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BRITISH COLUMBIA: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

By

R. L. REID

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PREFATORY NOTE

SAVE and except the "List of authorities" in I, xv–xlvi, of Scholefield and Howay's *History of British Columbia*, there has been no attempt to compile a bibliography of British Columbia. The *Pacific North West Americana*, by Charles W. Smith, of the University of Washington Library (New York, 1921), includes many books dealing with this province and the Canadian Yukon. Judge Howay's paper on "The early literature of the Northwest Coast" read before the Royal Society in 1924 is a most complete and able discussion of the publications relative to the exploration of that part of British Columbia prior to 1800. All of these authorities have been used freely in this paper, and it is only fair that this should be acknowledged here.

It is quite apparent that mention can only be made of a few of the books which would be inserted in a complete bibliography of the province. All I have attempted to do is to mention some of the most authoritative works relating to important events in the story of British Columbia and the Yukon.

I. EARLY EXPLORATION (MARITIME)

The literature of British Columbia commences with the Greek pilot Apostolos Valerianos, otherwise Juan de Fuca, and his supposed discovery of the straits which bear his name, as related in *Purchas his pilgrimes*.[1] The veracity or otherwise of the story cannot be discussed here. To the same period belong

[1] Original, 5 vols. London, 1625–26. Reprinted, 20. vols. Glasgow, 1905–7.

the story of Maldonado, as told by Amoretti[1] and that of De Fonte,[2] with others of the same ilk; probably more imaginative than veracious.

SPANISH EXPLORATION

The first reliable accounts of the northwest coast came from the Spanish explorers whose names still cling to many an island, bay, and river along our shores. They were not written for publication but solely for the information of the Spanish government. A number of them have been published in later days, either in the language in which they were written or in translation. A few of the most interesting still await translation into English.

The earliest of these is the voyage of the corvette "Santiago," in 1774, reported separately by two Franciscan friars, Crespi and Pena, who were with the expedition, and whose duties included that of keeping a record of the voyage for the information of their chief, the famous Junipero Serra. These were published, both in Spanish and in English, by the Historical Society of Southern California in 1891.[3]

Another expedition made in 1775 by the "Santiago" with the "Sonora" was reported by Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, the second in command of the latter, and is to be found in Daines Barrington's *Miscellanies*.[4] Alessando Malaspina's *Viaje politico-cientifico, etc.*,[5] which Mr. Smith describes as "an important exploration covering the North West Coast"; Quadra's *Expeditions in the years 1775 and 1779, etc.*,[6] Joseph Mariano Mozino's

[1] AMORETTI, CARLO. *Viaggio del Mare Atlantico al Pacifico, etc.*, Milano, 1810.

[2] "Memoirs of the curious," for April and June, 1709, London.

[3] *Historical Society of Southern California*, II, Part I, 81–213, Los Angeles, 1891.

[4] London, 1784, 4to, pp. 469–534 and 552.

[5] Madrid, 1885.

[6] In *Anuario de la Dirección de hidrografía, año III*, Madrid, 1865.

Noticias de Nutka[1] and *Relation del Viage, etc., Sutil Y. Mexicano en el ano de 1792*[2] belong to this class.

ENGLISH EXPLORERS

Captain James Cook was the first English explorer of the northwest coast. He had returned to England in 1774 from a second circumnavigation of the globe, and, by reason of his long experience in the South Seas, was selected by the British government as the one best fitted to undertake the task of settling, once and for all, the existence or non-existence of a northwest passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He left England in June, 1776, and was killed by the natives of the Hawaiian Islands in February, 1779. The expedition returned in October, 1780, and early in the spring of the next year there was published a story of the voyage.[3] The author's name was not given, nor any intentional suggestion as to his identity. This was due to the fact that by order of the admiralty all journals had been surrendered by the participants in the voyage so as to prevent any account being given to the world without the official sanction of the admiralty. Evidently someone was able to evade the order. The public was consumed with curiosity as to the occurrences on this famous voyage, and the insistent demand resulted in several editions being printed. It has generally been attributed to John Ledyard, an American traveler and author who accompanied Cook's expedition as a sergeant of marines, but, from the internal evidence afforded by the journal itself, Judge Howay asserts that it was written by John Rickman, the second lieutenant on the "Discovery" and later on the "Resolution." Soon after, William Ellis, assistant surgeon to the expedition, followed the example of the author of the anonymous journal and published his version of the voyage.

[1] Ed. by Alberto M. Carreno, Mexico City, 1913. [2] Madrid, 1802.

[3] *Journal of Cook's last voyage, faithfully narrated from the original MS*, London, 1781.

[4] ELLIS, WILLIAM. *An authentic narrative of a voyage, etc., in search of a North West passage, etc.* 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1782.

The official account in three volumes, two written by Cook himself as the voyage proceeded, and the third by Captain James King, did not appear until 1784.[1] It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this splendid work for the history of the northwest coast. The life and adventures of Captain Cook have ever since been a matter of interest to the English people, and many books on his life and adventures have been written in later days.[2] An account of his voyage to the North West Coast in German by Heinrich Zimmermann was published at Mannheim in 1781 and is extremely rare. An annotated translation of this book by Miss U. Tewsley, of the Alexander Turnbull Library at Wellington, New Zealand, was published there in 1926, and another is being issued by the RyersonPress in Toronto, with annotations by Judge Howay, of New Westminster, B.C. The first American account of Cook's voyages (or, indeed, of the northwest coast) was written by John Ledyard, a native of Connecticut who accompanied Cook as corporal of marines on board the "Resolution." He returned to his own country in 1782 and, with the assistance of the anonymous (Rickman's) journal, compiled and published an account of the voyage.[3] His life and travels, by Jared Sparks,[4] also contain many references to the voyage.

Not satisfied with the discoveries made by Captain Cook, Great Britain sent another expedition to the northwest coast in 1791. It was commanded by Captain George Vancouver in the "Discovery" and Lieutenant William R. Broughton in the

[1] Cook, James. *A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, &c.*, 3 vols. 4to and atlas fol. London, 1784.

[2] Kippis, Andrew. *Life of Cook.* 4to. London, 1788.

Besant, Sir Walter. *Captain Cook*, London, 1894.

Kittson, Arthur. *Captain James Cook, the circumnavigator*, New York and London, 1907.

[3] Ledyard, John. *A journal of Captain Cook's last voyage.* 12mo. Hartford, 1783.

[4] *Memoirs of the life and travels of John Ledyard*, Cambridge, Mass., 1828. Reprinted as *Travels and adventures of John Ledyard*, without the author's name, London, 1834.

"Chatham." It returned in 1795. The official account by Vancouver is the most important of the early works on the northwest coast. It passed into many editions, both in English and in other languages.[1] With the expedition was a naturalist, one Archibald Menzies, whose journal, abounding in scientific detail, has been lately published by the Archives Department of the government of British Columbia.[2] This Department has also published another interesting memoir establishing the fact that Vancouver in 1792 was the first to complete the navigation of the inner channels which separate the island which bears his name from the mainland.[3] Interesting details of his early life will be found in a small volume published recently by a resident of his birthplace, King's Lynn, Norfolk, England.[4] Captains Portlock[5] and Dixon[6] in the "King George" and "Queen Charlotte" made a voyage to the coast, 1785–88, and each published his story of the expedition. The Dixon account is in the form of letters signed "W.B." to a friend in England. "W.B." evidently refers to William Beresford, the supercargo of Dixon's ship, the "Queen Charlotte." This same "W.B." wrote an account of the voyage, which was translated by John Reinhold Forster.[7] Judge Howay speaks highly of the story told by John Nicol, a seaman with Captain Portlock on the "King George."[8]

[1] VANCOUVER, CAPTAIN GEORGE. *Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, etc.* 3 vols., 4to, and folio atlas of maps, London, 1798; 8vo, 6 vols., London, 1801.

[2] *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's voyage*, Archives Department, Victoria, B.C., 1923. (Memoir No. V.)

[3] NEWCOMBE, CHARLES FREDERIC. *The first circumnavigation of Vancouver Island*, Victoria, B.C., 1914. (Memoir No. I.)

[4] ANDERSON, G. H. *Vancouver and his great voyage, etc.* King's Lynn, England, 1923.

[5] PORTLOCK, CAPTAIN NATHANIEL. *Voyage round the world, etc.* 4to. London, 1789.

[6] DIXON, CAPTAIN GEORGE. *Voyage round the world, etc.* 4to. London, 1789.

[7] *Capitaine Portlock und Dixon's Reise um die Welt, etc.* 4to. Berlin, 1790.

[8] *Life and adventures of John Nicol*, Edinburgh, 1822. Reprinted in *The sea, the ship and the sailor* (published by the Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass., 1925). pp. 105–167.

FRENCH EXPLORERS

There were three French explorers of the northwest coast, La Pérouse, Marchand, and Roquefeuil. It is true that another Frenchman, Captain Peron, wrote an account of a voyage to the northwest coast,[1] but he made the voyage, not on a French ship, but as the first officer of the Boston ship "Otter." His book has never been translated into English.

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, in which he took a prominent part in the French assistance to the revolting colonies, La Pérouse set off on a voyage to explore that part of the northwest coast which had not been examined by Captain Cook. From Avatcha in Kamchatka he forwarded to Paris a description of his voyage along the coast of America. A further instalment of his travels was sent to Paris from Botany Bay. Nothing was heard of him from the time he left that point until 1826, when an English captain[2] ascertained that his ships had been wrecked in a storm on a coral reef off Vandikoro, north of the New Hebrides. The National Assembly ordered the account of his voyage to be published at the expense of the nation, but the republic had come into existence before this magnificent work was issued to the world.[3] A translation was published the next year in England. Etienne Marchand, with the ship "La Solide" of Marseilles, traded along the northwest coast in 1791 as far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands. He died on a voyage to Mauritius in 1792 and his papers were lost; but the story of his voyage was written by Comte de Fleurieu from the log book of "La Solide" and from a diary kept by Chanal, the second in command.[4] The voyage of Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil was undertaken during 1816–19. On his

[1] PERON, CAPTAIN. *Mémoires.* 2 vols. Paris, 1824. [2] See final note.

[3] LAPÉROUSE, JEAN FRANÇOIS DE GALAUP, COMTE DE. *Voyage autour du monde.* 4 vols., 4to, and atlas folio. Paris An. V. (1797).

[4] FLEURIEU, CHARLES PIERRE CLARET, COMTE DE. *Voyage autour du monde.* 4 vols. 4to. 1798–1800.

return to Paris he published an account of his experiences in the Pacific.[1]

AMERICAN EXPLORERS

Although citizens of the United States soon took up the fur trade on the northwest coast, almost to the exclusion of other nations, they made no attempt to publish any account of their discoveries. Even the official log of the "Columbia" has been lost; but there is an extract from the second volume of it published in Senate Document 470 (25th Cong., 2nd sess., "Congressional series," Vol. 318) and also in Greenhow's *History of Oregon*, (Boston, 1844), pages 434–36. John Boit's log of the same voyage was published in part in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XII, 3–50, and in full in Volume LIII of the *Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, and in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 257–349, with annotations by Judge Howay and T. C. Elliott. The voyage of the "Juno"—1804–8—by Captain John De Wolf, of Bristol, Massachusetts, will be found in *Tales of an old seaport* by W. H. Munro, Princeton, New Jersey, 1917. A famous book on the northwest coast which passed into many editions is the story of the adventures of one John Jewitt who was one of the two survivors of the crew of the "Boston" captured by the Indians at Nootka in 1803.[2]

NOOTKA SOUND CONTROVERSY

Disputes arising in the last quarter of the eighteenth century between the representative of the Spanish government at Nootka, an almost forgotten spot on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and English fur-traders endeavoring to establish a trading post there, brought the two great powers to the verge of war. To some it seemed to be a miserable squabble over a few

[1] ROQUEFEUIL, CAMILLE DE. *Journal d'un voyage autour du monde, 1816–19.* 2 vols. Paris, 1823.

[2] Published in diary form, Boston, 1807; and as a narrative, Middletown, March, 1815, and July, 1915. Best edition edited by Brown, London, 1896.

huts on the inhospitable coast of a worthless country far from civilization; to others, a decisive conflict between two great colonial principles of which England and Spain were the respective exponents.

The story of the Nootka Sound affair has been so clearly and judicially told by Professor William R. Manning[1] that it is not necessary to repeat it here. The chief actors in the drama, who have left us accounts of the trouble, in whole or in part, are John Meares, a retired lieutenant of the Royal Navy, who commanded an expedition to the northwest coast in 1786–87 and again in 1788. In 1790 he published a long account of his voyages to China and the northwest coast of North America.[2] Prior to its issue he had addressed a memoir to the British government setting forth his troubles with the Spaniards at Nootka, with depositions in support of his claims.[3] He also had a virulent controversy with Captain Dixon with reference to certain criticisms made by the latter on the statements made in the *Voyages*.[4]

With Meares was associated Captain James Colnett, who in 1798, in a volume describing a later voyage to the South Atlantic, harks back to earlier days, and at page 96 gives an account of the seizure of the ship "Argonaut" in 1789 and of the imprisonment of himself and his crew by the Spaniards at Nootka on his arrival there to take possession.[5]

[1] *The Nootka Sound controversy—Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1904* (Washington, D.C.), pp. 281–471.

[2] MEARES, JOHN. *Voyages made in the years 1788–89 from China to the North West coast of America, &c.* 4to. London, 1790.

[3] MEARES, JOHN. *Memorial*, dated April 30, 1790, London, 1790 (the official publication). Reprinted in the same year for general publication. Some copies of the *Memoir* as reprinted have the date "1760," a misprint for "1790."

[4] MEARES, JOHN. *An answer to Mr. Geo. Dixon, etc.*, London, 1790. The pamphlets in the Meares-Dixon controversy, which are extremely rare, are being reprinted by the Ryerson Press, Toronto, with notes by Judge Howay.

[5] COLNETT, CAPTAIN JAMES. *Voyage to the South Atlantic, &c.* 4to. London, 1798.

Other books of great interest and authority relating to the period of exploration of the northwest coast are mentioned hereunder.[1]

II. EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR

Among the employees of the North West Company, the great rival of the Hudson's Bay Company until the amalgamation in 1821, was Alexander MacKenzie, a sturdy son of Scotland. Although an employee of a fur-trading company he could not be content to seek pelts but longed to pierce the darkness which covered the unexplored west. His ambition was to discover a way overland to that great ocean which had been furrowed by the keels of Cook's ships. If he could find a river flowing into Cook's inlet on the Pacific, he could revolutionize western commerce. With this object in view, he started out in 1789 to follow his dream. He followed the outlet of Great Slave Lake, but this led him not west but north to the Arctic Ocean along the great river which has ever since, quite appropriately, borne his name. In 1793 he made another attempt to reach the western sea, striking directly across the continent toward his goal. With only nine associates he made his way through unknown lands peopled by savage tribes, until after undergoing hardships innumerable he reached the salt waters of the Pacific at Bella Coola on Bentinck Arm; the first civilized man to make the great traverse of the northern part of the continent. On his return to Great Britain he published an account of his travels north on the MacKenzie River to the Arctic and west to the Pacific.[2] The many editions of his book both in English and in other languages, which have continued

[1] FORSTER, JOHN REINHOLD. *History of the voyages, etc.*, 4to. London, 1786.
TYTLER, P. F. *Historical view of the progress of discovery, etc.*, Edinburgh, 1832.
BURPEE, L. J. *The search for the Western Sea*, New York, 1908.
DENTON, V. L. *The Far West Coast*, Toronto, 1924.

[2] MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER. *Voyages from Montreal in 1789–1793, etc.* 4to. London, 1801.

to be published, even as late as 1922, bear witness to its interest and value.

During the year 1927 several interesting accounts of MacKenzie's life and travels have been written and published by Canadian writers.[1]

Next after MacKenzie followed Simon Fraser, another of those indomitable Scots of the North West Company. In 1805 he was sent to occupy the country west of the Rockies. One cannot help wondering if the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which started the year before, had anything to do with this particular activity of the North West Company, and whether it was a move to anticipate the effects of any discoveries which it might make. However that may be, he left Fort William on Lake Superior in August of that year, but it was not until 1808 that he was able to proceed on his voyage of discovery. He was a better fur-trader than penman, and he did not attempt to publish any account of his journey. Following, however, the practice of the fur-traders, he kept a daily journal of his experiences. A portion of this, containing the account of his descent of the Fraser, was published by Senator Masson in 1889.[2]

The third of the great explorers of the interior was David Thompson, an orphan boy from the Grey Coat School at Westminster. He was apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company and left London for America in 1784. He became, says J. B. Tyrrell, the greatest practical land geographer that the world has produced. The first part of his life was spent in that part of America which now comprises the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, and the states of Montana, Idaho, and Wash-

[1] WADE, M. S. *MacKenzie of Canada.* 8vo. Edinburgh and London, 1927.

WOOLLACOTT, ARTHUR PHILLIP. *MacKenzie and his voyageurs.* 8vo. London and Toronto, 1927.

WRONG, HUME. *Alexander MacKenzie.* 8vo. Toronto, 1927.

[2] FRASER, SIMON. "Journal," in *Les Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord-Ouest,* by LOUIS FRANÇOIS RODIGUE MASSON, Quebec, 1889, I, 157–221.

ington; the latter part, as astronomer to the International Boundary Commission, surveying the boundary line between British North America and the United States from St. Regis, Quebec, to the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods. During his later years (he died in 1857) he wrote a narrative of his work in the West, but it was not published until 1916.[1] Much of the material in his journals has been used by Elliott Coues in his work on the great northwest.[2]

The great botanist, David Douglas, from whom the Douglas fir receives its name, was first sent to the United States by the Royal Horticultural Society of London. Later, (1824–27) he was sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to Northwest America. His journal has been lately published by the Society above named.[3]

Some of the books written by persons actually taking part in the fur trade are of great historical and ethnological value. Daniel W. Harmon, a native of Connecticut, and an employee of the North West Company, was directed in 1810 to proceed to New Caledonia (now the northern interior of British Columbia), and take charge of the posts in that district. Here he lived until 1819 when he returned to his native land and published his journal,[4] an illuminating document both as to the nature of the man himself, so different from what one ordinarily pictures the typical fur-trader, and also as to the conditions in the interior part of the country during the period in question. His account is corroborated and amplified by John McLean, of the

[1] *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in Western America, 1784–1812* (ed. J. Burr Tyrrell), published by Champlain Society, roy. 8vo. Toronto, 1916.

[2] Coues, Elliott. *New light on the early history of the Greater North West, etc.* 3 vols. 8vo. New York, 1897.

[3] Douglas, David, *Journal kept by, during his travels in North America 1823–27*, 8vo. London, 1914.

[4] Harmon, Daniel William. *A Journal of voyages and travels in the interior of North America, etc.*, Andover, Mass., 1820.

Hudson's Bay Company,[1] the first volume of which refers in part to the northern interior of British Columbia.

John Dunn, another Hudson's Bay trader, gives us, in the latter part of his *Oregon territory*, an account of British Columbia and especially of the coast district and the peoples inhabiting it.[2] Paul Kane, the celebrated artist and traveler, also visited Vancouver Island in 1847, and has left us a volume describing his travels, illustrated with colored drawings, which is a unique souvenir of the early days.[3]

III. GENERAL HISTORIES

Various histories have been issued of the province of British Columbia, but a moderate-sized popular history[4] has only lately been written. The earliest attempt at a detailed history of British Columbia were the volumes on British Columbia and the northwest coast in the Bancroft series of histories of the Pacific Coast.[5] In these may be found a vast amount of interesting material, but many sources of information have since become available, which were not accessible to him, so that they must now be used with considerable care. Moreover, many things have happened in the province since Bancroft's time.

In 1894 one Alexander Begg, C.C., published a so-called *History of British Columbia*, but it is merely a series of disjointed annals.[6] It may be interesting to note that the author of the *History of British Columbia* is not the historian of the same name

[1] McLean, John. *Notes of a twenty-five years' service of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory*. 2 vols. 8 vo. London, 1849.

[2] Dunn, John. *History of the Oregon Territory and British North America fur trade, etc.*, 8vo. London, 1844.

[3] Kane, Paul. *Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1859.

[4] See final note, p. 44.

[5] Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *History of British Columbia, 1792–1887*, 8vo. San Francisco, 1890; *History of the North West Coast*. 2 vols. 8vo. San Francisco, 1886.

[6] Begg, Alexander, c.c. *History of British Columbia, etc.*, 8vo. Toronto, 1894.

who wrote the *History of the North West*,[1] although both were published in Toronto in the same year. Alexander Begg, C.C., a native of Scotland, but with long experience in Canada, was engaged by the British Columbia government to arrange for the settlement of Crofters from Scotland on the Pacific Coast, and to distinguish himself from his Winnipeg namesake, he always added to his signature the letters C.C. (Crofter Commissioner). The other Alexander Begg was a merchant and newspaper man long resident in Winnipeg and the author of several books relating to Manitoba and the northwest.

A most reliable and complete history of British Columbia was written by the late E. O. S. Scholefield, provincial librarian, and Judge Howay, and published at Vancouver in 1914; the first volume being by Mr. Scholefield and the second by his collaborator. The third and fourth volumes are biographies of various residents of the province.

Cogswell's *History of British Columbia*[2] is an elementary history of the province, adapted for the use of schools.

Of histories having less extended scope, one cannot omit Rev. A. G. Morice's *Account of the days of the Hudson's Bay times in the northern interior*,[3] which is a reconstruction from original documents of a period and a district of which little was known before its appearance.

Captain John Walbran's *British Columbia coast names* published by the Dominion government at Ottawa, 1909, is a mine of information as to the nomenclature of the coast. It will be noted that the back label uses the words "place names" instead of "coast names." The place names in the interior of the province are not included. This was published in a limited edition

[1] Begg, Alexander. *History of the North West*, Toronto, 1894.

[2] Cogswell, Oliver H. *History of British Columbia*, Cr. 8vo. Victoria, 1893.

[3] Morice, Rev. Adrien Gabriel, o.m.i. *History of the northern interior of British Columbia (1660–1880)*, 8vo. Toronto, 1904.

and has become quite rare. The biography of Sir James Douglas by R. H. Coates and R. E. Gosnell (Toronto, 1912) is really a history of the two provinces before amalgamation and during his life as governor of both, and especially of the stirring days of the Cariboo gold excitement, 1858–62. Those interested in shipping on the Pacific Coast prior to 1895 should consult the elaborate *Marine history of the Pacific north west*, by Lewis and Dryden, published at Portland, Oregon, in 1895.

IV. GOLDEN CARIBOO

Prior to the discovery of gold in the Fraser River in 1857, the colony of Vancouver Island, so far as the non-Indian population was concerned, consisted almost entirely of the Hudson's Bay trading post at Victoria, and a coal-mining village at Nanaimo. The mainland part of the province was uninhabited, except by the Indians and the fur-traders at the Hudson's Bay forts. Alfred Waddington, in a little book written in 1858,[1] describes Victoria, as he saw it when he landed there in the spring of that year, as

> a quiet village of about 800 inhabitants. No noise, no bustle, no speculators or interested parties to preach this or underrate that. A few quiet gentlemen, behaved inhabitants, chiefly Scotchmen, secluded as it were from the whole world, and reminding one forcibly of the line of Virgil "Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos." . . . . As to business there was none, the streets were grown over with grass, and there was not even a cart.

And yet this colony, by direct orders from London, was the proud possessor of a two-chambered legislature of its very own. Memoirs II, III, and IV of the Archives of British Columbia, published by the Archives Department at Victoria in 1918, give in detail the minutes of the two legislative bodies during those somnolent days, together with the House of Assembly correspondence book during the years 1856–59.

With the discovery of gold in the Fraser followed the stam-

[1] WADDINGTON, ALFRED. *The Fraser mines vindicated*, 8vo. Victoria, 1858.

pede which invariably accompanies such an event. The first literary products were handbooks or manuals giving information as to the location of the new gold fields and the means of access thereto, none of any literary value, although difficult to obtain now by reason of their rarity. Some were published in Great Britain,[1] and others in San Francisco.[2]

When the mines on the Fraser River and its tributaries through the Cariboo Mountains proved a veritable golconda, there was a demand for further information about the country in which they were located. Unfortunately the Cariboo mines never produced a Bret Harte to tell their story. With the exception of one volume by R. Byron Johnson which may be classed, in some details, as the product of the imagination,[3] the most of the books published to meet the demand were matter-of-fact affairs. The staples are those written by Commander Mayne, of "H. M. S. Plumper," who was stationed at Esquimalt, 1857–61;[4] Rev. Matthew Macfie, a Congregationalist minister resident in Victoria, 1859–64;[5] and D. G. F. MacDonald, of the Government Survey Staff and the International Boundary Commission.[6] The two first mentioned were genuinely in love with the new land to which their duties led them; but the third was ex-

[1] BALLANTYNE, ROBERT MICHAEL. *Handbook of the new gold fields, etc.*, 12 mo. Edinburgh, 1858; *Handbook of British Columbia, etc.*, London (1862); *Cariboo, The newly discovered gold fields of British Columbia, etc.*, London, 1862.

KINAHAN, CORNWALLIS. *The new eldorado* (2 eds. in 1858).

HAZLITT, WM. CAREW. *British Columbia, and Vancouver Island, etc.*, 12 mo. London, 1858, and *The great gold fields of Cariboo, etc.*, 12 mo. London, 1862.

[2] DEGROOT, HENRY. *British Columbia, Its condition, etc.* San Francisco, 1859.

[3] JOHNSON, RICHARD BYRON. *Very far west indeed, &c.*, cr. 8vo. London, 1872.

[4] MAYNE, COMMR. RICHARD CHARLES. *Four years in British Columbia, and Vancouver Island &c.*, 8vo. London, 1862.

[5] MACFIE, REV. MATTHEW. *British Columbia and Vancouver Island &c.*, 8vo. London, 1865.

[6] MACDONALD, DUNCAN GEORGE FORBES. *British Columbia and Vancouver Island, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1862.

ceedingly pessimistic as to the future of Canada's far-west province. Several travelers through the land have told of their experiences: Barrett-Lennard,[1] Milton and Cheadle,[2] and others. Major Downie, a California miner who prospected and explored here for many years, gives us enough of his adventures to make us wish for more;[3] and participants in the establishment of the boundary line on the forty-ninth parallel have left a record of their work and the circumstances under which it was carried out.[4] Judge Howay has published a series of interesting documents which shed new light on the condition of things during the hectic period of the early days of gold-mining on the Fraser River in 1858, with a scholarly introduction;[5] the writer of this paper has endeavored to sketch the monetary difficulties of the Cariboo days and the abortive attempt to establish a local currency.[6] Regarding postal system, see final note.

OREGON BOUNDARY

But prior to the peaceful survey of a line agreed on, there had been a long and somewhat acrimonious diplomatic struggle as to where such line should be. Through the United States had resounded the slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight"; and if this parallel had been made the northern boundary of the great republic, west of the Rockies, Canada would never have had a

[1] BARRETT-LENNARD, C. E. *Travels in British Columbia*, 8vo. London, 1862.

[2] MILTON, VISCOUNT, and CHEADLE, W. B. *The North West Passage by land*, 8vo. London, 1865.

[3] DOWNIE, WILLIAM. *Hunting for gold, &c.*, 8vo. San Francisco, 1893.

[4] LORD, JOHN KEAST. *The naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, 8vo. London, 1866; *At home in the wilderness*, 8vo. London, 1867.

WATSON, SIR CHARLES M. *The life of Major General Sir Chas. W. Wilson*, 8 vo. London, 1909 (see pp. 13–40).

[5] HOWAY, FEDERIC WILLIAM. *The early history of the Fraser River mines*, Victoria, B.C., 1926. (Memoir No. VI.)

[6] REID, ROBIE LEWIS. *The Assay Office and the proposed mint at New Westminster, &c.*, Archives Department, Victoria, 1926. (Memoir No. VII.)

seaport on the Pacific. England's main claim was the Columbia River to its mouth. After long discussion the forty-ninth parallel was agreed upon as the boundary.

The chief authorities favoring the claims of the United States are Farnham,[1] Greenhow,[2] Gallatin,[3] Sturges,[4] Barrows,[5] Schaefer,[6] and Binger.[7] Richard Rush describes the diplomatic struggles from the United States point of view.[8] The English side of the story is told by Falconer,[9] Nicolay,[10] Thom,[11] and Twiss.[12] Eells[13] and Nixon[14] uphold the legend that the emigration to the Oregon territory from the more easterly parts of the United States was due to the efforts of Rev. Marcus Whitman, which Marshall[15] has absolutely and forever demolished.

SAN JUAN WATER BOUNDARY

But no sooner was the main boundary settled and surveyed than a dispute arose as to which channel was to be followed through the islands which lie between the southern end of Van-

[1] FARNHAM, THOMAS J. *History of the Oregon Territory &c.*, 8vo. New York, 1844.

[2] GREENHOW, ROBERT. *History of Oregon, &c.*, 8vo. Boston, 1844; *Memoir, &c.*, 8vo. New York, 1840.

[3] GALLATIN, ALBERT. *The Oregon question*, 8vo. New York, 1846.

[4] STURGES, WILLIAM. *The Oregon question*, 8vo. Boston, 1845.

[5] BARROWS, WILLIAM. *Oregon, the struggle for possession*, 8 vo. Boston, 1884.

[6] SCHAEFER, JOSEPH. *Acquisition of Oregon Territory*, 8vo. Eugene, Ore., 1908.

[7] BINGER, HERMAN. *The Louisiana Purchase*, sq. 8vo. Washington, 1898.

[8] RUSH, RICHARD. *A residence at the court of London, 1819–25.* 2 vols. 8vo. London and Philadelphia, 1833; *A residence at the court of London* (2d ser.). 2 vols. 8vo. London and Philadelphia, 1845.

[9] FALCONER, THOMAS. *The Oregon question*, 8vo. London, 1845.

[10] NICOLAY, CHAS. GRENFELL. *Oregon Territory, &c.*, 16mo. London, 1846.

[11] THOM, ADAM. *The claims to the Oregon Territory, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1844.

[12] TWISS, TRAVERS. *Oregon question examined*, London and New York, 1846.

[13] EELLS, REV. MYRON. *Marcus Whitman, pathfinder and patriot*, Seattle, 1909.

[14] NIXON, OLIVER W. *Whitman's ride through savage lands*, n.p., 1905; *How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon*, Chicago, 1895.

[15] MARSHALL, WILLIAM J. *Acquisition of Oregon.* 2 vols. 8vo. Seattle, 1911.

couver Island and the mainland. The words of the treaty carried the boundary on the forty-ninth parallel of latitude "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island: and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean." But there were two channels, some said three, which could be followed under the foregoing description. Rosario Strait, near the mainland, would give the bulk of the islands to Great Britain; the Canal DeHaro, which follows near the eastern side of Vancouver Island, would give them to the United States. The usual difference of opinion existed, and after some controversy the matter was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who in 1872 decided the dispute in favor of the United States. The leading advocate of the claim of the United States was Caleb Cushing[1] and for the British, Viscount Milton.[2] The official publications are set out below.[3]

ALASKA BOUNDARY

Still another boundary dispute arose which had to be settled. Differences arose over the proper location of the line of demarcation between the panhandle of Southern Alaska and the province of British Columbia. As in the San Juan matter, it was due to the lack of knowledge possessed by the treaty-makers as to the topography of the country in question. There were

[1] CUSHING, CALEB. *The treaty of Washington*, 8vo. New York, 1873, pp. 220–25.

[2] MILTON, WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, VISCOUNT. *San Juan water boundary*, 8vo. London, 1869.

[3] *Correspondence respecting negotiations with the United States Government on the question of . . . . the San Juan water boundary*, London, [1869]; (House of Commons, Sessional papers, 1868–69, Vol. 63); *North West America Water boundary*, presented to Parliament in 1873, London, [1873]. 7 vols. in one, and with the protocol, 1 vol. more (House of Commons, Sessional papers, 1873, Vol. 74); *North West boundary: Discussion of the water boundary question, &c.*, Washington, 1868; (Congressional series, Vol. 1316); *Papers relating to the treaty of Washington*, Vol. V, *Berlin Arbitration*, Washington, 1872 (Congressional series, Vol. 1557), which gives the arguments in the arbitration on both sides.

more diplomatic exchanges; more pamphlets by citizens of each country upholding their country's claims. Another arbitral award, upholding in great part the contention of the United States, was given by the votes of its three representatives and that of Sir Richard Webster, one of the representatives of Great Britain. On the American side of the controversy were Thomas W. Balch,[1] Davidson,[2] and E. S. Balch;[3] on the Canadian side, Hodgins[4] and the anonymous author of *Alaska, Canada's Alaskan dismemberment.*[5] The official documents published by both governments in 1903 respecting the arbitration (Smith, *Pacific North West Americana*, Nos. 39, 40, 41, and 42) are a mine of information in respect to the history of the northern part of the northwest coast.

V. CONFEDERATION

In 1865 the two provinces of British Columbia and Vancouver Island were united under the name of British Columbia.[6] In 1871, after a protracted agitation, the united province became a portion of the Dominion of Canada. The story of the agitation leading up to the union is told in detail in Scholefield and Howay's *British Columbia.*[7] The official papers issued by the imperial government in 1869 show one phase of the matter.[8] R. E. Gosnell, formerly of Victoria, and now of Ottawa, has de-

[1] BALCH, THOMAS WILLING. *The Alaska-Canadian frontier*, Philadelphia, 1902.

[2] DAVIDSON, GEORGE. *The Alaska boundary*, 8vo. San Francisco, 1903.

[3] BALCH, E. S. *Letters and papers relating to the Alaska frontier*, Philadelphia, 1904.

[4] HODGINS, THOMAS. *The Alaska-Canadian boundary dispute*, 8vo. Toronto, 1902; *The Alaska boundary tribunal*, 8vo. Toronto, 1904.

[5] Niagara on the Lake, 8vo. Ontario, 1904.

[6] *Papers relative to the proposed union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, 31st May 1866, 25th June 1866, and May 1867.* fol.

SCHOLEFIELD and HOWAY. *British Columbia*, II, 215–29.

[7] *Op. cit.*, II, 277–98.

[8] *Papers on the union of British Columbia, with the Dominion of Canada, August 2, 1869.* fol.

voted the major part of his *Story of Confederation*[1] to the entrance of British Columbia into the Dominion, and Judge Howay has given it detailed consideration in two papers read before the Royal Society of Canada.[2]

VI. THE CANADIAN PACIFIC AND GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAYS

The vision of a railway across Canada from east to west antedated its actual construction by many years. Sir R. H. Bonnycastle in 1846,[3] Major Carmichael-Smyth in 1847,[4] Wilson and Richards in 1850,[5] Judge Haliburton in 1860,[6] Rattray in 1862,[7] and many others visioned its early completion. One of the terms on which British Columbia entered into the union with Canada was that a railway to the Pacific should be commenced within two years and completed within ten.[8] Exploration in search of an available route through the Rockies and the investigations necessary for the selection of a terminal port went on apace. Alfred Waddington, of Victoria, championed Bute Inlet as the proper terminus of the railway;[9] others, Esquimalt

[1] GOSNELL, ROBERT EDWARD. *The story of confederation*, 8vo. n.p. (1918).

[2] HOWAY, F. W. "The attitude of Governor Seymour towards confederation," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, (1920), Sec. II, pp. 31–49; "Governor Musgrave and confederation," *ibid.* (1921), Sec. II, pp. 15–31.

[3] BONNYCASTLE, SIR RICHARD HENRY. *Canada and the Canadians in 1846.* 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1846 (see I, 138).

[4] CARMICHAEL-SMYTH, MAJOR ROBERT. *Letter from, to his friend the author of "The Clockmaker," &c.*, 8vo. London, 1849.

[5] WILSON, F. A., and RICHARDS, ALFRED B. *Britain redeemed and Canada preserved*, 8vo. London, 1850.

[6] HALIBURTON, T. C. *The season ticket*, London, 1860 (see pp. 13, 14, 19, and 27).

[7] RATTRAY, ALEXANDER. *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, 8vo. London, 1862 (see pp. 135–36).

[8] Terms of union. In Scholefield and Howay, I, 695–97.

[9] WADDINGTON, ALFRED. *Overland route through British North America, &c.*, L don, 1868; *Sketch of the proposed line of Overland Railroad*, Ottawa, 1870.

at the southern end of Vancouver Island;[1] and some, Burrard Inlet, on whose shores the city of Vancouver now stands.[2] Sir Sandford Fleming, a noted Canadian engineer, took charge of the work, and exploratory surveys were carried vigorously forward. From 1872 to the completion of the railway, reports were issued giving an account of the work done during the year, the country surveyed and mapped, and a wealth of information published about Western Canada in general. Notwithstanding various troubles—political, financial, and otherwise—the work was pushed along until the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven, not indeed within the time allotted by the terms of union, but in November, 1885.

During the years of construction a number of books were published concerning Western Canada and the route of the proposed railway. Fleming, the chief engineer, made his first trip across the continent in 1872, a record of which was published by Rev. George M. Grant, who accompanied him.[3] He made another trip in 1883, also in company with Mr. Grant, but this time he wrote his own account.[4]

Later, some histories of Canada's first transcontinental railway have been published, one by Keith Morris,[5] a series of interesting sketches; another by Innis,[6] severely correct and statistical; and still another by MacBeth,[7] picturesque and graphic.

In the early part of the present century two further trans-

[1] *Reply to letter of "Old Settler," &c.*, London, 1877.

[2] DEWDNEY, EDGAR. *Pacific Railway route*, n.p., n.d. (1878).

[3] GRANT, REV. GEORGE M. *Ocean to ocean, &c.*, 8vo. Toronto and London, 1873.

[4] FLEMING, SIR SANDFORD. *England and Canada. A summer tour between Old and New Westminster*, 8vo. London, 1884.

[5] MORRIS, KEITH. *The story of the Canadian Pacific Railway*. 8vo. London, 1916.

[6] INNIS, HAROLD ADAMS. *A history of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 8vo. London and Toronto, 1923.

[7] MACBETH, REV. RODERICK GEORGE. *The romance of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 8vo. Toronto (1924).

continental railways were built through to the coast, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, both now taken over and operated as the Canadian National Railways by the Dominion government. The story of the Grand Trunk Pacific and its construction through the wilderness has been told in a most fascinating way by Talbot;[1] and the political and financial side of the troubles of the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific by Lovett.[2] The Canadian Northern has not as yet found its historian.

THE CANADIAN YUKON

Prior to the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1896, little was known of the upper valley of the Yukon and its tributaries. The earliest accounts we have are reports made by two employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.[3] Some travelers who visited that part of America at a later date give interesting accounts of the country in the pre-Klondike days.[4] There was also an account of the means of access to the earlier mines on the Yukon,[5] and some reports were made by officials sent out by the Canadian government to report on the district.[6] A volume

[1] TALBOT, F. A. *The making of a great Canadian railway*, 8vo. London, 1912.

[2] LOVETT, HARRY A., K.C. *Canada and the Grand Trunk*, 8vo. [Montreal, 1924.]

[3] CAMPBELL, ROBERT. *Discovery and exploration of the Youcon (Pelly) River, 1840 1842*, Winnipeg, 1885.

MURRAY, ALEXANDER H. *Journal du Yukon, 1847–8* (ed. L. J. Burpee), 8vo. Ottawa, 1910 (with bibliography).

[4] WHYMPER, FREDERICK. *Travel and adventure in the Territory of Alaska*, 8vo. London, 1868.

SCHWATKA, LIEUT. FREDERICK. *Along Alaska's great river*, 8vo. New York (1885); and *sub nom., A summer in Alaska*, 8vo. Philadelphia and St. Louis, 1891.

PIKE, WARBURTON. *Through the sub-arctic forest*, 8vo. London and New York, 1896 (covering a trip down the Yukon in 1892–93).

[5] BRUCE, MINER W. *Alaska, its history and resources, &c.*, 8vo. New York and Seattle, 1895.

[6] DAWSON, GEORGE MERCER. *Report on an exploration in the Yukon District . . .. in 1887*, 8vo. Montreal, 1888.

MCCONNELL, R. G. *Report on an exploration in the Yukon*, 8vo. Montreal, 1891.

printed in London after the discovery of the Klondike gives extracts from Dawson's *Report*, and the narrative of W. H. Dall, the leader of an expedition to Alaska in 1898.[1]

A large amount of printed matter, little of which is of any literary value, followed the discovery of the Klondike mines. It consisted of manuals, issued in various cities in Canada and the United States, to satisfy the clamor of the world for information as to the means of reaching the new Eldorado, and what to do when one arrived there. These professed to instruct the inexperienced adventurer how to reach his goal, what supplies to take with him, and how to obtain and extract riches from placer mines. In many cases, they also served as advertisements of the cities in which they were issued, as being the proper place to obtain their outfit. Probably the most practical were two written by, or on information obtained from, one Joseph Ladue, whom William Ogilvie calls "the eversmiling Ladue," a New Yorker of French-Canadian descent, an ex-prospector on the Yukon for a number of years, who opened a store in Dawson in September, 1896.[2] The Canadian government had sent out William Ogilvie in 1887 to determine the position of the one hundred and forty-first meridian, and his duties in this and other matters had kept him in Northwestern Canada until the gold strike, when he and others were called on to supply information.[3]

After the manuals for newcomers, and after the mines became a reality and were producing enormous amounts of gold,

[1] *The Yukon Territory*, 8vo. London, 1898.

[2] LADUE, JOSEPH. *Klondyke facts*, 12mo. New York, 1897; *Klondyke nuggets*, 8vo. New York, 1897.

[3] OGILVIE, WILLIAM. *Information respecting the Yukon District*, 8vo. Ottawa, 1897; *The Klondyke official guide*, 8vo. Toronto, 1898.

JENNINGS, W. T. *Report on the exploration of routes to the Yukon*, 8vo. Ottawa, 1897.

came the records of the experiences of the participants in the stampede to the north. That written by the wise and experienced Ogilvie is easily the most authoritative.[1] We have some accounts by actual miners,[2] one by a famous newspaper correspondent, who spent a winter in Dawson;[3] one by a well-known Englishman, resident in Dawson for many years,[4] and several others who visited the country during the gold days and had an opportunity to know more or less of the realities of the period.[5]

Since the romance of the Klondike faded into the prosaic days of the near past and the present a number of books have appeared which are of interest. Some give accounts of the pleasure to be derived from the abundant game of that far-off region;[6] one describes a trip on both the MacKenzie River and

[1] OGILVIE, WILLIAM. *Early days on the Yukon*, 8vo. London, New York, and Toronto, 1913.

[2] STANLEY, WILLIAM M. *A mile of gold*, 8vo. Chicago, 1898.

HASKELL, WILLIAM B. *Two years in the Klondike and Alaskan gold fields*, 8vo. Hartford, Conn., 1898.

LYNCH, JEREMIAH. *Three years in the Klondike*, 8vo. London, 1904.

[3] PALMER, FREDERICK. *In the Klondike*, 8vo. New York, 1899.

[4] TOLLEMACHE, HON. STRATFORD. *Reminiscences of the Yukon*, 8vo. Toronto and London, 1912.

[5] KIRK, ROBERT C. *Twelve months in the Klondike*, 8vo. London, 1899.

HASKELL, WILLIAM B. *Two years in the Klondike and Alaskan gold fields*, 8vo. Hartford, Conn., 1898. (Author claims to have had a mining claim on the Klondike).

DEWINDT, HARRY. *Through the gold fields of Alaska, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1898.

ADNEY, TAPPAN. *The Klondike stampede*, 8vo. New York, 1900.

HEILPRIN, A. *Alaska and the Klondike*, 8vo. New York, 1899.

SECRETAN, JAMES H. E. *To Klondyke and back*, 8vo. London, 1898.

AUZIAS TURENNE, RAYMOND. *Voyage au pays des mines d'or*, 8vo. Paris, 1899.

[6] MARTINDALE, THOMAS. *Hunting on the Upper Yukon*, 8vo, Philadelphia, 1913.

AUER, HARRY ANTON. *Camp fires in the Yukon; a record of big game hunting*, 8vo. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1916.

SHELDON, CHARLES. *Wilderness of the Upper Yukon*, 8vo. New York, 1919.

the Yukon;[1] and others, Klondike itself in later days.[2] The life of the Rev. W. H. Judge, by his brother, is a well-deserved tribute to the noble work done in early days by one of the best-known and well-beloved clergymen of Dawson City.[3]

The Yukon boasts one poet, Robert W. Service, whose works are too well known to need any reference here.

FINAL NOTE.—Since this paper was written, the following books have been published:

HOWAY, FREDERIC WILLIAM. *British Columbia, a province in the making*, 8vo. Toronto, 1928. See p. 31, ref. 4.

DEAVILLE, ALFRED STANLEY. *The colonial postal systems and postage stamps of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849–1871*. Victoria, B.C., 1928. Memoir VIII. See p. 35.

WICKERSHAM, JUDGE JAMES. *Bibliography of Alaskan literature, 1724–1924*. Cordova, Alaska, 1927. Includes "Boundary, Alaska and Canada," nos. 857–964, and "Yukon Territory," nos. 6752–6808.

In addition, the following title was noticed too late to be inserted in its proper place:

DILLON, CAPT. PETER. *Voyage aux isles de la Mer du Sud, etc.*, 8vo. 2 vols. Paris, 1830. See p. 25, ref. 2.

[1] STEWART, ELIHU. *Down the MacKenzie and up the Yukon*, 8vo. London and Toronto, 1913.

[2] CAMERON, CHARLOTTE. *A Cheechako in Alaska*, 8vo. London, 1920.

[3] JUDGE, REV. CHAS. J. *An American missionary*, 8vo. Boston, 1907.