Fort Langley

1827 = 1927

"A Century of Settlement"

CAIRN AND COMMEMORATIVE TABLET,
FORT LANGLEY, B. C.

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Unveiling of the plaque-bearing monument at Derby, site of the original H. B. fort, November 19, 1946. Left to right: Bruce A. McKelvie, Reeve Noel Booth, and Alex Houston.

FORT LANGLEY

1827 - 1927

A CENTURY OF SETTLEMENT
IN THE VALLEY OF
THE LOWER FRASER RIVER

By

DENYS NELSON,

FORT LANGLEY, B. C.

JULY, 1927.

DENYS NELSON
Died in St. Paul's Hospital, Vancouver, June 10, 1929.

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INTRODUCTION

Because of its great value to all who are interested in the history of this province, the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver deems it highly desirable to reprint the story of the Hudson's Bay forts at Langley, as produced by the late Denys Nelson in 1927.

Gathered from various sources, Mr. Nelson has given us the most pertinent facts in a little booklet of 32 pages, so that the many who would like to familiarize themselves with this history of the earliest fort in all of the Lower Mainland which was for many years the gateway to the rich fur trade with the interior of New Caledonia, should be able to gather such knowledge with ease.

For his service in thus doing, we who benefit thereby render to his memory grateful thanks, and in this second edition hand on to future generations a continuance of the praiseworthy work.

Some of those from whom Mr. Nelson received much of the information have, with him, passed to the Great Beyond, but "their works do follow them".

Subsequent research work by others has enriched the store of knowledge then set forth, and in this second edition the fruits of their labours are included. It is now possible, too, to correct some misconceptions in the original text, through the work of the late Dr. Robie L. Reid; from the letters of Dr. John McLoughlin as edited by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, and from the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. Quite possibly further additions may be made in future editions; we hope it may be so.

There were two main reasons for the establishment of Fort Langley; first, to head off the American traders whose ships were sailing up the Fraser, monopolizing the trade: and secondly, to provide a site where farm produce might be produced in abundance to feed the occupants of the various forts of the Company west of the Mountains.

When in 1824, Governor Simpson visited Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia, he reported that "the management shows an extraordinary predilection for European supplies without once looking at or considering the enormous cost it means" to get them. He declared that "corn in abundance might be procured at little expense at the door of every establishment. It has been said," he continued, "that farming is no branch of the fur trade, but I consider that every pursuit tending to lighten the burden of the trade is a branch thereof." [1] Two years later, in 1826, he wrote McLoughlin that "New Caledonia should be outfitted by way of the Fraser instead of the Columbia if the Fraser should be found navigable, on which point, according to the various reports, there can be no doubt." [2]

It was with these points in mind that an expedition which composed some men who had hunted over the area previously was despatched only eleven days after Governor Simpson had first arrived at Fort George. They were to explore not only for a fort site, but for a tract suitable for extensive farming operations as well. Thus it was that the expedition passed up the Nicomekl to Langley Prairie, thence overland to the Fraser. The Indians of the party who were chiefly interested in the building of a fort beside the waterway demurred because of the long portage, which was really the best route to examine the agricultural possibilities.

James McMillan was an old employee of the North West Company. This Company did not erect their forts so thoroughly as did the Hudson's Bay Company, hence, in 1839 James Murray Yale wrote Douglas on October 14, that "we have abandoned the old fort which was in a dilapidated condition and removed into a new fort a few miles up the river". Douglas had previously concurred with such procedure.

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[1] Introduction to McLoughlin Letters, H. B. Company Record No. 2, by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Librarian of University of B. C.

[2] Idem.

It was this second fort which was burned down on April 11, 1840. It had stood where now a sawmill stands, some short distance west of the main street of Fort Langley.

Notes in the memorandum of the expedition, written while the party was building the original fort, record that a friendly Indian chief, T'Shoshia, reported that the Indians were preparing to massacre the whites if they persisted in building the fort. On October 19, it records that "a war party of Cowichans returned from their expedition. They have murdered one man and a woman. The head of one of their victims was pendant at the bow of one of their canoes, presenting a spectacle as dismal and disgusting as can well be imagined—a spectacle the most revolting to humanity that this land of Savage Barbarism produces."[3]

It was under these circumstances that the fort was first built. Their first endeavour was to complete one of the bastions. It was completed by August 13, except for the roof of bark. Six days later the trench for the palisades was commenced, and on August 31, the second bastion was finished, except for the floor. The *Cadboro,* which had remained moored in the river to provide protection for the builders, left on September 18.[4]

Governor Simpson visited Langley in October of 1828, bringing with him Archibald McDonald, in whom he reposed full confidence as being able to develop the agricultural resources of the locality. During the preceding fall and winter the staff had most diligently cleared what land they could, and, having planted the "three fields" (mentioned on page 11) with potatoes, McDonald was able to harvest 2010 bushels. His predecessor had continued to clear the ground and plant up to July 8th.

When McDonald's wife joined him at Langley, she brought her step-son, Ranald, and her own two sons, Angus, born at Fort Okanagan in Washington on August 1, 1826, and Archibald, born at Thompson's River on February 3, 1828.[5] He was probably the first white child to be born in B. C.

Before McDonald left Langley in March of 1833, two other sons were born there, as told by Mr. Nelson. These five played together on the grassy sward at Old Fort Langley. Both parents were pious Christian people who paid strict attention to the proper upbringing of their offspring.

During the tenure of McDonald, the fur trade was at its best; his report says 2,000 beaver skins were collected in 1834, but this trade gradually declined as the beaver became less plentiful. The development of the salmon industry and of the farm superseded it, but it was not until the last fort had been built that both these endeavours reached their peak. The annual salmon runs had always been checked somewhat by the rapids above Yale, and countless thousands crowded the stream below that point. The facilities for packing were not really perfected until about 1843, and not for two years later was there sufficient salt available to preserve the catch. However, in 1846, 800 barrels were packed, part of which was sold in the Hawaiian Islands for $9.00 a barrel. In 1848, no less than 1,703 barrels were harvested from the river, and in 1850 the pack was 2,000 barrels. Some of this sold for 2 pounds, 10 shillings a barrel.[6]

Agriculture was expanded from the time of the building of the second fort; indeed it was so that the fort might be nearer the farm that it had been moved thence, in 1839. In 1845, there were 245 acres under crop and 20 men at work on the farm: 180 pigs, 15 head of horses and 95 head of cattle were there.[7]

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[3] The original memorandum is in the Provincial Archives at Victoria.

[4] Idem.

[5] *Washington Historical Quarterly,* No. 9, page 99.

[6] R. L. Reid in *B. C. Historical Quarterly,* April, 1937, page 80.

[7] Idem., p. 83.

W. H. Newton, having married Emmeline, daughter of John Tod, on September 30, 1856, became the father of Emmeline Newton, born within the present fort,[8] quite likely the first white child to be born there. The Findlay child mentioned on page 15 was born before this last fort was built. Jason Allard says definitely that "Mrs. Findlay was a Scotswoman".

Jason Allard wrote that without doubt it was the discoveries of James Houston of gold in quantity in 1857 near Kamloops that started the famous gold rush. Jason lived at Langley and Yale in 1858. Mr. Houston came to Langley soon after. His son Alexander lives today on the site of McMillan's original fort, and recently deeded to the municipality the ground on which the commemorating monument stands.

Early in 1858, some Victorians proposed to subdivide the land there, and advertised it for sale. Governor Douglas at once counteracted the move, declaring that no land had been sold to anyone there. They had named the place Derby, and this name Douglas accepted. He proclaimed that it would be the future capital of a new British Colony. Joseph Despard Pemberton surveyed it.

Richard Clement Moody had been appointed to command the Company of Royal Engineers about to be despatched from England to assist in the early development of the new colony. He first despatched a party of surveyors under Captain Parsons, who left on the *LaPlata* on September 2. They arrived at Victoria on October 29. The men were William McColl, James Ellan, Robert Armstrong, A. T. Breakenridge, Jonathan Brown, Robert Colston, Robert Giskirk, James Duffy, David Kennedy, Murdock McMillan, Alex Robertson, Peter J. Leach, John McClure, Thomas Lomax, John Meade, James Conroy, Henry C. Benney, James Shannon, George Dobbs, and Andrew Munro. George Dobbs deserted at San Francisco and Andrew Munro deserted at Sapperton.

A second party under Captain Grant sailed from Britain on September 17, and landed at Victoria on November 8th. They were builders, and included the following: Charles Eade, a second corporal, Henry Bruce, Walter Alexander, Fred Allen, Samuel Dawson, William Edwards, (alias Black Bill), Samuel Johnson, William Momstrey, (drowned at Harrison Rapids), Joseph Maynard, Lewis F. Bonson, Fred Thurgate, George Bowden, and William Byers.[9]

That Moody had decided against the site at Derby before he had left England is evident from a letter which Captain Grant sent to Governor Douglas, now in the Provincial Archives. In it Grant recommends "a site near the Pitt River, which is named by Colonel Moody in his instructions to me", and in which Grant recommends "that no buildings be commenced however temporary at Derby until a true site is vindicated for the Capital". However, the sale of lots was proceeded with, and Grant's crew of builders proceeded with the erection of a barracks. Two piles of earth and broken bricks today mark the spots where the main chimneys were built, one at either end.

To inspire confidence, Douglas called for tenders on December 1, 1858, for the erection of a parsonage, church, courthouse and gaol,[10] and these were built by E. L. Fell, under contract.[11] Considerable correspondence between the new rector and Governor Douglas resulted in an enlarged parsonage. Judge Begbie, who held court in the barracks in early March of 1859, criticized the courthouse plans which provided no jury-box and no stair to the upper floor. His letter is in the Provincial Archives.

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8 From family Bible record, now owned by W. H. Newton, of Port Hammond, B. C.

9 Lists supplied by Mr. Dare, late librarian of New Westminster Public Library.

10 Howay and Scholefield's *History of B. C.*, volume 2, page 61.

11 Fell correspondence in Provincial Archives of B. C.

When the main body of the Royal Engineers arrived at Esquimalt they were transferred to the *Eliza Anderson* because its owner offered a cheaper rate than was offered by the *Thames City* for the journey up to Derby.[12]

A letter from Moody to Douglas dated April 16 says: "I have sent the women and children with twelve men to the barracks at Langley, there they will remain for the present, under the charge of Assistant-Surgeon Mitchell. Dr. Seddall goes up with them, and returns to Sapperton.

You will be sorry to hear that one child is at the point of death, and not expected to survive the night. I have given orders that every care be taken of the poor little sufferer."[13]

The main party of Engineers, numbering over a hundred was landed at Sapperton to clear the site, the twelve men going to Derby to do what outside work might be required.

The little invalid was the child of Sapper Welsh, said to have been a tailor at New Westminster later. It was buried outside the present fort on the sloping ground north of it, and the remains were removed from there when the C.N.R. right-of-way was graded.

The church was first used when on May 13, 1859, Rev. W. Burton Crickmer preached the first sermon to the Royal Engineers. It now stands at the corner of Laity Road and the River Road at Maple Ridge. The courthouse was removed to a new site near the second fort, and was the first home of Otway Wilkie after his marriage in 1884.

And now, 120 years after the first settlement beside the Lower Fraser, we commend to the attention of the reader this second edition of Fort Langley, 1827-1927. "What is writ, is writ; would it were worthier."

GEORGE GREEN.

Vancouver, May, 1947.

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[12] Letter in *Victoria Colonist*, from R. C. Moody, April, 1859.

[13] Letter in Provincial Archives.

FORT LANGLEY

A Century of Settlement in the Valley of the Lower Fraser River.

AT the latter end of the month of July, 1827, the work of erecting the new post to be called Fort Langley was begun. The following paper is an attempt to collect together some information about the fort and its occupants during the century that has elapsed, in the hope that it may be of some assistance to those of the general public who feel interested but have not access to the different volumes whence these pages have been taken. Let us start at the beginning.

Before the fort . . . . What? Who were the first people to occupy the alluvial plain, the Delta of the Fraser?

The present occupants are classified as being members of the Cowichan group of the Salishan linguistic stock, speaking a single dialect, occupying the shores of the estuary, extending up the river as far as Spuzzum. There appear to have been about 21 of these tribes, who are collectively known as the "Halkomaylem."

With regard to their origin, it is the opinion of Prof. Hill Tout of Vancouver that the original elements of these tribes must have had a common home prior to their separation into the present sub-divisions. "To hold their own in a strange country," he says, "they must have been a populous band. We can well imagine that when they had driven out, exterminated or absorbed, such tribes as occupied the Delta upon their arrival, their numbers would compel them to separate."

It is supposed that small groups, heads of families, then separated themselves from the main body, sought locations along the river, and founded settlements. Of these tribal settlements, in the course of time, the most extensive and powerful became known as the Kwantlen*, who occupied or controlled more than half of the mainland Halkomaylem lands, from the territory of the Musqueams on the North Arm of the Fraser to the Hatzic, who dwell on the borders of the Nicomen Slough.

These people, the Kwantlen, made their head quarters upon the rising ground where New Westminster stands to-day. They called it Skaiametl, which may be pronounced like Esquimalt. Their summer camp and fishing ground was across the river at Kikait, at the southern approach to the railway bridge.

In addition, there were three other main settlements: Kwantlen, situated upon McMillan's Island, near Fort Langley; Skaiets, a village on the Stave river; and Wharnock, now called Whonnock, a few miles below the mouth of the Stave.

Such was the situation at the time of the first known white party to make the descent of the river, in 1808, headed by Simon Fraser. To-day this has been entirely altered.†

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*Spelling is that adopted by Prof. C. Hill Tout, British Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, 1902.

†See Prof. Hill Tout, B.A.A.S., 1902, and J.A.I., 1904, also Dr. Boaz, B.A.A.S., 1894.

In the 30's the Kwantlen abandoned their original home and settled under the shadow of the guns of the fort for protection. More peaceful than the upper coast Indians, the River tribes (the Stalo, as they often called themselves, which means "THE RIVER") were frequently raided by the warlike Yukeltaws from the Seymour Narrows. Their last raid, which was the cause of the Kwantlen seeking the aid of the traders at Langley, sent them back, stricken and dismayed. The Kwantlen fled to the fort; the traders loaded up their cannon with every available missile, trained them on the canoes which covered the river, and literally blew them out of the water, hundreds being killed or drowned. The tribe then made their headquarters near the fort, which was, at that time, at (modern) "Derby", and when the company moved to the present site, the tribe accompanied them and settled on McMillan's Island. This is their home to-day, and here the aged Chief Casimir passed away last June at an advanced age.

CHIEF CASIMIR

To-day the settlements and villages are gone, their names alone, in many cases, being preserved in the Reserves, set apart by the government for the Indians' use, the former tribal limits being in no way considered. The Indians have inter-married, and their language is being less and less spoken, Chinook or English taking its place, except among the old people.

THE FIRST WHITE MEN

SIMON FRASER

Late in May, 1808, Simon Fraser, a member of the North West Company, left the posts which he had established in New Caledonia, and with a party of men descended the river destined to bear his name. The object of the exploration was to decide whether or not the river was the Columbia, an important tributary of it, or an entirely new waterway.

On June 29th, at 4 p.m., the party reached Yale at the end of the canyons. Here they procured a canoe, and on the next morning commenced the last part of their arduous journey. Near Hope, Indians entertained them by dancing, a civility which was reciprocated, according to Staquoisit, a Kiwantlen friend of Jason Allard, who gave him information about these early days.

When they started down the river, according to this informant, "one of the men put a stick in his mouth and other sticks over

his shoulder and made funny sounds like music." When they stopped at Skwah, a village of the Chilliwack band, the Indians enioyed the music so much that they wanted to join in the dancing, too.

At Ruby Creek they met with evidences of the white man's handiwork—a copper kettle and an English axe. On July 2nd the party was apparently at Coquitlam, where trouble began with the natives, who showed thievish tendencies. They stole a smoking bag and, moreover, dogs did damage to the baggage.* The people became turbulent and the chief excited. However, they descended the North Arm and explored the village of Misquiame, where there was a building 150 feet long by 90 feet broad. They then returned to "the chief's village." As it was the month of July, this would be Kikait, modern Brownsville, their summer camp. Gabriel of Fort Langley has reported that his grandfather was present on this occasion, at this place, and heard the Indians discuss the question of attacking the party. Fraser's mission was now completed, and although his journal shows that he had intended to return again from the chief's village to the mouth of the river after procuring fresh provisions, the hostility of the natives was too threatening to allow of this being done. Therefore the party proceeded up the river at a good round pace, and they "continued all night in order to reach the next village before the war party." Statquoisit threw some light upon this hostility by saying that when the white men recovered their stolen goods they kicked the offenders. Braves do not like to be kicked, and the insult could be washed out only in blood. According to this informant, the chief did desire to make peace with the white men, and gave the young men presents to quieten them. Indeed, the chiefs seem to have been in a dilemma as to how to regard these white men. At times they were very civil, and invited Fraser to their houses and gave him coats of mail for gifts. They obtained the release of "Little Fellow," the guide who had been made a prisoner at Musqueam. But the young men made trouble, and without doubt the fate of the party hung in the balance on more than one occasion. Another piece of information given by Staquoisit tells of Fraser having fired his gun at some crossed sticks and knocking them down; then he offered to give the chief the gun if he could do the same, wherein he failed.

This part of the expedition over, Fraser passes out of our story. When the two great fur companies amalgamated, in 1821, he did not continue with them, but retired into private life. He is buried in the Catholic cemetery at St. Andrew's, near Cornwall, in Ontario, where the Hudson's Bay Company (to which he did not belong) has erected a monument to his memory.

The companies merged in 1821, and it was 1824 before the governor, George Simpson, found time to visit the Pacific coast in order to settle the new Superintendent, Dr. John McLoughlin, in his post at Astoria, then called Fort George. The future policy of the company had to be arranged. The Doctor is known to have strongly favoured the plan of building posts where the natives could come and trade along the coast, and this was the method adopted for many years. Coast trading under the North West Company had failed owing to the great number of vessels which came from all parts of the States, especially Boston, and ruined the coast trade, completely spoiling the Indians.* By 1810 the "Boston Peddlers," as their opponents called them, had monopolized the coast trade.†

This situation the Hudson's Bay Company determined to correct, and, with this in view, Simpson and McLoughlin made their plans.

James McMillan, a very intelligent man, a former member of the North West Company, was one of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company who met Simpson at

*See Fraser's Journal. Masson, 1889, and Howay, A.H.S. Papers, 1907-8.
†W.H.Q., 2, 261.

Boat Encampment in the autumn of 1824. He was placed in charge of an expedition to be sent in November of that same year to explore the shore line of Puget Sound, and the waters of the Fraser River.*

McMillan was accompanied by three clerks and an interpreter, 36 men and an Iroquoy Freehunter and his slave. The clerks were: Thomas McKay, step-son to Dr. McLoughlin, (the Doctor had married the widow of that McKay, who accompanied Alexander Mackenzie on his expedition to the coast in 1793), Francis Noel Annance†, and John Work.

JOHN WORK

It is to the Journal kept by Work that we are indebted for the account of this expedition. Work's family name was Wark, and it is said that owing to his commission for the Hudson's Bay Company being made out in the name of Work, he adopted that mode of spelling. That is the mode universally known, and owing to the exertions of Major G. G. Aitken, representative of British Columbia on the Geographic Board of Canada, the name of "Wark Point" at Victoria, which commemorates this important official, has been altered, more correctly, to "Work Point," within the last few months. The interpreter was Michael Laframbois, and the men were as follows: Piere L'Etang, Jas. Portneuf Abanaker, Alexis Aubuchon, Pierre Villandri, P. B. Proveau, Peter Wagner, F. H. Condon, Pierre Karagaragab, jr., Louis Shatakorata, jr., Wm. Johnston (Englishman), Segwin le Deranti, Cawano, jr., Louis Anawano, jr., Pierre Karaguana, jr., Chas. Jaundeau, Louis Diomilea, Andre Lonctoin; Chas. Rondeau, Pierre Patvin, Ettuni Oniager, Louis Hanatiohe, jr., Louis Vivet, Peo Bean (Islander), Thos. Toyanel (Islander), Thos. Zawaiton (Islander), Jos. Loui Abanaker, Andre Le Chappel, J. B. Dubian, Joseph Despard, Leo Depuis, Jacques Patvin, Louis Shorakorta (Islander), Joseph Grey (Islander), Basil Pioner, Momonta (Islander), and Cannon (American). The Freehunter is said to have been taken along owing to his being acquainted with the coast line for part of the way. The voyage was to be made in three boats.

They left Fort George on Thursday, November 18, 1824, at 1:15. On Tuesday, November 30th, Pierre Charles, a trader, who had been with the Indians for some time, joined the party. He became well-known later on, for, while he was a servant, he was considered a valuable man, being very versatile. He was a great hunter and guide, keeping the parties with which he was engaged supplied with game. In 1841, Wilkes, of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, visited Nisqually and secured the services of Pierre Charles, who was then living in retirement at Cowlitz, as guide for the Johnson party over the Cascade Mountains. It was Monday, December 13th, before they entered Mud Bay and began to ascend the little river Nicomekl. The Indians who guided the party were somewhat averse to the route and would have preferred to go by way of Point Roberts, but they said that the stream led to a portage to the Coweechan river, as they

*Note by J.B.T. & T.C.E. to Thompson's Narrative. Champ. ed., pp. 415-16.
†Annance is spelled Annanour in the W.H.Q.

termed the Fraser. The stream was blocked with driftwood, through which the Indians had cut passages for their canoes, hardly wide enough for the white man's bateaux.

The portage was commenced on Tuesday, December 14th, boats and baggage being carried that day for 3970 yards, a little more than half the total distance. The country is now called Langley Prairie, and they described it as being rich, swampy soil, and abounding in beaver.

On Wednesday, the 15th, they reached the Salmon river, the end of the portage, covering another 3930 yards, and making a total distance of 7910 yards. Mr. Stanley Towle, of Jardine, says that the spot where the British Columbia Electric Railway trestle bridge stands near Jardine station was called in his young days "The Portage," while a similar name is recorded on the Nicomekl at the back of the Michaud farm.

On Thursday, the 16th, the party embarked at 11 a.m. on the Salmon river, reaching the Fraser at one o'clock. They spent Friday, the 17th, in proceeding up the Fraser as far as Hatzic Slough, where they spent the night at the mouth of the river, now confined by the Canadian Pacific Railway embankment and the pumping station. They occupied themselves in getting acquainted with the natives. On the morrow, the 18th, they started the return trip, this time entirely by water. They passed the mouth of the Pitt River on Sunday, but without naming it, or recording any names at all, but in the Journal for 1827 we read that they marked on this occasion, in 1824, two trees "H.B.C.", on the south side of the Fraser river. Point Roberts and Birch Bay were passed on December 20th, and the leaders arrived at Fort George on Thursday, December 30th.

This, in rough outline, is the itinerary of the 1824 expedition.*

A few months later, Dr. McLoughlin moved his headquarters to a new location up the Columbia River, which he called Fort Vancouver, destined to be the capital of the company on the Pacific coast for the next 20 years. His policy being now settled, another expedition was soon sent, this time from Fort Vancouver to the Fraser river, to select a site and establish a trading post to be called Fort Langley.

On Wednesday, June 27th, 1827, James McMillan, who had headed the party of 1824, left Fort Vancouver with two boats early in the morning. He was to be assisted by the schooner "Cadboro," commanded by Lieut. Aemilius Simpson, who picked up the party later on in the expedition. McMillan was accompanied by Francois Noel Annance, who had been with him on the former expedition; Donald Manson and George Barnston, all clerks. In addition, there were 21 men, whose names were: Amable Arquoith, James Baker, Louis Boisvert, Oliver Bouchard, Pierre Charles, Como (Sandwich Islander), Joseph Cornoyer, Jean Bte Ettiers, Jean Bte Dubois, Dominique Faron, John Kennedy, Anawiskum dit Macdonald, Peopeoh (Sandwich Islander), Antoine Pierrault, Jacques Pierrault (2), Francois Piette dit Faniant, Simon Pomondean, Louis Satakarata dit Rabaska, Laurent Sauve dit Laplante, Francois Xavier Tarihonya, and Abraham Vincent. This list is according to the "Journal of the Voyage from Fort Vancouver to Fraser's River and of the Establishing of Fort Langley, commencing the 27th June, 1827, and carried up to February 17th, 1828." Who wrote this Journal is somewhat of a mystery. Prof. W. Sage is of the opinion that the handwriting is that of McMillan himself, and the archivists are inclined to agree with him. According to Miss Russell, who is in charge of that department, however, there is certain internal evidence, such as McMillan being referred to in the third person, which suggests some other of the personnel being the recorder. The Journal is preserved in the Archives at Victoria.

On Saturday, July 21st, the party anchored a mile within the mouth of the Fraser.

*W. H. Q.. 3, 200, T. C. Elliott.

Two names are mentioned in the account of the expedition. On Sunday, July 23rd, they mention "Point Garry" and on Tuesday the 24th they pass "the Hudson Bay Company's trees" and the "Quoittle or Pitt's River." This establishes the name of Pitt River as one of the oldest names in the Fraser Valley, although we are still in the dark as to the reason for the selection.

It was Thursday, July 26th, that McMillan selected the site for the fort, which was on the piece of land below the mouth of the Salmon river, on the south bank of the Fraser. To-day the place is opposite to the A. & L. logging railway terminus above Port Haney and is called Derby.

The horses were landed on Monday, July 30th, and work at clearing the land proceeded apace, which they record as being a laborious task. McMillan later wrote to his friend, John McLeod, that the first stick for the fort was cut on August 1st, 1827.

Work proceeded rapidly, and six weeks later, on the morning of Tuesday, September 18th, the "Cadboro" left the party and sailed down the river.

The new post was named FORT LANGLEY after Thomas Langley, a prominent member and stockholder of that name, who was associated with Sir J. Pelly in the management of the company.*

Life was not without its dangers by any means. Rumors soon spread to Fort Vancouver that Fort Langley had been captured and McMillan and his party massacred. Dr. McLoughlin was so far inclined to credit it that he was preparing to send a despatch east with the news when it was contradicted.†

In January, 1828, however, the express from Fort Langley to Fort Vancouver was waylaid by the Clallums of Puget Sound, and Alex. McKenzie and four men were murdered. Justice, swift and sure, promptly followed, which was absolutely necessary to preserve the rest from a like fate. A party under the command of Alex. R. McLeod, C.T., was despatched from Fort Vancouver on June 17th. The party included Frank Ermatinger, who wrote an account of the expedition, and J. M. Yale, who was to be associated for so many years with Fort Langley in the near future. The village of the Clallums was destroyed and the murder avenged. Later, in the same year, 1828, Governor George Simpson paid another visit to the coast. Travelling by canoe, he made the journey from York Factory to Fort Langley by way of the Peace River, and thence to Fort Vancouver.

At Fort Kamloops he picked up Archibald McDonald, who had succeeded John McLeod in that post in 1826. In 1828, McDonald had been made a Chief Trader, and in October accompanied the governor on his journey to Fort Langley. He kept the Journal on this expedition, and records that on Friday, October 10th, 1828, the party met the tide from the Pacific Ocean at 3:30 in the afternoon. They passed Work's River on the right at 5 o'clock, a name by which the Stave River was evidently first known, and given apparently by the expedition of 1824, although not noted in their Journal. Simpson arrived at Fort Langley at 8 o'clock precisely, where he found McMillan, together with Annance, Manson and 20 men.

The Fort Langley Journal, already referred to, records under the date of Saturday, October 11th: "About 8 o'clock last night we had a sudden alarm of canoes and singing down the river, and in a few minutes after had the agreeable surprise of taking the Governor-in-Chief by the hand. He was accompanied from York Factory by Mr.

*See 'Ranald MacDonald," Lewis, p. 99, and also Canadian North West, Oliver, p. 223.
†Letter from William Todd to Ed. Ermatinger, W.H.Q., 1, 257.

Chief Trader Archibald McDonald, Doctor Hamlyn, and 20 men, exclusive of Mr. James Murray Yale and 7 men from New Caledonia and Thompson's River. They left the mouth of that river on the morning of the 9th, and to there took them from Kamloops House a day and a half. It would appear the river is much worse than any idea we could have found of it; and indeed the practicability of opening a regular communication with the Interior most doubtful." The Journal continues (October 12th and 15th): "Since the Governor's arrival here, it has been settled upon that Mr. McMillan will be allowed to avail himself of his rotation of furlough next season; and, as a change of this kind may be attended with danger and inconvenience in the Spring, he now accompanies the Governor to Fort Vancouver, and Mr. McDonald assumed the charge of this place, keeping Mr. Yale in the room of Mr. Manson, and the complement of men reduced from 20 to 17 . . . . .continued by Mr. Archibald McDonald." The first entry by McDonald is Thursday, October 16th, 1828.*

A remarkable feature of this journey must have been the piper, Colin Fraser, who accompanied the governor, clad in full regalia of kilts, sporran, plaid, shoon and pipes. He played on all important occasions, such as entering or leaving a post, taking his Scottish hearers back again to their homes they had not seen since boyhood, but the Fort Langley Journal makes no notation of this.

After an inspection of the fort, the governor and his party proceeded on their way, taking with them James McMillan, who was replaced by Archibald McDonald and Donald Manson, replaced by James Murray Yale, while the number of men at the fort was reduced to 17, as already noticed above.

The following description is given by McDonald in his journal of the Governor's journey: "The fort is 135 x 120 feet with two good bastions, and a gallery four feet wide all round. A building of three compartments for the men, a small log house of two compartments in which the gentlemen themselves reside,, and a store, are now occupied, besides which there are two other buildings, one a good dwelling house with an excellent cellar and a spacious garret. A couple of well-finished chimneys are up, and the whole inside is now ready for wainscoating and partitioning. Four large windows are in front, and one in each end, and one, with a corresponding door, in the back. The other is a low building with only two square rooms, with a fireplace in each, and a kitchen adjoining made of slat. The out-door work consists of three fields, each planted with 30 bushels of potatoes, and looks well. The provisions shed, exclusive of table store, is furnished with 3000 dried salmon, 16 tiers salted salmon, 36 cwt. of flour, 2 cwt. of grease, and 30 bushels of salt."

Archibald McDonald, who took charge of Fort Langley as its second chief, in October, 1828, was born at Leeckhentium, on the south shore of Loch Leven, Glencoe, Appin, in North Argyleshire, Scotland, on February 3rd, 1790. He was well educated, and is said to have studied the rudiments of medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He became a member of Lord Selkirk's Colony at Red River and assumed a considerable share in the management of its affairs. This later led to important posts with the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1824 he was one of the clerks on the Thompson River district, and, as already mentioned, succeeded McLeod at Kamloops in 1826, and McMillan at Fort Langley in 1828. While at Langley, we are told that he inaugurated the business of salting and curing salmon for the market, and in 1833 he introduced to the notice of the company the idea of raising flocks and herds on a commercial scale on the Pacific coast. This was the origin of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. In 1823 he married a daughter of the famous chief Com-com-ly. She died next year, after giving

*Letter from Miss A. M. Russell, Pac. N.W. Hist. Dept., Prov. Lib. Victoria.

ARCHIBALD MCDONALD

birth to their son Ranald. McDonald married a second time, in 1825, to Jane Klyne, who survived him, daughter of Michael Klyne, postmaster at Jasper's House. Of the 13 children Jane bore him two were born at Fort Langley. Alexander, born October 28th, 1830, who died July 7th, 1875, at Moose Factory, Hudson Bay; and Allen, born May 19th, 1832, and died November 28th, 1891, at Winnipeg, Manitoba. Archibald always spelled his name McDonald, but his family used the clan form MacDonald. He retired from service in 1844 and died at St. Andrews, on the Ottawa river, January 15th, 1853. On his gravestone is recorded: "One of the Pioneers of Civilization in Oregon."*

McDonald remained in charge of Fort Langley until March, 1833, with James Murray Yale as his clerk and ultimate successor. Hard work was necessary for the rebuilding of the coast trade. The "Boston Peddlers" had it all their own way for many years, yet, in 1831, Archibald was able to write that "in the face of two vessels our trade is not 150 skins less than the great returns of the year before. If the Americans are off this year, I hope things will be still better."†

Two years later, shortly before he left, he wrote: "Here, this year, in the face of three American vessels, we collected 2000 skins.††" His letters disclose the fact that in 1831 the small deficit in the skins was more than made up by 220 barrels of salmon. He was then "preparing from 200 to 300 barrels to be at the salmon immediately, in the commencement of the season. "A cooper is to be sent to him, he adds, but he has not seen anything of him at the time of writing.*†" In 1833 the name of James Rindale is recorded at Nisqually House as having come there from Fort Langley, where he had been the cooper, but had to quit owing to ill health. He is described as being an educated man, being able to write a letter to Dr. Tolmie, then recently come out to the Pacific coast, on the occasion of a serious accident to the hunter and guide, Pierre Charles. Another man was sent from Nisqually to take his place, but the name was not mentioned.‡ The barrel industry became an important part of the Langley work, and the Stave River is said to derive its name from the fact that the material for the barrels was largely obtained from that vicinity.

Again, in 1832, McDonald writes to McLeod that Fort Langley was up from 1400 to 2500 beaver, and adds that "our salmon, for all the contempt entertained for everything out of the routine of beaver at York Factory, is close upon 300 barrels, and I have descended to oil and blubber, too, though not on your large scale, so that altogether, whatever others may think of Fraser's River, I am well satisfied with its proceeds myself . . . . ‡‡"

*W.H.Q., 9, 93 and also "Ranald McDonald." p. 79, both by W. S. Lewis.
†W.H.Q., 1, 259.
††Ranald MacDonald, p. 8., Lewis.
*†W.H.Q., 1, 259.
‡W.H.Q., 6, 186.
‡‡W.H.Q., 1, 266.

There was a seamy side to the life as well. On February 20, 1831, he records, writing to a friend in the East, " I have buried two men. Jno. Kennedy, who was unwell but still able to walk about, entered the kitchen one day in the month of April and dropped dead on the floor. In the month of August, another of them (Therien) ran out of the fort in sound health, and was brought in a corpse in a very few minutes. His case was an accident—shot by one of the guns of the Vancouver." This vessel was built at Fort Vancouver in 1826, and was 150 tons burden. She is described as being poorly constructed and a losing proposition from the first. She was wrecked on Rose Spit in the Queen Charlotte Islands by her commander, Capt. Duncan, in the spring of 1834.* The old graveyard where these men and many others lie is on a knoll amongst the trees which line the modern Allard road, near Mr. Brouse's farm. Few know its location to-day, but Jason Allard knows it well.

Life brings its responsibilities, and McDonald was a high principled man, who had no wish to shirk them. He had his family to think of. On February 20th, 1833, he writes that he has been directed to report to Fort Vancouver early in March. J. M. Yale is to succeed him at Langley, with 12 men, and a cooper as assistants. This staff McDonald thought sufficient, but, as a matter of fact, Yale had to part with 4 out of his 13 the following May, since they were required for service at the new post of Nisqually House.† Archibald leaves Langley with some regret, for it is, he says, a snug, comfortable place, but where he finds it is high time to get his boys to school. "God bless them—I have no less than five of them, all in a promising way."

As has been shown by his letters, he was devoted to garden work, and he found that the farm at Langley made life more tolerable and increased his comfort. "Four milch cows in already; killed three pigs this winter and three more fattening."‡

On leaving Langley, he went to Fort Vancouver, and, after selecting the site and laying the foundation of Nisqually House in June, 1833, he accompanied William Connolly of New Caledonia up the Columbia River in July that same year.

James Murray Yale, the third chief, who now presided over Fort Langley, retained that position for over 25 years. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company about 1815 when but a boy, and did not receive any promotion until 21 years later. He was of small stature, and even after his death was known as "Little Yale." In later years he afforded an amusing contrast to the huge stature of James Douglas, who was of noble proportions, a fact of which Yale seems to have been painfully aware. But, while small, he was strong and courageous, and has been described as "recklessly brave," which is supposed to have been the cause of his slow promotion, as being a source of danger to the company. Soon after the time that Yale entered the service of the company, John Clark, with 100 men, set out for the Rocky Mountains and beyond, for the purpose of establishing new posts for the Hudson's Bay Company. Disappointment in food supplies, on which they had depended, reduced the party to starvation, although their rivals were in the same district with supplies, which they would share with them only on the condition that they gave up their service with the Hudson's Bay Company. They refused, and an Indian reported that there was food to be obtained at his camp, some way off. Some of the party started out, Yale going along with them. One after another fell by the wayside, overcome with starvation, says Bancroft, who got the

*W.H.Q., 7, 184.
†W.H.Q., 6, 180.
‡W.H.Q., 1, 266.

tale from A. C. Anderson, and at length little Yale's legs began to fail him, too. He had greatly endeared himself to a stalwart old voyageur, who encouraged him in every way to keep moving. The boy finally threw himself down on the snow and bade his friend leave him to his fate. Finding that all his efforts were in vain, and the boy could not keep up with him, the French Canadian, "swearing as only a French Canadian can swear," exclaiming "Sacre! Sacre! Misere! c'est trop de valeur! Embarque! Embarque!", by which expressions Canadians were wont to tell little people to get upon their backs; he seized the lad, swung him over his shoulder, and carried him to safety. The Indian women in tears, rushed forward, carried the unconscious boy into the camp, rubbed his limbs and treated him as one of their own children.††

Life in New Caledonia was hard for Yale. Another tale recorded by Bancroft is based on a description by John Tod of a dinner party after coalition in 1821. He writes with irony of the situation, where men who had been deadly enemies only a few months earlier were now sitting side by side. "I allude," he says in one note, "to the man who some years before in Peace River had tried to poison poor little Yale, but could not succeed, for so invulnerable had the integuments of the latter's stomach become by long acquaintance with the tough fare of that inhospitable stepmother, New Caledonia, that the diabolical attempt altogether failed.*

The district over which Yale had control reached from Whidbey Island to Millbank Sound, and all the inhabitants within that era were expected to trade at Fort Langley. Another post was planned to be placed at Whidbey Island where a site was surveyed by Mr. Heron for a new post in August, 1833, near to Ebey's Landing and Fort Casey, as the site would be described to-day.† In December, Ouvrie, one of the men, was sent with a small party to break ground for the post, and, owing to a storm arising, Mr. Heron went to their relief, leaving Pierre Charles in charge at Nisqually House. On his return he found, to use his own words, that he "had been sadly deceived in Pierre Charles," and the place was in a bad condition. Having no one else to depend upon, he reluctantly abandoned the design of an establishment upon Whidbey's Island. It is suggested, and perhaps is remotely possible, that, had he carried out this plan, San Juan and the adjacent territory might have been secured to the British Empire.‡

From 1833 the company was experimenting along agricultural lines, under the guidance of Doctor McLoughlin, urged along by Archibald McDonald, who proposed that a subsidiary concern should be formed for the purpose of raising cattle and farm produce in the West on a commercial scale. It was feared, however, that this would tend to interfere with the main business of fur trading and the matter was dropped. At the same time the company found that it was essential to produce such large quantities of farm produce for the consumption of the staffs at the various posts that certain establishments were turned into small farms, of which Nisqually House was an example.

In February, 1834, John Work wrote to Frank Ermatinger that the quantity of grain that the doctor was raising at Fort Vancouver was enormous.

By 1838 the agricultural business had become so great that the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was formed to handle that end of the trade. While not identical with the Hudson's Bay Company, it was so closely allied to it that to all intents and purposes it was the same concern. The officers of the fur company were in many cases also those of the Agricultural Company as well.‡‡

††Ban., B. C., 171 N.
*Bancroft, B.C., 79.
†W.H.Q., 6, 194.
‡W.H.Q., 6, 272.
‡‡V. L. Farrar, W.H.Q., 10, 205.

On February 6th, 1839, an agreement was entered into with the Russian American Company whereby the company leased the "pan handle portion" of Alaska, the rental to be paid in farm produce. The result was that Fort Langley entered into the agricultural scheme on a large scale. For many years their farm at Langley Prairie, occupying the lands between the Salmon and Nicomekl Rivers, was famous. The first ploughing is said to have been done by Etienne Pepin, known to people still resident in the district. This was abolished after the termination of the Russian agreement, and in 1877 the land was sub-divided and sold in lots.

Ovid Allard joined the staff at Fort Langley in 1839. He had entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1834, having spent his childhood at Lachine with an uncle, who was a former official of the company. Sent westward with a party by way of the Great Lakes to the buffalo country on the plains, they remained there for five years, with occasional visits to Fort Boise, which they helped to build. Trapping and trading occupied their time, meeting at Rendezvous for the exchange of furs and replenishing of their outfits. These were momentous events and lasted a week, with sports that were rough but suited to the times. Douglas, at Fort Vancouver, was preaching economy, and staffs were being reduced or re-organized; consequently in 1839 Allard was sent to Langley as Indian trader, a post which needed tact and diplomacy.

In April, 1840, shortly after his arrival, fire completely destroyed Fort Langley. This was a serious blow to the company, which had begun to look more and more to Langley for salt supplies for the other posts, and the season was now too far advanced to make other arrangements in that way. However, in the end an agreement was made with the Russians whereby permission was granted to purchase venison in their territory.*

Allard would in later years tell his family about the fire and the events of that catastrophe. Mrs. Findlay, the wife of the guard at the entrance to the fort, was in charge of the dairy, and was very proud of her butter. This was her chief concern during the fire. At the time great fears were felt lest the gunpowder should explode. This was stored in barrels within the fort, and was very dangerous. While being removed to a safer place, Mrs. Findlay ran about appealing to the men to save the cream, and, in despair, ran into the burning buildings herself and brought it out. Not until that important matter had been attended to did it occur to her that her infant child was still within the blazing structure, and, while her offspring was being rescued, the fire reached the cream and ruined it. "Oh! dear," cried Mrs. Findlay, "What a fine batch of butter will never be made now!"†

On April 22nd, 1840, Douglas left Cowlitz for Nisqually House and there learned of the loss of Langley. He proceeded thither on the S. S. Beaver and arrived at Fort Langley to find Yale hard at work rebuilding the place upon a new site, the present site of Fort Langley, some 2½ miles further up the Fraser River. He loaned some 20 men from the Beaver to expedite the rebuilding for a short time and then went on his way up the coast.

In August, 1841, the fort had the solace of a religious visit, for the Rev. Modeste Demers, one of the pioneer Catholic priests on the north-west coast, came here on a visit from Fort Vancouver. Afterwards he became Bishop of Vancouver's Island. He records that he was very courteously entertained by Mr. Yale and found work to do among the French Canadians, as well as the Scotsmen, besides the Sandwich Islanders or Kanakas, and an Iroquois.

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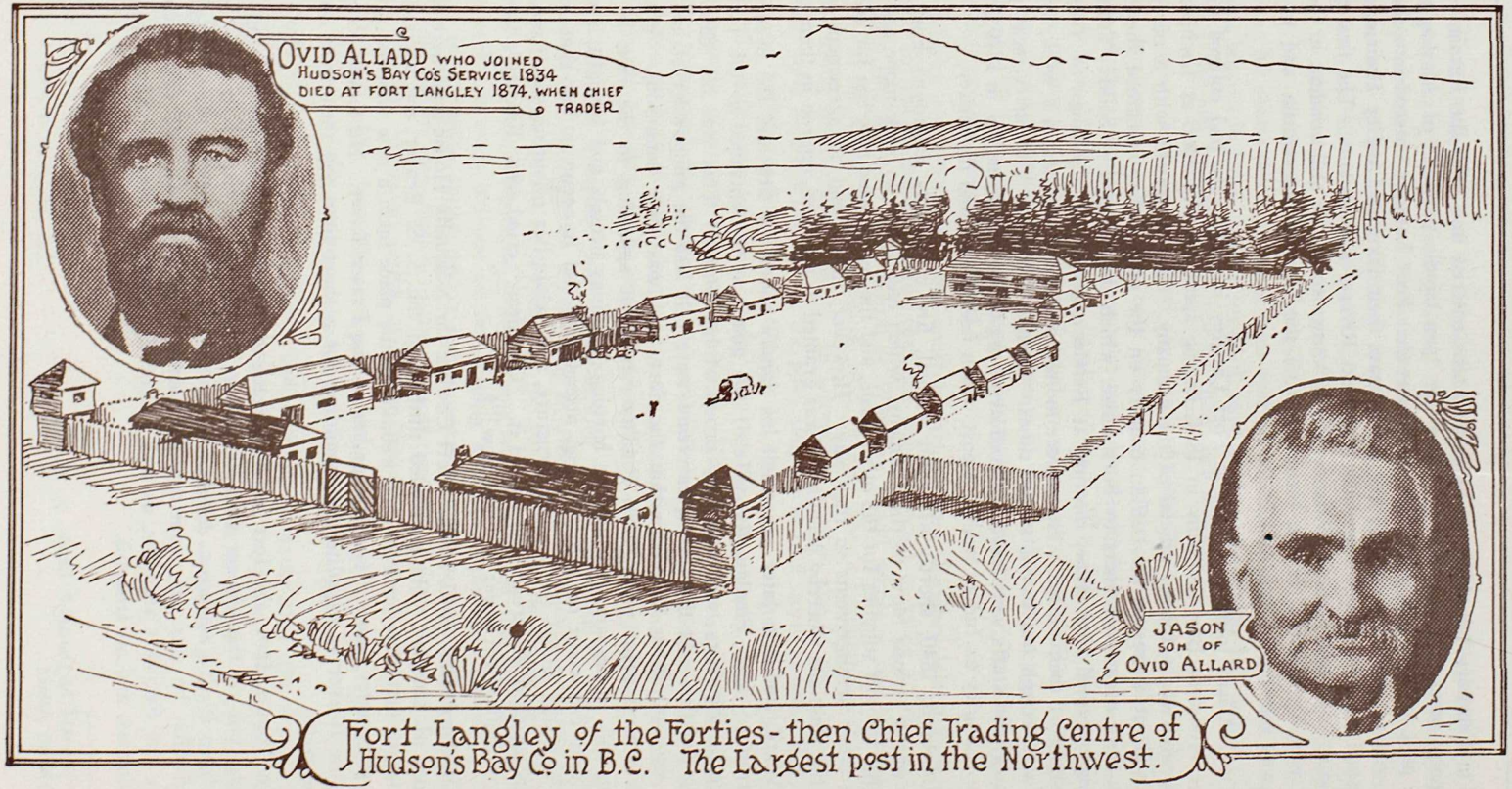
*"Ranald McDonald," Lewis, p. 99.
†Jason Allard.



Fort Langley of the Forties - then Chief Trading Centre of Hudson's Bay Co in B.C. The Largest post in the Northwest.

In 1846 the Treaty of Washington created the boundary between the possessions of Great Britain and the United States at the 49th parallel, west of the Rocky Mountains. While in theory the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to trade with freedom south of the line was respected, in practise it became imperative to secure a route to the interior, other than that by the Columbia River.

Victoria had been established on Vancouver Island in 1843, with an eye to future contingencies, and the company decided to make Fort Langley the point of transshipment. But to this plan there was a great obstacle in the rapids in the river Fraser and the terrible canyons.

Business was excellent in 1846. In addition to the vast fur trade, the Fraser River fisheries were now exporting annually from one to two thousand barrels of salted salmon.* It is also to be noted that "since 1851, when fresh salmon sold at San Juan Island at the rate of 60 for a $4.00 blanket, smoked salmon cured at Langley was worth in the Sandwich Islands $16.00 a barrel, the fisheries of British Columbia have given rise to one of the leading industries of the province."†

To solve the problems of transportation from Fort Langley to the Interior, Mr. A. C. Anderson left Fort Alexandria in May, 1846, with five companions. He made an exploration for a route travelling by way of The Fountain, Lillooet and Harrison Lake, and arrived at Langley on May 24th. He condemned the route as useless for the company's purposes.†† Leaving the fort again on May 29th, he accompanied a party from the fort, which was ascending the Fraser to establish a salmon fishery on the banks of the Chilliwack (now Vedder) River. The abandoned remains of this establishment were seen and recorded by Mayne in the year 1859.*†

On reaching the mouth of the Tlackullum, just below the Coquahalla River where the town of Hope now stands, Anderson and his party, with an Indian chief for guide, "plunging into the Cascade Range, hoped for the best."‡

The Indians did not at all approve of this move of the white man, and Blackeye, of Kamloops, reported to Anderson that Pahallok, chief of the Fraser Indians, had attempted to persuade him to mislead the party, and so discourage the making of the route.‡‡

Anderson wrote to the Board of Management at Fort Vancouver on June 21st, and again on June 23rd, pronouncing practicable the route by the way of the Coquahalla and Nicola lakes, but that it would be available only between July and September, owing to the heavy snow.

Douglas did not approve of this plan, and, at his wish, again on May 19th, 1847, Anderson set out from Kamloops with five men and travelled up the Coldwater River and across the Cascade Mountains, and eventually reached the Fraser near to Spuzzum, near the site of the suspension bridge, reaching Langley on May 29th.

On June 1st they departed, taking with them a large Northwest coast canoe, with which Anderson proposed to test the navigability of the rapids. In course of time he arrived at Forts Kamloops and Alexandria.

Anderson himself expressed a preference for the way by Kequeloose, near the present site of the bridge, if the rapids could be overcome. His suggestion was that the

*Ban., B. C., 132.
†Ban., B. C., 748.
††Howay. Raison d'etre, etc., p. 53.
*†Mayne, "Four Years in V. I. and B. C., p. 59.
‡Ban., B. C. 162.
‡‡Ban., B. C., 165.

Annual Brigade should not leave Alexandria before May 25th, timing their departure so as to reach Langley about June 20th, to admit of a delay of two days there, and to depart about the first of July, a day or two later than the brigade usually left Vancouver by the then existing route.

While these explorations were taking place, things were becoming more impossible than ever on the Columbia river. Matters came to a head when, in November, 1847, the shocking "Whitman massacre" took place at Waiilatpu, near Walla Walla. Peter Skene Ogden, the Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Trader, then at Fort Vancouver, by sheer

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force of his personality, effected the rescue of the prisoners, numbering about sixty altogether.* This affair no doubt hastened the inevitable, and in 1848 word went forth to the various posts that they must break their way through to Fort Langley at all costs, and that their supplies for the ensuing year would await them there.†

Bateaux, capable of carrying about three tons, like those in use on the Columbia River, were constructed at Langley for the purpose of carrying goods for trading with

*See P. S. Ogden, by Elliott, Ore. Hist., Quart. XI., 3, 1910.
†Ban., B. C., 173.

the Indians, and a new post was erected on the Fraser just below the rapids, and named Fort Yale, in honour of J. M. Yale, still in charge of Fort Langley. H. N. Peers received the orders, but Ovid Allard seems to have actually done the work.

The attempt was made in June, 1848. Three brigades, from New Caledonia, Thompson River and Colville, respectively, took part, numbering fifty men and 400 horses, under the command of Donald Manson and A. C. Anderson. The trip was made, it is true, but the difficulties were so great and the loss so heavy that the route was no sooner tried than at once abandoned. One of the company was so overcome by the hardships that he committed suicide, and was buried near the track at (now) Chapman's Bar.* The route was not quite that intended by Anderson, who had proposed making Kequeloose (the suspension bridge site) the horse station, but the rapids proved too dangerous for this to be done, and Yale had to be built below them.

Since all this focussed around Fort Langley, the post of transhipment, it seems pertinent to include in this paper this rather minute description of the efforts made to link the fort with the interior in the early days. It is quite clear that prior to Anderson's explorations there was no known practicable route to New Caledonia from the Pacific Coast north of the line.

While Anderson was doing all this work, Yale had sent his son-in-law, H. N. Peers, from Langley in the summer of 1847 to take a second look at the Cascade Mountains, and a more favourable report was made. Anderson now strongly favored the adoption of some such route. In the fall of 1848. therefore, James Douglas gave orders for the erection of another fort at the junction of the Coquahalla and Fraser Rivers, the name of which breathed an inspiration and a prayer, "Fort Hope." The post was established, but the trail was not completed in time for the brigade of 1849, which, perforce, had to descend the Fraser canyons again. But on the return journey, on arriving at Hope, the whole Brigade, reinforced by men from the fort, set to work in dead earnest, and pushed the trail across the mountains, which remained the main route for travel until the construction of the government road in the Colonial Days.

The arrival of the Brigade was a fine sight, and inspired many who saw it to write enthusiastically about the scene. "A fine sight was the Brigade with its hundreds of horses with no broken hacks in the train, but every animal in its full beauty of form and colour, and all so tractable."†

The year 1849 witnessed, also, the removal of the company's headquarters to Fort Victoria and the formation of the colony of Vancouver Island. This affects Fort Langley only indirectly, but an incident, typical no doubt of many, may be referred to here. Captain James Cooper, an Englishman, entered the service of the Company in 1844, and commanded the bark "Columbia" at one period. Owing to ill health he left the sea and started farming on a large scale on Vancouver Island, taking up land at Metchosin. He brought out an iron vessel from England in sections, which were "assembled" at Victoria, and, with Thomas Blenkhorn as partner, proposed trading with the Indians. In 1852 the partners came up the Fraser to the Katsey‡ Indians, now Hammond, and bought cranberries and potatoes for the San Francisco market. Cranberries were plentiful in the Delta, and Cooper purchased a barrel for 75c, to be sold later for $1.00 a gallon. Cooper had, however, relied upon being able to procure his barrels, so necessary for this purpose, at Fort Langley, where they were made extensively for the salmon industry. He estimated that the cost to the company would be about 30c each. The company, however, strongly disapproved of the stranger poaching upon their preserves, and would

*Howay, Raison d'etre, etc., 56.
†Malcolm McLeod.
‡Pronounced Kate-sey.

only sell 100 barrels for $3.00 each cash.* Douglas furthermore sent orders to Langley to purchase all further berries so that no such matter would occur again. Jason Allard's father, Ovid Allard, was still Supervisor and Indian trader, and, when Yale was smarting under Douglas' rebuke for neglect of the company's interests, he in turn laid the blame upon the trader, Allard. Jason relates that Yale kept closely to the officer's quarters, where he maintained a number of fierce dogs, so fierce that more than once Allard had to shoot one when visiting the house to get the key to the store, to which, as trader, he had access every day. Shortly after the affair of the cranberries, Allard shot Yale's favourite dog, and soon afterwards found himself transferred to Victoria. In March, 1853, he was again transferred to Nanaimo, the new mining centre for the company. Here he took his family, but we will not accompany him thither.

In 1851, Mr. Pemberton, a surveyor, came to the colony of Vancouver Island, and brought with him Mr. W. H. Newton, as chainman. Not liking the work, Mr. Newton entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and was sent to Langley as clerk, where he remained during the fifties, and took charge of the fort upon the departure of Mr. Yale. His widow, now Mrs. Mohun, is still residing at Victoria, having married Newton in 1857. Life at the fort in these early days must have had some attractions, since men stayed there for so many years without apparent complaint. Hard work they did not mind; poor pay (as to-day it would be regarded) was no jection. On the whole, they seem to have been happy in their work. Jason Allard was born at the fort in the house of the Indian Trader, his father, on September 8th, 1848. He was thus only five years of age when the family removed to Nanaimo, but he was back again at Langley in his tenth year, a sharp lad, and conditions in the early part of 1858 were much the same, no doubt, as previously. Few would anticipate the tremendous changes the fates had in store for Langley and the Mainland.

Based upon his own knowledge, and the stories of his father, Jason tells us something of the life at Langley in the early days. There were employed there French Canadians from the East, Scotchmen, Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders (or Kanakas as they were called), and native Indians. All the employees lived within the fort, except the Indians. The work included that of farmers, boat-builders, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, huntsmen, trappers and boatmen. All work started at 6 a.m. and ceased at 6 p.m., rain or shine, and kept at the work all the year around except for a half-holiday on Saturdays, which meant scrubbing quarters. At noon on Saturday the men got a gill of rum rationed out to them, and later on non-drinkers did a great trade. Fancy shirts, silk handkerchiefs and tobacco were the medium of exchange. Inter-marriage with the Indians was greatly encouraged by the company, as it tended to promote the safety of the fort and encouraged trade. At first the Indian mode of marriage sufficed, but, after the arrival of the priests, that was changed. Rev. Father Demers has been mentioned as visiting the fort in 1841, from Fort Vancouver, while visits are recorded of Rev. Father Lemfrit in 1852, and Rev. Father Lootens in 1856, both from Victoria. Yale was particular in getting his men married into good Indian families.

All work ceased on Christmas Eve, and men were treated to a gill of rum, and then allowed to make purchases for their families. On Christmas morning the men, dressed in their best clothes, marched up to the Officer's Quarters, called the Big House, and there Mr. Yale held a reception, smoking and chatting for a couple of hours, after which rations were issued at the store: ducks, geese, beef, venison, peas, tallow, Sandwich Island molasses, and a small allowance of tea. Dancing was kept up day and night during the Christmas week. On Christmas afternoon, the men's wives were invited to the Big House, and given a glass or two of wine. They were told to bring their blan-

*Cooper's Mar. Matters, Ban., B. C., 256 N.

kets with them, and these were filled with cookies, cranberries, blueberry jam, and ship's biscuits. After they had departed, and the wine had begun to take a little effect, the wives began to show some spirit, since those who had married white men were daughters of chiefs, and drew a line between those who had married Kanakas and themselves. The whole week, from Christmas to the New Year, was one round of enjoyment, and on New Year's Day there was a repetition of the previous engagements. In the afternoon the Indian chiefs came to the Big House, and the usual ceremonies took place, after which a whole beef was given to them to make a celebration with for the tribe, together with an allowance of peas, tallow and molasses.*

Besides these festivals, the arrival of the annual Brigade was an important event in the life of the fort, and eye witnesses still living, although they were at the time mere children, describe the scene as very fine. Ships, too, anchored in the river near the fort, bringing with them suggestions of far-off lands. Ballast from the barques and ships could formerly be seen in the water just below the fort.

Early in the year 1858, the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer "Otter" arrived at Nanaimo with Governor Douglas (of Vancouver Island) on board. He told of the discoveries of gold on the mainland, and predicted a rush of prospectors during the coming spring. He foresaw that Yale would be an important place in this event, and requested the services of Ovid Allard to take charge there, since he was thoroughly conversant with the Indians' character and could be relied upon to keep the peace between the natives and the miners, as far as was humanly possible. Allard was still mindful of his treatment by J. M. Yale and at first demurred, but, upon being assured that he would be directly under Douglas, and need have but little intercourse with Yale, the post was accepted. During the height of the gold rush, from 1858 to 1864, Ovid Allard was in charge at Yale.

On February 6th, 1858, Allard and his family left Nanaimo on board the "Otter," and were detained at Fort Langley until May. Jason has prepared a list of the persons who were at the fort during that period, as follows: J. M. Yale, Chief Trader and Officer in charge; George Simpson, C. T. and Accountant, awaiting orders; William Henry Newton, Clerk; Donald Manson and family, retired Chief Trader, en route to Oregon; Ovid Allard and family, en route to Fort Yale; August Willing, Supervisor and Indian Trader; Napoleon Dease, Assistant Trader; Etienne Pepin, Farm Overseer; William Cromarty, Foreman Cooper; Kenneth Morrison, Assistant Cooper; John McIver, Assistant Cooper; Phineas Manson, Assistant Cooper; Robert Robertson, Assistant Cooper; Peon Peon, Sandwich Islander; Nahu, Sandwich Islander; Apnaught, Sandwich Islander; Joseph Mayo, Sandwich Islander; Samuel Robertson, Boatbuilder; Basil Brosseau, Dairyman; Basil Brosseau, jr., Dairyman; also 7 Indians, as milkers for about 70 to 80 cows; James Taylor, Blacksmith; Richard Bailey, Assistant Blacksmith; William Emptage, Shepherd; Donald Gunn, Teamster; O. Sturgeon, Teamster; Narcisse Fallerdo, Steward, and 3 assistants, besides anywhere from 20 to 50 or more hired Indians.

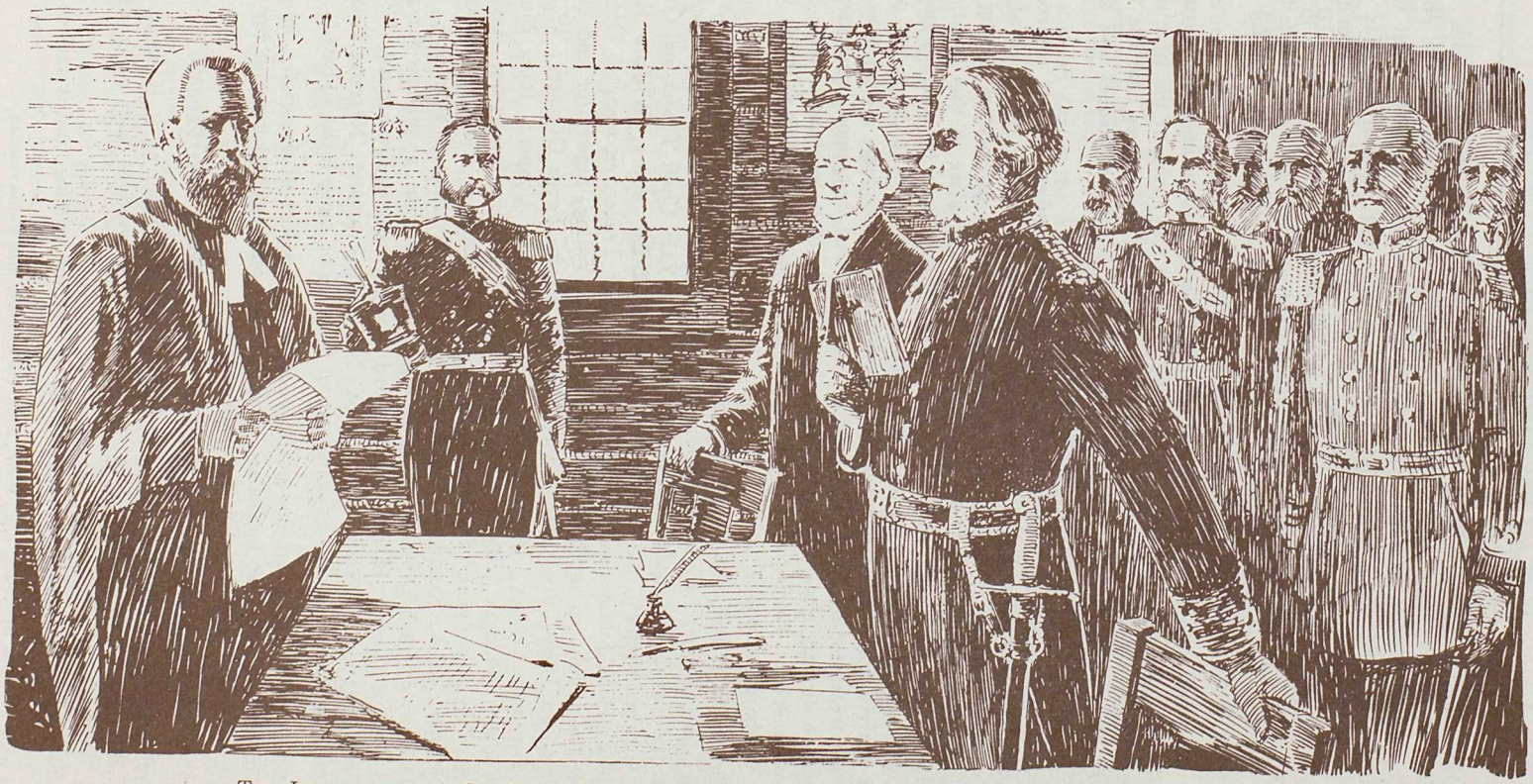
It must be added that, when Jason Allard stayed at the fort in the sixties, he spent much time in reading over the Journals of the fort, and made mental notes at the time. Where these journals are to-day has not transpired.

Descendants of many of the above are still residing around Fort Langley.

The following description of the fort may be inserted here, as it is based upon Jason's recollections of this period, together with his conversations with other men at subsequent times.

The new fort was considerably larger than the former building, and is said to have

*Based upon Articles by Jason, e.g., Prov., Oct. 25th, 1924, and Conversations.



THE INSTALLATION OF SIR JAMES DOUGLAS, AT FORT LANGLEY, AS FIRST GOVERNOR OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
BY MATTHEW BEGBIE, CHIEF JUSTICE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

enclosed an area of approximately 630 x240 feet within the palisade. There was one rather unusual feature, in that there were four bastions, one at each corner, instead of the more usual two, placed diagonally. The bastions were about 20 feet square, with 18-foot walls, and a shake roof. In each there were two nine-pounder guns, and also some smaller cannon, about 2½ pounds. A specimen of the 9-lb guns may still be seen at the Scowlitz Indian Reserve near Harrison Mills, while one of the small cannon was recently presented to the fort by Mr. Jimmy Robertson, of Albion, whose father obtained it from the fort in the days of its abandonment. These were used mainly for salutes and festivals, since the relations between the fort and the Indians was most amicable.

The palisade was of heavy logs of split cedar, 15 to 18 inches in diameter, set close together on end in the ground, above which they extended to about 18 feet. Flattened on the inside, they were held together by stout wooden pegs inserted in holes bored through the logs. A lookout and firing step extended along the north and part of the west side, inside the palisade.

The gates were hung on heavy iron hinges and were of double-door design, of hand-sawn planks. They were only opened on certain occasions, and each had a little wicket gate, admitting one person at a time, for ordinary use. In the early days, watchmen were stationed at the gates.

The officer's residence, or "Big House," was a log building two storeys in height. This was the residence of the Factor and Clerk, and their families. The rooms on the second floor were reserved for the officers of the Brigade, during their brief stay at the fort. It was in the reception room on the ground floor that the ceremony of installing Governor James Douglas took place on November 19th, 1858, thus bringing into existence the Crown Colony of British Columbia.

Near the Officers' Quarters was the cook house, where the meals were prepared for the occupants of the Big House. Then came the steward's quarters, who attended to the tables of the officers. Residence of the Supervisor and Indian Trader—this position called for much tact and diplomacy and knowledge of the Indian character. It was held for many years by Ovid Allard, his son Jason being born here in 1848; residence of the Cooper and Boatbuilder; residence of the Blacksmith and Dairyman; houses of the Labourers; Sandwich Islanders or Kanakas; Cooper's Shop, where the barrels were made for the salted and smoked salmon; Trader's Shop, where trade was carried on with the Indians through a wicket (an armed guard was maintained on an upper floor, commanding the wicket during trading operations); Store Room, where the rations were kept, brought periodically by the Company's ships for the men at the fort; Blacksmith Shop; Warehouses, Storerooms for the wheat, oats, tallow, salt beef and pork, etc., produced for export; and the Carpenter's Shop, where the furniture for the fort was made.

From February to May, 1858, Allard's family resided at Fort Langley. Jason was then a boy nearly ten years of age. Ovid Allard, the father, spent his time in taking supplies to the prospectors, now strung out along the Fraser River Canyons, and who had reached as far as 30 to 40 miles above Yale by June, 1858.* He then settled at Yale and proceeded to take down the three former buildings erected by himself in 1848, and used the material in constructing a large store in anticipation of the days when steamers would land their passengers here.

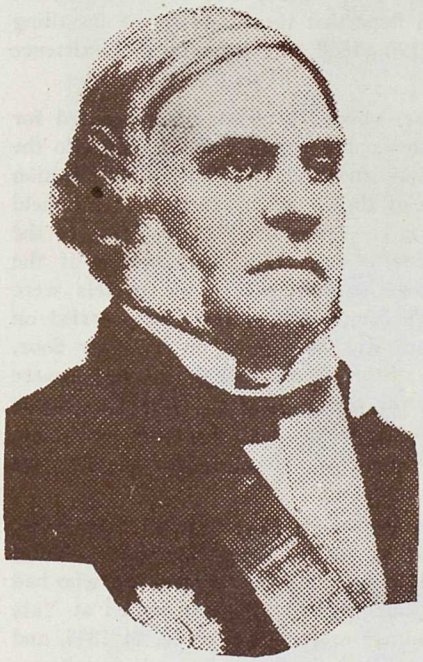
The story of the Fraser River Gold rush is part of the history of Fort Langley, but would take far more space than can here be spared. We will therefore limit the notes to such matters as directly concern the fort itself.

*Bancroft, B. C., 441.

At this time, Langley was considered the head of steam navigation, and thither the "Otter" and "Seabird" made regular trips from Victoria. Passage rates were $20.00 and upwards to $65.00, so that canoes often took the adventurous course from Victoria, where alone mining licences could be obtained, and proceeded up the river beyond Langley to Hope and Yale. The steamer passengers were often detained at Langley, in the meanwhile, owing to the scarcity of canoes.

On June 4th, 1858, the American side-wheeler steamer "Surprise," with Capt. Tom Huntingdon in charge, anchored at Fort Langley and demanded a pilot for Fort Hope. The pilot was an Indian named Speel-set, who went on board the Surprise, barefooted, and in a blanket. He returned, his mission successful, having navigated the boat safely to Fort Hope, dressed in a pilot cloth suit, with a white hat and calfskin boots, the proudest Indian in the valley, and his name was Captain John. Moreover, he was paid the sum of $160.00, through Mr. Yale, for pilot's services, eight $20.00 gold pieces. The job was worth it, for the river had now been proved navigable to Fort Hope, and boats thereafter made that the terminus, a blow to Fort Langley, whose day of glory were well nigh run.

On August 22nd, 1858, the Home Parliament passed an act to provide for the government of the Crown Colony of British Columbia, and one month later the license of exclusive trade granted to the Hudson's Bay Company for 21 years from May 30th, 1838, was revoked. James Douglas was appointed Governor for British Columbia, and his commission for Vancouver Island was renewed.*



SIR JAMES DOUGLAS

Prior to this Douglas ascended the river in May on board the Otter. At Fort Langley he found that speculators had seized upon the idea that Fort Langley would become the capital of the new colony, and had surveyed a townsite, which they apparently called Derby, at the site of the Old Fort. The name "Derby" is not used by Douglas prior to October, 1859, when he refers to the place under that name in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle.† From Yale, in September, 1858, Douglas, issued a proclamation warning the public that no crown lands had been sold, and followed this up by confiscating the work of the speculators, and on October 1st he announced an intended sale of town lots on his own account.††

While these things were taking place, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton proposed sending out a picked party of Sappers and Miners, and the first contingent arrived under Capt. Grant, R.E., with 12 men, on November 8th. Barracks were constructed at Old Fort Langley, and the men stationed there. They were supplemented shortly afterwards by Capt. Parsons, R.E., and another small party. Here, on November 17th, came a party from Victoria, on board "Satellite," to Point Roberts, the "Otter" to the mouth of the River Fraser,

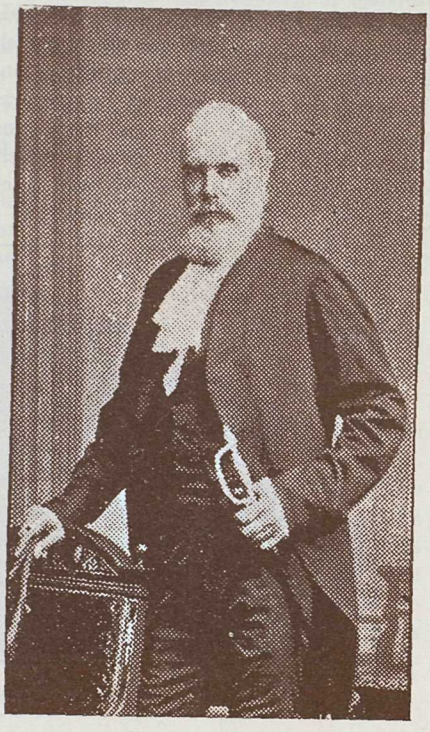
*Ban. 384.

†Note from Geog. Bd. of Can. Mr. Douglas, Sec.

††S. & H.2.60.

and the "Beaver" to Fort Langley, including Rear Admiral Baynes of the Pacific Fleet; David Cameron, Chief Justice of Vancouver Island, and M. B. Begbie, who was about to be made the same legal authority for British Columbia. With them was Governor James Douglas of Vancouver Island. Next day they proceeded to Fort Langley, where Douglas was to be installed as Governor of British Columbia.

On Friday, November 19th, 1858, in the reception room at the Big House at Fort Langley, since the weather was too wet to allow the ceremony being performed outside, Douglas handed Begbie his commission as Chief Justice of the new colony of British Columbia, and in turn Begbie, now Chief Justice, handed Douglas his commission as Governor in the new colony. Oaths of office were then taken; proclamations were read revoking the Hudson's Bay Company's executive privileges; past irregularities, due to extraordinary circumstances attending the gold rush were indemnified, and English law adopted. Guns were fired, and in a drizzle of rain the Crown Colony of British Columbia came into being. From this moment the glory of Fort Langley began to wane.



M. B. Begbie

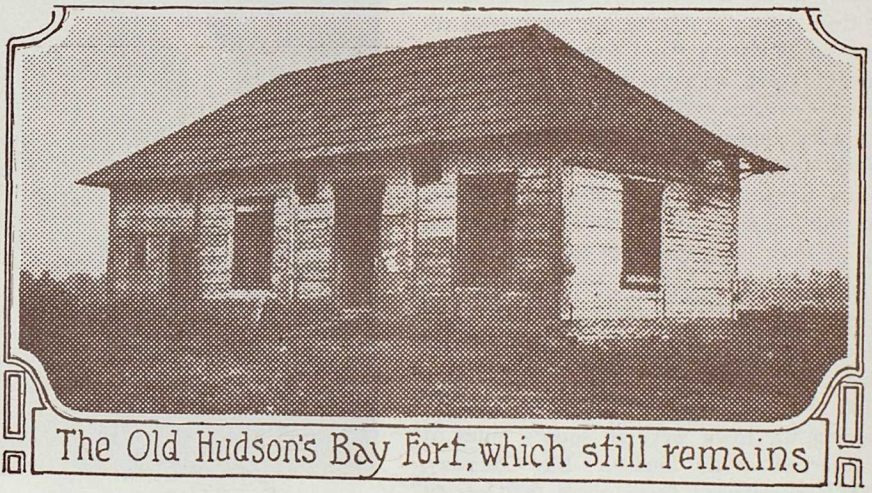
Douglas had decided to make the Old Fort the capital of the colony. Lots were therefore sold by auction at Victoria on November 25th, 26th and 29th. They were 64x100 feet, the upset price being $100.00. Adjoining the town were 10 square miles of land reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company. $68,000 was realized from about 400 lots at from $40.00 to $725.00 each.

But fate willed otherwise for the site of the new capital. On the arrival of Col. Richard Moody, R.E., at Christmas, 1858, strong objection was at once taken to the selection. As the Colonel was Commissioner of Lands and Works in the colony, and had a dormant commission as Lieutenant Governor, should occasion arise for its use, he had to be reckoned with. On February 14th notice was given that the new capital would be situated on the north bank of the Fraser, and that the lots sold at the Old Fort would be exchanged for others at Queensborough, as the town was to be called. This name was later changed to New Westminster by Royal Proclamation on July 20th, 1859.

The Old Fort, or Derby, received a church, barracks, a parsonage and a gaol, all of which have gone to-day. The church was taken apart and floated over the river about the year 1882, and still is used by the Church of England at Maple Ridge, at the corner of Latimer Road and River Road. The barracks, gaol and parsonage house have all been burned, only the marks of their foundations being left to tell the tale.

In 1863 Hudson's Bay Company's stations in the Lower Fraser Valley were: Fort Langley, in charge of W. H. Newton; Fort Hope, in charge of W. Charles; and Fort Yale, in charge of Ovid Allard.

In 1864, Ovid Allard was transferred to Fort Langley. The fort was by this time being gradually dismantled. The front and part of the stockade were taken down by degrees between 1861 and 1864, and the remainder was allowed to fall into disrepair and not preserved. Its day as a fort was over. In 1872 the Big House, built in 1840, became quite unsafe. Allard made repeated representations to the Board of Management at Victoria, but nothing was done. Early in the year, Jason relates, Dr. W. F. Tolmie, the senior member of the Board, paid a visit to the fort. That night the wind rose to a hurricane, and the old house shook and groaned with the stress and buffeting. The doctor, who sought the assistance and comfort of Allard, was assured that that was the usual thing to expect at Langley, and that the only really safe place was in the potato cellar, where, it is said, the doctor spent the remainder of the night. The order came soon afterwards to rebuild, which was done, the old house being removed and replaced by the building which was taken down in 1925. This was erected by William Cromarty, formerly foreman cooper at the fort.



The Old Hudson's Bay Fort, which still remains

Here Ovid Allard died on August 4th, 1874, after 40 years' service with the company. He is buried in the graveyard near St. George's Church in Fort Langley. W. H. Newton succeeded him, but also died a few months later in the same room, in January, 1875.

In turn there followed Henry Wark, nephew of John Work, of the expedition of 1824; Sinclair, Drummond and Powell. The trading post became a store and finally ceased to be needed. "The mining rush ended the period of barter and brought the period of sale; it therefore spelled disaster to the little fur trade still remaining at Fort Langley. The termination of the lease of the Alaskan strip ended the raison d'etre of its large farming operations; the advent of farmers and the growth of general farming in the colony caused the Company to abandon this line of operations in June, 1896. Thus Judge Howay closes the scene for the fur traders. There is yet one more period before the century is closed.

The Municipality of Fort Langley inherits the traditions of the fort. Taking advantage of the Municipalities' Act of 1872, Fort Langley applied for letters of Incorporation, which were granted, dated April 26th, 1873.* Mr. James Mackie was the

*Information from the Municipal Hall, Murrayville.

first Reeve. The present Reeve, Mr. Poppy, has held office during fifteen years. Subsequently, these letters were cancelled and re-issued, so as to include the stretch of land 2½ miles wide, near the International Boundary, known as the Railway Belt. This was done as from January 1st, 1895. Prior to the building of the Fort Langley town hall, the municipal meetings were held in a school building at the Fort. Later the seat of government was moved to Murray's Corners, now Murrayville, to quarters above the general store. The present municipal hall was built in 1912. The Municipal records suffered much loss when the residence of the clerk was burned down December 27th, 1895. This necessitated the passing of a special Act at Victoria, "An Act for the Relief of the Municipal Corporation of the Township of Langley, April 17th, 1896."

The arrival in the valley of the Canadian Pacific Railway did nothing to help Langley, except, indirectly, through the opening of the Valley and the development of the Province. The coming of the British Columbia Electric Interurban Railway in 1910 did still less, for it took away much of Fort Langley's previous trade, which had been largely carried on by shipping the farm produce down the Fraser river to New Westminster.

The district is, however, unsurpassed as an agricultural, mixed farming and dairy country, and, with its great historic interest, should develop rapidly in the coming years.

The fort has grown into a municipality, the principal business centres of which are: Fort Langley, Langley Prairie, Aldergrove, Murrayville and Milner. This year, 1927, witnesses the hundreth anniversary of the establishment of the fort by James McMillan. The place deserves well of the people of the Province, and it is to be hoped that immediate steps will be taken to strengthen the hands of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, which is preserving the remaining building of the fort as a national memorial. This same year, 1927, the Dominion is celebrating its Diamond Jubilee, and the Lower Fraser Valley can look back with pride upon 75 years of Confederation and 100 years of settlement, 6000 miles away from London, yet a vital, living part of the British Empire to-day as in the past.

To conclude, the words spoken by Mr. C. H. French, head of the Fur Department on the Pacific Coast for the Hudson's Bay Company, at the unveiling of the bronze tablet at Fort Langley on May 2nd, 1925, may fittingly be taken as summing up the whole of the glorious past. In part, he said:

"It is a great pleasure to be with you to-day as the representative of the glorious old Company of Adventurers of England. Langley is a name that is destined to be handed down in history from generation to generation, carrying with it that spirit of adventure that goes with miners, fur traders, trappers and empire builders.

"It was here that the fur trader on the Coast first shook hands with the trappers.

"It was here that the fur traders grasped the hands of miners from California, and we cannot overlook the fact that while the fur trader opened up the country, pacified the natives and ensured British rule, the miner had a large share in effecting developments that would have taken many years to achieve had he not arrived.

"What wonderful men were these old fur traders! The more one knows about them the more one wonders how it was possible to gather such picked men together at these remote spots. It took years to get supplies, and for many years one mail each year was as much as could be expected. Ordinary wages would not do it.

"They had to subsist on the natural resources of the country, and, on that account, one can readily understand why such feverish haste was made to establish farms where potatoes, cereals, beef, butter, etc., could be raised to supply not only Langley but also other posts further inland.

"Langley, then, became a food depot of no mean size, where a large number of servants were employed.

"Langley became a depot for storing furs while being gathered for exportation to London. It was considered to be the only safe place on the Coast that the Russians could not molest during the Crimean War of 1855.

"In the development of new countries, changes become necessary from time to time, and while Langley was the Mother of all British Columbia posts up to 1842, it was then found necessary, owing to the Oregon Boundary Question, to build a new center at Victoria. This new center was not able to deprive Langley of its place in the sun. She was yet the spot where almost all industries of the Province had their being, and, in spite of being burned down in 1840, she arose again from her ashes to renewed active life.

"Langley was the original exporter of salt salmon.

"Langley exported hemp to England, to be made into rope.

"Langley sent large consignments of cranberries to San Francisco during the fifties.

"Langley was the first to make an export of barrels.

"Langley made milk pans from birch-bark.

"Langley made brooms from birch sticks pounded into strips on one end.

"Langley made all their horse-collars from birch, also many other things of this material, such as wedges, axe handles, mall handles, toboggans, etc.

"Langley ground flour from wheat with crude stones.

"Langley's blacksmiths made locks, nails, hinges, axes, and many other articles required in the trade and for the use of the posts.

"This glorious spot, where East met West for so many years, where so many industries of the Province first had their being, has just as many possibilities as ever.

"Therefore, I again say to you that I am glad to be here, and that the object of the gathering is such a worthy one.

"On behalf of the Governor and the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, let me extend to you greetings. These gentlemen who guide the Company's destiny from London are delighted to find that, by such actions as you are taking to-day, they are encouraged to make further efforts to keep fully alive the golden rule, which policy was set by their predecessors . . . . "

NOTE.

In 1925, three acres of land surrounding the one remaining building of the old fort were purchased for a recreation ground and public park. Funds were raised for this purpose by public subscription through the united efforts of the Native Sons of B. C., Post No. 4, New Westminster; and the Fort Preservation Committee, Fort Langley. The Dominion Historic Sites and Monuments Board accepted the custody of the building, with one acre of land, and erected the cairn and tablet referred to. Much, however, remains to be done to make the place attractive and worthy of its name. It is hoped that this paper may arouse further interest in suggestions that are being made to make the Fort site a museum, or at least self supporting, as a public place of historic interest.

A complete list of the descendants of former members of the Fort staff, who are still resident in the Valley, is very desirable. The secretary of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Mr. T. P. O. Menzies, who is also the Curator at the Vancouver City Museum, will gladly record names which may be sent to him, as well as any other information relative to this subject.

APPENDIX I.

Copy.

Geographic Board of Canada, Ottawa,
April 6th, 1927.

Sir:- W.-1-27.

At the Board Meeting yesterday, it was unanimously agreed to revise the decisions Wark; channel, island, mount and point, to Work; channel, island, mount and point, as recommended in your letter of 7th March.

Your obedient servant,

"R. DOUGLAS,"
Secretary.

Major G. G. Aitken,
Member on Geographic Board of British Columbia,
Department of Lands,
Victoria, B. C.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An adequate list of acknowledgements would be out of all proportion to the length and value of the present paper. But to do what one may, where so many have helped, mention must first of all be made of His Hon. Judge Howay, of New Westminster, who for a number of years has given encouragement.

Prof. C. Hill Tout, of Vancouver, has provided the material which has supplied the notes on the Indians, in many conversations.

Jason Allard is well known to the inhabitants of the Lower Fraser Valley. In many talks, and from his own articles in the Province, such matter has been selected as seemed most suitable for the present purpose. His father, Ovid Allard, spent almost all of his life at the Fort, or its vicinity.

The City Librarian, Mr. E. S. Robinson, and Miss Annis.

The Library, U.B.C., Miss Woodworth and Miss Jefford.

The Provincial Archives, Mr. John Hosie and Miss A. M. Russell.

The Vancouver City Museum, Mr. Menzies, curator.

The Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.

Mr. C. H. French, Head of Fur Department, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg, Man., formerly of Vancouver.

Mr. Ormsby Lee, Chief Factor, Native Sons of B. C., Fort Langley Post.

The Vancouver Daily Province, Cuts.

G. Y. Timms, Langley Prairie, B. C., Cuts.

and many more too numerous to mention.

Books more particularly cited are:

Schofield and Howay, British Columbia.

Howay, Raison d'etre of Forts Yale and Hope.

Howay, Early History Fraser River Mines, Arch. Mem. No. VI.

Howay, Articles in the "Beaver" for November, 1921, on Fort Langley, through kindness of the editor, Mr. Robert Watson.

Bancroft, British Columbia.

Washington Historical Quarterly. Various articles in volumes 1 - 10.

Work's Journal, Washington Historical Quarterly. Edited by T. C. Elliott.

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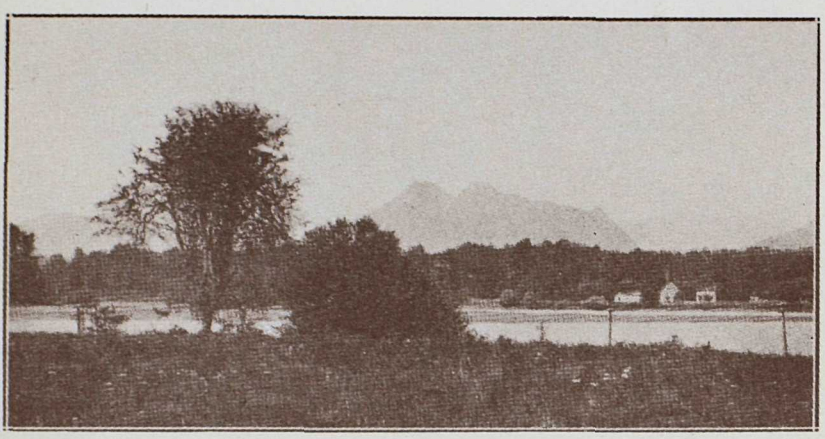
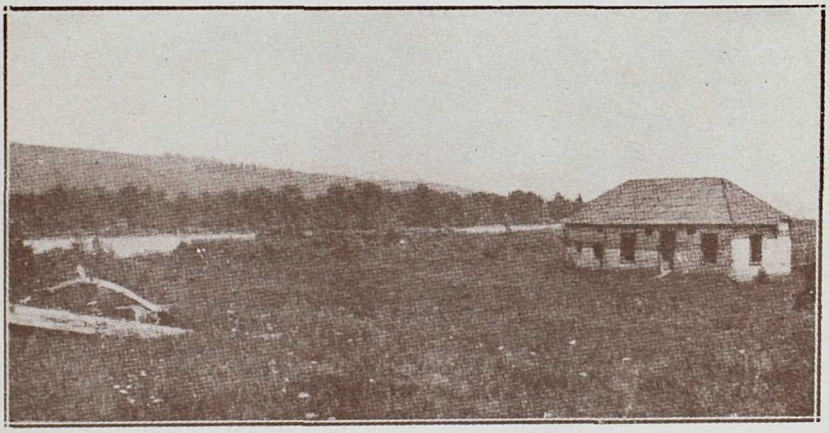


McMillan Island, Looking North From Fort Langley



Fort Langley of To-day. All That Remains of the Old Fort.

FINIS