of importance as the only practicable approach to the Cariboo, the Douglas-Lillooet

- - - - -

(38) Mile-posts on the present Cariboo Highway still are reckoned from Lillooet, however, not from any point on the Yale-Lytton-Ashcroft road. In view of the fact that the names of the mile-houses already established were so well known, and actually represented a vested interest, it would probably have been unwise to change them. It is doubtful, too, if the miners would have paid any attention to official change, and that the 70-Mile House or the 100-Mile House would have continued to be called by those names.

(39) Packing charges on the Harrison road in 1859 are listed in a letter to the Victoria Gazette from Walter Moberley on February 14, as follows

Douglas to Lillooet Lake 12¢ to 14¢ per pound.

On Lillooet Lake - \$2 per passenger - $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ per pound for freight

Port Pemberton to Anderson Lake 10¢ per pound

On Anderson and Seton Lakes \$2 per passenger and $\frac{3}{4}$ ¢ per pound for freight

Carl Dozer's Portage - 1¢ per pound

Seton Lake to Lillooet - 3¢ per pound

In other words at least 28¢ per pound must be added to the cost of goods. Even after the construction of the wagon road packers were still charging 18¢ per pound of merchandise.

road was the stage for many a drama of stark tragedy , and for some of most vulgar comedy. Towns of surprising vigor appeared along its route, flourished briefly, had real estate booms, and passed away - all within the space of one decade. Fortunes were won and lost in the "mile-houses" which sprang up along the road. Of all this, however, pitifully little remains today in the form of any permanent record, for to the miners or government officials who travelled that way, this was simply "the road to Cariboo", and fortunes were made only after one had passed over it. However, some few painstaking individuals, such as Captain John Evans of the famous "Welsh Miners", did record their impressions of the road, and from their letters and diaries (40) one can travel the road in one's imagination.

- - - - -

(40) Diary of John Evans, "The B. C. Mining Adventure, 1862-1864. M. S. and typed copies in Archives of British Columbia.

Diary of Clement F. Cornwall, who made the trip over this road in June of 1862. Typed copies are in the Archives of British Columbia.

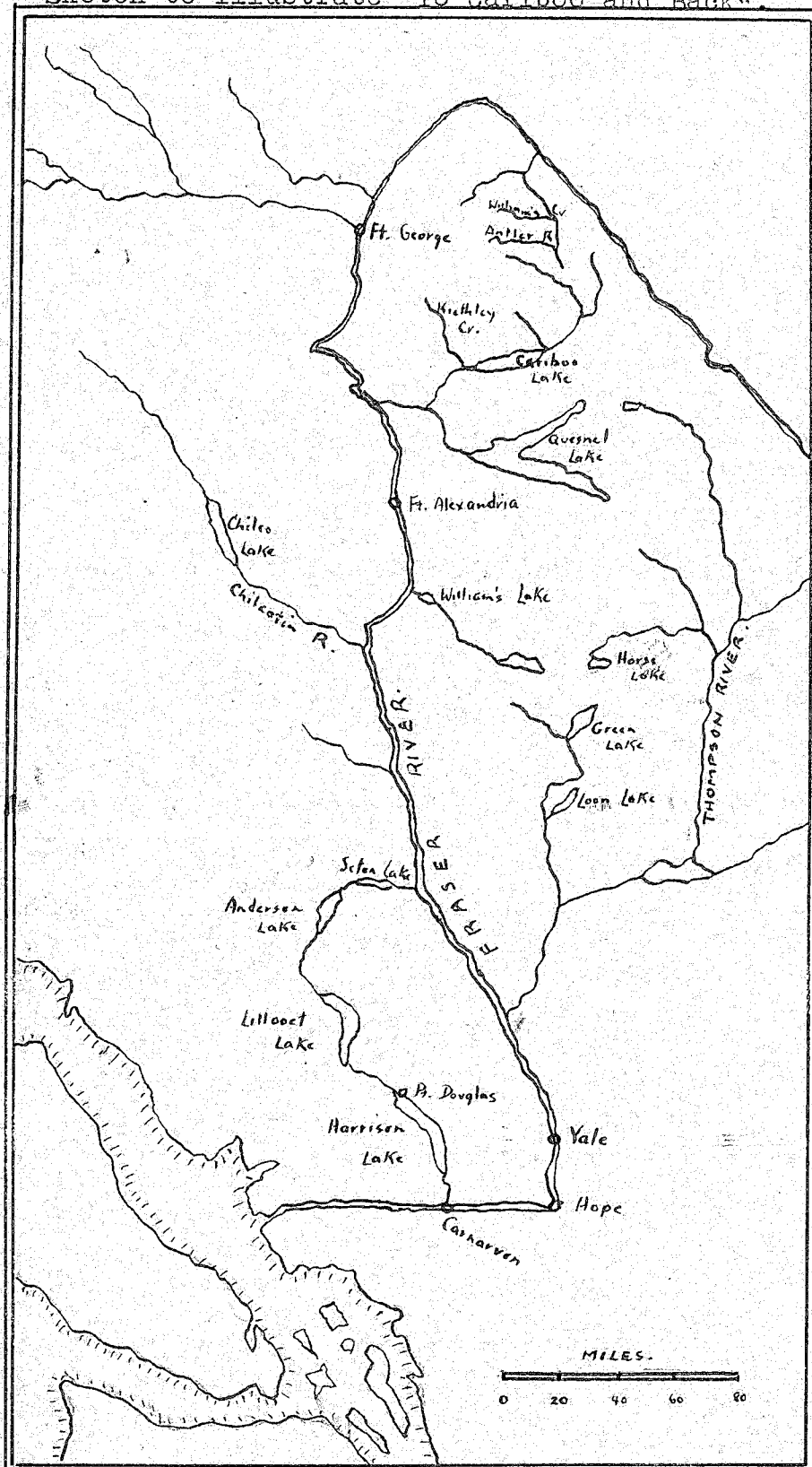
Macfie, Mathew "Vancouver Island and British Columbia" contains information from the journal of a miner who had made the trip in May of 1863.

Gardiner, C. C. Letter to the "Islander" has already been cited.

Champness, W. - "To Cariboo and Back", appearing in serialized form in "The Leisure Hour" issues April 1 to April 29, 1865. This is perhaps the most widely-known of the personal narratives which deal with this trail, and the only one accompanied by sketches to illustrate. (Some of the sketches, incidentally, especially one illustrating the steep climb out of Port Douglas, are, to put it mildly, exaggerated).

Following page shows a copy of one of the maps used to illustrate this series.

Sketch to illustrate "To Cariboo and Back".



A comparison of this sketch with the map on page 50 will indicate the many mistakes which Champness made.

"Leisure Hour", April 22, 1865.

River steamers for some years plied between Victoria or Fort Langley and the town of Port Douglas. At that town were constructed wharves, warehouses, stores and the inevitable hotels and saloons. Two years after its founding, the town had a permanent population of over three hundred, and a floating population of many times that number in the seasons when miners were moving to and from their claims in the Cariboo. Packers, storekeepers and hangers-on lived in their square log huts huddled at the foot of the long Douglas hill. Up that slope toiled the miners, on foot, on horseback, or, very seldom, in wagons. When the Welsh miners went through on their way to Barkerville in 1863, so steep was the incline and so heavy the loads in their wagons, that the Welshmen had to labor in the traces ahead of the horses, and only the combined efforts of men and beasts brought their carts to the top of the hill. (41) Another party which made the trip in the same year covered only eight miles in the first day out of Port Douglas, "as the route was exceedingly steep and rugged, and the heat oppressive. At nightfall we slept in spite of the mosquitoes. Next day we stopped at the Hot Springs where we enjoyed a good meal of bacon and beans, and a good wash - this last the only really cheap comfort obtainable in B. C." (42)

- - - - -

(41) Diary of John Evans - "The B. C. Mining Adventure, 1862-64."

(42) Champness, W. - "To Cariboo and Back" in "The Leisure Hour" 1865, No. 693, page 219.

Back in Douglas the citizens were wont to blame government officials in Victoria or New Westminster for many of the drawbacks of the road out of their town. A fierce civic pride seems to have burned in the breast of a correspondent to the British Colonist in 1859 when he claims that "the town, in my opinion is destined e'er long, to rank with Sacramento in California", but at the same time he censured a government which kept sixty-eight men occupied in maintenance of a road which needed at least three hundred. (43) The correspondence columns of the Colonist during the next two years echo the same complaint.

At the end of the Douglas Portage on Tenass Lake was the most pretentious of the many road houses, the famous "29 Mile House", and at the other end of Lillooet Lake the town of Port Pemberton. In the rich meadow land above this town settlers already had taken land, and at least two farmers, known to the miners only as "Scotty" and "Wattie" were making huge profits by the sale of their potatoes and vegetables to the travellers passing through the town.

From Port Pemberton across the "meadows" and along the Birkenhead River, the road ran over high ground, for the

(43) British Colonist - July 27, 1859.

traveller was now crossing the Cascade Mountain divide. (44) skirting Summit Lake, the way continued to the town of Anderson, glorified by name apparently, only by reason of its roadhouse and wharves. At the eastern end of the lake was the town of Wapping, joined to its "sister city" of Flushing on Lake Seton, by Carl Dozer's wooden tramway, ^{1 1/2 miles.} From Flushing, travel was once more by water to Seton, and from thence by road again east to the Fraser. of Appendix A

At the end of the road lay the town of Lillooet. In the period from 1860 to 1863, residents in this town must have been of a convivial nature, since it supported no fewer than thirteen saloons and twenty-five houses licenced to sell liquor. In 1860 solace for the spiritual thirst was provided in St. Mary's Church which was then built. No better illustration of the cosmopolitan nature of Lillooet's population can be found than in the records of that church. The first

- - - - -

(44) The actual divide is at the western end of Summit Lake. Here the traveller could stand on the shore of the lake, whose waters drain eastward into Gates River, and thence, by way of Anderson and Seton Lakes into the upper Fraser, and literally throw a stone into the waters of a small creek flowing westward into the Brikenhead River, thence into the Lillooet River, Lillooet Lake and on into the Harrison and lower Fraser.

Summit Lake, mentioned here, is known to residents of the country around, and is marked on some maps, as Birkenhead Lake. Government maps, however, use Birkenhead as the name for the large lake some twenty miles north, out of which the Birkenhead River drains. To the settlers this lake was, and is, Blackwater Lake, but government maps use this latter name for the still larger lake drained by one of the main branches of the Bridge River. Exigencies of time made it impossible for the writer to continue this subject further, but the confusion is typical of many place-name difficulties which the province still has, clarification of which might be most valuable.

public ceremony performed, was the wedding of a Mexican couple, immigrants from San Salvador, while a few weeks later burial service was read for the interment of a negro. (45)

Sporadic mining activity in the Bridge River area kept Lillooet in the public eye even though the construction of the new Cariboo road some miles east of the Fraser shifted the important title of "junction city" to Clinton. Of the other towns which we have mentioned, little or no trace remains. A town of Pemberton still exists, some eight miles up the valley from its original site, but Anderson, Wapping, Flushing and Douglas have all disappeared.

With the completion of the Fraser Canyon highway, traffic began to diminish on the older road. The merchants and hotel keepers along that road naturally did what they could to encourage travel their way, to magnify the hardships and difficulties of the other highway and to prod unwilling government officials into action to keep the old road open. A letter to the editor of the New Westminster British Columbian in March of 1864 claimed that the Port Douglas merchants had four hundred tons of merchandise ready for shipment as soon as the government would take action to open the road, still closed by reason of the winter's slides and snowfall. (46) An editorial in the same issue pointed out "The Douglas-Lillooet

- - - - -

(45) Murray, Margaret L. - St. Mary's of Lillooet. A brochure prepared for and published by the Bridge River-Lillooet News, Lillooet, B. C., 1935.

((46) British Columbian - March 16, 1864. The most complete file of issues is in the Archives of British Columbia.

route may or may not be the best road to Cariboo....But, now the roads are made, there can be but one opinion as to the duty of the Executive in keeping these roads in reasonable state of repair". (47)

Perhaps in response to this agitation, the new Chief ² ~~acting~~ Commissioner of Lands and Works, Chartres Brew, (48) on March 22, 1864, concluded a contract with William Robert Gibson of Port Douglas "to restore and repair" the portage from Pemberton to Anderson Lake at a cost of £1200, and a similar contract with Richard Bridgeman of New Westminster to re-open the road from Douglas to Tenass Lake, at a cost of £1180. (49)

The expenditure of public money on this road even by this time was probably neither necessary nor wise, and these contracts were the last to be concluded.

In the summer of 1864, the proprietor of Port Douglas'

- - - - -

(47) British Columbian - March 16, 1864.

(48) The Royal Engineers were disbanded during the summer of 1863, and Colonel Moody left the colony in October of that year. His successor, Chartres Brew, had arrived in the colony along with Judge Begbie, with an appointment as Inspector of Police, had taken over the additional duties of Chief Gold Commissioner and now assumed still further responsibilities. Howay, F. W. - "The Royal Engineers in British Columbia", Victoria, 1910. Page 10. Howay, F. W. and Scholefield, E. O. S. - "British Columbia, From the Earliest Times to the Present". Pages 51, 64, 184, 669.

(49) Department of Lands and Works, Contracts and Agreements, 1864. Signed copies of the Department's contracts are in the Archives of British Columbia.

"leading hostelry" closed its doors and moved to Clinton. (50) Following his lead, the owners of most of the thirteen "mile-houses" which had existed along the road, moved to more profitable locations. McDonald's Hotel at Port Douglas was still advertising in the Cariboo Sentinel in 1866, but the last advertisement is in October of that year. The prospectus of a proposed company to operate steam traction engines on British Columbia's roads in 1865, does not even mention the Douglas-Lillooet highway. (51)

On government maps of today, a trail is still indicated as following the old route, but its dotted red line is pitifully thin and unimpressive compared with the fine scarlet ribbon of the Cariboo Highway to the east. With the building of that new highway we come to a less romantic but infinitely more important chapter in the history of British Columbia's roads.

(50) Joe Smith, who moved to Clinton and bought Robert Watson's Hotel. He became best known as the founder of the Clinton Ball, offering "bed, meal, horsefeed and dance - all for five dollars a couple!"

(51) Prospectus of the B. C. Steam Traction Engine Company January, 1865. Copy in the Archives of British Columbia.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CANYON HIGHWAY.

By the autumn of 1859, the excitement of the first rush to the Fraser was over. Over the Harrison-Lillooet trail that year, the number of miners returning was almost as great as that of the new arrivals moving up to the fields. Hundreds of disappointed men returned to Victoria and to San Francisco once again, bitterly denouncing the "Fraser River Humbug". For in the spring and summer of the year most of the bars of the river were under water and could not be worked; diggings on the banks of other less accessible streams above the Fountains were producing wages, but little else, for the men working there. The inadequacy of the trail from Harrison to Lillooet had, as we have already seen, created a scarcity of supplies for men above, while those goods which were laboriously packed in, were selling at prohibitively high prices. Fortunate individuals with some capital were able to work the "dry diggings" in the benches along the Fraser and Thompson Rivers, but to most of the miners who struggled into the Cariboo country, capital was the thing they had come to seek - very few had brought it with them. Driven on by their failures however, some few hardy individuals, ever hopeful of "striking it rich further up", moved still deeper into the wild interior.

Some went up the Thompson River, some up Cayoosh Creek, and some up Bridge River to the site of the present important operations. Best fortune, however, awaited those who kept on up the Fraser itself to its junction with the Quesnel River, and up that stream to Cariboo Lake. Here the bars proved richer than any yet prospected; By the fall of 1859, at least a thousand miners were in the Quesnel area, and by the summer of the following year, at least three times that number were digging for gold. (1)

It was early in 1860 that the first of the famous Cariboo creeks was discovered by a party headed by "Doc." Keithley and George Weaver. Keithley Creek was but the first of that series of streams which made the name of Cariboo famous the world over. These streams have their sources in the high lands of Bald Mountain or Mount Agnes; some flow south into Cariboo Lake, and thence into the Fraser, others north to join the Willow or Bowron Rivers and so into the Fraser River far to the north. (2) All were rich in coarse gold.

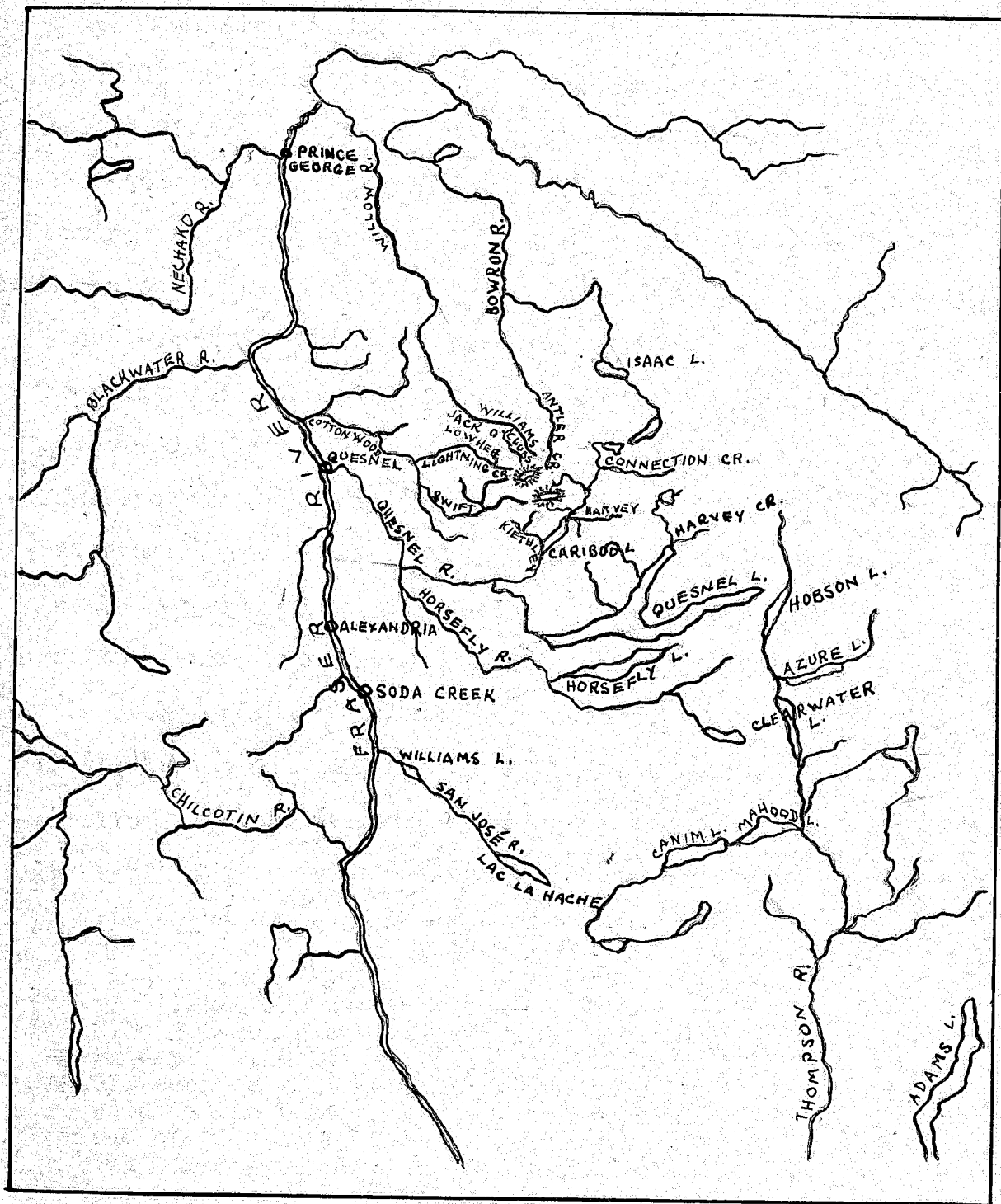
The strike at Keithley Creek caused a minor rush to the spot, but the number of claims which could be staked was of course limited. Some parties pushed on over the divide, among them that of John Rose and Edward McDonald, who then

(1) Almost 30,000 had come into the Fraser in the summer of 1858, and some were reaping rich rewards. "On Snyder's Bar in the Quesnel River, three men washed \$1000 in coarse gold in one day. (Morice, Rev. A. G. "The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia", Toronto, 1904, page 291. (See also files of the British Colonist for that period).

(2) See map on following page.

THE CARIBOO DISTRICT.

Showing the creeks on which the gold strikes were made.



struck even richer returns along Antler Creek. A very hard winter made actual mining impossible for a time, but when Gold Commissioner Nind arrived at Antler Creek in January of 1861, he found over four hundred miners camped in what he called "holes dug in the snow", waiting to work the claims which they planned to stake. Rose and McDonald, he found, were living in the style to which they were entitled, in the only cabin on the creek. (3) That same winter, a party led by Ned Stout and William Dietz (the Dutch Bill of Cariboo immortality) crossed Mount Agnes to the north-western slope of the divide and descended upon William's Creek, - the richest and most famous of all. Dutch Bill himself made little from his claim, but others, the Steele, the Ericson and the Cameron claims, became world famous. (4) Nearby creeks such as the Lightning and the Lowhee, proved only a little less valuable.

Once again the citizens of Victoria found the "Cariboo fever" raging fiercely in their midst. A Government Street jeweller displayed a sign in his window reading "Selling off at cost! Hurrah for the Cariboo!" Once again steamers running from Victoria to the Fraser found their accommodation

(3) British Colonist. March 24, 1861.

(4) The Ericson claim was reported to have yielded \$53,000 in six days; the Diller claim on William's Creek paid \$10,000 each week in 1862, and "Cariboo" Cameron's claim produced in the period between November 1862 and June 1863, the sum of \$384,000. These figures are reported in the British Colonist issues in 1862 and 1863.

taxed to the utmost; once again a Victoria newspaper found it necessary to engage a special correspondent to report the news direct from the fields. (5) "There can be no mistake this time!" declared an editorial in the British Colonist for February 26, 1861.

Miners who had taken part in the rush of 1858 found an entirely different situation facing them when they returned to the new strikes in 1861 and 1862. They had a much longer and a much harder road to travel; they found at its end claims which in most cases had to be worked at considerable depth, thus necessitating the expenditure of much time and the investment of much capital before the precious dust could be obtained. Their difficulties were increased because of the fact that they were forced either to pack their own supplies in, or to pay packers heavy charges to do the job for them. In 1862 the unfortunate miner at William's Creek had to pay \$5 per pound for candles, and \$1.50 per box for matches. Butter sold for \$5 and flour for \$2 per pound. When they were available at all, potatoes brought \$1.15 for a 100 pound lot. These prices in no way represented an exor-

- - - - -

(5) British Colonist - February 26, 1861. The special correspondent did a good job. His description of the scene at Antler Creek when the claims were staked is most interesting. The miners apparently agreed amongst themselves not to stake claims before a pre-arranged date. Early on that spring day, he tells his readers, the miners gathered; then the cry went up, "Is everybody here?....There's the creek, boys! Start fair!"

bitant profit for the packer or the merchant; they simply resulted from the difficulties which lay in the path of any commercial traffic. We have already spoken of the inadequacies of the only existing wagon road, of the constant handling of goods necessitated by its paculiar nature, and of the fact that the road ran only as far as Lillooet, a point roughly one-third of the way to the new field. To make the lot of the Cariboo miner even more difficult, during the winter of 1861-62, the most severe winter recorded in the colony's history, (6) the Douglas-Lillooet road was closed for almost four months by snow and landslides. A more practical and more permanent road to the Cariboo was an essential, and it became the duty of the government to provide that road.

The direct route through the Fraser Canyon had been avoided in 1858 because its nature was such that to construct a road through it would have taken more time than could be spared, and would have required the expenditure of much greater sums than the governor had at his disposal in 1858. With the richness and permanence of the Cariboo mines assured, such expenditures could now be considered.

It must not be assumed that the construction of the Douglas-Harrison trail in 1858 had resulted in routing all traffic away from the Yale-Lytton trail which had at first been used. Some packers continued to take in supplies by the

- - - - -

(6) The Pioneer and Democrat in its issue of February 8th, 1862, prints the almost incredible report that the Fraser Canyon itself was frozen except for a small stream in the centre of the river-bed.

latter route to the miners on the bars between the canyon and Lytton, preferring that much more difficult trip to the long roundabout journey up to Lillooet from Harrison and back down the Fraser to Lytton. Nor must it be assumed that the government had completely lost interest in the possibility of building a wagon road through the canyon. At Governor Douglas' request, Chief Justice Mathew Baillie Begbie made a trip up the Fraser canyon trail, in 1859; his report to Douglas probably merely confirmed the governor in the opinion that it was "extremely doubtful whether it would be worthwhile at present to engage in any improvements on this part of the line.." (7)

The trail which had been cut from Yale to Lytton, (8) running along the east bank of the stream, was apparently the only facility which the government at the moment intended to supply. A mass meeting of miners at Yale on January 20, 1859, (9) passed resolutions calling for the widening of the existing trail and for the construction of a bridge across Anderson Creek, near Boston Bar, and presented a memorial of their demands to Governor Douglas. Perhaps in answer to these demands, a party under Sergeant McColl of the Royal Engineers made some improvements during the following summer, but packers in 1861 were still hauling supplies by boat and tow-

(7) Begbie to Douglas, April 25, 1859. Report in Journal of Royal Geographic Society, cited above, pages 37 and 38.

(8) This trail was completed on September 10, 1858, according to Captain Snyder in a letter to the Victoria Gazette, September 13, 1858.

(9) Victoria Gazette, January 27, 1859.

line up the canyon, rather than face the trail on the cliffs above. (10)

The gold strikes in the Cariboo apparently changed the attitude of the government towards the scheme for constructing a road through the canyon. As miners poured into the upper country to the new diggings at William's Creek, or Antler Creek, the problem of their supply became a pressing one, particularly since the Douglas-Lillooet road was closed during the winter. Once again an emergency faced the government at Victoria - once again that government took immediate steps to meet the emergency.

Fortunately for Governor Douglas, the financial stringency which had hindered his road schemes of 1858, had been relieved to a great extent by 1861. The fiscal year of 1860 had shown a surplus of some \$30,000 as compared to a deficit of some \$11,000 for the previous year. (11) Increased revenues

- - - - -

(10) R. Byron Johnson worked for a firm of packers engaged in hauling supplies by this method, and recorded his experiences in his book "Very Far West Indeed", London, 1873. He tells how the boats were hauled from point to point by towlines. His party took twelve days to make the haul from Yale to Lytton. On the return trip, shooting the rapids in all but the worst places, the party took only nine hours!

(11) Palmer, P. F. "Fiscal History of British Columbia in the Colonial Period". Ph.D. Thesis for Stanford University. Typed copy in Archives of British Columbia.

Briefly, the financial statement of 1859 showed a total revenue of \$229,499, with the civil costs of the government set at \$241,211. In addition, drafts on the Crown were made, totalling \$191,488 for the military expenses of the colony (salaries and expenses for the Royal Engineers were the largest items).

In 1860, total revenue was \$260,545 and the costs of the government amounted to \$229,733. In addition, the drafts on the Crown for military expenses in 1860 had been reduced to \$119,393.

from customs duties had brought about this happy state of affairs, and there was every reason to believe that with the heavy influx of men and supplies in 1861, that the financial position of that year might be even better.

With this assurance behind him, the governor already, even before the most startling news had come from the Cariboo mine, had made his first moves. In June of 1860, Franklin Way and Joseph Beedy had begun the construction of a new trail from Yale to Spuzzum, at a cost of £4300, while in August a contract was made with Mess'rs Powers and McRoberts for the construction of a practicable mule trail from Spuzzum to Boston Bar. But trails, no matter how well-constructed, would not meet the demands of the heavy traffic which, the news from the Cariboo would suggest, might occur during the following year. Probably no one realized this fact more clearly than the governor himself. At any rate, on August 10 of 1860, the governor presented the Spuzzum Road Bonds Act, to authorize the construction of a wagon road through the canyon. Contractors who undertook all or any part of the work were to be paid in 6% bonds maturing serially - and the payment of those bonds was to be insured by the payment of road tolls later fixed by the Road Tolls Proclamation of November 10, 1860. Further to facilitate the public works program for this and the following year, the government had already made arrangements for the floating of an initial loan of £25,000 to be used for the

public works program (12)

These various actions provided the authorization for Douglas' later steps, but only a fraction of the sums which would be required for the new program of public works. In March of the following year the governor appealed to the Colonial Office for the authority to offer to the public another loan of £50,000. (13) When this was granted, he appealed for authorization of a further loan of £15,000 to £20,000. (14) Without waiting for this authorization, the governor on November 14, 1861, presented the British Columbia Roads Loan Act to his legislature, providing for a loan of £100,000. On the following day he appealed to the Colonial Office for permission to do this. (15) Subscriptions to the various loans were finally legalized, after some debate with the Colonial Office, by the British Columbia Loan Act of August 12, 1862, by which Act the maximum of the loans was set at the original £50,000. (16)

By the time the funds for the government's public works program had been legally secured, much of these sums had

- - - - -

(12) The public announcement of this loan is reproduced in full in Appendix C, as it appeared in the British Colonist of July 21, 1860.

(13) Douglas to Newcastle, Despatches to London, March 1, 1861.

(14) Douglas to Newcastle, Despatches to London, Oct. 24, 1861.

(15) Douglas to Newcastle, Despatches to London, Nov. 15, 1861.

One can detect some justifiable exasperation in the reply from the Colonial Secretary forbidding further action on this bond issue for the larger amount. (Newcastle to Douglas, British Columbia Papers, March 1, 1862).

(16) Palmer, P. F. - op cit - page 120.

already been expended. The very severe winter of 1861-1862 had effectively stopped any road construction, but early in the spring of 1862, contracts were let for the most ambitious undertaking of the new colony - the construction of the wagon road from Yale up through the canyon to the Cariboo gold fields. On April 3, 1862 the first contract was let - to Thomas Spence, (17) for the construction of a wagon road, eighteen feet in width, to run from Boston Bar to Lytton. Total cost as agreed in the contract, was £17,600. (18) On October 28 of the same year the road was completed, Spence secured a cash settlement of his bonds and the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works entered into a new agreement with George Landvoight for the maintenance and repair of the road. (19)

- - - - -

(17) Thomas Spence and Joseph Trutch were actually in partnership, though the contracts were granted individually. Spence also secured, in February of 1864, a contract for the building of a bridge across the Thompson River at the point known as Cook's Ferry, but now as Spence's Bridge. Spring freshets caused unlooked-for delays, but Spence was able to secure modifications in his toll charter to compensate him for his added expenses. (Not many contractors received such generous treatment).

Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements, 1864.

(18) The original contract, Colonel Moody's copy, and a copy of its specifications are both in Lands and Works Department, Agreements and Contracts 1862. Archives of British Columbia. All contracts dealt with in this chapter are obtainable in these files.

(19) Thomas Spence to Colonel Moody, R. E., October 24, 1862. Agreement between Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and George Landvoight, October 28, 1862. Copies of both in Lands and Works Department, Contracts and Agreements, 1862.

While this section of the road was being completed, the much more difficult task of building the road from Yale to Boston Bar was also begun. A party of Royal Engineers under Captain Parsons and Sergeant McColl began the work of surveying that road, and by early summer, road gangs under the direction of these men were busy at the Yale end of the route. Further to expedite its construction, a contract for the construction of the northern end, from Chapman's Bar to Boston Bar, had already been signed between the Colonel Moody and Joseph William Trutch. In this agreement the government of the colony agreed to advance a total of £15,000, and Trutch to invest £9000. In return, the latter secured a charter for five years entitling him to the collection of tolls for the use of the road. (20)

Late in the year, in an effort to connect the northern section being constructed by these contractors, with that part of the road which the Royal Engineers were building from Yale, the Department of Lands and Works signed the last in this series of contracts, when Joseph Trutch and Thomas Spence agreed to build the road from Pike's Riffle (across the river from Spuzzum and just below the eastern approach to the present Suspension Bridge) to Chapman's Bar, at a total cost of

- - - - -

(20) Toll charges were to be 1 farthing per pound of merchandise and 1 shilling for each animal (even including goats). The original contract and two attested copies are in the Archives of British Columbia in Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements - 1862. Trutch already had had some experience (profitable experience, too,) in road-building under government contract. See above page 36.

£9,400, payable in 6% bonds in five installments. (21)

By the beginning of the following year these contracts were practically all completed. When Captain Grant inspected the work which had been done he found that the road from Yale to Spuzzum was completed and in good shape, that across the ^{the road} river to Chapman's Bar was still not completed, since the contractors had had to suspend work in November because of the cold, that some sections of the road from Chapman's Bar to Boston Bar had not been completed, for the same reason, and that the Boston Bar to Lytton road was completed, and in fine shape. (22) In other words, a wagon road was now virtually completed, running from Yale to Spuzzum on the west bank of the canyon, and from a point almost opposite on the east bank, up the river as far as Lytton. There remained now the important task of linking the two sections.

This project, the erection of the famous Spuzzum suspension bridge, was assigned to Joseph Trutch and his associates. On February 2, 1863, that contractor agreed to build the required bridge in return for a five year charter of toll

- - - - -

(21) These installments were to be paid as the road progressed. Colonel Moody's and attested copies in Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements, 1862. This clause or one very similar appears in most of the contracts cited.

(22) Captain Grant, R. E. to Colonel Moody - December 31, 1862. The report is included in Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1862.

privileges. (23) Two days later Trutch secured a cash settlement of £2000 for his work on the uncompleted road from Chapman's to Boston Bar, so that he might devote his full resources to his new contract. (24)

Had the Lands and Works Department done nothing else in 1862, it would still have accomplished a great deal. To construct, or rather, to arrange and supervise the construction of this wagon road from Yale to Lytton, was in itself a huge undertaking. But the story of the road-building program of 1862 is by no means yet complete. From Lytton at the end of the canyon road, or from Lillooet at the end of the Douglas Road, there still would stretch long miles to the Cariboo itself. Hence, even while the task of blasting a road through the rocks of the canyon was going on, other contractors were working to join Lytton and Lillooet to each other and to the gold fields above.

On March 24, 1862, the first of these contracts was concluded between the Lands and Works Department, and Gustavus Blin Wright. By the terms of this contract Wright agreed to construct a wagon road from a point across the river from

- - - - -

(23) Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements 1863. Trutch's charter gave him the right to collect tolls at the rate of one-third of a halfpenny per pound on merchandise, and one shilling per head on all animals passing over or underneath the bridge. Contract dated February 4, 1863.

(24) Joseph Trutch to Henry P. Crease, Attorney-General, February 4, 1863. Department of Attorney-General - Correspondence January - April, 1863.

Moody to W. A. G. Young, Colonial Secretary for British Columbia - March 12, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1863.

Lillooet, along the east bank of the Fraser to Alexandria. (25) Government advances for the work were to be made on a basis of £60 per mile for the first fifty miles and £120 per mile thereafter. Upon completion of the road, Wright was to have a charter for five years entitling him to the collection of tolls at the rate of a half-penny per pound on all freight and four shillings per head on all cattle moving on the road. The government retained the right to appoint a Toll Collector and to deduct from these tolls sums sufficient to repay the cash advances made as specified above, and likewise retained the right to repurchase this charter within the first eighteen months after the road had been completed, at a price to be fixed by an arbitrator agreeable to both parties.

Into this contract there was written a clause which provided that in the event that the road should join with another being constructed at the same time, from Lytton northward by way of the Thompson and Buonaparte Rivers, that either Wright or the firm which had undertaken this contract should have freedom of use of any section of road already built, upon payment of one-half the cost of building, and one-half the current cost of upkeep.

- - - - -

(25) Three attested copies of the agreement are in the Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements, 1862. This contract is reproduced in full in Appendix A. Modifications of this contract as found necessary were made on July 23, 1862 and on August 16, 1862. Copies of these modified contracts are also available in Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements 1862.

Through the summer and fall of 1862, work progressed rapidly on this road. However, because of unforeseen difficulties, Wright was forced to apply for further governmental assistance, and as a result a further advance of \$5000 was made to him on January 5 of 1863. (26) With this assistance, the contractor was able to press forward with the work and November of 1863 saw its completion. (27)

The work of effecting a junction between the Lillooet-Alexandria road and the town of Lytton was at first entrusted to the firm of Charles Oppenheimer, Thomas Lewis and Walter Moberley. These men, by a contract dated April 2, 1862, agreed to build a wagon road, eighteen feet in width from Lytton along the Thompson River and up the Buonaparte Valley, to join the Lillooet-Alexandria road. They, like Wright were to receive government advances for construction and were granted a charter for five years entitling them to a toll of a half-penny per pound of freight and one shilling per head on all cattle which traverse the road. (28)

- - - - -

(26) Colonel Moody to W. A. G. Young, Jan. 13, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence - 1863.

(27) Douglas to Newcastle - British Columbia Papers, Nov. 14, 1863.

(28) Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements 1862. Wright's charter gave him the right to charge a toll of 4 shillings per head but his cash grants were much lower. The contractors in the latter agreement were to receive a grant of \$333 per mile for the first twenty-one miles, and \$22,000 for the total remainder.

The Walter Moberley of this contract was elected to membership in the Legislative Council in September 1864, resigned his seat to become Assistant Surveyor-General, in which connection he was one of the earliest advocates of railroad and construction.

The partners in this undertaking were apparently less fortunate than G. B. Wright. Lewis withdrew from the partnership, and Oppenheimer and Moberley, after completing some forty-five miles of the road were forced to suspend operations because of lack of funds or credit. The government took over all materials and Walter Moberley himself was placed in charge of continuing the work on this new basis. The difficulty of securing men to perform the prosaic task of road-building, the resultant high labor costs, (29) and the expense of supplying crews, combined to make the contractors' task even more difficult, while the increasing cost of civil administration caused the government officials in Victoria or New Westminster to be very reluctant to make any further cash advances. (30) However, the Roads Tolls Extension Act of February 24, 1863 increased the toll on goods leaving Lillooet or Lytton by one farthing per pound of merchandise. With the prospect of increased revenue in sight, William Hood agreed to complete the task which Moberley and Oppenheimer had undertaken, and a contract was signed with him on April 17, 1863. (31)

- - - - -

(29) Advertisements appeared in the British Colonist during April or May offering work to 1000 men. Failure to recruit even half that number caused the firm to enter into a contract with Ho Hang and Ah Yep to supply Chinese Laborers. A copy of this agreement is in Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements, 1862. It is dated June 23, 1862.

(30) In fact, the policy of both Moody and Douglas was to get the roads built with as little outlay of cash as was possible.

(31) Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements, 1863.

See also page 76 below.

By this means the Lytton road was completed to Clinton, for Junction City, and was in constant use by the summer of that year. For his work in this connection, Hood received the sum of £12,500 paid in 6% bonds.

By the winter of 1863 Governor Douglas' road scheme had so far progressed that there were now two roads to the interior. To supplement the Douglas-Lillooet-road, now being used less and less as time went on, there was a fine wagon road extending from Yale at the head of steamboat navigation, through Spuzzum and across the river, through Boston Bar, Lytton, Cook's Ferry and onto Clinton. There the two roads joined, to follow the river once more as far as Alexandria. The scheme was, however, not yet complete. From Alexandria, steamboat travel was once more possible on the river, as far north as the mouth of the Quesnel River; in fact a steamer was operating even before the road was completed to Alexandria. (32) The miner who thus reached the town of Quesnel, now had only a distance of some sixty miles between himself and the town of Richfield in the centre of the diggings. But, as one of the miners has said, "Oh! those sixty miles!" The only existing trail, he said, ran through "a sea of mud, with a bottom composed of roots of trees". This same traveller re-

- - - - -

(32) The boat service actually began at Soda Creek, about twenty-one miles south of Alexandria, and Colonel Moody proposed at one time that G. B. Wright should complete his road only that far, then build twenty-one miles of road from Quesnel down towards Van Winkle in the Cariboo. (Colonel Moody to W. A. G. Young, March 13, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1863).

lates that he spent sixteen days in covering the sixty miles to Williams Creek. (33) Obviously here was the next task for the Department of Lands and Works.

In January of 1863 the department had issued a public notice calling for tenders on the two projects not yet arranged; the construction of a wagon road from Alexandria to the mouth of the Quesnel River and thence up that river to the town of Van Winkle, and the building of a bridle trail from that town to Richfield. (34) On the first of these jobs no official tenders were received, although Major William Downie (35) personally offered to build the trail for \$25,000, a sum which Colonel Moody considered much too high. On the second of the projects, only one tender was received, that of Edward J. Campbell who specified, however that he wanted a flat payment of some \$47,000 with no charter or toll privileges to be considered. This tender the department could not consider. (36)

- - - - -

(33) Johnson, R. Byron - op. cit. - page 109 ff.

(34) Copy of public notice, dated January 22, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1863.

(35) This is the same Major Downie who had performed valuable service for the government in 1859 in exploration with the view to establishing a direct road between the coast and Fraser River. Downie's experiences ~~in California before coming to British Columbia~~ are told in most interesting fashion in his "Hunting for Gold" published at San Francisco in 1893.

(36) Colonel Moody to W. A. G. Young, March 13, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1863.

In the absence of anyone willing to undertake the task of connecting the Cariboo mines with the road now being completed to Alexandria, Colonel Moody proposed to employ his own Royal Engineers on that work, estimating that they could do about half the necessary work at an estimated expense of about \$23,000 and that civilian labor under Royal Engineer direction could complete the other half for about \$33,000. (37) Governor Douglas however, vetoed this proposal (38) and eventually the decision was made to build under Royal Engineer supervision, the whole of the wagon road from Alexandria through Quesnel and Van Winkle down to Richfield and Camerontown. In September of 1864, the work was completed when Gustavus B. Wright undertook to construct certain necessary bridges along this new road. (39) In the same year work was begun on the construction of a wagon-road between Yale and Hope, to obviate the extremely difficult task of navigating the river steamboats over that dangerous stretch of water. At last the road to Cariboo was complete.

Just as in the case of the Douglas-Lillooet road, by the time the full program of construction was completed, the traffic over the new road began to dwindle in volume. The

- - - - -

(37) Colonel Moody to Douglas - March 28, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1863.

(38) Probably mainly because it was made by Colonel Moody, with whom the Governor already had had some differences of opinion. (Douglas to Col. Moody, April 3, 1863) Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence - 1863.

(39) Contract signed by Wright and Walter Moberley, now Superintendent of Public Works, September 29, 1864. Department of Lands and Works, Contracts and Agreements, 1864.

rich claims of the Cariboo became permanent operations, conducted by firms which possessed the capital necessary for their full exploitation, and the tide of indigent but hopeful prospectors ebbed away from the Cariboo. Gold still came from the mines, but it was not gold easily accessible to the individual gold-digger.

Before the Cariboo Highway through the mountains settled down to its dull tasks as handmaiden to the respectable industries of the colony, it had, like the Douglas road, its brief span of romantic existence. Into its construction went the efforts of thousands, and the lives of hundreds. The traveller who will leave his automobile on the fine new highway above Spuzzum, and scramble down the rocky banks to the path of the old road will find at almost any place he happens to choose, examples of engineering skill that will astonish him. Over deep chasms he will see the remains of intricate log bridges, around the face of sheer cliffs he will find spots where the road was simply built against the cliff by the expedient of laying stone upon stone, all chipped to fit, until a level causeway was created. If he will follow the road where sections still remain, around rocky abutments and down steep grades, and then imagine himself in a six-horse stage coach rocketing around those curves and down those grades at top speed - then will he have caught something of the romance of the highway. Over the highway went those of the passengers from the famous "bride-ships" who had not been already appropriated by the men of Victoria and

New Westminster. (40) Over the road too, and probably for a much less respectable purpose went the "hurdy-gurdy girls" to pursue their calling as entertainers at the saloons of Van Winkle, Barkerville or Camerontown. Along the road travelled the agents of the express companies - of Wells Fargo and Company, or of Dietz and Nelson, or of Barnard's Cariboo Express. Up to the mines over the highway went the men who were to become the founders of the province of British Columbia, men like Tom Cunningham, Charles Augustus Semlin, Alexander Ewen, the operator of the first salmon cannery in the Fraser, and William Ladner, who returned from the mines to take up land at the mouth of the river, the possibilities of which he had noted on his way in to the mines in 1859.(41) As men like these returned to the coast to become farmers, or hardware merchants, or took up some respectable business along the road, the permanent colony of British Columbia was born, even though it was to remain for some time, simply "a road with the mines at one end and New Westminster at the other".

- - - - -

(40) Aghast at the reports that in the Cariboo in 1862 there were over six thousand men and only three or four married women, the British Columbia Emigration Society, founded by such highly respected individuals as the Bishops of Oxford and London and by Lady Burdett-Coutts, arranged in April of 1862 for the departure to the new colony, of some twenty girls from orphan asylums. In June a further contingent left London on the "Tyne-mouth". The scenes in Victoria when they arrived well can be imagined. The stories of some of these immigrants are told by N. de B. Lugrin in "The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island", Victoria, 1928, pages 146 ff.

(41) Short biographies of these and many others are given in Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., and Kerr, J. B., "Biographical Dictionary of Well Known British Columbians".

CHAPTER V

THE BUTE INLET WAGON ROAD.

In preceding chapters has been told the story of the construction of British Columbia's two earliest roads. There still remains to be told, however, the story of the road that was never built - the road from the head of Bute Inlet on the coast over the Cascade Mountains and down to the Fraser itself and the gold fields of the Cariboo.

When one considers, as the early gold seekers must have, the difficulties of road construction in the Fraser Canyon, and the onerous task of handling goods on the Douglas-Lillooet road, one can easily see that it was inevitable that the construction of some other highway should at least be proposed. And even a cursory examination of a map of British Columbia will suggest now, as it did then, an alternative route which seems to possess many advantages. Even in the summer of 1858, correspondents to the Victoria Gazette expressed their belief in the possibility of opening communications between the upper Fraser valley and the head of any of four or five inlets on the mainland coast, all extending deeply into the interior. Not only would such a road, if practicable, be shorter than that following the Fraser, but also it would make for cheaper freight rates, since there would be a much longer haul by sea

and a much shorter haul by land than over the Fraser River roads. (1) This, of course, was an extremely important consideration with merchants and shippers of Victoria, since shipment of goods through a port up the coast would mean that Victoria would remain the only permanent port of entry, while the continuance of shipment of goods by the Fraser route would mean the establishment of a commercial centre somewhere near the mouth of the river, to which ocean vessels would proceed directly. It is not to be wondered at, then, if Victoria people should even on occasion subscribe to private expeditions up the coast to survey the various possible locations for the terminus of a road overland to the gold fields.

The first such reconnaissance was carried out in 1858 at the expense of the government, by a party headed by John W. McKay, which made a journey from the head of Lillooet Lake, on the Port Douglas-Lillooet trail, westward to the head of Howe Sound by following the "Siakamish and Skowhomish valleys" (2)

(1) Comparative distances are approximately as follows;

By the Fraser route, from Victoria to Yale by boat, 180 miles, and by road to Quesnel River 360 miles; a total of about 540 miles.

By the Bute Inlet route, from Victoria to the head of navigation on the inlet, 300 miles, and by road probably about 160 miles; a total of about 460 miles.

Alexander Rattray gives approximately these figures and estimates 37 days for shipment by the Fraser and 22 days by the Bute Inlet Road.

Rattray, Alexander - "Vancouver Island and British Columbia". London, 1862, page 180.

(2) The present route of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, following the Squamish and Cheakamus Rivers. The distance covered was 55 miles. A full report of the party's findings appeared in the Victoria Gazette of October 5, 1858. In the party was Major William Downie (Downie, W. - "Hunting for Gold", San Francisco, 1893.

Although the report of this party was highly favorable, the route which they had explored did not eliminate the necessity of handling goods several times on the Port Douglas-Lillooet trail above the point where the new trail would meet it.

Early in the spring of 1859, a party headed by the famous Major William Downie explored both Jervis Inlet and Desolation sound and made favorable reports to Governor Douglas, telling of conversations with Indians which suggested that a road from the head of either inlet to the Fraser would not present great difficulty of construction. (3) At a public meeting held in Victoria on March 19, 1859, Major Downie told his audience (4) not only of his own findings, but also that the Indians with whom he talked had told him that in Bute Inlet, navigation was possible not only in the inlet but also for some distance up the river which flowed into that inlet.

Interest was obviously high in Victoria, but the earnings from the bars of the river already had begun to dwindle, and the exodus of miners had already begun. In the chorus of disillusionment and disappointment which arose, one voice alone continued to sound a note of conviction in the riches of the Fraser mines. Alfred Waddington of Victoria, merchant and public leader in that city, seems to have been almost alone in his firm belief that the mines of the Fraser would one day live

- - - - -

(3) Mayne, R. C. - "Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island". London, 1862. Major Downie's report is reprinted as an Appendix. Commander Mayne explored these inlets himself in 1861.

(4) Victoria Gazette - March 19, 1859. Major Downie had not visited Bute Inlet himself.

up to all the claims that had been advanced for them. (5) And in 1861 when the news came of the strikes at Keithley and Antler Creeks, Waddington's opinions seemed vindicated.

Once again the possibility of constructing a road from a point on the coast directly across the Cascades to the new fields, leaped into the minds of officials and into the columns of Victoria papers. In July of 1861 Governor Douglas commissioned Major Downie to outfit another expedition to explore the possible sites for the terminus of such a road. In August the party returned to Victoria, where Downie reported to the governor and addressed a public meeting in Moore's Hall. (6) Major Downie hired the hall himself in order to present his views. In his opinion, he stated, the construction of a road from Bute Inlet was not advisable, partly because of the difficulty of construction in the country which he had examined, partly because he deemed it the wise policy at the moment to spend what sums could be afforded by the government, on the improvement of the existing road from Port Douglas.

The announcement of his views was met with cries from the audience of "Throw him out!" "He's working for the West-

- - - - -

(5) Waddington, Alfred - "The Fraser Mines Vindicated". Victoria, 1858. Alfred Waddington was much older than the average of the men of '58, and his background would suggest that he was a man of much gentler stuff. An account of his life appears in Royal Society of Canada Transactions, Volume XXVI for 1932. "Alfred Waddington" by Robie L. Reid.

(6) British Colonist - August 15, 1861. Downie W., op cit page 266.

minster crowd!" The Bute Inlet project already was a favorite with Victoria people, particularly with people like Alfred Waddington, Robert Burnaby and others who had already invested money in the scheme.

However, other expeditions were already out - expeditions in most cases fitted out at private expense. One such party, led by Ranald McDonald (7) and John Barnston, left Alexandria on the Fraser River on May 24, 1861 and reached the coast at

- - - - -

(7) The exploits of Ranald MacDonald, and the bizarre nature of his career are only now being publicized. He was born in Astoria, half-breed son of Archibald McDonald (the father used this spelling) and Princess Sunday, youngest daughter of the old King Com-Comly. Young Ranald ran away from the school to which his father and his step-mother, (the Jane Klyne McDonald of the Ermatinger correspondence) had sent him. In 1847 the young adventurer sailed on the 'Plymouth' to China. In June of 1848 he persuaded the skipper of the whaler in which he was serving, to set him adrift in a small boat a few miles off the coast of the then forbidden Japanese islands. He was seized by native Japanese when he landed, and eventually was brought before the Shogun's Court. Although the usual fate of American sailors unfortunate enough to be cast ashore in Japan, was summary execution, young MacDonald established himself as a tutor at the court and began to give English lessons to some fourteen young Japanese noblemen. (One of his former pupils acted as the official interpreter in the negotiations which ensued when Commander Perry of the United States Navy arrived in 1857 to "open up" Japan.

MacDonald was released from his pleasant captivity by the arrival of an American war-ship in April of 1849 and eventually returned to the Pacific Northwest. His journal of his Japanese adventure was prepared for publication, but was not printed until 1923 when the documents were edited by William Lewis and Naojiro Murakami and published with biographical notes. From this source a popular work (Nichols Marie Leona, Ranald MacDonald - Adventurer, Caldwell, Idaho, 1940) has been taken. Lewis, William and Murakami, Naojiro (ed) "Ranald MacDonald - Narrative of his early life". Spokane, Washington, 1923.

the head of Bella Coola Inlet on June 19. The report of this party was highly favorable, (8) but it nevertheless was obvious that the inlet to which they had come, since it lay north of the difficult navigation of Seymour Narrows and the Euclataw Rapids, might better be avoided. In spite of this drawback, in April of 1862, Ranald McDonald secured an agreement with the government through Colonel Moody, for the construction of a mule road from Bella Colla to the mouth of the Quesnel River, in return for the privilege of collecting a toll of 3 farthings per pound of merchandise and 2 shillings per head on all travellers. (9) The contract further stipulated that McDonald should assign his own charter to a company to be formed by June 25, 1862. In his attempts to set up such a company and in his negotiations with William Hood, its chief shareholder, McDonald met more difficulties than he had encountered in his arduous overland trip, and as a

- - - - -

(8) British Colonist - August 16, 1861.

The route of MacDonald and his party followed the Chilcotin River up to Tatla Lake, thence almost due north to the Dean River headwaters, then west to the Bella Coola River and along that stream to the North Bentinck Arm.

(See map, Appendix F).

(9) Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements 1862.

result his contract lapsed. (10)

In the meantime, better fortune awaited another project undertaken at about the same time. In June of 1861, a public meeting of citizens of Victoria held in Moore's Hall, heard an eloquent address by Alfred Waddington urging the advisability of once more considering the possibility of constructing a road from the head of Bute Inlet to the new fields. As a result, a committee of prominent citizens was appointed (11) to plan an expedition up the coast to re-examine the location about which Major Downie had spoken at first so highly, then latterly so disparagingly. This committee met on June 10 and decided to send such an expedition as soon as the sum of £1000 could be raised. Some £200 was subscribed on the spot, and the government soon lent its approval by making a contribution of £500. (12)

On September 9, 1861, Waddington wrote to Governor Douglas

- - - - -

(10) The chief weakness of MacDonald's project was of course the fact that a somewhat similar contract had already been granted to Alfred Waddington, and that the route proposed by Waddington also followed the Chilcotin River between Tatla Lake and the Fraser. Waddington's contract for the construction of a bridle path was signed on March 28, 1862 and was amended to cover construction of a wagon road, on April 16. (See page 78 below).

The William Hood here mentioned during the following year, 1863, was given a contract to complete the last section of the road from Spence's Bridge to Clinton. (See page 64 above)

(11) The names of the members of the committee augured well for its success, for it included such prominent men as J. Despard Pemberton, Amor de Cosmos, Joseph W. Trutch, Alexander C. Anderson and Robert Burnaby, in addition to Alfred Waddington.

(12) British Colonist, June 12, 1861.

on behalf of this committee, (13) asking for the privilege of opening a mule trail to the gold fields from the head of any one of five inlets, (Jervis, Toba, Bute, Loughborough or Knight's) and telling the governor that the expedition to explore these possible termini had been arranged. On September 18, 1861, the party left for the north on the 'Henrietta'.

On November 8 the first communication arrived from Waddington, apprizing the governor that the party had proceeded to Bute Inlet and found that it was possible to take the Henrietta not only to the head of the inlet but also some forty miles further up the Homathco River, and had proceeded by small boat some ten miles further. (14) From the evidence of his own inspection and from conversations with the Indians of the locality, Waddington had become convinced of the feasibility of construction of a road following the Homathco Valley, then across the divide and down the Chilcotin Valley to the Fraser. Plans already had been made to start the survey for this road as soon as weather conditions would permit.

During the winter months negotiations proceeded between Waddington and various government officials, with such success that on March 28, 1862, an agreement was signed. By its terms,

- - - - -

(13) Waddington to Douglas, Sept. 9, 1861. Attorney-General's Department - Correspondence 1861. The letter stressed the advantages of the proposed road "especially for Victoria".

(14) Waddington to Douglas, November 8, 1861. Attorney-General's Department, Correspondence - 1861. Various spellings of the name "Homathco" appear in the correspondence and in newspaper accounts, but the form used here occurs most often.

Waddington was to construct a bridle road from the head of Bute Inlet to the point where the Chilcotin River meets the Fraser. One year was given for the construction of a ten foot road, and in return Waddington was to be granted a five year charter authorizing the collection of a toll of 3 farthings per pound of freight and 4 shillings per head on all animals moved over the road. On April 16, the contract was amended, with the consent of both parties, to provide for the construction of a wagon road, sixteen feet wide. The time limit was extended for a further six months and the toll on merchandise increased to $2\frac{1}{2}$ d per pound. (15)

Two days after the amended contract had been signed, Waddington's men began their work. During May and June of 1862, an advance party under H. O. Teidemann^{Tied ?} covered the whole route and made preliminary surveys, while construction itself began from the end of Bute Inlet. The survey party reached Alexandria on June 25, and proceeded to Victoria by way of the Fraser. Apparently the report of this survey was of a somewhat sobering nature, for Waddington applied to the government for a time extension of a further year on his contract, (16) which request was granted by the Governor on August 15, 1862. (17)

- - - - -

(15) Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements - 1862. Separate specifications are included with both these contracts.

(16) Waddington to Moody - August 13, 1862 - Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence - 1862.

(17) Douglas to Moody - August 15, 1862 - Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1862.

Despite the fact that difficulties lay ahead of the road-builders, and that Indian troubles already had delayed operations, Waddington remained firm in his estimate of the value of the work he was doing. By December of 1862 he had succeeded in organizing the Bute Inlet Wagon Road Company, Limited, with a normal capital of \$60,000. (18) Apparently the company had some difficulty in selling its shares, since in January of 1863, Waddington applied to Colonel Moody for the extension of the term of his charter from five years to ten, (19) giving as the reason for his application the fact that capitalists would not subscribe under the existing charter. In March the new agreement was drawn up by Attorney-General Crease, embodying the change requested by Waddington and reducing the toll from five cents ($2\frac{1}{2}$ d) to three cents per pound of merchandise. (20) The new agreement was submitted by the Attorney-General to Colonel Moody, but not until November of 1863 did the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works finally fix his signature to the new contract.

- - - - -

(18) Prospectus for the company appeared in the British Colonist, December 7, 1863. At that time W. F. Tolmie was Chairman of the Board of Directors. Of the original committee of 1861, only Robert Burnaby appears as a director in the company.

(19) Waddington to Moody, January 19, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence, 1863. See also Moody to W. A. G. Young, Colonial Secretary, June 21, 1863. Attorney-General's Department - Correspondence, 1863. Colonel Moody recommended refusing the request, but notations on the document in Governor Douglas' handwriting indicated that in this, as in other matters, the governor would overrule the Colonel.

(20) Department of Lands and Works - Contracts and Agreements 1863.

Waddington naturally was highly incensed at the delay and expressed his resentment in no uncertain terms in letters to the Colonial Secretary. (21)

Disagreement among the officials with whom he had to cooperate was not by any means the most serious of the difficulties which Waddington had to face. During the operations of the first summer heavy rains and high water in the Homathco River greatly hindered the work crews. On several occasions bridges were destroyed by fires of mysterious origin. In a letter to the Victoria Colonist, Waddington gave an account of some of his difficulties, mentioning especially the rugged nature of the canyons some fifty miles from the mouth of the river. (22) Work had to be suspended early in the fall, but the spring of 1863 saw operations again resumed. Lack of funds, too, seriously hampered the full operation of all of Waddington's plans, but by the fall a bridle trail existed over practically the full route. Of course, Waddington's charter called for the provision of a wagon road and as a consequence, the merchant-builder was as yet not legally entitled to the collection of tolls. The Governor finally consented to the collection of a provisional

- - - - -

(21) Waddington to Young, November 28, 1863. The letter was forwarded to Colonel Moody by the Colonial Secretary. One wonders how much of the delay was caused by Colonel Moody's resentment at being overruled by the Governor. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1863.

(22) British Colonist - August 27, 1862.

toll on those who might use the trail, (23) but there was practically no traffic over the trail that year. More important than the provisional toll, from Waddington's point of view, was the fact that he was at the same time granted another year's extension of the time limit of his contract. As a direct result, he was at last successful in making satisfactory arrangements for the financing of his project, by taking a contract from the Bute Inlet Wagon Road Company to complete the road for a total sum of \$15,000.

Satisfactory progress was made against serious obstacles during the summer of 1863; the fall freshets carried away many of the 40 bridges along the first 30 miles of the road, the only section yet completed. Weather conditions made it impossible even to attempt to repair the damage and the work parties returned to Victoria in November.

In April of 1864 Waddington's men returned to their task. This time, in spite of the fact that wrecked bridges and ruined road lay before them, Waddington's prospects looked better than ever before. At last he had capital in the necessary amounts; town lots were already being sold in the townsite laid out at the head of Bute Inlet; (24) enough men

- - - - -

(23) Young to Moody, April 1, 1863. Department of Lands and Works - Correspondence 1863.

(24) The town plan prepared by Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers had been set aside in favor of the plan prepared by Waddington himself. One wonders if Governor Douglas enjoyed making this change. Waddington to Young, Department of Lands and Works, Correspondence 1864.

had been hired so that it was possible to send a second work gang up to the head of Bentinck Arm and thence overland to Puntzeen (now Puntze) Lake to work back along the trail.

Just as the tide of fortune seemed to have turned for the grocer turned roadbuilder, the final crash came. In May of 1864 occurred the famous Chilcotin massacres. The thievish nature of the Indians of that tribe already had caused the road crews much trouble; now it was to bring death to many of the builders and ruin to all of Alfred Waddington's great ambitions.

From the evidence at the trial of the suspects later the tragic story can be pieced together. Two Chilcotin Indians, it appears, approached a ferryman in Waddington's employ on the Homathco River, with the usual request for food. When the ferryman, one Jem Smith, refused, one of the Indians produced a gun and shot and killed Smith. That night the Chilcotin tribe attacked the main party of roadmen. Out of sixteen men in the gang, thirteen were killed. The road boss, George Brewster, who had a party of four men further up the river, was attacked the following day and three of the five were killed.

When the survivors reached the coast word of the massacre

- - - - -

(24) The town plan prepared by Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers had been set aside in favor of the plan prepared by Waddington himself. One wonders if Governor Douglas enjoyed making this change. Waddington to Young, Department of Lands and Works, Correspondence 1864.

was sent to Victoria. Retribution was prompt; (25) on June 13 a volunteer force from New Westminster and Victoria under Governor Seymour himself, sailed on H. M. S. 'Sutlej', The force travelled overland from the head of Bentinck Arm and effected a junction with another force of miners from the Cariboo under Judge Cox. The show of such force was sufficient to quell the disturbance; eight leaders of the Chilcotin tribe were arrested, brought to justice and five of them convicted and hanged, although it is highly possible that the real culprits were never apprehended.

Alfred Waddington himself seems to have realized that his plans had crashed. Even before the trial of the Chilcotin Indian leaders, he attempted to salvage something out of the wreck of his schemes - a not insignificant something. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary he proposed to surrender his contract, under which he had until December of 1866 to complete the road, and proposed an indemnity of \$100,000 in compensation for the work already done. (26) When that was refused, Waddington applied for government protection on the road for the crews which he might hire to go on with the work. (27)

- - - - -

(25) A complete account is given in Howay and Scholefield, op cit - pages 177 ff., while a somewhat different story appears in Walkem, W. W. - "Stories of Early British Columbia", Vancouver, 1914. See also Downie, W. op cit.

(26) Waddington to Young, May 28, 1864. Attorney-General's Department, Correspondence, 1864.

(27) Waddington to Young, June 9, 1864. Attorney-General's Department, Correspondence, 1864.

Even if his request had been granted it is doubtful if he could have secured either a crew or the financial backing to enable him to go on with his task. (28)

Alfred Waddington was not one to be easily dissuaded from a plan which apparently had come to be his whole life - in May of the following year he made formal application to the Secretary of State for revision of his case, accompanying his letter with a copy of a petition signed by 1031 citizens of Victoria, asking for the re-opening of the Bute Inlet road. (29) The answer to his request was firm and final. The government would agree to no payment of indemnity for his work, and would give no encouragement in an undertaking which had 'led to such lamentable results'. (30)

On June 7, 1866, after a year of road contracting on Vancouver Island, during which he managed to collect from the government the total sum of \$260 for his services in packing supplies to the 'Sutlej' expedition, Alfred Waddington was consigned to the limbo of disappointed ministers and discarded statesmen, when he was appointed Superintendent of Education for Vancouver Island. (31)

One last attempt to salvage his project was made by
- - - - -

(28) British Colonist, Stories and editorials of July and August 1864 condemned the plan unconditionally.

(29) Waddington to A. N. Birch, Colonial Secretary, May 29, 1865. Attorney-Generals Department, Correspondence, 1865.

(30) Birch to Waddington, Dec. 15, 1865. Attorney-Generals Department, Correspondence 1865. In the absence of Governor Seymour, the Honorable A. N. Birch was also acting as Administrator of the Government.

(31) Reid, R. L. - Alfred Waddington. During 1866, Waddington contracted for certain work on the road from Victoria to Sooke Harbor.

Waddington, whose determination at least must be admired.

In 1867 he proposed the construction of a steam traction road over the route he had surveyed, with the possibility of eventually making it a railroad, but the answer of the government was flatly in the negative. (32) Already the thought of railroad building was in the air, and the Bute Inlet route was apparently no place for a railroad, since it "ran through nothing and ended nowhere". Today all that remains is a trail following the Homathco, around the north end of Chilco Lake and down the Chilcotin to the Fraser, a trail that is but a faint reminder of the commercial highway so long dreamed of by the scholarly Victoria grocer. (33) The town of Port Waddington at the head of Bute Inlet still exists as a memorial to the memory of this man, who at fifty-seven years of age, a partner in the respected firm of Dulip and Wadding-

- - - - -

(32) W. A. G. Young to Waddington, August 26, 1867.

Attorney-General's Department, Correspondence, 1867.

Waddington proposed to finish the road under a 25 year charter, with a land grant of 320 acres per mile of road.

(33) The road which Waddington hoped to build would follow the east bank of the Homathco River from Port Waddington, around Tatlayoko Lake and then strike north to the shore of Tatla Lake. The trail followed the south bank of this lake then crossed to the north bank of the Chilcotin River. At a point approximately twenty-five miles from the junction of that river with the Fraser, the trail leaves the Chilcotin and strikes almost due west, then up that river and across it just south of William's Lake.

(See map, Appendix F)

ton, Wholesale Grocers, left the comparatively easy path which lay before him to follow another course. Least successful of all the 1858 pioneers, perhaps because he was least well-equipped by physique and training, he exemplifies best the qualities of faith and perseverance which have made the province of British Columbia.

- - - - -

CHAPTER VI

THE AMERICANS AND THE OVERLANDERS.

Thus far we have dealt only with road-building efforts undertaken by government authority, either directly or by means of a contract embodying toll privileges. But British Columbia, like every part of Western America, had its rugged individualists who sought alone or in companies and without either government assistance or authorization, to pierce the wilderness which lay between them and their goal. Of the various attempts made to establish communications with the gold-fields by other than government-authorized agencies, two only will be discussed in this chapter. One such project had its starting point in territory of the United States, the other in a mistaken theory that the mountain barrier east of the gold fields might be easier to penetrate than that to the west, and that overland travel from the settlements along the Saskatchewan River would be easy and practicable.

The story of the first of these schemes can easily and quickly be told, for the efforts to link the Cariboo gold fields with American territory on the Pacific Coast, had but a very brief life. It was inevitable that the regulations of

the governor at Victoria, his efforts to collect licence fees and the obvious desire of the Victoria officials and merchants to monopolize the business of importation of miners' supplies, should all combine to suggest to American interests the advisability of setting up a port in American territory and establishing connections between that port and the gold fields.

Even in the early days of the rush of 1858, some American miners had attempted to reach the Fraser bars by travelling overland from the Willamette settlements. The Victoria Gazette reported one such expedition, headed by a packer named Tucker, from Lehama, California, who led a large party of men and animals from The Dalles on the Columbia to the forks of the Fraser and Thompson. On the journey almost half of the four hundred animals were lost, and three men were killed in engagements with hostile Indians. (1)

A more practicable route from American territory to the Fraser was early suggested. The ports of Puget Sound were too far from the gold-bearing bars of the Fraser; the more northerly waters of Bellingham Bay seemed more suitable. The newspapers of Washington Territory began early to advertise the necessity of making that bay the jumping off place for the miners, land speculators began to buy the land around it, and by June of 1858, two towns had appeared. When James Gardiner (2)

- - - - -

(1) Victoria Gazette - August 17, 1858.

(2) See page 25 above.

arrived in the bay on the 25th of that month, he found the town of Seahome on the southern shore of the bay and the more ambitious town of Whatcom on the high land at the eastern edge. Of the latter, Gardiner said, "there is some talk of incorporating, it now being four weeks old". (3) On July 29, the Victoria Gazette reported that contracts had been let for the construction of a wharf at the town of Whatcom, and that driving of piles had already begun. (4)

Perhaps even more important to the American miners than this news concerning the growth of the new town on Bellingham Bay, was the news in the same issue in the Gazette, that the survey of the road from Whatcom to the Fraser, would now be begun. In the correspondence column appeared a letter from W. W. DeLacy, self-styled engineer and surveyor, who reported that he had already explored two possible routes for this new "Bellingham Bay Trail". One route, he suggested, might strike north-east to meet the Fraser at the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Langley, and then follow the river to Hope. In view of its proximity to the existing bastions of Hudson's Bay Company's (and Governor Douglas') authority, this route was hardly to be considered. The second alternative route travelled overland to a point known as 'Blackeye's Portage', where it connected with the old brigade trail of the Hudson's Bay traders. According to DeLacy, the trail was practicable, the distance

- - - - -

(3) Reid, R. L. - "The Gardiner Letter", British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Oct. 1937, page 245.

(4) Victoria Gazette, July 29, 1858.

fairly short, the chances of successfully building a road good.(5)

On the day that this report was published, a party of surveyors left Whatcom to follow in DeLacy's footsteps, with several would-be contractors numbered in the party. Behind them they left a town which was reminiscent of San Francisco in its heyday. Homes, stores, warehouses and offices were springing up like mushrooms on all sides. On all sides the prospective settler heard talk of the future of Whatcom, the new metropolis of the west. (6)

At a public meeting held in the new town on August 2, Governor McMullin of Washington Territory gave the town his official blessing and expressed the hope that all loyal Americans would use this port and the new trail in preference to any which would lead them through a British port of entry.(7) Encouraged by the governor's attitude, and by the fact that Mr. Isaac Stevens, the Territory's representative at Washington

- - - - -

(5) Victoria Gazette, July 29, 1858. DeLacy was using the map prepared by A. C. Anderson, which appears in "Handbook and Map to the Gold Region of Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers". San Francisco, 1858. The route followed was along the Nooksack River to its source, east to the Skagit River and north along that valley. After crossing the 49th parallel the trail turned east to the Similkameen River, north overland through the Nicola Valley and across the tablelands to the Thompson at Fort Kamloops. (See map, Appendix F).

(6) A few miles to the north, two other towns appeared, on the shores of Semiahmoo Bay, and there, too, was talk of a new city which was to be the terminus of the trail. John S. Titcomb, a correspondent of the Gazette, visited Semiahmoo on July 29 and found town real estate selling briskly. Victoria Gazette, August 5, 1858.

(7) Victoria Gazette, August 5, 1858.

had already secured for the project the support of the Secretary of State, the townspeople redoubled their activities. By August 14, a fine wharf extended 1400 feet out across the mud-flats of the bay to deep water. (8) In the town itself fine new bridges spanned the many ravines and gullies running down to the beach. On the evening of August 17, the sound of guns on the hill behind Whatcom heralded the news from the trail-builders. The next day the whole town buzzed with the report that the survey of the road had been completed and that the trail was open. The following day special editions of the "Northern Light" announced in headlines the 'Final Completion of the Bellingham Bay Trail'. In this 'extra' number appeared a letter from DeLacy describing the trail from Whatcom to Blackeye's Portage and thence by way of the brigade trail to the Thompson River. (9)

For the next few weeks traffic over the trail was heavy, although most of the travellers found that its builders had been over-optimistic. One party of twenty-two men arrived at the Thompson River after taking eight weeks to cover the distance. (10) Early in September a public meeting in Whatcom had subscribed an amount sufficient to improve the trail as

- - - - -

(8) Victoria Gazette, August 17, 1858.

(9) Victoria Gazette, August 21, 1858.

(10) Howay and Scholefield - op cit - Volume 2, page 30.

far as the head of Chilliwack Lake, (11) but further expenditures were not deemed advisable at that late season. The difficulty of travel increased as winter approached; finally heavy snows closed down all travel.

When spring once more made travel over the Bellingham Bay trail a possibility, two things had happened. In the first place the Fraser River "bubble" seemed to have burst and more miners were leaving the Fraser than were entering it. In the second place, through the efforts of Governor Douglas a satisfactory steamboat service was now operating to provide communication with port Douglas and the entrance to the Lillooet road, a road which, for 1859 and 1860 at least, was entirely adequate for all the demand. There was no possibility of linking the Bellingham Bay trail with this Douglas-Lillooet highway; in any event the former trip was too long and too arduous. 'Thus', says F. W. Howay, 'ended the much-vaunted Whatcom trail. Grass grew in Whatcom's streets'. (12)

Of the attempt to establish a practicable line of communications between the gold fields of Cariboo and the

- - - - -

(11) Victoria Gazette, September 8, 1858. Chilliwack appears as 'Chiliwheok' in this account, which is a reprint of a story in the 'Northern Light' for September 4, 1858.

(12) Howay and Scholefield. op cit Volume 2, page 30. Bellingham (as it now is named) had a population of 800 in 1870, so the grass must have been growing in some of the "back streets"

settlements east of the Rockies, little remains to be told.

The excitement of the strikes in the Cariboo in 1861, which, we have already seen, caused so much activity in the colony itself, had its reverberations abroad as well. Newspapers in New York, in Montreal, and in London, once more began to sing the praises of the new field; once more a rush started to the far-west El Dorado. As one result, a company - the British Columbia Overland Transit Company - was formed in England for the purpose of arranging transportation to the Cariboo mines, and its advertisements in British papers announced the chartering of steamships to carry passengers from London to the port of Quebec. From that point the company guaranteed to carry its clients by railway to St. Paul, via Chicago. From St. Paul the passengers would be transported by stage coach or covered wagon to British Columbia by way of the Red River Settlements. That the company was founded at least on ignorance, if not on fraudulence, becomes apparent when one reads that this scheme offered "the speediest, safest and most economical route to the gold diggings, through a country unequalled for its beauty and the salubrity of its climate".(13)

Early in 1862 the first passengers left England. True to its guarantees, the company transported hundreds of would-be gold diggers to St. Paul, but when they arrived at that point

- - - - -

(13) Quotations from these advertisements appear in Wade, M. S. - "The Overlanders". Memoir IX of Archives of British Columbia. Victoria, 1931.

they found no provision for continuation of their journey. Most of them returned to England, where some were successful in prosecution of the company for fraud. A few hardy individuals, however, decided to join one or other of several expeditions already organized in eastern Canadian or American towns. Individual parties from Toronto, Montreal, Queenston and St. Thomas, and from several towns in northern New York State had already arrived in Fort Garry or at Pembina, and some of the disappointed English immigrants travelled north from St. Paul to join them.

From Fort Garry the largest of the parties of the "Overlanders" set out on June 5 of 1862. The party included one hundred and thirty-eight men and two women, one of whom was Mrs. Margaret McNaughton who later published her diary of the journey. (14) The whole expedition was organized into different parties, each under an elected captain, and each captain served on a central committee which drew up rules of travel and decided upon the route to be followed. Leader of the whole expedition was Thomas McMicking of Queenston.

The route which this party followed across the prairies followed closely the path taken by smaller parties which had

- - - - -

(14) McNaughton, Margaret - "Overland to Cariboo", An Eventful Journey to the Gold Fields in 1862. The account of the overland expeditions in Howay and Scholefield, op cit pp. 137 - 140 is drawn largely from this source.

made the crossing in 1859. (15) From Fort Garry the trek led to the South Saskatchewan and along the bank of that stream. Wading the smaller streams which fed that river, bridging those too deep to wade, the gold-seekers struggled on. Edmonton was reached on July 21, and there the expedition was reinforced by further recruits, including another woman and her three children.

At Edmonton the Red River carts which had so far transported the overlanders, were abandoned, supplies were packed upon the backs of the horses and mules, and the expedition struck north to the bank of the Athabasca River. Following that stream west the party reached Tête Jaune Cache on August 26. Food supplies were by this time almost exhausted, and the morale of the party was at a low ebb. After crossing through the pass, the main body continued down the Fraser by raft, but a smaller group was sent overland with those horses which had not been slaughtered, to strike the Thompson River. Both parties suffered incredible hardships and many casualties. That which came down the Fraser made this last stage of their journey on clumsy rafts fitted with rowlocks and long sweeps, with which these craft were steered through canyons and over the turbulent rapids of the Upper Fraser. Eventually, on September 11, they reached the town of Quesnelmouth. The men

- - - - -

(15) One group, including Charles Cooney and Sam and John Moore had reached Fort Colville on the Columbia in July 1859. Another group in the same year included John Jessop, later to become Superintendent of Schools for British Columbia.

who had struck overland from Tête Jaune Cache to the North Thompson River also reached their destination, but their experiences were no less arduous. Two of their number were drowned in the rapids of the Thompson and the party was practically without food when it finally arrived at Kamloops.

The experiences of the McMicking expedition were such as to daunt the spirits of any who might essay to follow. Smaller groups which had set out on the heels of this advance party also reached their destination (16) but all had the same experiences to relate. One such small party lost all of its supplies in the Grand Canyon north of Prince George, and three of its five members died of exposure and starvation. (17) All had the same sort of story to tell when they finally reached the gold fields; it is fairly indicative of their experience that none chose to return to Eastern Canada by the route over which they had come. Until the railways cut their steel pathways through the Rockies and down the gorges of the Fraser and Thompson rivers, the only practicable approach to British

- - - - -

(16) Notably that of Viscount Milton and Dr. W. D. Cheadle who made the crossing through the Tete Jaune Cache and down the Thompson in 1863. Their work, "Northwest Passage by Land" gives a graphic description of the difficulties of the overland route to the Cariboo.

(17) Milton, Viscount and Cheadle, Dr. W. D. - "Northwest Passage" pages 280-281. This party apparently met a gruesome fate, if the stories which Milton and Cheadle heard, were at all true. The account of their privations even includes a hint of cannibalism.

Columbia remained the long sea-route around the Horn to the new cities on the Pacific coast.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRAFFIC ON THE ROAD.

No account of the roads in and to the Cariboo gold mines would be complete without a brief account of the traffic over those roads. The roads were built for the miners; they also served the purposes of the hundreds of merchants, packers, express companies and all others engaged in catering to the needs of those miners. Vast quantities of goods of all kinds, from pianos to pins and even including bales of hay, came from San Francisco to Victoria or New Westminster, from those ports by river steamer to Port Douglas or Hope and thence to the Cariboo mines. (1) Although Victoria continued to be an important port of entry for these goods the new town of New

- - - - -

(1) Whereas total exports from San Francisco to Vancouver Island in 1856 totaled \$23,000, the value of exports from that city to the new British territory in 1858 amounted to over \$1,500,000, more than the value of shipments to any other port, even including New York. Pemberton, J. D., "Facts and Figures Relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia", London 1860, page 69.

In 1861, according to Mathew Macfie, the total value of imports into Victoria was \$2,018,424. Of these goods more than one-half (value \$1,153,413) came from San Francisco. In 1862, out of total imports of \$3,550,242 value, \$2,389,861 worth of supplies came from the California city.

Macfie, Mathew - op cit - page 109.

Westminster, even before its incorporation on July 16, 1860 (2) began to share to an increasing extent in the lucrative business of shipping to the gold-fields.

When the town was first laid out by the Royal Engineers, (3) high hopes were held by its early residents, but in its first few years of growth the town resembled more an American frontier town than the well-planned model city for which the worthy Sappers had laid the foundations. In 1862 it was still popularly known as 'Stumpville'; the inns and public houses were still dirty and uncomfortable and the traveller who stopped overnight might complain of the noises outside as returning miners celebrated on the streets all night. (4)

To assist in the profitable business of transporting the flood of miners' supplies which arrived at New Westminster or Yale, many express companies soon came into being. First

- - - - -

(2) Proclamation by Governor Douglas, British Colonist, July 19, 1860.

(3) See Appendix E, a copy of a map showing some of the ambitious projects of the Engineers. This map was given to K. C. Magowan of New Westminster by Joseph Armstrong, whose father told him it was Royal Engineers' map.

(4) Johnson, R. B., "Very Far West Indeed", and Duthie, Rev. D. W. - "A Bishop in the Rough" both contain eloquent descriptions of the Royal City. Stories of the Saturday night horse-races on what is now Columbia Street were told to the writer by Frank Barber, whose father operated a saloon in New Westminster during the 1860's.

among them was that of the famous Billy Ballou, (5) who established his service between Victoria and the Fraser river diggings in June, 1858. Soon after Kent and Smith's Express was established, and on the newly opened Douglas-Lillooet trail Messrs. Lindhart and Bernard began to operate. For the first few years, however, Ballou's Express remained the chief link between the miners and the outside world, and the agency upon which they depended for parcel service, for newspapers and letters, and by means of which they sent their treasure out of the country.

In 1860 Frank J. Barnard entered the field as a competitor of Ballou's, operating from Yale to the Cariboo mines. His first trip was made on foot through the canyon, carrying his express in a pack on his back. For transporting a letter to Cariboo, Barnard's fee was two dollars, and for newspapers one dollar apiece. In 1862 he established a pony express between Yale and Barkerville and completed arrangements for a connection of his service with that of the firm of Dietz and Nelson, the British Columbia and Victoria Express, which in turn connected at Victoria with the famous Wells-Fargo

- - - - -

(5) Billy Ballou had been an expressman in California before coming to British Columbia. For a brief period his express service enjoyed a virtual monopoly of traffic in the canyon and over the Hope-Similkameen trail to the Rock Creek mines. When he retired from business in October of 1862, he had left, according to one historian, only "an empty purse and a broken constitution".

Howay and Scholefield, op cit - page 129.

Stories of Billy Ballou, particularly of his generosity are told by many of the chroniclers of gold rush days. (Eq. Walkem, W. W. "Stories of Early British Columbia".

Company. (6)

In that same year of 1862, Barnard secured the government contract to carry the mail into the gold fields as far as William's Lake, and by thus successfully under-bidding Ballou's Express, practically forced the latter firm out of business. As the wagon roads were built, from Yale to Clinton and from Lillooet to Soda Creek, Barnard's Express continued to grow. In 1863 express wagons went into service, and in the following year the first stage coach went on the road. An advertisement in the British Columbian in May, 1864 (7) describes the express service then available, - by coach from Yale to Soda Creek to connect with the stern wheel steamer 'Enterprise' for the remainder of the journey to Quesnel. The coaches in use were fine, six-horse, fourteen passenger carriages, drawn by fresh relays of horses every twelve or thirteen miles. Each was equipped with a burglar-proof safe, and each carried, in addition to the driver, a well-armed agent of the company.

For many years Barnard's Express, later known as the British Columbia Express, and popularly as the B. X., operated the famous Cariboo coaches. With such well-known whips as Steve Tingley and Billy Humphreys at the reins, the trip from Yale to Soda Creek could be made usually in about four days. On occasion of emergency this time could be cut to two

- - - - -

(6) Advertisements in British Columbian, February 24, 1864.

(7) British Columbian, May 4, 1864.

days, and once the down trip was completed in the almost incredible time of thirty hours for the three hundred and eighty miles. (8)

With the successful establishment of the twice-weekly stagecoach service to Soda Creek from Yale, passenger and express service was more than adequate. For the more prosaic task of hauling supplies into the Cariboo, scores of firms of packers offered their services. Until 1864 the Watson Brothers and John MacDonald, among others, were transporting goods to Clinton over the Harrison Road at a cost of twenty cents per pound of merchandise, to which must be added the toll paid at Lillooet. With the completion of the highway from Yale to Soda Creek, scores of firms began to operate on on that road. Where mule trains formerly had toiled, fine freight wagons now clattered along. Dustan and Jerrold, John carrager, Edwards and Company and D. D. Duhig were advertising

- - - - -

(8) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit. - page 131.

To the miners waiting for their precious mail, the BX was viewed in a different light. James Anderson, the poet of the Cariboo, mentions the Express on two occasions. In February, 1864, he writes to his friend, Sawney,

Your letter cam by the Express,
Eight shillin's carriage - naethin' less,
You'll think this awfu' - 'tis, nae doot -
(A dram's twa shillin's here-aboot);
I'm sure if Tamie Ha' - the buddy,
Was here wi' his three-legged cuddy
He hauls ahint him wi' a tether,
He'd beat the Express, faith, a' thegither.
To speak o'f in the truest way
'Tis Barnard's Cariboo Delay.

In June, 1868, however, Anderson makes a concession,
Your letters, Sawney, are a boon
And postage now is less
And Barnard's Caribou 'Delay'
Can fairly claim Express.

Sawney's Letters, Or Cariboo Rhymes, by James Anderson, Photostat copies in Library, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

in Victoria papers their facilities for the transport of freight to the Cariboo mines. (9) Though their charges were only little less than those of the older firms, hauling over the older route by the lakes, and although tolls must be paid on the road and over the bridges at Spuzzum and at Spence's Bridge, (10) nevertheless these packers were able to guarantee shippers against loss or delay, and could always deliver goods in approximately half the time involved in shipment through Port Douglas. For that reason, the lion's share of the traffic was routed through Yale. For years the high, covered freight wagons, hauled by eight - ten - or twelve-mule teams were a familiar sight on the Cariboo Highway.

One can hardly conclude even a brief account of the roads into the Cariboo without at least mentioning two rather bizarre experiments in transportation which were made on British Columbia's roads. In May of 1862, Frank Laumeister, packer and merchant of New Westminster, imported into the colony a "string" of twenty-one camels, (11) which were at once sent to Douglas. Although the camels could carry a burden at least twice as great as that of a mule, and although the operators had practically no forage problem, there were other difficulties. The rocky trails between Douglas and

- - - - -

(9) Advertisements in British Colonist and British Columbian, April 1864 and following.

(10) See Chapter IV above.

(11) British Columbian. Issues of May, 1862. As would be expected, this was an event of tremendous interest in New Westminster.

Lillooet were too much for the soft feet of the camels; in addition the unfamiliar odor of the strange beasts wrought havoc in every mule- or horse-train which they happened to meet. After one season's trial the camels were disposed of by their owners. (12)

In 1864 another experiment in transportation was begun when R. C. Janion, W. L. Green, Henry Rhodes and Joseph Trutch secured a charter to introduce steam traction engines on the roads of the colony. (13) The original company was unable to fulfil the terms of the charter and its rights were bought in 1870 by F. J. Barnard and J. C. Beedy of Van Winkle. With the energy characteristic of the senior partner in this firm, (14) the scheme was pushed to a conclusion, the traction engines imported from Scotland, and one went into service from Yale. Its first trip was its last; machine repairs were too costly, and in any event the mules and horses already in service could haul goods more quickly and more cheaply. Some of the engines found service as stationary engines in the colony; the rest were sent back to their manufacturers. It is interesting to note that Alfred Waddington also dreamed of traction engines on his Bute Inlet road and applied in

- - - - -

(12) A few were turned loose in the country behind the present city of Kamloops, and some of them at least, were still alive forty years later.

(13) Prospectus of the company was issued January 1865. Copy is in Public Archives of British Columbia.

(14) See page 100 above.

February of 1867 for permission to complete the road for that purpose. (15)

.

The most precious cargo which either the express companies or the freight men could handle, was of course, the gold shipment from the mines. In the early rush, the task of getting their gold out of the country had to be undertaken by the miners themselves, but in many cases the precious dust was intrusted to Ballou or to Barnard for safe delivery at Victoria. Even Governor Douglas himself seemed to feel that if the flow of gold from the interior should reach high proportions, a more satisfactory method of ensuring safe delivery of the treasure would have to be found, for the resources of the express companies were not sufficient either to insure the shipper against loss, or to take adequate measures to prevent that loss. Consequently the Governor, sought authorization from the Secretary of State to establish a "gold escort". By the time he had received the authorization the miners themselves were leaving the country, and the escort, even if Douglas had been able to find the right men to operate it, was no longer necessary. (16)

- - - - -

(15) His application and the letter rejecting his proposal are in Lands and Works Department - Correspondence, 1867. See page 85 above.

(16) Douglas to Bulwer Lytton, Despatches to London, October 11, 1858.

The strike in the Rock Creek and Similkameen country in the summer of 1860 once more brought to the fore the question of a government gold escort. In August of that year, Ballou's express on one trip brought out to Hope, \$50,000 in gold dust from that region. (17) In that same year the strike at Keithley Creek was reported and in the spring of 1861, with the strikes at William's Creek and Antler Creek, the real rush was on.

In July of 1861, Governor Douglas bowed to the demand and established the official gold escort, by means of which the government undertook the transport of gold. From Quesnel, gold would be shipped to New Westminster at the rate of 1 shilling per ounce, or from William's Lake for 10 d. per ounce. From Lillooet the charge was 6 d., and from Douglas 3 d. At New Westminster the government agreed to hold the treasure in safekeeping for a further charge of 3 d. per ounce of gold. (18)

In many ways this arrangement seemed highly satisfactory to the miners; certainly the charges were not excessive. But in the all-important matter of guaranteeing safe delivery, and insuring the shipper against loss, the governor would make no commitment. As a result, although the escort was established, and made its first trip in August 1861, (19) it was never popular with the miners. Lacking the guarantee of insurance,

- - - - -

(17) British Colonist, August 7, 1860.

(18) Announcement in British Columbian, July 25, 1861.

(19) British Columbian - Issues of July, August and September 1861.

the miners still preferred to hoard their gold and bring it out themselves, or send it by the express companies. Several more trips were made by the escort, but in all only about \$50,000 in dust was brought out. The escort corps must have presented a handsome sight on the road; well-mounted, well-armed and smartly-uniformed, they rode surrounding the light carts on which were placed the heavy iron-bound chests for the treasure. (20) Thomas Elwyn, ex-justice of the colony, was the command of the troop, with George Hankin as his second-in-command. The whole enterprise, it is reported, cost the government some \$30,000 and the total revenue was perhaps \$300. (21)

No escort operated in 1862, as was perhaps to be expected. Possibly as a result, several brutal attacks were made on miners leaving the Cariboo with large sacks of dust. Three miners with a "poke" of \$12,000 were murdered in July just below Williams's Lake, and just a few weeks later a Wells-fargo agent was killed and robbed a day's journey out of Richfield. (22)

Once more the need for a gold escort became apparent, at least to the authorities of the colony, and once more the corps was sent out on the roads. In June of 1863 Thomas Elwyn again led out his men. This time the rates charged

- - - - -

(20) British Columbian, Issues already noted.

(21) Howay and Scholefield, op cit - page 136.

(22) Duthie, op cit. The Rev. Dr. Sheepshanks was aghast at the summary conviction and execution, on very flimsy evidence, of the two men charged with this latter crime.

were considerably higher, but once again the government refused to accept responsibility for loss. Once again the route followed was the Douglas-Lillooet road; once again the service was so much slower than that offered by the express companies that this time as before, the miners refused to patronize the escort. In fact, even the manager of MacDonald's Bank at William's Creek refused to ship his deposits by the gold escort. (23) On its first trip in June the escort brought out some \$40,000 in gold; at the same time Barnard's Express brought out at least twice that sum. Individuals with large quantities of the precious metal still preferred to guard it themselves rather than trust it to an agency which would not guarantee its safety. Finally, at the end of the season, when the balance of the enterprise was struck, it was found that the escort had cost the colony some \$60,000, with a total revenue of but \$9,000. The authorities at New Westminster and Victoria had the good sense not to persist in this costly experiment and the handsome uniforms of the gold escort vanished from the roads of British Columbia.

Much has been written of the fabulous amounts of gold brought out of the interior by this and other agencies; the true figures will of course never be known. A miner returning with his sack of dust was quite naturally reticent about the

- - - - -

(23) British Columbian, July 29, 1863.

value of his pack. (24) Various estimates however have been made. According to Alexander C. Anderson, the Wells-Fargo offices in Victoria handled for export, in the five years from 1858 to 1862, a total sum of \$6,656,486 in gold. (25) 1863 was the peak year, the following three years probably showed amounts only a little less. Mathew Macfie found that in the same period, Wells-Fargo, Macdonald and Company, the Bank of British Columbia, the Bank of British North America, the Hudson's Bay Company and other agencies, exported from the colony, gold to the total value of \$10,200,183, while he estimated that at least another \$5,000,000 was taken out privately by successful miners. (26) The official figure for the year of 1863 was \$3,913,563, although unofficial sources have put the figure as high as \$6,000,000. (27) This much at least is known; a mort of treasure came down the Cariboo roads.

- - - - -

(24) The refreshments in the mile-houses along the way, loosened the tongues of some, with disastrous results. Many managed to carry their dust safely as far as Victoria, only to fall into the snares and pitfalls of that wicked city.

(25) The figures were supplied to him by Mr. F. Garesche, company agent at Victoria. The tabulated sums were

1858	- - - - -	- \$ 337,765.
1859	- - - - -	- \$1,211,339.
1860	- - - - -	- \$1,303,329.
1861	- - - - -	- \$1,636,870.
1862	- - - - -	- \$2,167,183.

Anderson, A. C. - "History of the Northwest Coast", Appendix F.
 Typed copy of original essay in Archives of British Columbia.

(26) Macfie, M. - op cit - page 109.

(27) Howay and Scholefield, op cit, page 116.

Of the many picturesque individuals who shared in that treasure and of the countless luckless ones who did not, a separate story should be told. The foundations of British Columbia's history were laid by the men of the Cariboo, and they lived its most romantic chapter. Many of them, altho' drawn to British Columbia by the lure of gold, stayed in the colony to become wealthy by other means. Some amassed fortunes and quickly lost them; some laid the foundations for the other industries upon which the province now depends. Some became the first farmers; William Ladner, for example, who served as a packer during the period of the gold rush, then returned to take up broad acres of the lush delta land at the mouth of the Fraser which he had noted even on his first trip to the river. Like him was Charles Augustus Semlin, who gave up school teaching in New England to join the rush in '62, and after three years in the Cariboo, returned to the fertile Buonaparte Valley, took land there and became "the Laird of Cache Creek".

Somewhat similar was the story of Tom Cunningham. Arriving in Victoria in July 1859, he was soon on his way to the upper country. From Port Douglas to Antler Creek he walked that fall, with a ninety pound pack on his back. (28)

- - - - -

(28) The contents of his pack he sold in the Cariboo at a handsome profit. Residents of New Westminster who remembered him and his son James, claimed that the cash proceeds of that sale were still in the family possession.

Failing to make his fortune at the mines, young Cunningham returned to the city of New Westminster and from then until his death his name is closely identified with the development of that city. There he founded the hardware business which still bears his name, became a holder of extensive real-estate, established the Pelham Gardens for the culture of fruit and was one of the founders of the Royal Agricultural and Industrial Society.

Many were less fortunate than those; John Jessop, for example, who came overland from Fort Garry in 1859, and became in quick succession, miner, packer, clerk, typesetter, publisher, school teacher and Superintendent of Schools for the province. In 1868, friends in Victoria had to arrange a benefit circus performance for him. More spectacular is the story of the fortunes of "Cariboo" Cameron, who was reported to have made \$300,000 from his claims, and who retired from the Cariboo in 1863. In 1888 "Cariboo" Cameron was back at the mines, destitute. (29) More rapid was the rise and fall of the lucky star of the famous Billy Barker, who made and spent the largest share in a mine which yielded \$600,000. In 1866, when the mine closed down he was "broke" and a public subscription was taken to send him out. In 1894 he died in the Old Men's Home at Victoria. (30)

- - - - -

(29) Not so his partner Robert Stevenson, who invested his wealth in Chilliwack real estate. (Walkem W. W. - "Stories of Early British Columbia").

(30) Lebourdais, Louis - "Billy Barker of Barkerville". British Columbia Historical Quarterly. July 1937.

More romantic was the story of Joanna Maguire, an Irish-woman of bad habits and irascible disposition who was one of Yale's many problem cases. The legends about her were numerous, among them one that she was the lost daughter of Dan O'Connell, "the Great Liberator". (31)

Perhaps, instead of writing of these comparatively well-known individuals, a story could be made of the high spirit and dangerous deeds of the thousands of less famous men and women who travelled the road to the gold fields, met varying fortune and lived their lives in comparative obscurity. All had contributed to a story so full of romance, so rich in human interest, that it should be told again and yet again - the story of the "many weary miles on the road to Cariboo".

- - - - -

(31) Higgins, D. W., "The Mystic Spring". Toronto 1904.
Walkem, W. W., op cit.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - - - - - Table of distances from Victoria on the Harrison route to Lillooet, as published in the Victoria Gazette for September 29, 1858. Comparative distances on other roads.

Appendix B - - - - - Lists of prices of common articles in the Cariboo, at several times during the gold rush.

Appendix C - - - - - Sample of loan announcement, dated July 20, 1860 and appearing in the British Colonist on following dates.

Appendix D - - - - - Copy of contract between Richard Clement Moody R. E., Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and Gustavus Blin Wright, for the construction of a road between Lillooet and Alexandria, dated March 24, 1862.

Appendix E - - - - - Map of early New Westminster, from original in possession of Mrs. K. C. Magowan of New Westminster, British Columbia.

Appendix F - - - - - Map of British Columbia with roads and trails shown in ink.

APPENDIX A
TABLE OF DISTANCES

I. On the Harrison-Douglas route, as reported in the Victoria Gazette, September 29, 1858.

Victoria to Sandheads	65 miles	
sandheads to Langley	35 miles	
Langley to Harrison River	30 "	
Harrison River	10 "	
Harrison Lake	40 "	
Ainsworth Inlet to Pt. Douglas	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Total mileage by boat		182 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles
Port Douglas to Lillooet Lake	38 "	
Lillooet Lake	20 "	
Pemberton to Anderson Lake	30 "	
Anderson Lake	19 "	
Portage to Seton Lake	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Seton Lake	21 "	
Seton Lake to Lillooet	3 "	
Total mileage by the lakes		132 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles
Total distance		315 miles.

2. On the Harrison-Douglas route, as on government maps today.

From Port Douglas	to	Tenass Lake	33 3/4 miles.
" Tenass Lake	"	Port Pemberton	13 "
" Port Pemberton	"	Anderson	24 3/4 "
" Anderson	"	Wapping	15 "
" Wapping	"	Flushing	1 1/2 "
" Flushing	"	Seton	16 "
" Seton	"	Lillooet	4 "

Total distance 108 miles.

Road covered a distance of 108 miles, crossing en route sixty-two bridges of from twelve to eighty feet in length.

3. On the Cariboo Highway.

Yale	to	Spuzzum	12 miles
Spuzzum	"	Boston Bar	12 "
Boston Bar	"	Lytton	29 "
Lytton	"	Spence's Bridge	29 "
Spence's Bridge	"	Clinton	57 "
Clinton	"	Alexandria	160 "
Alexandria	"	Quesnel	35 "
Quesnel	"	Barkerville	43 "

4. Ranald MacDonald's trail (Bella Coola to William's Lake

- - - 275 miles.

5. Waddington's trail (Bute Inlet to William's Lake - 234 miles.

APPENDIX B.

In view of the fact that the high prices of supplies was in most cases the reason for the road-building activity in British Columbia, and that this fact had been stressed at several points in this account of cariboo roads, a few prices are here set down.

(1) In June of 1858, the following prices were being charged at Sailor's Bar, some twenty-five miles above Hope on the Fraser.

Flour - - - - - \$1.00 per pound.

Sugar - - - - - \$2.00 per pound.

Bacon - - - - - \$1.00 per pound.

Tea - - - - - \$4.00 per pound.

A miner's pick sold for \$6.00 and a rocker iron fetched \$30.00. (A rocker iron was a piece of cast metal usually some 20 inches by 18 inches, perforated with $\frac{1}{2}$ inch holes, which the miner installed at the bottom of his sluice box. The iron cost 2 shillings in England, and \$2.50 at San Francisco). These prices were reported by Kinahan Cornwallis in his work "The New El Dorado, or British Columbia". The "Times" correspondent, Donald Fraser, reported the same prices, which are quoted in Hazlitt, W. C., "British Columbia and Vancouver Island".

(2) In the winter of 1858 - 1859, the following prices were charged at Bridge River

Flour - - - - -	\$.50 per pound
Bacon - - - - -	\$.75 " "
Butter - - - - -	\$ 1.25 " "
Blankets - - - - -	\$25.00 " pair.

The lower prices and the fact that such a luxury as butter could now be obtained was probably due to the fact that steamboats were by this time making fairly regular trips to Hope and even sometimes to Yale. These prices are given by the Victoria Gazette for December 21, 1858.

(3) When the strikes were made in the Cariboo country in 1862 and the costs of the added packing also paid, prices rose to an even higher level. At William's Creek in 1862, the following prices were being obtained (when the goods could be obtained at all).

Flour - - - - -	\$ 2.00 per pound.
Butter - - - - -	\$ 5.00 per pound.
Matches - - - - -	\$ 1.50 per box.
Potatoes - - - - -	\$115.00 per cwt., but rarely obtainable.
Nails - - - - -	\$ 5.00 per pound.

These prices are given by various correspondents whose letters were published in the 'British Colonist' in issues of 1862.

(4) It is interesting to compare these prices with those charged by merchants in Washington Territory. Gold was discovered in the Walla Walla district in the winter of 1861-1862 and a minor rush ensued. In February of 1862, the following prices were charged at Florence.

Flour - - - - -	\$ 1.00 per pound.
Bacon - - - - -	\$ 1.25 " "
Butter - - - - -	\$ 3.00 " "
Sugar - - - - -	\$ 1.25 " "
Tea - - - - -	\$ 2.50 " "
Gumboots - - - - -	\$30.00 " pair.

These prices are given in Gilbert, F., "Historic Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties", page 227.

(5) After the completion of the highway through the canyon, the following prices prevailed in the Cariboo in 1863 and 1864.

Flour - - - - -	\$.32 to \$.35 per pound.
Bacon - - - - -	\$.50 to \$.75 per pound.
Butter - - - - -	-\$1.25 per pound.
sugar - - - - -	\$.50 to \$.60 per pound.
Tea - - - - -	\$1.00 to \$1.50 per pound.

These prices are quoted in Howay and Scholefield, op cit page 111.

APPENDIX C.

SAMPLE OF LOAN ANNOUNCEMENT

PUBLIC NOTICE

GOVERNMENT LOAN

It being intended to obtain a Loan in aid of Revenue for the prosecution of Public Works of acknowledged public utility, and to the amount in the present year, of £25,000; £5,000 being required on the 25th of August next, and £5,000 monthly afterwards.

To be repaid by the Government

Class 1 - £1,000 on the 30th of June 1861.

" 2 - 1,500 on the 31st of Dec. 1861.

" 3 - 2,000 on the 30th of June 1862.

" 4 - 2,500 on the 31st of Dec. 1862.

" 5 - 3,000 on the 30th of June 1863.

" 6 - 4,000 on the 31st of Dec. 1863.

" 7 - 5,000 on the 30th of June 1864.

" 8 - 6,000 on the 31st of Dec. 1864.

Tenders are invited for either the whole or any part of said loan or application for any number (however small) of debentures in either class; parties to name their offers - under either or both of the following conditions - each debenture being for £50.

1. Supposing that the Debentures shall bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, payable half-yearly, on successive 31sts December and 30ths June. Tenderer to state WHAT CASH he will give (and at which of the dates proposed by

the Government for receiving money) for each £100 worth of Debentures.

2. Supposing Tender to give par, or £100 cash for each 100 worth of Debentures; Tenderer to state WHAT RATE OF INTEREST (payable to him half-yearly) he is prepared to accept for each said £100.

Terms to be stated under each class offered in.

Tenders (in writing) will be received by me, up to noon on the 15th of August next.

Treasury of British Columbia, July 20, 1860.

W. Driscoll Gosset,
Treasurer.

'Public Notice in British Colonist'
July 31, 1860 and following issues.

APPENDIX D.

COPY

W. Capel Morrison, Attorney General

March 24, 1862.

Memorandum of agreement made this 24th day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty two.

Between Richard Clement Moody, Colonel in the Royal Engineers and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for British Columbia, Acting on behalf of the Government of British Columbia of the first part and Gustavus Blin Wright of Douglas in British Columbia aforesaid of the other part:

Whereas the said Gustavus Blin Wright hath applied to the Government of British Columbia to grant him the privilege of making a waggon road from a point on Fraser River immediately opposite the town of Lillooet in British Columbia aforesaid, to the Fraser River at Alexandria in the same colony during the period of one year from the date hereof; And hath also applied for license and authority to raise and levy a toll of one halfpenny per pound avoirdupois upon all goods carried on or along any part of the said road, other than goods and chattels carried across the said road or belonging to or used in the service of the said Government; And a toll of one* shilling per head on all cattle of all descriptions not belonging to or used in the service of the Government; and passing or carried along, (but not across) any part of the

* Originally two shillings per head. Amended and initialed by R. C. Moody.

said road for a term of five years from the due completion in manner hereinafter mentioned of the said road or other earlier period as hereinafter prescribed;

And whereas the said Government hath agreed to grant the said privileges upon the terms and conditions hereinafter more particularly expressed.

Now these presents witness that the said Richard Clement Moody, acting on behalf of the Government of British Columbia in consideration of the agreement hereinafter on the part of the said Gustavus Blin Wright contained hereby agrees as follows; First - That after the exact termini and general direction of the road have been fixed by and to the satisfaction and in manner hereinafter appearing and security satisfactory to the said Government given for the due execution and completion thereof as hereinafter prescribed, the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall have, possess and enjoy during the period of one year from the date hereof, full power and authority to construct and make a good and substantial waggon road of the uniform width, for the whole length, within the time in the manner according to the specifications and subject as hereinafter more particularly mentioned, commencing from the said point on the Fraser River opposite Lillooet to the other point on the Fraser River at Alexandria, the exact positions of which points shall be fixed by the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works as hereinafter mentioned.

Upon the completion of the said waggon road or the first fifty

miles thereof, within the time, in the manner and to the satisfaction hereinafter mentioned with respect to the same respectively, the Governor for the time being of British Columbia, in the name of the Queen and by all other and proper means and forms shall and will grant unto the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns, a Charter or Grant giving power and authority, from the due completion of whole of the said waggon road or other portion thereof as hereinafter mentioned in manner aforesaid for and during the term of five years next ensuing after such total or partial completion as aforesaid, to ask, demand, sue for, receive and recover by way of toll from all persons whatsoever the sums following (that is to say) For every pound avoirdupois of goods, merchandise, stores, productions, and chattels other than those belonging to or employed in the service of the Government, taken or carried along (but not across) the said road or any part thereof the sum of one halfpenny sterling; And for every head of cattle passing on or along (but not across) any part of the said road the sum of one shilling sterling; Such tolls not to be demandable on goods, chattels or cattle simply carried or passing across any part of such road or belonging to or employed in the service of the Government.

Upon Condition however, that the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall and will well and sufficiently perform all and singular the stipulations on his and their part hereinafter mentioned and in such Charter or Grant to be contained. And the said Gustavus Blin Wright doth

hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns covenant and agree with the said Richard Clement Moody and his Successors in office that the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns will immediately after the execution hereof proceed to lay out the line of the said road from end to end blazing it or otherwise marking it distinctly on the ground; And that the exact position of the termini of the said road at or near Lillooet and Alexandria respectively as aforesaid shall be fixed as the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the time being of the said Colony or his agent shall direct.

And that the said line of road shall be examined and modified in detail by the said Commissioner or his agent from time to time should he so deem necessary; And for that end, intent and purpose the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns shall find the necessary means of Conveyance for and repay to the Government the reasonable expenses of such competent agents as the said Chief Commissioner hereby agrees to send to be constantly on the line as the works proceed in order to prevent delays in the modification and approval of the same.

And that the line of road between the termini aforesaid shall be definitively fixed to the satisfaction aforesaid on or before the 1st day of June now next. And that he or they will, on or before the 1st day of December now next, make and construct a good and substantial waggon road for the whole length, between the points aforesaid according to the specifications,

and subject to the written approval of the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works; And shall before commencing the construction of the said road give good and sufficient Bonds to the satisfaction of the said Government in the penal sum of five thousand pounds sterling as ascertained and liquidated, damages to be paid in case the said road or any part thereof shall not be completed within the time, in the manner and to the satisfaction aforesaid; and it is hereby further agreed, by and between the parties hereto, that any such Charter or Grant as aforesaid, shall contain provisions saving and excepting from the operations thereof, all existing public and private, and all future public rights whether of way, water, thoroughfare, or for mining or engineering purposes, or otherwise, and whether crossing the said road or otherwise; And also a provision that the said Government shall have the option at any time within eighteen calendar months from the date of such Charter to redeem and repurchase said road and the privileges thereby conferred or to be conferred at a price not less than thirty two thousand pounds sterling, or greater than forty thousand pounds sterling to be fixed by such one arbitrator as shall be mutually agreed upon by the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, and the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and in case they cannot agree upon a single arbitrator, then at such price between the said limits as the said Chief Commissioner shall for the time being specify by any writing under his hand, such decision to be final in all respects;

And that any such Charter or Grant shall also contain ample provisions with security satisfactory to the said Government for the completion of the whole of the said road within the time and the manner, according to the specifications and to the satisfaction aforesaid, and for keeping the same in constant and thorough repair to the satisfaction aforesaid, during the existence of the said Charter and so long as the same shall remain in full force and undetermined in manner hereinafter provided for making said the same; And that such Charter or Grant shall also contain a condition for the unrestricted use of any portion of the said road by any other road which may be constructed from or through Lytton to or towards Alexandria, upon payment by the owners, lessees or occupiers of such road from Lytton of half of the cost of constructing and of the current cost of repairing such portion so used. Such costs to be estimated and fixed by the said Chief Commissioner for the time being; And that in the event of repurchase by the Government as aforesaid of the road to be made under these presents then all payments received or coming to the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators or assigns under this provision shall be refunded and paid over to the said Government;

And that any such Charter or Grant shall also contain a provision that any necessary short deviation for the improvement of the road hereby authorized to be made shall be executed by and at the expense of the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns, upon the direction and

according to the specification of the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the time being, or his agent; And that any such Charter or Grant shall also contain a provision enabling the Government to appoint a Collector of all tolls which shall be levied under, or by virtue thereof and for the retention of three quarter of the whole thereof by the said Government to be applied and paid to the use of Her Majesty, Her heirs and successors until the whole of the sums of money advanced or to be advanced under the provision in that behalf hereinafter contained, with such interest and charges upon such respective advances as the Government may have been themselves called upon to pay in respect of such sums to be advanced, and for the payment of application of the remaining quarter part of the whole to the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns.

And also a provision that advances in the sums and proportions and manner hereinafter specified shall be paid by the Government upon or towards the construction of any portions of the said road from Lillooet which at the time of making such Charter or Grant shall be unfinished; And such Charter or Grant shall also contain a condition for the forfeiture of all and singular the rights and privileges conferred by such Charter or Grant and the avoidance thereof upon breach of all or any part of the conditions, terms or provisions therein contained. And it is hereby further agreed and declared that upon the completion in the manner and to the satisfaction aforesaid of every ten or more of the first fifty miles of the said road,

commencing at the Lillooet terminus aforesaid, the said Government shall advance to the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns a sum of money after the rate of sixty pounds Sterling per mile; And for every ten or more miles of the remainder of the whole of the said road, hereby agreed to be made as aforesaid, the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds Sterling per mile and the same shall be respectively payable at the Treasury upon the presentation of the certificate of the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works or his agent that such respective sections of ten or more miles have been duly completed in the manner and to the satisfaction aforesaid.

And it is hereby further declared and agreed that previous to making any such Charter or Grant as aforesaid, upon the construction in the manner aforesaid of the first fifty miles aforesaid, it shall be necessary to obtain from the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works a certificate under his hand that so much of the work has been completed within the time fixed and according to his specifications and to his satisfaction.

And it is hereby further agreed and declared that full true and regular accounts shall be kept both of receipts and disbursements in the construction of the said road, and of all tolls received hereunder and such books of account shall be open at all times to either party requiring to see copy or extract the same or any part thereof;

And it is hereby lastly and expressly declared and agreed that

upon failure of the said Gustavus Blin Wright, his executors, administrators and assigns to observe or fulfill all or any of the terms, conditions, provisions, stipulations and agreements of this agreement or any part thereof respectively or at any time or times during the continuance of these presents to make progress satisfactory to the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the time being, then upon notice to that effect (published by order of the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in any newspaper published in the said Colony (which shall be deemed a good and sufficient notice) or by any writing delivered under his hand (which shall also be deemed sufficient reason) to that effect), and subsequent default for ten days in obeying such notice, of which default the said Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works shall be sole judge, this agreement and all powers and privileges conferred or to be conferred shall thereupon ipso facto cease and be of no effect as if this agreement had not been made.

In witness hereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

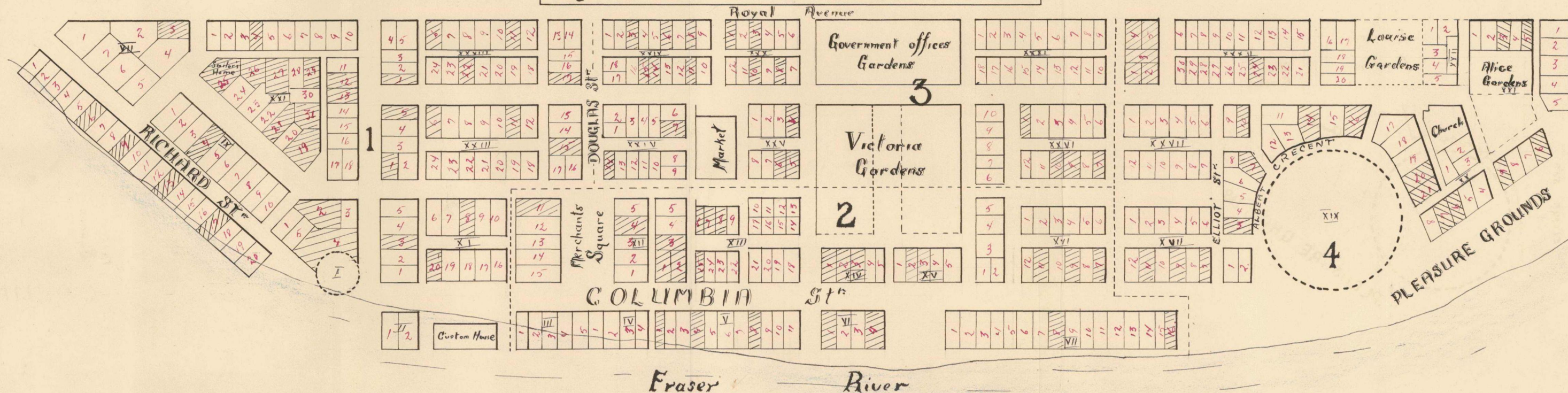
SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED
by the within named RICHARD
CLEMENT MOODY, acting as
aforesaid, in the presence of
ARTHUR T. BUSHBY

)
)
) R. C. Moody, Col. R. E.,
) Chief Commissioner of Lands
) and Works.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED
by the within named GUSTAVUS
BLIN WRIGHT in the presence of
ARTHUR T. BUSHBY

)
)
) Gustavus B. Wright.
)

QUEENSBOROUGH



Copied from original
Royal Engineer map, now
in possession of Mrs.
K. Magowan,
New Westminster.

Map of Queensborough [New Westminster]

1860 ~ 1865



INDEX OF DEPARTMENTAL REFERENCE MAPS

Departmental Reference Maps show:
Surveyed Lands
Crown Granted Lands
Applications to Purchase Lands
Timber Licences
Hand-logged Licences
Foreshore Leases
Coal Licences
Lands resumed under "Soldiers' Homestead Act"
Placer Mining Leases
Compiled from all available data and constantly being amended, accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

Departmental Reference Maps are designated by number. "Blue" or "Orange" prints can be obtained for \$1. per copy. List supplied upon application. Orders, or inquiries, should state map number, and be addressed to:-
Surveyor-General
Lands Department
Victoria, B.C.

SCALES
Departmental Reference Maps are on the scale of 1 mile to 1 inch except where denoted:
x are 2 inches to 1 mile
x are 7 1/2 inch to 1 mile

Note: Departmental Mineral Reference Maps on the scale of 500 feet to 1 inch, covering the principal mining areas of the Province, are available also, prints \$1. per copy. List supplied upon application.

INDEX OF PRINTED MAPS

INDEX VANCOUVER MAPS
Pre-emption Series
Land Series
Degree Series
Scale 1:50,000

**ROADS AND TRAILS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
1858 - 1865**

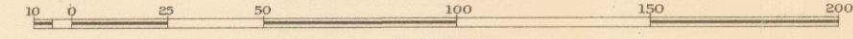
MAIN WAGON ROADS
TRAILS

BRITISH COLUMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF LANDS

Honourable A. Wells Gray, Minister.

Scale, 50 miles to 1 inch



1937
LEGEND

- Land Recording District Boundaries
- Land Commissioners' Offices
- Mining Recorder's Offices
- Sub
- Railways

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Source Material (Manuscripts).

A. Contracts and Agreements.

British Columbia, Department of Lands and Works. Copies of contracts and agreements entered into by the government through the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. Filed by year of their dates. For purposes of this work, the files for 1861-1865 were most valuable. Archives of British Columbia.

B. Correspondence.

1. Governor, Vancouver Island; Despatches to London, 1855-1859.

2. Governor, British Columbia; Despatches to London, 1858-1865. Letter book copies of these despatches, or photostat copies are in the Archives of British Columbia, at Victoria, B. C.

3. Colonial Office, London; Despatches to Governor, Vancouver Island, 1858. Colonial Office, London; Despatches to Governor, British Columbia 1858-1865. Original letters or photostat copies are in the Archives of British Columbia.

4. British Columbia - Department of Lands and Works. Correspondence between the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and various individuals concerning departmental business. Originals and copies of this correspondence, in many cases annotated by Colonel Moody, are in the Archives of British Columbia, catalogued by the year of their date. The files for 1861-1865 were most valuable.

5. British Columbia - Department of the Attorney-General. Correspondence of this department is in the Archives of British Columbia, filed according to year. This correspondence had to be consulted in some cases where replies to letters from the Department of Lands and Works could not be found in the files of the latter. Particularly valuable is the file for the period of January to April 1863.

6. Letters to Edward Ermatinger from John Work, Archibald McDonald, Jane Klyne McDonald and others. Collection of originals and typed copies are in the Archives of British Columbia and known as the 'Ermatinger Papers'. Valuable for any work on the discovery of gold in British Columbia.

C. Diaries.

1. Diary of Clement F. Cornwall of Ashcroft Manor, British Columbia. Typed copies of the diary are in the Archives of British Columbia. Entries made in June, 1862, describe a trip over the Harrison-Lillooet Road.

2. Diary of Governor James Douglas. Original books in Archives of British Columbia. Books for the period from 1858-1860, including a description of the governor's trip to Lillooet were of value.

3. Diary of Captain John Evans - "The B. C. Mining Adventure, 1862-1864". The original diary and two typed copies are in the Archives of British Columbia.

D. Official reports.

1. Anderson, Alexander Caulfield.

a. Report of Explorations in 1846. Original journal and report are in the Archives of British Columbia.

b. History of the Northwest Coast. Archives of British Columbia has typed copy drawn from original essay in the Academy of Pacific Coast History, University of California, Berkeley, California.

2. Parsons, Captain R. M., Royal Engineers. Report on Country between New Westminster and Lake la Hache, September 16, 1862. Copy of the report in Archives of British Columbia.

3. Fraser, Simon. Journal of a voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, performed in the year 1808. Photostat copy of this journal is in the Library of the University of British Columbia; the original manuscript is the property of the Toronto Public Libraries.

II. Primary Source Material (Publications by authority of government at London, or of Legislative Assimby at Victoria, B. C.).

1. Anderson, Alexander Caulfield - "The Dominion at the West". A brief description of the Province of British Columbia. The Government Prize Essay, 1872. Printed by Richard Wolfenden, at Victoria, B. C., 1872.

2. British Columbia Papers - Despatches to and from the Colonial Office, with relevant documents. Published by the Colonial Office at London. Material used from period 1858-1862.

3. Discovery of Gold at Queen Charlotte's Island, Copies or Extracts of Correspondence Relative To Published by Colonial Office July 18, 1853 - Referred to as Queen Charlotte Island Papers.

4. Discovery of Gold in the Fraser's River District of British North America, Copies of Correspondence Relative To Published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1858.

5. Hansard - Parliamentary Debates for the session 1857-1858, volume IV: Published by Office for Hansard's Debates, 23 Paternoster Row, London.

6. Howay, F. W. "The Early History of the Fraser River Mines". Selected documents, with introduction. Edited by F. W. Howay. Printed by authority of Legislative Assembly, Victoria, B. C., 1926. Memoir VI of Archives of British Columbia.

7. Wade, Mark S. "The Overlanders of '62". Published by authority of Legislative Assembly at Victoria, 1931. Memoir IX of Archives of British Columbia.

III. Primary Source Material (Published contemporary reports)

Journal of The Royal Geographical Society, published at London under the editorship of Dr. Norton Shaw, has several reports of value.

a. Palmer, Lieutenant H. Spencer, R. E.

Report on the Harrison and Lillooet route from the junction of the Fraser and Harrison Rivers, to the junction of the Fraser and Kayoosh Rivers, with notes on the country beyond. Volume XXXI, 1862.

b. Begbie, Mathew B.

A journey into the interior of British Columbia.
Volume XXXI, 1862

c. Waddington, Alfred

On the geography and mountain passes of British Columbia in connection with an overland route.
Volume XXXVIII, 1868.

IV. Primary Source Material (Contemporary Newspaper Files).

1. British Colonist - Published by Amor de Cosmos at
Victoria, B. C.

Archives of British Columbia has complete file of
issues from June 13, 1859 to December 30, 1864.

2. British Columbian - Published at New Westminster, B.C.

Archives of British Columbia has file of issues
from February 13, 1861 to December 25, 1864, and
an incomplete file of issues from 1865 to 1869.

New Westminster Public Library has file of
issues from February 1864 to January 1866 and
from March 1866 to February 1868.

3. Cariboo Sentinel - Published at Barkerville, B. C.

Archives of British Columbia has an incomplete
file of issues from May 1866 to October 1875.

- m 4. Daily Chronicle - Published at Victoria, B. C.

Archives of British Columbia has file of issues
for October 28, 1862 to June 30, 1866. (Copies
for March 8 and May 26, 1863, are missing from
the file).

5. Gazette - Published at Victoria, B. C.

Archives of British Columbia has file of issues
for July 28, 1858 to November 26, 1859.

6. Northwest - Published at Port Townsend by J. F. Damon

Northwest section of University of Washington
Library has file of issues from July 5, 1860 to
November 20, 1862.

7. Overland Press - Published at Olympia by A. M. Poe.

Northwest section of University of Washington
Library has file of issues for July 29, 1861
to March 16, 1863.

8. Pioneer and Democrat - Published at Olympia by
E. M. Fuste.

Northwest section of University of Washington
Library has file of issues from September 11,
1852 to May 31, 1861.

V. Primary Source Material (Books by contemporary authors, or books containing primary material).

1. Anderson, Alexander Caulfield,

"Handbook and Map of the Gold Region of Frazer's and Thompson's Rivers".

San Francisco, J. J. Le Count, 1858.

This book has the map used by W. W. DeLacy in his attempt to open the Whatcom Trail.

2. Ballantyne, Robert W.

"Handbook to the New Gold Fields".

London, Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1858.

Contains accurate geographical observations.

3. Cornwallis, Kinahan,

"The New El Dorado, or British Columbia".

London, Thomas Cautley Newby, 1858.

Recommended for anyone in search of superlatives.

4. Downie, William,

"Hunting for Gold".

San Francisco, California Publishing Co., 1893.

Personal reminiscences of mining operations in California and explorations in British Columbia 1858-1864. Very interesting comments on Douglas, Waddington and others.

5. Hazlitt, William C.

"British Columbia and Vancouver Island".

London, Routledge and Co., 1858.

Good description of the excitement caused by the 1858 rush.

6. Higgins, D. W.

"The Mystic Spring".

Toronto, William Briggs, 1904.

"The Passing of a Race".

Toronto, William Briggs, 1905.

Anecdotes and stories of the author's personal experiences as publisher of the Victoria Daily Chronicle, 1862-1866. The incidents described are practically all second-hand and very highly colored, but interesting.

7. Johnson, R. Byron,

"Very Far West Indeed".

London, Sampson, Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1873.

An account of the author's experiences as miner and packer on the Cariboo roads in 1862. Good account of the steamboat traffic and of the packers through the canyon.

8. Kerr, J. B.

"Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians".

Vancouver, Kerr and Begg, 1890.

Information concerning some of the men mentioned in this work.

9. McCain, C. W.

"History of the S. S. Beaver".

Vancouver, Evans and Hastings, 1894.

Contains a narrative by Charles H. Woodward, of Portland, Oregon, describing the excitement in New York in 1858, and telling of his trip from that city to Fort Langley to join the gold rush.

10. Lewis, William S., and Murakami, Naojiro; Editors.

"Ranald MacDonald; Narrative of His Early Life".

Spokane, Washington, Inland American Printing Company,

1923.

An edited and annotated version of MacDonald's own documents prepared for Eastern Washington State Historical Society. The book deals principally with MacDonald's Japanese adventure, but mention is made of his British Columbia road-building adventure. (The editors say that MacDonald's venture failed because a "more influential person" secured a contract to build a wagon road over his trail. Alfred Waddington would have enjoyed being called influential).

11. Macfie, Mathew, F. R. G. S.

"Vancouver Island and British Columbia".

London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green,
1865.

As a description is very limited in its scope.

12. Masson, Senator R. L.

"Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest".

Quebec, Privately published, 1889-1890.

Volume I contains Simon Fraser's "Journal of a voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, performed in the year 1808".

13. Mayne, R. C.

"Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island".

London, John Murray, 1862.

An excellent description of gold mining methods on the bars in the early rush.

14. Milton, William Fitzwilliam, Viscount, and Cheadle, W.B.

"The Northwest Passage by Land. Being the narrative of an expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific".

London, Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1865.

The authors followed the McMicking party to Tete Jaune Cache on an overland journey, and then down the Thompson River to Fort Kamloops. The story of the Rennie party (see page 96 above).

15. Pemberton, J. Despard; Surveyor-General of Vancouver Island.

"Facts and Figures Relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia".

London, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860.

Pemberton is highly critical of the descriptions already printed, and calls attention to obvious errors in many of the works mentioned here.

16. Rattray, Alexander.

"Vancouver Island and British Columbia".

London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1862.

Has some literary but very little historical value.

17. Waddington, Alfred.

"The Fraser Mines Vindicated".

Victoria, P. de Garro, 1858.

Waddington's expressed conviction in the permanent worth of the new gold fields. The fact that at the time he was one of Victoria's prominent merchants, and probably profited by the traffic to the river, may have had something to do with his conviction, but one must assume his sincerity when one considers Waddington's later ventures.

18. Walkem, W. Wymond, M. O.

"Stories of Early British Columbia".

Vancouver, The News Advertiser, 1914.

Contains some interesting anecdotes, stories told by the early miners and some interesting accounts of Indian customs.

19. Wright, E. W. (Editor).

"Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest".

Portland, Lewis and Dryden Publishing Co., 1895.

An illustrated review of the development of the marine industry of the Pacific Northwest. Has listings of sailings from San Francisco and other relevant material.

SECONDARY SOURCE MATERIAL

I. Articles in Journals or Periodicals.

1. Champness, W.

"To Cariboo and Back".

Leisure Hour, a weekly journal published in London. In numbers 692 - 696, appearing from April 1, to April 29, 1865, there appears a serialized account of a trip to the gold fields made by the author.

2. Dunn, Robert.

"A History of Mining in British Columbia".

Canadian Mining Journal, published at Gardenvale, Que. August, 1929 number.

3. Forsyth, J.

"The Pioneer Press of British Columbia".

British Columbia Historical Association. Reports and Proceedings, October 1923.

4. Lebourdais, Louis.

"Billy Barker of Barkerville".

British Columbia Historical Quarterly. Volume I No. 3, July 1937.

5. Nelson, Denys.

"Fort Langley, 1827 - 1927, A Century of Settlement in the Valley of the Lower Fraser River".

Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C. Reports and Proceedings July 1927.

6. Reid, R. L.

"Alfred Waddington".

Royal Society of Canada Transactions. Third series,
Volume XXVI, 1932.

7. Reid, R. L.

"Letter of C. C. Gardiner to the editor of 'The
Islander' of Charlottetown, P. E. I."

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Volume I No. 4
October 1937.

8. Rickard, T. A.

"Indian Participation in the Gold Discoveries".

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Volume 2 No. 1
January 1938.

9. Sage, W. N.

"Simon Fraser, Explorer and Fur Trader".

American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch,
Proceedings 1928 - 1930.

SECONDARY SOURCE MATERIAL.

II. Theses on related subjects.

1. Bescoby, Isobel - "Society in Cariboo, 1862 - 1871".

Graduating essay for B. A. degree. Copy in Library of the University of British Columbia.

"Some Social Aspects of the American Mining Advance into Cariboo and Kootenay". Thesis for M. A. degree. Copy in Library of University of British Columbia.

2. Cope, M. C. L. - "Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers".

Thesis for M. A. degree. Copy in Library of University of British Columbia.

3. Murray, Margaret L. - "St. Mary's of Lillooet". A short record of the Anglican Church at Lillooet. Printed by Bridge River-Lillooet News, August 8, 1935.

4. Palmer, P. F. - "A Fiscal History of British Columbia in the Colonial Period". Thesis submitted to Stanford University, California, for Ph. D. degree. Public Archives of British Columbia has typed copy of this essay.

5. Ross, Margaret - "Amor De Cosmos". Thesis submitted for M. A. degree. Copy in Library of University of British Columbia.

SECONDARY SOURCE MATERIAL.

III. Standard works on British Columbia History.

1. Bancroft, Hubert H.

"History of British Columbia, 1792-1887". Volume
XXXII of the "Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft".

San Francisco, The History Company, 1887.

Little information on the subject of this work.
See footnote page 29.

2. Begg, Alexander.

"The History of British Columbia".

Toronto, William Briggs, 1894.

This is by no means the most reliable work available.

3. Caughey, John W.

"A History of the Pacific Coast".

Los Angeles, Privately published, 1933.

Residents of British Columbia would be interested to learn from this volume that after the construction of the C. P. R., that the town of Port Moody grew rapidly and was renamed Vancouver. Even more startling was the observation that Vancouver then developed to such an extent that New Westminster is now a suburb.

4. Coats, R. H. and Gosnell, R. E.

"Sir James Douglas".

Toronto, Morang and Co., 1908.

Some of the conclusions drawn in this work are debatable. See page 29 above for one example of possible inaccuracy.

5. Duthie, Rev. D. Wallace.

"A Bishop in the Rough".

London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1909.

Duthie edited the journal of the Reverend John Sheepshanks, later Bishop of Norwich. The book covers Sheepshank's work at New Westminster and Richfield in the years between 1859 and 1867.

6. Flenley, Ralph (Editor)

"Essays in Canadian History".

Toronto, The McMillan Company, 1939.

One of the essays in this work, - Sage, W. N., "The Position of the Lieutenant-Governor in British Columbia in the Years Following Confederation", throws a very interesting light on the career of Joseph W. Trutch, mentioned in this work on several occasions, and possibly explains the favored treatment which Trutch received.

7. Fatcher, Winnifred M.

"The Great North Road to the Cariboo".

Vancouver, Roy Wrigley Printing and Publishing Co., 1938.

A popular sketch of the road, past and present.

8. Gilbert, Frank T.

"Historic Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties".

Portland, A. G. Walling, 1882.

Copy of this work in the Northwest Section, Library of University of Washington at Seattle. The volume provided material for an interesting comparison between the Fraser River rush and similar excitement on the Columbia River.

9. Grant, F. J. (Editor).

"History of Seattle, Washington".

New York, American Publishing Co., 1891.

A series of sketches dealing with the growth of Seattle as a shipping centre. Brief mention is made of the gold excitement on the Fraser. In the Northwest Section, Library of University of Washington.

10. Howay, F. W. and Scholefield, E. O. S.

"British Columbia, From the Earliest Times to the Present".

Vancouver, S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914.

Volumes I and II comprise probably the best known and most authoritative text on British Columbia history, while volumes III and IV furnish interesting biographical information about prominent British Columbian residents.

11. Howay, F. W.

"The Royal Engineers in British Columbia".

Victoria, Richard Wolfenden, 1910.

An excellent account of the Engineers' work in British Columbia.

12. Lugin, N de Bertrand (John Hosie, Editor)

"The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843-1866".

Victoria, The Colonist Printing and Publishing Co. 1928.

Published for the Women's Canadian Club of Victoria, B. C. Much interesting information, supplied by a number of Victoria residents, but the writer would hesitate to use much of it without checking carefully where that is possible.

13. MacNab, Frances.

"British Columbia for Settlers, Its Mines, Trade and Agriculture".

London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1898.

The author visited Port Douglas in 1898 and found it deserted except for Indians. New Westminster was then a "second-rate little town with a vile inn". (page 217).

14. Meany, Edmond S.

"A History of the State of Washington".

New York, The McMillan Company, 1909.

Contains some information concerning Whatcom and its later history as Bellingham.

15. Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I.

"The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia".

Toronto, William Briggs, 1904.

An interesting account which gives the Indians' point of view better than any other work. Description of the small-pox epidemic in 1862 is excellent writing.

16. Nichol, Marie Leona.

"Ranald MacDonald, Adventurer".

Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1940.

A popular account of MacDonald's life. Repeats the remark re the failure of MacDonald's road-building scheme which has been mentioned in Lewis and Murakami's work on MacDonald's life.

17. Sage, Walter N.

"Sir James Douglas and British Columbia."

Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1930.

In beginning this thesis, the writer found Dr. Sage's account of Governor Douglas and the early colony of Vancouver Island a most valuable foundation and a work which pointed many interesting avenues of research.

18. Scholefield, E. O. S. and Gosnell, R. E.

"A History of British Columbia".

Vancouver, British Columbia Historical Association,
1913.

A shorter and less valuable work than that of Howay and Scholefield.

19. Shortt, A., and Doughty, A.

"Canada and Its Provinces".

Toronto, Edinburgh University Press, Publishers'
Association of Canada, 1914.

Volume 21 includes an article by R. E. Gosnell,
"The Colonial History of British Columbia".

20. St. John, Molyneux.

"The Sea of Mountains". An Account of Lord Dufferin's
Tour Through British Columbia in 1876.

London, Hurst and Blachett, 1877.

Has an excellent description of stage coach travel over the Cariboo Highway, in a six-horse coach with the famous Steve Tingley at the reins.

21. Wade, Mark S., M. D.

"The Thompson Country. Notes on the History of Southern British Columbia and Particularly of the City of Kamloops".

Kamloops, B. C., Inland Sentinel Press, 1907.

"The Founding of Kamloops, A Story of 100 Years Ago".

Kamloops, B. C., Inland Sentinel Press, 1912.

A Souvenir of the Kamloops Centenary Celebration, September 17, 1912.

These articles give an account of the discovery of gold on the Thompson River.

22. Watson, Norman, Bt., and King, E. J.

"Round Mystery Mountain".

London, Longman, Green and Co., 1935.

A graphic account of the difficulties of travel in the country which Waddington's men tried to tame in the 1860's.