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THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME I.

1937

VICTORIA, B.C.

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"Any country worthy of a future should be interested in its past."

EARLY SHIPPING IN BURRARD INLET 1863–1870.

Last year many eyes were turned to Vancouver's magnificent harbour, and it may therefore be of interest to sketch the economic development of the port—the roots from which its present importance has sprung—and its steady and gradual growth in the years between 1863 and 1870.

The very first land access to Burrard Inlet, as Vancouver Harbour was then called, was a trail built in 1859 from New Westminster to Port Moody, at the head of the inlet, by the Royal Engineers, then located in that city. This was a purely military move, for the purpose of affording an outlet in the rear of their camp and a second means of approach. When Admiral Baynes was in Burrard Inlet on H.M.S. *Plumper*, in October, 1859, he bethought himself to pay a friendly visit to Colonel Moody, the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers. Writing of the occasion, he speaks of Port Moody as " a fine harbour from which there is a trail cut to New Westminster, the future capital of British Columbia." He then proceeds: "A trail is a rough path cut through the woods, the distance about six miles which I had nearly accomplished when a horse sent by Col. Moody met me. I was not too conceited to mount and save myself the last half mile. These trails are rough walking with stumps and inequalities liable to trip one up every moment; so that it is necessary to look at your steps." In 1861 the trail was transformed into a road, the North Road as it has ever since been called. There was not at that time a single white person living on the inlet.

The wealth of the sea and the forest drew attention to the commercial possibilities of the inlet. As early as April, 1863, G. Tranfield, a fish and game dealer in New Westminster, sent several men to the inlet to fish for cod to supply the markets of the mainland. John Robson, the owner and editor of the *British Columbian*, ever alert for openings for expansion, urged capitalists to canvass carefully the possibilities of this industry. In that connection he stressed the necessity for a road from New Westminster that should reach the inlet near the First Narrows. He had already pointed to the timber wealth and

directed the attention of the lumbermen of Canada and New Brunswick to the great opportunity it offered and the fine harbour on which it was situated. Burrard Inlet at that time was indeed a veritable lumberman's paradise. It had one of the finest stands of easily accessible timber in the colony; from the First Narrows to Port Moody on both sides the land was covered with the finest fir and cedar.

The first step to utilize the latent timber wealth of the inlet was taken in the winter of 1862. T. W. Graham & Company, contractors and builders, of New Westminster, had secured pre-emptions on 480 acres of timber on the north shore of the inlet at the spot later, and for many years, known as Moodyville, now a part of the City of North Vancouver. They began the construction there of a sawmill which was completed and in operation by the end of June, 1863. This mill, known as "The Pioneer Mills"—the first industrial plant of any kind on the inlet—was operated by water-power. It had two centre-discharge water-wheels, driven by a water-head of estimated 50-horse power, two circular saws, a 22-inch planing-machine, and other auxiliary equipment. Its capacity was 40,000 feet in twenty-four hours. The logs were cut on the pre-emptions adjoining and hauled by oxen to the mill. The proprietors did not seek foreign trade, but found their market in New Westminster, Nanaimo, and Victoria; the superior quality of the Burrard Inlet timber would, they thought, enable them to overcome the handicap of distance and compete with the local mills. The first cargo was shipped to New Westminster on Captain William Moore's steamer the *Flying Dutchman* in August, 1863. It consisted of 25,000 feet of 3-inch plank for the levee along the water-front of that city.

To advertise the mill, Mr. P. Hicks, its agent in New Westminster, organized an excursion on the *Flying Dutchman* on the occasion of her visit to the mill to obtain that shipment. This was the first pleasure party to Burrard Inlet. Some of the excursionists instead of returning to New Westminster by water were taken up to Port Moody and returned overland by way of the North Road. Later in August a second excursion party arranged by the genial Colonel J. T. Scott, and consisting of 150 persons on the steamer *Governor Douglas*, visited the inlet. The attrac-

tion was not only the novelty of a water-power sawmill, but also the hope of seeing H.M.S. *Sutlej*, Admiral Kingcombe, which was said to be there for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the suitability of Burrard Inlet as a naval base and station.

Despite the excellence of its product, the competition of the mills in New Westminster, the isolated situation, and the difficulties, delays, and expense of transport were too much and too many for the little Pioneer Mills. Graham & Co. determined to abandon the venture. In December, 1863, they advertised for sale at public auction the whole undertaking with about 1,000,000 feet of logs lying in the woods of North Vancouver. On the 16th of that month John Oscar Smith, who had been a grocer in New Westminster and later an employee on Captain William Irving's steamer *Reliance*, became the owner of the Pioneer Mills. Strangely enough, Sewell P. Moody, affectionately known to all pioneers as "Sue Moody" and whose name is prominently associated with the establishment of lumbering on the inlet, was the only other bidder at the auction. After $6,000 had been offered, Moody and Smith raised the price by $100 bids until it reached $8,000, at which figure it was knocked down to Smith. But Moody bided his time, perhaps believing that experience in the grocery business and on steamers on Fraser River was scarcely an apprenticeship to sawmilling.

The new owner changed the name to "The Burrard Inlet Mills." He went to work with a will. Victoria, then in the separate colony of Vancouver Island, was his principal market. All through the summer of 1864 he was steadily manufacturing and shipping lumber to Victoria, Nanaimo, and other local points. In November Smith made his first (and last) venture into the foreign export trade: the earliest export of lumber from Burrard Inlet to foreign ports. This was shipped on the barque *Ellen Lewis*, Captain Hellon. As the inlet was not then a port of entry the vessel actually entered and cleared at New Westminster. She took a cargo of 277,500 feet of lumber and 16,000 pickets, and sailed for Adelaide, Australia, on November 9, 1864. J. A. R. Homer's mill in New Westminster furnished a portion of the shipment. Naturally this pioneer ship in the export trade of the inlet was a long time in loading. The little mill did not have facilities for quick dispatch. The result was

that the *Ellen Lewis* was in Burrard Inlet from September 16 till November 9—nearly two months.

Smith did not make a success of his attempt to operate the sawmill. In December, 1864, after an effort lasting twelve months, the mortgagee took proceedings and offered the water-power mill and the 480 acres of timber for sale. It was purchased by S. P. Moody & Co., of New Westminster. Burrard Inlet now came into its own and the mill under Moody's management rose steadily in importance. But as John Oscar Smith passes off the scene we must place to his credit the honour of being the first man to dispatch a cargo of lumber from Burrard Inlet to foreign parts.

Moody altered and improved the mill, which was still operated by water-power, and in February, 1865, had the wheels turning once more. He renamed it " The Burrard Inlet Lumber Mills." He established an agency in New Westminster, as his predecessors had done, to compete for the local trade; but, knowing the excellent quality of the Burrard Inlet timber, he resolved to capture a share of world markets. His first export cargo of lumber was shipped by the barque *Glimpse* to Sydney, Australia, in May, 1865. This barque had been wrecked at Clover Point in March, 1860, but had been sold and repaired. It took Moody about six weeks to load her. As yet there was no port of entry on the inlet and the *British Columbian* records that Mr. Moody and the barque's captain, Seth Hall, walked over to New Westminster by the Hastings or Douglas Road, which had just been completed. His second vessel was the ship *Envoy*, which arrived in May, 1865, and loaded 300,000 feet of lumber for Adelaide, Australia. Moody was not, however, overlooking the local trade. In June, 1865, he sent to New Westminster a number of " sticks " 70 feet long and 20 inches square, without a knot in them. These were to be used in the erection of the bell-tower of Holy Trinity Church, to support the chime of bells donated by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. His third export cargo was sent to Mexico in the ship *Metropolis*, Captain Howard, which reached his mill on June 29. She got quicker dispatch than her predecessors, being loaded and ready to sail on 29th July. In the meantime the importance and possibilities of the inlet had been recognized in the appointment of a deputy collector of customs to enable vessels

to enter and clear more easily. The *Metropolis* had brought freight for New Westminster—the beginning of return cargoes for Burrard Inlet. Moody's fourth vessel was the British barque *Kent*, which had brought from Glasgow, Scotland, the machinery for the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company's mill—commonly called Stamp's mill. The *Kent* arrived in Burrard Inlet on December 20, 1865; and after discharging the machinery at Stamp's mill, which was then a-building, was towed across to Moody's mill, where she loaded lumber for Mexico.

Early in January, 1866, the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Princess Royal*, so prominent in the story of Vancouver Island, came to Burrard Inlet with cargo. After transferring her lading to the steamer *Enterprise* she returned to Victoria. In April she cleared from Victoria laden with spars, but they appear to have been obtained at Port Madison, in the Territory of Washington.

During 1866 Moody's export business expanded. The quality of Burrard Inlet lumber was becoming known, though slowly. In August the American ship *John Jay* and the British barque *Jeddo* arrived, both to load lumber for Australia. The captain of the *Jeddo* was loud in his praise of the lumber, which he declared was the best on the coast. The Burrard Inlet spars, he said, were immensely superior to those he had purchased in England, not only in dimensions but also in quality. And as for Burrard Inlet itself: "This is without exception," said he, "one of the finest harbours I ever saw." Moody's water-power mill had so improved that both vessels were loaded in less than a month. The ship *Mackay* and the barque *Brazilla* followed in October. The latter loaded 400,000 feet of lumber for Callao, Peru. Her captain, S. MacLean, informed Moody that the shipping men of San Francisco claimed that the navigation to Burrard Inlet was dangerous; he urged that an energetic effort be made to overcome this mistaken opinion. The fifth and last ship for 1866 was the *Evelyn Wood*, which sailed on 28th December with a cargo of lumber for Shanghai, China.

In 1867 Moody's mill showed a small improvement in export trade. The record for his first year—1865—was four vessels; for 1866, five vessels; for 1867, seven vessels. Some details follow.

In February the Hawaiian barque *Lono* took a cargo of lumber for Honolulu. This vessel was in the regular trade between "the islands" and the North-west Coast. The British ship *Parisian*, Captain Ross, which had reached Victoria, April 18, with passengers and freight from New Zealand, came to Moody's about a week later to load a return cargo of lumber for Otago. The third vessel for 1867 was the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Princess Royal*, which arrived early in June to load 400,000 feet of lumber for Valparaiso, Chili. Cargo was supplied to her at the rate of 30,000 feet a day, and by 29th June she was ready for sea, laden with lumber "superior to any yet exported," said the *British Columbian*. To overcome the feeling in San Francisco that the navigation to Burrard Inlet was dangerous, Moody in June visited that city. His mission was successful; on the 22nd of that month he telegraphed therefrom ordering 1,400,000 feet to be cut immediately for two ships he had chartered, and which would shortly arrive. It was not, however, until 22nd August that the British ship *Anna Dorothea* arrived in ballast from China, to load 600,000 feet for Melbourne, Australia; on 21st September the other chartered vessel, the French brig *Josephine Marie*, Captain Bertin, was towed in to load, presumably about 800,000 feet, one-half of which was to be tongued-and-grooved flooring, for Iquique, Chili. Her lading was completed and she was towed to sea on 24th October. On 30th October another French ship, the *Nantaise et Creole*, arrived in ballast from San Francisco for a cargo of lumber for Iquique. She was completely loaded and towed out on 27th November, less than a month after her arrival. Plainly the water-power mill was improving its facilities for cutting and loading cargoes. Moody's seventh and last vessel in 1867 was the *Marmeluke*, which tied up at the mill on 30th November to load lumber for Mexico.

CAPTAIN STAMP AND STAMP'S MILL.

As Stamp's mill only began to operate in 1867 the story of his activities on Burrard Inlet will now be told. Though commonly called "Stamp's mill," it was owned by the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, of which Captain Stamp was manager. In deference to usage it will be referred to as Stamp's mill. It was the first sawmill on the

southern shore of Burrard Inlet, and occupied the site now known as the Hastings mill.

Captain Edward Stamp had been in the commission and importing business in Victoria from 1858; in 1859 he began to export spars, principally from Puget Sound; in 1860 he built for Scottish owners a large sawmill at Alberni; owing to disputes he, in 1862, retired from its management. But two years later his interest in the timber of British Columbia revived, and in June, 1864, he sent a party of men to Port Neville to cut spars. It was rumoured that he would build a mill at that northern spot. However, by April, 1865, he had incorporated the B.C. and V.I. Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, in England, with a capital of £100,000. The Port Neville scheme was abandoned, and it was announced that Stamp's company would locate on Burrard Inlet. The site selected for the mill was a prominent point on its southern shore. In July, 1865, Stamp commenced the construction of the mill buildings and of a steamer to be used in the business. Moody had managed to get along without a steamer; his ships either came in under sail or were towed by one of the Victoria tug-boats. The machinery for the mill and the steamer was ordered in Glasgow, Scotland. One of those curious errors so frequently found in our history identifies the machinery in Stamp's mill on Burrard Inlet with that of the mill at Alberni, alleging that it was merely transferred from the one mill to the other. Perhaps this error originated in the fact that Stamp began to build on Burrard Inlet in 1865, the very year in which the Alberni mill was closed.

Pending the commencement of lumber manufacture, Stamp chartered vessels to carry cargoes of spars from the inlet. His first spar ship was the *Aquila*, a British bottom of 1,400 tons, Captain Sayward, which dropped anchor at his mill, August 17, 1865. The spars, 251 in all, were cut by Jeremiah Rogers at "Jericho" on English Bay, near Kitsilano; of them the *British Columbian* said: "This may be considered the first shipment of spars from here, but from what we have heard respecting the quality of those taken out, it is not likely to be the last." The remainder of the *Aquila's* cargo was an assortment of British Columbian products; it consisted of 138,705 feet of fir lumber supplied by Moody's mill on the opposite side of the inlet, 435

hides, 57 bales of wool, 12 boxes of coal—surely "carrying coals to Newcastle"—one barrel of salt salmon, and three barrels of cranberries. With this miscellaneous cargo the *Aquila* cleared for Cork, Ireland, on November 4, 1865. Stamp's second spar ship, the *Egeria*, Captain Evans, was towed in on 17th October. She took 257 spars, valued at $59,000, and 100,000 feet of lumber supplied by Moody's mill, and sailed for Glasgow late in January, 1866.

In the meantime the mill buildings were being pressed to completion, and the British barque *Kent* had arrived from Glasgow with the machinery. Unfortunately one box had been left behind; some of the missing parts arrived in November, 1866, and the remainder in April, 1867; the result was that Stamp's mill did not begin to cut lumber until the following June. These blunders resulted in a lawsuit in which Stamp's company succeeded in obtaining damages for the loss they had sustained. The machinery for his steamer, the *Isabel*, was brought out from Scotland in May, 1866. This steamer, the first owned by any sawmill on the mainland, was built in Victoria at a cost of $50,000, and launched on July 25, 1866. She was a side-wheel vessel, 146 feet long, 24 feet beam, and 9 feet hold; commanded successively, while owned by Stamp's mill company, by Captains Chambers, Pamphlet, and Devereux. It may be added that, after the failure of Stamp's company, she was for many years a passenger-steamer and tow-boat in our waters and on Puget Sound; in 1894 she was dismantled and used as a barge.

During 1866, so far as available records show, Stamp loaded no spar ships. But on May 14, 1867, the British ship *Astarte*, 1,574 tons, Captain Dodd, consigned to the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company—Stamp's company—reached New Westminster, 164 days from Aden. The *Isabel* towed her around to the inlet, where Stamp loaded her with a cargo of spars for the French Government. Every one claims that these spars were probably the best ever shipped from any part of the world. Captain Dodd, speaking at a public banquet in New Westminster, eulogized them and complimented Jeremiah Rogers, the cutter, and Stamp, the shipper, upon their fine quality. It may here be interjected, parenthetically, that Rogers, who was a New Brunswicker, had been logging for Captain Stamp at

Alberni for some years. The *Astarte* appears to be the largest trading-vessel which up to that time had passed through the First Narrows. She was loaded and ready for sea by 30th July. Following her came in June, 1867, the ship *Eunice Nicholas*, of 1,100 tons, to load a cargo of spars for England—Stamp's fourth spar ship.

By this time Stamp had at long last completed his (or, rather, his company's) mill and was offering cargoes of spars and sawn lumber. Thus, in June, 1867, two mills were in operation on Burrard Inlet: Moody's water-power mill on the north shore and Stamp's steam-sawmill on the south shore. Jeremiah Rogers' camp at " Jericho " was producing " some magnificent logs " for Stamp's mill; and a number of smaller camps were getting out logs on the inlet.

In June, 1867, arrived Stamp's first lumber ship, the *Siam*. She was to take 600,000 or 700,000 feet for Australia. Stamp began cutting her cargo on 18th June, and on 25th July the *Isabel* towed her out to sea, fully loaded. For a pioneer cargo of that size this appears quick dispatch. Then came the British ship *Australind*, which the *Isabel* towed in to the mill about 20th August to load lumber. On 11th September arrived the American barque *General Cobb*, Captain A. F. Spear, from San Francisco—Stamp's third lumber vessel; and on the 14th the large ship *Nation's Hope*, Captain Blix, from San Francisco, was towed in by the *Isabel*, to load for Java a cargo of spars consigned to the Dutch Government. The spars were all ready, having been cut and hewn by Jeremiah Rogers in the preceding year. Her arrival made a record of four deep-water vessels in Burrard Inlet at the same time: *Australind*, *General Cobb*, and *Nation's Hope* at Stamp's mill, and *Anna Dorothea* at Moody's. It took Stamp over a month to load the *Nation's Hope* with 932 spars, valued at $150,000. She cleared for Batavia on 25th October, and on the following day the *Isabel* towed her to sea. The ship *Day Dawn* was Stamp's next lumber-export vessel. She arrived from San Francisco on 16th September. Burrard Inlet had become such a lively port that on 23rd October Governor Seymour roused himself sufficiently from his lethargy to pay a visit on the Government yacht, the *Leviathan*, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Trutch, Charles Good, Clerk of the Legislative Council, and D. C.

Maunsell, the Governor's private secretary. Stamp's last ship for 1867 was the *Trebolgan*, 1,200 tons, in ballast from China, to load lumber, spars, and shingles for the Chinese market. Her advent was hailed as a direct result of the fine lumber cargo that Moody's mill had shipped on the *Evelyn Wood* to Shanghai in December, 1866. It gave basis for the conviction that the darkest days were over, that Burrard Inlet lumber had won its place in the markets of the world, and that a great demand for it must soon arise.

MOODY'S AND STAMP'S LUMBER EXPORTS IN 1868.

The incomplete returns culled from the newspapers of 1868 show eighteen vessels loading at Moody's mill. Early in January the British barque *Mercara*, 300 tons, an iron vessel—believed to be the first iron ship to enter Burrard Inlet—arrived from England to load lumber for Valparaiso. Then followed, in quick succession, the Hawaiian barque *Rosalia*, Captain Juan Endeiza, which loaded 150,000 feet for China, but never reached the Orient, as she was totally wrecked on Discovery Island; the American brig *Orient*, Captain Lennan, taking a cargo for San Francisco, which, despite high tariff, was one of the principal markets; the American ship *Simoda*, Captain S. F. Crowell, loading for China. The *Rosalia* was the first loss in the lumber ships from the inlet. She was in tow of the *Isabel* and all went well until near San Juan Island. There a gale was blowing and the *Rosalia's* hawser parted or was cut. At any rate, she drifted astern, ultimately stranded on Discovery Island, and was soon a total loss. Her wreck was sold for $430. In March the inlet made another record in deep-sea shipping: three vessels at Moody's and four at Stamp's. In April the American barque *Zephyr*, Captain Trask, loaded a cargo for San Francisco, but went ashore at Point Roberts on her way to sea; she apparently was successfully floated. May, too, was a busy month at Moody's: the American ship *Samoset*, Captain Greenlief, loading for San Francisco; the British barque *Eastham*—the second iron vessel—Captain Wiseman, for Callao; and Swedish brig *Sidon*, Captain Albert Morik, for Foo Choo, China. These three vessels took in all 1,200,000 feet of lumber. In that month another record was established: ten ships loaded on the inlet. The

American barque *Nestor*, Captain Bearse, and the British barque *Chelsea*, Captain William J. Looe, arrived in June; the former to load for San Francisco and the latter for Australia. The *Chelsea* is described as a " very fine ship of 1,000 tons "; she took 650,000 feet of lumber. Her captain had nice things to say of Burrard Inlet. The ship's expenses did not amount to one-third of what they were at Puget Sound in the preceding year, " and, further, the crews here (at Moody's mill) are free from the temptations of the grog-shop and no idlers are allowed about the place." In September the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Princess Royal* returned on her third visit to the inlet, and in two days was completely loaded with lumber for Valparaiso. The next month saw two ships at Moody's: the *Industry* and the *Spirit of the Age*, both loading lumber for South America. The latter ship was delayed in sailing owing to fog, and even after she was out of the Narrows she grounded off San Juan Island, but was got off without damage. In November the ships *Guayaquil* and *Topgallant* were loading; both were bound for Callao. The last vessels of the year were the *Leonide* and the *Knowsley*, both for Callao—the latter taking 430,000 feet. It will be observed that South America was becoming an important and increasing market for Burrard Inlet lumber. This list does not include the cargoes of coasting vessels to Victoria, Nanaimo, and New Westminster. It is manifestly not complete, for the *British Columbian* states that between January, 1867, and June 17, 1868, Moody had loaded thirty-three vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 8,169 tons, with cargoes amounting to 5,832,000 feet and 800,000 shingles—the latter, of course, hand-made. The list that has been given above, which includes all that are named in the newspapers, shows only seventeen in the same period.

Under the pressure of this expanding business, Moody, in June, 1868, began the construction of a second mill—a large steam-mill—about 300 yards west of the water-power mill. The new building was 200 feet long, with saws, planing-machine, lath-splitting machine, and a lathe capable of turning shafts and cylinders of ample dimensions for mill and steamboat trade. It was completed in September, and Moody claimed to be able to produce 100,000 feet of lumber a day. The wharves of the two mills were connected, giving ample dockage for a dozen ships. With this

expansion Moodyville became a considerable village. Its sunny southern-sloping hillside was covered with neat, though small, dwellings; on the water-front, a few shops.

Turning now to the operations of Stamp's mill in 1868 the same improvement is found. In 1867 he had loaded eight vessels with spars and sawn lumber, but in 1868 the number increased to fifteen at least, even according to the incomplete notices in the newspapers. His ladings, as so given, were as follows: The first was the schooner *Superior*, so named from having been built on that lake. She took 200,000 feet of lumber for Callao. Next came the British ship *Dorchester* and the American brig *Levi Stevens* to load for Australia. The *Levi Stevens* is described as "a really beautiful brig" and said to be "the handsomest vessel that ever entered our harbour." In March, 1868, arrived the American brig *Commodore*, Captain Robertson, to load for Australia; the British barque *Marmora* for China; and the British brig *Robert Cowan* for the Hawaiian Islands. The American barque *Oakland*, Captain Batchelder, loaded in May, for an unusual destination—Tongas Island, in Southern Alaska. Perhaps the lumber was for the first United States military post in that recently acquired territory. In May also came two American barques, the *Gem of the Ocean*, Captain Mitchell, to load 450,000 feet for Valparaiso, and the *Vidette*, Captain Frank W. Gatter, to load 650,000 feet. While the *Vidette* was being towed out about 11th July she ran aground near the First Narrows; after 50,000 feet had been lightered she floated and was towed off. The beautiful British barque *Monita*, Captain W. H. Turpin, was at Stamp's mill in May loading lumber, when she caught fire. By good fortune just at that time the *Isabel* was approaching with the French ship *Deux Frères*, Captain l'Otelier, in tow, to load lumber. The *Isabel* at once put lines on the burning barque and took her to the beach eastward of the mill, where she was scuttled. The remainder of the story of the *Monita's* experiences is an interesting page in the history of Burrard Inlet, but this is not the place to tell it. In May, too, the wharf at Stamp's mill broke down with the loss of 300,000 feet of lumber that was carried away by the tide. Stamp's next vessel was the ship *Nazarene*, which arrived from China to load lumber, but her destination is not given. In December, 1868, four vessels were loading lumber

at Stamp's mill: the barque *Prince Victor*, Captain Jones, for Peru; the schooner *Mary Belle*, Captain Roberts, 320,000 feet, for San Francisco; the schooner *Frederick Townsend*, loading 250,000 feet for San Francisco; and the barque *Maria J. Smith*, taking 450,000 feet for Sydney, Australia. The latter vessel never reached her intended destination. She was towed to sea in February, 1869, and some time later was wrecked near Barkley Sound. In the following November the ship and cargo were sold at auction in Victoria for $1,500. Then the *Maria J. Smith* seems to have taken it into her mind to resume her wanderings. Drifting away from Barkley Sound she became a derelict, even a "lost derelict," but in March, 1870, she turned up at Bella Bella and Mr. Morris Moss, finding her, made her fast to the shore. The last news of the ill-fated barque came a week later—the sea was pounding her to pieces against the rocky side of Milbanke Sound.

Between January 1, 1867, and June 17, 1868, Stamp's mill, according to the *British Columbian*, had loaded fourteen vessels, representing 6,675 tons, with 4,101,000 feet of lumber, 100,000 shingles, and 2,000 spars. The probability, however, is that the newspaper list is incomplete. Further research might enable the presentation of the full-size picture, but my purpose is merely to give some impression of the manufacturing and commercial life on Burrard Inlet two decades before William Evans brought the first transcontinental train to Coal Harbour. By 1868 Burrard Inlet was a very busy place. Moody's two mills and Stamp's mill were running steadily. On both sides of the harbour were to be seen many evidences of improvement. There were three incipient towns: Moodyville, Brighton, later Hastings (at the "end of the road" from New Westminster), and Stamp's mill, later colloquially called "Gastown." The two latter are now a part of the City of Vancouver. In addition, there were six logging camps taking out spars and logs, and some smaller establishments specializing in ship's knees and hand-made shingles. These camps, with Stamp's mill and Moody's mills, furnished employment for some 300 men. Amongst the loggers of the sixties the name of Jeremiah ("Jerry") Rogers occupies the foremost position.

Let us continue the story through the year 1869. The trade on Burrard Inlet has now become so great that it seems wise to place its details in tabular form, showing vessels, cargoes, ports of destination, and other available information, and to make special mention only of those vessels that for some reason call for individual attention. (*See* Tables 1 and 2.)

In 1869, according to the items in the newspapers, Moody loaded about twenty-four ships; and Stamp's mill about twenty-one. On 2nd January, 1869, Captain Stamp retired from the management of the so-called Stamp's mill. He was then succeeded by Captain James A. Raymur. The mill continued to be known as "Stamp's mill." Then followed a series of lawsuits between Captain Stamp and the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, which in August, 1869, were settled by a judgment for $14,000.

But in the interval the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company had gone into liquidation in England. The mill, with its land claims and all its equipment and property, including the steamer *Isabel*, was offered for sale at auction, and finally, after many delays and adjournments, sold February 23, 1870, to J. C. Nicholson, representing Dickson, DeWolf and Co., of San Francisco, for $20,000—the merest fraction of its value. The newspaper notices refer to it in the early part of 1869 as "Stamp's mill," but later they use the name "B. C. and V. I. mill." In August, 1870, the name of the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company was changed to that of the Hastings Saw Mill Company, and about the same time came the end of the litigation between Stamp and the company when he obtained a judgment for $150 damages for use of the Lot No. 181 for water transit. As early as October 20, 1869, the "end of the road" was being called Hastings and the hotel there "Hasting's hotel."

Of the twenty-four vessels loaded by Moody's mills in 1869, the British barque *Vigil*, Captain Prince Gilpin, took 361,133 feet to Callao. She sailed in April and reached her destination in July. Her port charges on Burrard Inlet were about $44 and pilotage dues $7 a foot, showing that she was piloted from Royal Roads and drew more than 10 feet. She was the third iron vessel to enter the inlet. The *Byzantium*, which loaded in June for

TABLE 1.—MOODY'S MILLS, 1869.

Name.	Rig.	Captain.	Arrival.	Departure.	Destination.	Remarks.
Golden Age	Ship	Thomas	Feb. 17	April 30	London	Spar-ship.
Regent	Ship		Mar. 24 (Victoria)	May 15	San Francisco	
Vigil	Barque		Mar. 27			
Adele	Barquentine		Mar. 27 (loading)	April 9	San Francisco	
Amoor			May 13			
B. A. Mar				June 5	San Francisco	
Alice M. Nimott	Ship	Lowell	April 24	June 1 (Victoria)	Callao	
Byzantium	Brig	Calhoun	May 27	June 19	Honolulu	Regular packet to Hawaiian Islands.
B. Aymer	Ship			June 7	San Francisco	
Golden Horn	Ship		June 8 (loading)	June 23 (?)		
Delaware	Barque	Hornsby	June 29	July 26	San Francisco	Had been wrecked on Fisgard Island and bought by Moody and Co.
Nuevez Martinez				Aug. 3	Valparaiso	
Maria	Barque	Duncan or Horn	Aug. 13 (Victoria)	Sept. 16	New Zealand	
Windward	Barque	Barret	Aug. 7 (Victoria)	Sept. 14	Shanghai	
B.U.M.S.	Barque	Wilson	Aug. 29 (Victoria)	Sept. 25	Lambayaque	
Cape Horn	Barque	Matren	Aug. 18 (Victoria)		Valparaiso	
Ava	Barque	Abbott	Aug. 31	Oct. 3		Did not take a tow and waited six days for wind.
Delaware	Barque	Hornsby	Oct. 10	Oct. 23	San Francisco	Owned by Moody and Co.
Ruby	Barque		Oct. 21 (loading)	Nov. 13	Australia	Delayed owing to difficulty in getting a crew.
Maud Ellen	Barque		Nov. 21			Though under contract to load at Stamp's was loaded by Moody's. She sailed in.
Alarm	Sloop					
Adele	Barquentine		Nov. 10	Dec. 17	Sydney	Came in without a tow.
Coquette	Brig		Nov. 26		Coquimbo	
Delaware	Barque	Hornsby	Dec. 31 (awaiting cargo)		San Francisco	

TABLE 2.—STAMP'S MILL, 1869.

(British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company.)

Name.	Rig.	Captain.	Arrival.	Departure.	Destination.
Corsica	Ship		Feb. 3	Feb. 26	San Francisco.
Mary	Barque	Hanson	Mar. 18 (Victoria)	Mar. 30	San Francisco.
Marie	Barque		Mar. 24 (Victoria)	April 20	Australia.
Favorite	Schooner	MacKay	Mar. 26		Mexico.
Saga	Barque		April 19	May 27 (Victoria)	Shanghai.
Gem of the Ocean	Barque	Mitchell	June 1		San Francisco.
Macedon	Ship	Summerfield	April 27 (?)	May 29	Shanghai.
Ann Mary or Mary Ann	Barque	McPun	May 1	June 6 (Victoria)	Sydney.
Lota	Barque		May 17 (?)		South America.
Ely Whitney	Barque	Pearce	June 11 (?)	July 13 (Victoria)	Melbourne.
Delia Carlton	Barque		July 14 (Victoria)		
Penang	Ship		July 14 (Victoria)	Aug. 23	Sydney.
Princess Royal	H.B. Co.'s barque	Anderson	July 22	Aug. 26	
Gem of the Ocean	Barque	Mitchell	July 24		San Francisco.
Altmark	Barque			Aug. 3 (Victoria)	Peru.
Martha Ridout	Ship	Dixon	Aug. 18 (Victoria)	Oct. 2	Australia.
Edouard	North German barque	Lolist	Sept. 2 (Victoria)	Oct. 7	Shanghai.
Gem of the Ocean	Barque	Bowling	Sept. 29	Oct. 20	San Francisco.
Mary Ellen	Barque			Nov. 21	
Nation's Hope	Ship	Blix	Dec. 17 (?)		

Hawaii, had been on the coast for a couple of years and was in the regular trade between the coast and the Hawaiian Islands. The American barque *Delaware*, which loaded in July for San Francisco, had also been in the northern trade for some years. On December 31, 1868, returning from Sitka, she ran ashore on Fisgard Island. In March, 1869, the wreck was bought for a few dollars by Moody and Co., who decided to repair her at Esquimalt. The repairs were completed in June and from that time she was in the regular lumber trade to San Francisco. The British ship *Golden Age* took a cargo of spars for London from Moody's in April. This appears to have been Moody's first spar ship. The difficulties of Stamp's mill show in connection with the barque *Mary Ellen*, or *Maud Ellen*. This vessel was under contract to load at that mill, but when she arrived—November 21—it was still closed down, owing to the financial troubles; in consequence her cargo was supplied by Moody's mill. Quite a number of the ships sailed into and out of the First Narrows; for example, barque *Ava*, October 6; barque *Gem of the Ocean*, October 23; barquentine *Adele*, November 11; barque *Mary Ellen*, November 21.

The *Ruby* was towed from Moody's after long delay in securing a crew, but went ashore and after some of her cargo was removed, floated and reached Esquimalt for examination and repairs. The American ship *Martha Rideout*, which sailed from Stamp's mill in October, carried "one of the finest cargoes of lumber ever sent from these waters, some of the 'sticks' being 101 feet long 24" x 24"."

Governor Musgrave, who had only reached Victoria on 23rd August, 1869, visited New Westminster on 8th September and the following day, accompanied by his suite, drove to Hastings; thence on the Government yacht *Leviathan* they went to the British Columbia and Vancouver Island mills. Captain Raymur, the manager, showed them over the plant. After a visit to "Gastown" the party re-embarked on the *Leviathan* for English Bay, where Mr. Jeremiah Rogers took them through his logging camp and its workings. Thence the party proceeded to Moody's mills and, after examining the undertaking, returned to Hastings and on to New Westminster. The operations of both Stamp's (or Hastings) and Moody's mills were much hampered in the

latter part of the year owing to an accident to the steamer *Isabel*. In October this fine steamer, during a dense fog, ran ashore about 500 yards south of Nine-pin Rock (the early name of what is now called Siwash Rock). She lay head on to the beach, in a dangerous position, resting upon a rock amidships. She was, however, got off without serious damage, and in a month or so was as active as ever in the work on the inlet.

From an analysis of the destination of these cargoes it would appear that Australia, San Francisco, and South America were the largest customers—taking in themselves fully 80 per cent. of the number of vessels and presumably about the same percentage of export lumber. Mexico, China, England, and the Hawaiian Islands are represented, but only in a small way. Unfortunately, in some instances the destination is not shown nor can it now be ascertained; and still more unfortunately no records are presently available to indicate the quantities or values of the lumber exported. Indeed, the record of the vessels is most meagre, depending almost entirely upon the newspapers. Nevertheless, making every allowance for such deficiencies, the incomplete record of Burrard Inlet from 1864 to 1870 is really remarkable: 1864, 1 vessel; 1865, 6; 1866, 5; 1867, 15; 1868, 33; 1869, 45.

The fight for recognition of Burrard Inlet lumber had been made and won—Graham and Smith and Stamp had played their parts and passed off the stage, leaving to Moody's and the Hastings mill the proud duty of carrying the trade of Burrard Inlet to still greater heights. This in outline is the story of pioneer export lumbering days on Vancouver Harbour.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

GILBERT MALCOLM SPROAT.

Gilbert Malcolm Sproat was born at Brighouse Farm, on the Solway Firth, in the County of Kircudbright, in Southern Scotland, on April 19, 1834. His father, Alexander S. Sproat, was a farmer with a large family and but little money. His education was obtained at the Borgue Grammar School and at Haddon Hall in Dumfries. In 1855 he was an occasional student in commercial law at King's College, London. The records of the Colonial Office show that he was trained for the Indian Civil Service, which is indicative of his excellent mental equipment, the quality of which was exhibited in many and diverse public services during a long and useful career.

He was diverted from going to India by an opportunity to come to Vancouver Island in 1860 in the employ of Anderson and Company. This London firm of ship-owners and ship-brokers took the advice of Captain Edward Stamp, their agent at Victoria, to establish a sawmill on Vancouver Island. The intention was to export ship-spars and other forms of timber, which at that time promised to be a profitable trade, because the blockade of the Southern American States during the Civil War had put a stop to the shipment of pitch-pine timber from that part of the United States. The company in England sent Sproat with the men and equipment necessary for the enterprise. These arrived at Victoria in April of 1860 on board two armed vessels, the *Woodpecker* and *Meg Merrilies*.

In a letter from the Duke of Newcastle introducing Sproat to Governor Douglas, he is described as of the firm of James Thomson & Co., of 6 Billiter Square. This letter of introduction was obtained for him at the instance of S. Laing, a relative. In the course of time, with successive changes in the membership of the firm, Thomson & Co. became Anderson, Thomson & Co., and later Anderson, Anderson & Co.

Stamp had already selected a site for the sawmill at Alberni, which is at the head of the Alberni Canal where the Somass River delivers the overflow of Sproat Lake. This lake was named after the subject of this sketch by the explorer Dr. Robert Brown in 1864. His association with the region is further commemorated by the Sproat River, which links Sproat Lake and the

Somass River, and by Sproat Bay, on the coast of Tzartus Island, in Barkley Sound.

Soon after Sproat's arrival, he and Captain Stamp obtained grants of land on the Alberni Canal and Barkley Sound from the Colonial Government, through the Governor, James Douglas. Their purpose was not only to erect a sawmill, but also to establish a fishing settlement at Alberni. The sawmill started to work in August of 1861, at which time also the first shipment of cured fish was made to Callao, in Peru. The shipments of lumber reached the amount of 1,000,000 board-feet in the year 1863. Unfortunately, as the start of the enterprise was favoured by the American Civil War, so also it was brought to an end when that war ceased in 1865.

When Stamp resigned in 1862, Sproat succeeded him as local manager for Anderson and Company. The same year, on December 23rd, he married Catherine Anne Wigham.[1] In addition to managing the affairs of the company at Alberni, Sproat established an importing, commission, and insurance business in Victoria. His employees in early days included R. P. Rithet, who later acquired the business, and from it sprang the well-known corporation that still bears Rithet's name. Sproat took a lively interest in community affairs, and the Victoria *Colonist* recalled in later years his " connection between 1860 and 1866 with various public matters, such as the enrolment and organization of the first regiment of volunteers formed in this country; the vindication, in connection therewith, of the social rights of our colored citizens; the winter evening lectures, in which . . . the Mechanics' Institute had its origin, and with other similar matters."

Soon after Sproat arrived in the colony, Governor Douglas offered him a seat in the Legislative Council, but he declined the appointment, on the ground that he had resolved to keep aloof from local politics. He did consent, however, to succeed Stamp in 1863 as Justice of the Peace and Magistrate, and in what in practice amounted to an unofficial Government Agency for the

(1) Three children were born of this marriage—one daughter, Agnes Mary, and two sons, Alexander and Gilbert Hector. Hector served as an engineer on the B.C. coast and Arrow Lake steamers, and was superintendent engineer of the White Pass & Yukon Co. at the time of his sudden death in 1906. Alexander resides at Kleecoot, Sproat Lake.

west coast district. Moreover, his resolve to keep clear of politics was due chiefly to a conviction that much more could be accomplished by working behind the scenes. In Crown Colony days, ultimate decisions rested with the Colonial Office; that meant, in England. "The Colonial Office," in Sproat's own words, "did not care two straws for any *popular movements* here: the battle was in London." When he returned to England, in 1865, Sproat therefore set about organizing a "London Committee for watching the affairs of British Columbia," the composition and activities of which deserve some attention. The members included Donald Fraser, who had been Pacific Coast correspondent of the London *Times* for some years, and A. T. Dallas. "Mr. Fraser," Sproat recalled long after, "linked us with the press; Mr. Dallas was a power in the Hudson's Bay Company, which, in view of its Rupert Land and North West claims, (blocking Canada's extension) the heads of the Colonial Office—even at that early date—wished to be well with." The committee could also count upon the support of the Navy, and in particular of Captain G. H. Richards, "one of the best friends the Pacific Seaboard ever had."

Sproat and his associates made a vigorous effort to modify the terms upon which it was proposed to unite the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, but plans were too far advanced to make modification possible. Many years after, Sproat was still of the opinion that if the committee had been organized earlier it could have won its point, in which case the mainland would have been "joined politically to the Island with its comparatively free institutions, instead of the unwise reverse course that was followed."

The London Committee survived this defeat, and took part in the successful campaign to secure the transfer of the capital of the united colonies, which at first was at New Westminster, to Victoria. In passing, it may be noted that Sproat was keenly interested in a second controversy which grew out of the union of the colonies—the question as to whether Victoria had or had not lost the status of a "free port," which it had enjoyed since 1846. As late as 1908 Sproat considered it "an interesting question whether this Victoria free port [which included Esquimalt] has ever been abrogated by lawful authority." He contended that no specific action had been taken to annul it. "Had the

free port, according to the conception of the Home government, been conserved," in Sproat's opinion, " it would have been the means of creating a large city—a commercial and money centre, radiating energy throughout the whole colony, and subsequent province—a city, probably, only second to San Francisco on the Pacific seaboard."

Sproat's committee evidently devoted its attention to wider issues, for he himself described it as " a fighting organization, and—true it is, though strange—a nucleus of general colonial opinion, in London, for half a dozen years. . . . " It took a lively interest in the San Juan boundary dispute, and Sproat wrote a number of letters to the London *Times* on the question in 1870–71. When so doing he was assisted by Captain Richards, Hydrographer of the Navy, who had surveyed a large part of the area in dispute, yet had never been consulted by the British Government.

In 1871 British Columbia joined the Dominion, and Sproat paid a visit to the new province. Shortly after his return to London he became British Columbia's first Agent-General—a post that it is clear was of his own creation, and that he declares was, at the start, at any rate, only another name for the chairmanship of the London Committee, which he had held since 1865. The Government only proposed to designate him Emigration Agent; but Sproat, having a wider conception of his functions, assumed the title Agent-General on his own responsibility, and his action in so doing was later endorsed. He proved to be an energetic and able representative, and engaged frequently in newspaper correspondence for the purpose of advertising British Columbia and defending the good fame of the Province. His services were highly appreciated and elicited praise in the official reports of delegates sent to England on railway and dock matters. Though unwilling to confine his activities to emigration, he did his utmost to attract suitable settlers, and in 1873 published a useful handbook for emigrants, which remains one of the most valuable early accounts of the Province.

While resident in London, Sproat was acquiring a reputation in another field, that of anthropology. My own interest in his career was aroused by finding two papers by him in the

Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London.[2] He was not a Fellow, but it was the custom occasionally to accept papers from scientific observers that were outside the society. His contributions described the culture and character of the Indians on the west coast of Vancouver Island, more particularly the parts with which Sproat was familiar, near Nootka and Alberni. The first paper, read before the Society on July 10, 1866,[3] described the Aht tribes; that is to say, a number of tribes whose names ended in that affix, which means "house." He refers to the fact that he had spent five years among them "as a magistrate, and a proprietor of the settlement at Alberni," and that he had "sufficiently gained the confidence of the Indians to obtain from them a knowledge of their religious opinions and practices."

The part of Sproat's paper that arrested my attention was his reference to the extremely primitive culture of these Indians. Culture I shall define as a reasoned way of living; in this context it does not mean refinement, but a characteristic mode of existence. Sproat recognized the fact that the Indians used bone and wood, not stone, and, of course, not metal. They represented a primordial culture earlier even than the Stone Age.

Signs of deterioration were already observable among the Indians. The blight of what we call "civilization" was beginning to destroy them. "Twenty years ago," Sproat says, "when few trading vessels visited the coast, the Ahts probably were restricted to a diet of fish, wild berries, and roots; but they now use also for food flour, potatoes, rice, and molasses. This change of food, from what I saw of its effect on the tribes with whom I lived, has proved to be very injurious to their health. Geese, ducks, and deer are also used as food, but are not so well liked as fish, and are seldom kept in stock. . . . Water is the only drink of the natives." This last remark is significant, for it is notorious that soon afterward the sale of rum to the Indians not only made them unruly but also undermined their health, which was further affected by new foods, as Sproat says, and also by the wearing of unnecessary clothing.

He describes their implements, which were made not of stone or of metal, but of wood, bone, and shell. After referring to

(2) The Society was absorbed by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871.

(3) *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, V. (1867), 243.

their canoes, made out of tree-trunks, he says: "The axe used formerly in felling the largest tree, which they did without the use of fire, was made of elk horn [wapiti], and was shaped like a chisel. The natives held it as we use the chisel, and struck the handle with a stone not unlike a dumb-bell, and weighing about two pounds." It will be noted that a stone was used as a hammer; they used other stones, or pebbles, to crack nuts and grind tubers, but these stones were not artifacts; that is to say, they were not shaped artificially but used in their natural state so that they are no evidence of a Stone Age.

Sproat proceeds: "The other instruments used in canoe making were the gimlet and hand-adze, both of which, indeed, are now generally used. The hand-adze was a large mussel-shell strapped firmly to a wooden handle. In working with the hand-adze the back of the workman's hand was turned downward, and the blow struck lightly inwards towards the workman's body, whose thumb was pressed into a hollow in the handle made to receive it. The gimlet, made of bird's bone, and having a wooden handle, was not used like ours; the shaft was placed between the workman's open hands brought close together, and moved briskly backwards and forwards, as on hearing good news." In passing, I may remark that the adze was probably the earliest hafted tool made by man; a contrary idea might be inferred from the fact that the navigators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries spoke often of savages that used "hatchets." This was an error; the "hatchet" was an adze. It was used like a hoe, with a movement toward the operator. Many of the adzes of the Indians on this coast are known as D adzes because they have that shape.

Sproat notes further that "the Indians on the Aht coast, if asked as to the implements they possessed before they learnt the use of iron always produce old bone instruments and weapons for every purpose. Their own canoes and other work is sufficient proof of what these bone-workers can do with soft suitable wood to work upon."

The following year, in 1867, Sproat contributed his second paper, entitled "On the Probability of a Bone Age,"[4] in which he develops the idea that was incipient the year before. "Though

(4) *Op. cit.*, VI. (1868), 253.

probably there never was a time in which either bone, or stone, or iron, was universally and exclusively used, yet, I think, a 'bone age,' in some parts of the world, and perhaps over a great part of it, must naturally have preceded an age of stone. Savages can get bones everywhere—bones, too, of diverse sizes and shapes facilitating their manufacture—but they cannot obtain flint or obsidian in all places. . . . As long as he [the savage] could get bones, and they answered his purposes, he would not be likely to use instruments of stone. From a careful observation of the arts among these savages, I am tolerably certain that no other materials than bone and shell were required by them for making their tools and weapons down to the time when iron was brought amongst them—say, within the last one hundred and fifty years." That means since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

"They used bone and shell tools," Sproat continues, "and bone fishing and hunting instruments, long after they had a knowledge of iron—as lately indeed as a few years ago—and at the present time the mussel-shell adze used in canoe-making is preferred, even by the young men, to one of any other material, and to the best English and American chisels. So in felling large cedar trees, and in other heavy work, until I took among the people the admirable woodman's axe used in America, they found their bone chisels more useful than any small handled instrument of stone or iron, as the bone tool had the requisite toughness, bluntness, and penetrating power for such work, and indeed generally for working cedar wood for their special purposes." Here he touches upon one of the factors that determined the use of bone and shell—namely, the soft wood, cedar, that was available to them.

Sproat was well aware that the Indians had had a few copper implements when first visited by Cook, in 1778, and was right in assuming that they possessed them at a still earlier date. For copper was used long before that, the metal being obtained by intertribal trade from South-eastern Alaska, where it is found at the surface of the ground in a free state. They also had a little iron, which came to them in driftwood, the wreckage of ships. Sproat was convinced that the ground-stone chisels possessed by the Ahts were neither made nor used by them.

"Those found among them by Cook and other travellers," he says, "were probably obtained by the Ahts in trade, or as curiosities from the Indians inhabiting the coast of the mainland further north, who originally or anciently themselves perhaps a 'bone-using' people, had been forced by the comparative scarcity of cedar in their district to make stone instruments for cutting harder trees."

This paper by Sproat is, in my opinion, a most valuable contribution to anthropology. Apparently it has been overlooked, and for that reason I have not hesitated to quote freely. Incidentally, before I read Sproat's papers, my own studies had already led me to a similar conclusion regarding the use of wood, bone, and shell before stone.

As a sequel to these two papers, Sproat published his book, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, in 1868. A review of it appeared in *The Anthropological Review* in October, but the reviewer failed to note the outstanding feature of the volume—namely, the description of the use of wood and bone, not stone, by the Indians. He remarks correctly, however, that "it is really refreshing to meet with a book sensibly and modestly written, and dealing with the tact of a close observer, with facts, to the entire exclusion of grandiose theory." After seventy years it remains the best available description of Indian life and character on Vancouver Island.

In 1876, by which time he had returned once more to British Columbia, Sproat was appointed a member of the Indian Land Commission, a position for which he was well qualified, both by knowledge and experience. The Commission, in his own words, consisted of "a Provincial representative, A. McKinley, and a Dominion representative, A. C. Anderson, ex-H.B. Co. Chief Traders, both well acquainted with the country and the Indian tribes. I was Joint Commissioner representing both governments and the Secretary of State for the Colonies." In the spring of 1878 Sproat became sole commissioner, and so remained until his retirement in 1880. The dispossession of the natives by the invading white men made the delimitation of reserves essential, and Sproat endeavoured to adjust matters so as to cause the least suffering and irritation. The work took him to most of the inhabited parts of the Province, including Vancouver

Island and the districts of New Westminster, Lytton, Nicola, Kamloops, and Okanagan. Unfortunately, he could do no more than inspect and assign lands. Accurate surveys did not follow in all cases, with the result that trouble recurred at a later date.

In 1883 Sproat paid his first visit to the Kootenay region, with which he was to be associated for many years. It was then practically an unknown land, accessible only by pack-train, and, to use Sproat's own picturesque phrase, had not "reached the humble level of a bull-team country." He went thither, accompanied by his friend, A. S. Farwell, as a special agent of the Government, to report upon the Ainsworth and Baillie-Grohman land and railway schemes. Two years later he became Stipendiary Magistrate at Farwell [Revelstoke], in Canadian Pacific construction days, and in 1886 became Gold Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Lands and Works as well. His duties took him all over the country, and in time he became known as "the Judge" and "the Father of the Kootenay." He was much respected, and I am told that he was kind and affable, as well as tall and dignified in his bearing. His son, Alexander, now living at Sproat Lake, remarked to me: "Certainly he was kind and affable; his wants were few; he gave away a lot of money to friends who needed it. Only the recipients knew of it. He was known widely as Judge Sproat; and I think he must have studied law, because he had many arguments over questions of law with younger men, and he generally had the best of it. Many came to him for advice, and he was always willing to help."

Sproat left the Government service in 1889, but remained in the Kootenay for the next nine years. He and his friend Farwell were interested in real estate, and both as a private individual and as an official he played a part in the early history of many towns in the district. He is generally regarded as the founder of Revelstoke, Sandon, New Denver, and Nelson. On this last point there has been considerable controversy; but it seems clear that if Sproat did not actually found Nelson, he at least placed the first reserve upon the townsite, in 1883; conducted the first auction sale of lots, in 1888; and named the principal streets of the city. As in the Alberni region, Sproat's association with the Kootenay country is commemorated in several place-names. There is a town of Sproat on the Columbia River,

near Sidmouth; and Mount Sproat towers to a height of over 8,000 feet not far from Arrowhead. Sproat Landing has vanished from the official gazetteer, but Sproat's own account of its momentary existence is worth preserving, especially as it illustrates the lively sense of humour characteristic of the man.

". . . I have never been able to discover," he wrote in 1897, " what or where Sproat's Landing was. . . . All that I know about the matter is that, according to my diary, on the 23rd of October, 1888, I saw from my canoe a towel attached to a pole on the Columbia river bank somewhere about the mouth of the Kootenay river. The object attracted one who had not enjoyed a good wash for several months. On landing I found also on the pole, an yeast powder can containing a letter addressed to me from Kootenay lake. The incident and perhaps my pranks with the towel, amused the Indian crew, and they, I suppose, spoke and continued to speak of the place where 'Mr. Sproat landed.' I was a notable personage among the Indians in those days. Such is history. Men from the far east, on being introduced to me now, often say, 'Judge Sproat! yes, of Sproat's Landing. I've heard of you.' Whereat I grin. It might surprise a grave easterner if on such a salutation, I pulled out a handkerchief in lieu of a towel, and repeated the scene on the river bank with a whoop and a leap."

In 1898 Sproat became a resident of Victoria. He wrote several historical sketches and biographies, some of which are now in the Archives. His intention was to write a book on *The Rise of British Dominion in the North Pacific*, and while preparing his material he consulted with the Provincial Librarian, first Edward Gosnell and then Ethelbert Scholefield. He assisted in collecting documents of historic value for the Archives. In 1910 he and Scholefield discussed the project of a joint writing of a history of Vancouver Island, but his poor health and the Librarian's official position proved obstacles to this useful work. He had, however, made a good start, and after his death Samuel Matson, owner of the Victoria *Colonist*, offered Alexander Sproat the sum of $1,000 for as much as his father had written. The manuscript unfortunately was found to be in an illegible state, as it had been put away in a wooden chest and mice had eaten so much of the paper as to spoil it for all practical purposes.

It is most regrettable that Sproat failed to complete his book, for in some respects his knowledge of the early history of the Province was unique. Moreover, he had unusual literary ability, and had published a number of books and pamphlets, of which the *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* has already been mentioned.

The others included a translation of some of Horace's odes into English verse, an essay *On the Poetry of Sir Walter Scott,* and a large work upon *The Education of the Rural Poor in England.* Each was well received at the time of publication. In 1875 a prize of $1,000 for the best essay on *British Opium Policy in India and China* was won by Sproat; he was first out of seventy-five competitors, and it was remarked as a singular fact that the award should go to a place so remote as Victoria, on the distant island of Vancouver. He wrote frequent letters to the newspapers, and from 1875 to 1877 turned journalist in earnest, acting as local correspondent for the London *Times.* He also wrote many editorials for the Victoria *Times* and political speeches for William Templeman, Federal Senator and a member of Laurier's Cabinet. Alexander Sproat is my informant; he recalls that he himself "had the job of copying them in long hand." Theodore Davie, when planning to start a paper in opposition to the *Colonist,* asked Sproat to be managing director, but he declined.

His views upon history, as expressed in a letter written to Mr. Scholefield in July, 1910, are of interest: "No history can be really impartial," he wrote, "though the writers may be honest; the student or reader has to compare the different accounts; that necessity arises from the limitations of human nature. It being difficult to get men to study the past at all, the historian tries to make the retrospect attractive, which, sometimes, tends to mislead both the writer and the reader. Difficult is it, in these circumstances, to secure really good work, but experience has shown one thing, namely, speaking of history proper, as distinguished from chronicle, that, with all its faults, individualism is the paramount quality: we have to compare what individuals write, notwithstanding the disqualifications attaching naturally to the best of them. We have to take human nature as it is. History compiled, say by a committee, as a rule cannot be attractive or instructive." This is true. History is the distillation of rumour. It is subjective in treatment. That is why we receive such diversity of interpretation of facts from historians. Moreover, it is difficult, much more difficult than is generally supposed, to ascertain the facts. As Greville says in his celebrated memoirs, "there is no *absolute* truth in history;

mankind arrives at probable results and conclusions in the best way it can, and by collecting and comparing evidence it settles down its ideas and its belief to a certain chain and course of events which it accepts as certain, and deals with as if it were, because it must settle somewhere and on something, and because a tolerable *prima facie* and probable case is presented. But one sees how the actors in and spectators of the same events differ in narrating and describing them; how continually complete contradictions are discovered to facts the most generally believed; there is no preserving the mind from a state of scepticism, nor is it possible to read or hear anything with entire satisfaction and faith." Greville makes these remarks apropos of the irreconcilable statements made to him regarding the events that precipitated the French Revolution of 1848. He had the versions of Louis Philippe himself and of Guizot, not only his minister but later a celebrated historian. They contradicted each other flatly, and honestly, in describing the words and actions of the French King at the critical moment when the National Guard demanded reform. " Thus occur historical perplexities," Greville observes, " and the errors and untruths which crowd all history."

During later years, Sproat's life was clouded and saddened by a separation from his wife, who remained in England. In his old age he lived on Menzies Street, Victoria, in a house opposite that of Captain John Irving and next to the James Bay Methodist Church. Unhappy, and invalided by heart-trouble, he was taken to St. Joseph's Hospital, but soon moved to the home of Miss Brenda Peers, the granddaughter of James Murray Yale, once Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company. There he died on June 4, 1913, at the age of 79.

Glancing back upon his long career, one hopes that something will survive by which his many years of useful service will be remembered. Carefully edited, his surviving notes and sketches might prove of perpetual interest to future historians. Meanwhile anthropologists will turn again and again to his *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*. All else failing, it will keep alive the memory of one of British Columbia's most worthy and distinguished pioneers, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat.

VICTORIA, B.C. T. A. RICKARD.

LETTERS TO MARTHA.

> The life of a man is not his public life, which is always alloyed with some necessary diplomacy and which is sometimes only a mask; it is made up of a thousand touches, a multitude of lights and shadows, most of which are invisible behind the austere presentment of statecraft. . . . We want to know how a master man talked, and, if possible, what he thought; what was his standpoint with regard to the grave issues of life; what he was in his hours of ease, what he enjoyed, how he unbent; in a word, what he was without his wig and bag and sword, in his dressing-gown and slippers, with a friend, a novel, or a pipe.
>
> LORD ROSEBERY,
> Preface to *Life of Chatham.*

Martha Douglas, youngest child of Sir James and Lady Douglas, was born in old Fort Victoria on June 8, 1854. She seems to have been Douglas's favourite daughter; and we may surmise that circumstances, as well as her own attractive and vivacious personality, contributed to this end. For Martha was only 10 years old when Douglas retired from public life, and in the quiet years which followed, he naturally had more time to devote to her than he had been able to spend with her elder sisters. A rare confidence and friendship developed between them; and it was with a heavy heart that Douglas came to the conclusion that they must part for a time. When Martha was 18, it was arranged that she should go to England to complete her education; and on August 13, 1872, she sailed from Victoria for San Francisco, bound for New York and London.[1]

The steamer was scarcely out of Victoria Harbour before Douglas was seated at his desk, writing the first of what proved to be a long series of letters to his beloved Martha. Preserved and treasured by her for half a century, some seventy of these letters have now been deposited by her daughters in the Provincial Archives. Although, as one would expect, they deal

(1) *In March, 1878, Martha Douglas married Dennis Reginald Harris,* a native of Winchester, England, and son of William Charles Harris, C.B., Chief Constable of Hampshire and Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, London. The couple lived to celebrate their fifty-fourth wedding anniversary in 1932. Mr. Harris died on November 2nd of that year, and Mrs. Harris passed away only a few months later, on January 31st, 1933, in her seventy-ninth year.

mostly with family affairs, they contain many passages of historical interest, which throw light upon Douglas's opinions and activities after his retirement. More important still, they abound in intimate paragraphs which give us glimpses of the inner nature of the man himself. We are all familiar with the cold and formal personality of the Douglas known to history. We can admire his strength of character, strong convictions, and strict sense of duty. We can understand readily enough the circumstances which made him aloof and solitary—the long, difficult years of personal authority and responsibility, during which it became second nature to appear stern and unbending; but to gain any sense of intimacy with Douglas is another matter. Even when he put pen to paper he remained remote and formal; and, though we have letters and documents by the hundred from his hand, we know remarkably little about Douglas the man, as distinct from Douglas the Chief Factor and Governor. It is because these letters to his daughter disclose, at long last, something of the warm and sensitive nature of the man behind the official mask that so much interest attaches to them.

Martha's departure plunged the Douglas household into grief from which it never fully recovered until she was home again. "There is in truth," Sir James wrote, ten days after she had left Victoria, "a void in the house, where you were born and have been cherished for so many long years. Accustomed to your society, everything about the house, recalls your image, so vividly, at times, that I almost fancy I see you popping in upon me." Time and again he wrote in similar vein; for Douglas was getting old, and had come to depend upon Martha for many things. Often his remarks were prompted by some incident which reminded him afresh that she was no longer there to do some small service for him. "I wish you were here to read them over to me," he wrote in the autumn of 1873, when some one loaned him two novels, "as there is no one here reads half so well, or with a spark of your taste and intelligence."[2] "I sadly miss your pretty tasteful bouquets," he noted a month later, "and hope you will soon appoint a deputy to attend to these duties in your absence."[3] "I have placed a large beautiful

(2) September 15, 1873.
(3) October 6, 1873.

apple on the toilet table in your bed room of the early strawberry variety," he wrote upon a third occasion. "It makes me fancy you are here; though a mere delusion, it alleviates the pain of absence."[4]

Sorely tried as he was by her absence, Douglas was nevertheless happy to be able to give Martha an opportunity to enjoy the riches Europe had to offer. A letter written to Mr. J. W. Bushby, of London,[5] who was making arrangements for her schooling in England, gives us an idea of what he hoped she would gain overseas. "Martha is 18 years of age," his letter reads in part, "and so far as literature goes, is fairly educated. She plays well, sings, has a taste for drawing, is well read, writes a good hand, and a nice letter. What should now engage her attention is elocution and English Composition, the French language, which she has studied for several years, larger and broader views of life, and that expansion of mind, which may be called the education of the eye, and cannot be acquired out here. She is also fond of music and drawing, and may improve in both arts."[6] All this would take time, as Douglas was well aware. "I never meant that you should be away for less than two years," he remarked to Martha in June of 1873. "It will take that time to get rid of the cobwebs of colonial training, and give you a proper finish."[7]

Though homesick at first, Martha was soon happily settled in England. It was even proposed that she should spend a third year abroad, and to this Douglas made no objection. "I do not mind the cost," he wrote, "provided it be for your good."[8] A little later Martha suggested that she should spend a term in Paris. Douglas at first made no demur, but a few weeks later abruptly vetoed the plan, as if he had just awakened to the enormity of the proposal. "There is one strong objection however, which I cannot overcome," he explained to Martha; "that is the dread of French morals and sentiment, which I believe

(4) September 18, 1873.

(5) Father of the Hon. Arthur T. Bushby, successively postmaster, registrar, and county court judge in British Columbia, who had married Martha's sister, Agnes Douglas.

(6) August 10, 1872.

(7) June 11, 1873.

(8) February 9, 1874.

to be so different from our own. It may be bigotry on my part, their moral sentiments may be as pure as our own, but still the impression, remains unchanged in my mind."[9] As he expressed it when he returned to the subject a little later, he felt "a reluctance to my lamb being committed to the care of Wolves."[10]

Douglas asked only two things of Martha—that she should take advantage of her opportunities, and that she should write frequently to those at home. Suggestions and instructions, together with words of criticism or commendation, are scattered throughout his letters. He was anxious that even her sightseeing should be systematized; and one passage on this point in an early letter is worth quoting. "I hope you will make a point of seeing Broadway, the great street of New York," he wrote on August 24, 1872. "Inspect it closely, so as to be capable of talking about, and giving an opinion of its architecture, and general appearance. The Americans are proud of it—and the first question asked of any person, who has been to New York, generally is—What do you think of Broadway. Follow the same plan, with respect to every other celebrated place you may see. Regent Street is for example the boast and pride of London, the Rue de Rivoli of Paris, Princes Street of Edinburgh and so on with other places. Find out which is the admired thoroughfare or object, and then inspect it closely."[11]

Himself a most systematic and meticulous correspondent, Douglas expected Martha to be the same. His own letters were usually in diary form; and over long periods scarcely a day passed without the addition of a paragraph or a page, as events or leisure dictated. A new letter was commenced as soon as one was mailed. Indeed, upon one occasion at least, Douglas seems to have gone straight to his desk the moment he returned from the post-office. To him, a letter was a matter of consequence; and he urges Martha repeatedly to practise and improve her composition. "Writing is a most important part of education," he wrote upon one occasion. "I wish you to devote a great deal of time and care to its attainment." He did not hesitate

(9) March 19, 1874.
(10) April 24, 1874.
(11) August 24, 1872.

to give her a lesson in style, as two sentences later in the same letter prove. "I enclose a part of your last letter, pruned of redundancies, as a study. Observe how it is improved by the process."[12] Penmanship was as important as composition. "Your letters are less carefully written, than I could wish," Douglas noted early in 1873; "the style is not bad, tho' there are many inaccuracies. The writing is rapidly degenerating into a sprawling hand, looking for all the world, as if the letters were trying to run away from each other."[13] Though sharp in reproof, Douglas was equally generous in praise when Martha's letters came up to expectations. "How neatly your letter is written," he remarked a month later, "with no blots and no omissions, this is as letters should be. Pray always write so."[14]

Many of the passages dealing with style and diction are both amusing and revealing. Martha commenced some of her first letters, "Dear Parents"—a form of address which annoyed Douglas profoundly, and which he declared "means nobody." "When you write to Mamma," he continued, "write and speak to her, as you know how, and when you write to Papa, write and speak to him, as if he was before you; and then you will write well, and entirely to my taste."[15] Upon another occasion he was distressed to find Martha using slang expressions. "Above all things," he cautioned her, "avoid 'slang' phrases, such as 'chaff,' &c. . . . A lady never uses slang phrases, which are essentially vulgar and to me unbearable."[16] The offending word has, of course, long since won admission to colloquial English and the Oxford Dictionary.

Letter after letter reveals that what Douglas craved was news, and yet more news, of his beloved Martha. "There is nothing to reply to, in your letter," he complained upon one occasion; "tell me all about yourself, your studies, your pursuits, your thoughts, state of mind; in short a complete full length portrait of my daughter."[17] His longing for news caused Martha

(12) March 3, 1874.
(13) February 9, 1873.
(14) March 10, 1873.
(15) December 10, 1872.
(16) October 10, 1873.
(17) September 22, 1873.

to invade his dreams. "I was dreaming of you the other night," he tells her. "You came running into the house and with open arms towards Papa, exclaiming 'O! Papa I am so sorry.' More I did not hear. I suppose you were sorry for not writing oftener?"[18] Martha's letters, as this query would imply, were for a time few and far between. Four long months after her departure Douglas noted sadly that his "Foreign Correspondent," as he called her, had favoured him with only two letters. Later it became apparent that the postal service, and not Martha, had been most at fault; but in the interval Douglas had felt the matter keenly.

Political paragraphs of considerable interest appear in some of the letters. The earliest of these concern the collapse of the first government formed after British Columbia joined the Dominion, which was headed by J. F. McCreight, whom Martha knew well. "Party spirit as usual runs high," Douglas wrote in December, 1872, "and a fearful crash of the Ministry is expected when the meeting of Parliament takes place next week. I tremble for poor McCreight and Co-adjutors. They will surely go to the wall, unless they shew a bold front, and make a good fight."[19] But McCreight, who was not a politician and was weary of politics, made no determined stand, and accepted defeat by a single vote. "I know you will sympathize with your friend McCreight," Douglas wrote to Martha; "so do I, and sincerely wish they had made a better fight with the opposition instead of going to the wall at once." Three days later he reported the personnel of the new government. "New Ministry formed. De Cosmos Premier, Walkem Attorney General, Dr. Ash Provincial Secretary, Robt. Beaven Comr. of Lands and Works. A bright constellation is it not?"[20]

No one who recalls the long and bitter battles which had taken place between Amor De Cosmos and Governor Douglas will be surprised by this last remark; but they may well find the sequel unexpected. For in spite of his opinion of De Cosmos, Douglas proved sufficiently broad and generous to commend the policy of his old opponent. "The Legislative Assembly was

(18) November 26, 1872.
(19) December 10, 1872.
(20) December 24, 1872.

prorogued the other day," he reported to Martha the following February, "and people begin to breathe freely again. . . . On the whole there is no reason to complain of the legislation of this year, less so, I fancy, than if McCreight had been in power."[21] "The new Ministry," he added later, "are not so bad after all: they have made a bold attempt to be frugal, and have past some really good measures."[22]

The first entry regarding Dominion politics refers to the general election of 1872. "Elections for the House of Commons are approaching — great excitement. Bunster, Beaven and Wallace all in the field. They are most amiable, promise to get every thing imaginable for the electors."[23] Most of the succeeding references are linked in some way with the Canadian Pacific Railway, in which Douglas was keenly interested. For those eager to see construction commenced, 1873 was a year filled with contrasting emotions. To begin with, all seemed to be well. "It is announced in this days [*sic*] telegrams from Ontario," Douglas wrote on January 31st, "that all arrangements have been completed for the construction of [the] Canada Pacific Railway; so that we are all in the highest spirits and looking forward with confidence to the rise of dear Victoria, and the replenishing of her well drained coffers."[24] As late as May 6th, no reason to expect delay had yet developed. "Ground is to be broken on the 1st July next, when the terminus will be fixed," Douglas informed Martha. "Every one is hoping that Esquimalt will be the point, where you know we have large interests; and I am selfish enough to wish the station to be on my ground."[25] In due course the happy announcement was made that Esquimalt, as anticipated, would be the terminus, and construction actually commenced. "The first sod of the Pacific Canadian Railway was turned on Saturday [July 19th], by M. Smith, in a quiet way, without any public demonstration," Douglas reported. "The terminus is at the Admiral's House, Maple Bay, Esquimalt, the

(21) February 24, 1873.
(22) March 10, 1873.
(23) August 17, 1872.
(24) January 31, 1873.
(25) May 6, 1873.

line running from thence, towards the Indian village near or opposite Craigflower."[26]

It was at this point that the blow fell, and the hopes of the railway advocates were shattered. It quickly became evident that the turning of the first sod had been a mere formality, and that the preliminary surveys which must be completed before the line could be located definitely would take several seasons to complete. On top of these practical difficulties came the Pacific scandal, simmering since April, and in full eruption by October. Douglas believed, rightly enough, that the hope of rapid progress with the railway was wrapped up with the life of the Macdonald government, of which he was a staunch supporter. "We are now in hourly expectation of hearing how Sir John McDonalds [*sic*] Ministry are faring at Ottawa, if the want of confidence vote is carried against them by the Grits," he wrote the day Macdonald resigned; "Sir John will have to resign, and there will be no end of trouble and delay, about the construction of the Railway. The Grits, as the opposition faction is termed are a low set, and nothing good is to be expected from them."[27]

Two glimpses of the turbulent election which followed, early in 1874, are found in the letters. Both concern Amor De Cosmos, who was at the time both Premier of the Province and a member of the House of Commons. "There is a prodigious excitement just now, in the Colony, respecting the conduct of the Cabinet," Douglas reported to Martha. "It is suspected De Cosmos, is betraying the Country—compromising its best interests, and bartering the Railway for a money payment from the Dominion Government. This has excited all classes against him, as you will see by the two Papers—the Colonist of today and yesterday, which details the particulars of these stirring events."[28] "The elections are over," he added on February 20th. "De Cosmos and Roscoe are returned for the Commons. It was a hard fight for De Cosmos but he stood bravely to his colors and won the prize. Politics are still rampant here; the great questions of

(26) July 21, 1873.
(27) November 5, 1873.
(28) February 10, 1874.

the day are closely debated, with reference to the future well being of the Colony. I hope that good will be the result."[29]

Comments upon many topics show the keen attention with which Douglas, though long in retirement, followed events in British Columbia. Reports of the discovery of new mineral wealth seem to have been of special interest to him, and he kept Martha informed of the progress of the gold-rush to Cassiar. In November, 1873, he recorded an event of some interest in the maritime history of the Province. "A ship has just sailed with a full cargo, of Vancouver Island produce, the first direct shipment of the kind to England, except the H. B. Co. ships," he wrote to Martha. "This is a subject of gratulation to the whole Colony. The good ship was followed from the wharf, by loud cheers from the spectators."[30] The vessel in question was the English barque *Charlotte Clarke*, which cleared from Victoria on November 21st, bound for London. Special interest attaches to his reaction to the San Juan arbitration decision, in view of the determined stand he had taken in the early stages of the controversy. "We have just heard, that the San Juan question has been decided against England, and we have lost the Island," he wrote to Martha. "I cannot help thinking that our case has not been fully or clearly represented, to the Emperor of Germany, or he could not have arrived at so unjust a decision which is utterly at variance with the rights of the relative parties. Well there is no help for it now, we have lost the stakes, and must just take it easy."[31] When the time came for the actual evacuation of San Juan by the British troops, however, Douglas could no longer take the matter philosophically. "The Island of San Juan is gone at last," he noted. "I cannot trust myself to speak about it and will be silent."[32]

Interesting as these comments upon public affairs may be, the peculiar value of the letters to Martha lies in their revelation of personal characteristics of Douglas which were never permitted to appear in his official correspondence, voluminous though it was. We learn, for example, that Douglas was keenly sensitive

(29) February 20, 1874.
(30) November 23, 1873.
(31) October 26, 1872.
(32) December 12, 1872.

to his natural surroundings. The first blossom in spring and the last in autumn drew his attention and comment. "The Daisies are coming into flower; saw the first today," is a typical entry.[33] "I could still make you a bouquet from the flowers in the garden still in bloom, if you were within reach," he wrote to Martha one November.[34] Riding or driving through the country was a daily source of pleasure to him. "The enjoyment was perfect, pure, unalloyed happiness," he concluded a description of one such expedition.[35] In October, 1873, he attended the consecration of the church at Metchosin, and after the service wandered to the edge of the cliffs near by. "Metchosen looked its best," he wrote to Martha, "the beautiful slopes, the richly tinted foliage, the bright clear sky, the warm sunshine, the glassy smooth sea, and the grand mountains in the distance, formed a combination of indescribable beauty. I felt an exhilaration of mind, which led me to wander away through the woods towards the 'white cliffs' bordering the sea, from whence I contemplated its placid waters with delight."[36]

It will be recalled that Martha sailed from Victoria on August 13th, and that Douglas commenced the first of his letters to her the same day. Two days later he added a sentence which revives the old uncertainty about the date of his birth. "My birthday," it reads, "kept it quiet to avoid fuss."[37] An entry in an early personal account-book states that he was born on June 5, 1803; and as the note is in Douglas's own handwriting it has naturally been taken as authoritative. Evidence of equal strength, though later date, now supports the claim of August 15th as his birth date.[38] Whichever date is correct, Douglas celebrated his sixty-ninth birthday in 1872, a fact which causes one to read with surprise an entry dated October 2nd: "Had a good jumping on the verandah with the skipping rope for exercise."[39] It is

(33) February 12, 1873.
(34) November 24, 1873.
(35) September 23, 1873.
(36) October 24, 1873.
(37) August 15, 1872.
(38) Upon this point *see* W. N. Sage; *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, pp. 14, 363.
(39) October 2, 1872.

scarcely necessary to add that his health appears to have been excellent. He comments upon the fact from time to time, and an occasional touch of gout is his only recorded ailment. For this we find him planning an unusual cure in the early spring of 1873. "I am also going largely into Raspberry Culture," he reported to Martha, "which has the reputation of being a most wholesome fruit, especially recommended in cases of Gout; so I shall make it a rule to make a very free use of them."[40]

It is refreshing to find that the letters contain clear evidence that Douglas possessed a sense of humour. Upon one occasion, for example, he regaled Martha with the following account of Lady Douglas, most loving of mothers, who, it seems, was never completely happy unless she fancied herself slightly indisposed. "Mamma is in excellent health," Douglas wrote, "though she will not think so, Up every morning at 6 o'clock she bustles about till breakfast time. The chickens now fill her mind with anxious care, and we all look grave and appear to sympathize, if mishaps occur. To laugh, would be a serious offence."[41] Another incident suggests that Douglas did not take himself as seriously as many would have us suppose. "Ellen attends the Nuns school," he wrote with reference to a child whom Martha knew; "she is very quick and is the most restless child I ever saw. It is impossible to keep her quiet for ten minutes together even in my stern presence."[42]

A third passage illustrates the same point, and at the same time recalls a critical moment in Douglas's early career. The reference is to a copy of the Victoria *Standard* which was forwarded with the letter. "In another column," Douglas wrote, "you will find a letter from the 'Ottawa Free Press,' do read it, and see how it treats me, they wish to make of me, who am as you know a quiet old gentleman enough, a sort of Dare devil, fearing nothing. True I seized the Indian, a noted murderer, as stated, and secured him after a desperate struggle, but I did not shoot him with my *own* hands; he was afterwards executed for his crimes. It was a desperate adventure, which nothing but

(40) March 5, 1873.
(41) April 17, 1874.
(42) November 17, 1873.

a high sense of duty could have induced me to undertake."[43] It is noteworthy that this is one of only two references to his fur-trading days to be found in the entire series of seventy letters. The second, which is dated May 30, 1873, indicates that Douglas felt keenly the passing of old Hudson's Bay officers with whom he had worked years before. "My old friend Dr. Barclay died lately at Oregon City," he remarks. "The enclosed clipping relates his history. Truly the world is becoming a desert."[44]

Douglas had long toyed with the idea of going to England and escorting Martha home, and the project was discussed in his letters from time to time. When Martha was planning a third year abroad, the plan was seemingly abandoned, only to be suddenly revived and carried swiftly into execution when it was decided finally that she should return home instead. The last of the letters to Martha is dated May 27, 1874; but a diary kept by Sir James enables us to complete the story. Leaving Victoria on June 25th, Douglas travelled to San Francisco by steamer, and thence overland to New York, where he took ship for England. He arrived at Southampton on July 21st, and three days later was at Lowestoft, where, to his infinite joy, he "found Martha well." A brief month was spent visiting friends and relatives in England and Scotland, and on August 27th Sir James and Martha sailed from Liverpool. On September 6th they reached Quebec, and on the 21st arrived in San Francisco. Five days later Douglas recorded the conclusion of the journey in his diary. "Arrived Victoria at 4 A.M. found all well."

All was, indeed, well. Martha was home again.

W. KAYE LAMB.

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA.

(43) February 25, 1873. This passage is of historical importance, for it is the only known comment by Douglas himself upon a clash with the Indians which took place at Fort St. James on August 6, 1828. His conduct upon that occasion has been censured by most writers, and it may have been the cause of his transfer to Fort Vancouver. What actually happened still remains obscure and controversial. For details and discussion *see* Morice: *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Chapter IX. ("An Episode and its Consequences"); and Sage: *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, 45–48. (44) June 3, 1873.

PETER SKENE OGDEN'S NOTES ON WESTERN CALEDONIA.

The following memorandum from the pen of Peter Skene Ogden comes from a collection of the Ogden family papers which have been in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia for many years. The document, which has never been printed previously, throws light on the fur trade in New Caledonia in the 1830's and 1840's.

Peter Skene Ogden was one of the great figures in the Canadian fur trade. He was born in Quebec City in 1794, the son of Judge Isaac Ogden and Sarah Hanson Ogden. Isaac Ogden was a United Empire Loyalist who was appointed Judge of Admiralty of Quebec in 1788 and in 1794 one of the Puisne Judges of the District of Montreal. Judge Ogden had probably intended that his son should follow him in his profession, but Peter Skene Ogden was a rover by nature and could not endure the trammels of civilization. He entered the service of the North West Company as a clerk in 1811, and according to Mr. T. C. Elliott[1] probably spent the next seven years at Isle à la Crosse in what is now North-western Saskatchewan. In 1818 he came to the Columbia River and two years later became a partner or *bourgeois* of the North West Company.

Ogden was not one of those fortunate Nor-Westers who secured a commission in 1821 at the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, but three years later he obtained his parchment as chief trader. In 1822 he went to Lower Canada and thence to England, and on his return in 1823 accompanied the express from York Factory to the Columbia. He wintered at Spokane House with John Work,[2] and in November, 1824, after the arrival of Governor Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin on the Columbia, proceeded to the Snake country, where he conducted successful expeditions until 1829.[3] In the early fall of 1829 he left

(1) T. C. Elliott: "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1910), 229–278—the most complete study of Ogden which has yet appeared.

(2) *Cf.* "John Work's First Journal 1823–24." MS. in the Archives of British Columbia.

(3) The journals of these expeditions have been edited by T. C. Elliott in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vols. X. and XI. (1909 and 1910).

Fort Nez Percés and visited California, returning in the summer of 1830. But, as Mr. Elliott points out, the name California was then applied to all the regions belonging to Mexico south of the 42nd parallel.

Ogden was sent north to the Nass River in 1831 to construct a post for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was successful in that mission, although he encountered keen opposition from the American traders on the coast. In 1834 he attempted to found a post on the Stikine River, but failed, since this was on Russian territory and he was unable to bluff his way past the Russian-American Company's officials.

In 1835 Peter Skene Ogden received the coveted commission of chief factor and was sent to take charge of New Caledonia. After seven years' term of office he was prepared to give over this task to his successor. It was at this time that, in all probability, he penned the memorandum on Western Caledonia. Ogden went on leave in 1844 and the next year returned west of the mountains to the Columbia, where he became one of the Board of Management for the Columbia Department. When news of the Whitman massacre arrived in 1857 Ogden set out to rescue the survivors. Such was the esteem in which he was held by the Indians that he was completely successful and ransomed the captives. In December, 1851, he left Fort Vancouver to visit Montreal and returned to the Columbia in 1853. His death occurred in 1854 and he was buried at Oregon City.

The "Notes on Western Caledonia" are probably a rough draft. In places the meaning is obscure and throughout the punctuation is difficult. As few emendations as possible have been made in the text, and the spelling of the original has been retained throughout. In a few places a word or so has been added to make sense. The document is valuable because it gives details on the trade in that "Siberia of the fur-traders," New Caledonia. Life was hard in that district and Ogden does not minimize its difficulties. Throughout the document, however, the generosity and kindliness of Peter Skene Ogden is evident. He was a keen and experienced fur-trader but he was never lacking in humanitarian feelings.

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NOTES ON WESTERN CALEDONIA.

As I am now on the eve of taking my departure from this district[1] I trust my successor[2] will not consider it presumptious in me to offer a few remarks but having found those left by Mr. C. F. Dease[3] useful being a stranger in this quarter and as the Gentleman who may be appointed to succeed me may be similarly situated I consider it my duty to follow the example leaving it optional with himself to make [what] use of them he may think proper as it is far from my wish to dictate to him or any other man living God forbid.

Having now been stationed seven[4] years in this District I cannot say much in favour of the Carriers[5] a brutish, ignorant,

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(1) Peter Skene Ogden had been appointed to take charge of the New Caledonia district in 1835. *Cf.* E. H. Oliver (editor), *The Canadian North-West; its early development and legislative records* (Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9), Ottawa, 1914–15, II., 710, 720; and T. C. Elliott: "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1910), 255.

(2) Ogden's successor was Donald Manson. *Cf.* Morice, Rev. A. G.: *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1904, 237. "On the 15th of June, 1844, Donald Manson, who had crossed the Rocky Mountains with Connolly in the fall of 1825, was assigned to the command of New Caledonia."

(3) Ogden's predecessor, Chief Factor Peter Warren Dease (1788–1863), a former Nor-Wester, became a chief trader in 1821 at the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies. He received his commission as chief factor in 1828 and in 1831 was sent to take charge of the New Caledonia district. *Cf.* Wallace, W. S.: *Documents relating to the North West Company* (The Champlain Society, XXVI.), Toronto, 1934, 436.

(4) This statement would go to prove that this memorandum was written in 1842, when Ogden was contemplating taking his furlough in 1843. The Minutes of Council, 1842, record that Ogden was granted furlough, but the Minutes for 1843 state that he did not avail himself of the privilege. The Minutes continue:—

> "62. That C. F. Ogden having expressed a desire to obtain leave of absence or an exchange of Furlough next year, it is resolved that the same be afforded him, but this cannot be assured him beyond the ensuing year."

(*The Canadian North-West*, II., 836, 852, 862.) Elliott prints a testimonial presented to Ogden on behalf of the gentlemen of New Caledonia upon the occasion of his departure from the district. It is dated April 28, 1844, and

superstitious beggarly sett of beings, lavish of promises and should it so happen have no feast to make for departed relatives take precious good care like all rascals to loose sight off. The debt system[6] was introduced in to this District many years since and it is the opinion of some it would not be good policy to do away with it at present as independent of other considerations the evil has taken too deep root, this could be overcome but again it is said it acts as a hold on them from the great temptations of low prices which the Coast traders[7] who now are annually in the habit of resorting to the frontiers of the District in quest of Furs, it may have this effect on some altho I have my doubts, still with many at this [place] in debt of occasionally clandestinely trading their furs. My predecessor led me to expect that it would be absolutely necessary to lower the tariff on account of the Coast traders and if I did not [I] would find the Indians troublesome, they attacked me as a matter of course on my arrival but on my giving them free permission to go provided they paid their debts they have been since silent on the subject and should they commence again adopt the same plan as if they are so inclined you can scarcely prevent them. The Fall is the usual season for giving debt but you

P. 2. will find it to your interest to delay doing this as long as you possibly can for no sooner do they secure the goods altho they

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Elliott states that Ogden " crossed the Rocky Mountains under a year's leave of absence " in the spring of that year. *Cf.* Elliott, *op. cit.*, 259–260.

(5) The Carriers who inhabited the Stuart Lake region were a branch of the Western Denes and belonged to the Athapascan language group. They owed their name to the barbarous custom of forcing the widow to pick out the charred bones of her late husband from his funeral pyre and to carry them in a leather wallet or satchel upon her back. Shortly before Ogden's arrival in New Caledonia burial was substituted for cremation and the poor widows were no longer forced to be nearly scorched to death at the funeral pyre. *Cf.* John McLean: *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, London, 1849, I., 254–57.

(6) Ogden's remarks here are enlightening. It was a stock charge against the fur-traders that they kept the Indians perpetually in debt so that they would continue to trade at the forts. The lending system, referred to on page 2, *infra*, was another evil of the fur trade.

(7) American competition was still severely felt, although the Hudson's Bay Company was building up a coasting trade. The well-known S.S. *Beaver* had arrived in 1836 and was employed on the coast.

will promise you to return to their hunting grounds not one in ten will absent himself from his Village and in winter in lieu of employing themselves trapping will lounge and idle their time in gambling feasting and sleeping, their usual season for hunting is in the Fall and Spring and so long as you can keep them hunting in the Fall your returns will encrease and you will also find it to your interest to persuade them to make their feasts in the month of June which does not interfere with their hunts altho in some cases you may succeed still you will find it rather a difficult task, however it is from the object to be gain'd by it worth a trial. When I first assumed charge of this District I found the gratuities given to the Indians very great in the article of Leather[8] particularly so, the latter and nearly all I have abolished and no diminution in our returns has resulted from it and our expenditure decreased, it now remains with you to lessen them and in doing so gradually you will rest assured find no bad effects resulting from it. The lending system I have entirely abolished it was customary formerly to loan Guns, Axes, Tranches,[9] Moose Skins and Traps to the Indians to such an extent that no one on reflection would view it in any other light than an abuse, the Carriers scarcely ever returned an article loan'd them but always have some plausible excuse ready when called on, in Traps alone from the lending system having so long prevailed as it is only three years since I abolished it,[10] are now most abundantly supplied as regards this place and the same has been adopted all over the District and the returns have not diminished and our Indent on the last article has been decreased one half, they are now sold to the Natives at 4 skins each formerly they were valued at 6 but this was merely nominal as not ten out of 100 were ever sold. Salmon are bartered at the rate of 90 for one Beaver and are paid for in the most valuable goods[11] the Carriers know too well their own interest to

(8) Leather seems to have been scarce in New Caledonia. The Hudson's Bay obtained its supply from east of the Rocky Mountains, a sure sign that there was no local supply available.

(9) Some sort of edged tool.

(10) Ogden had done well in abolishing this pernicious system in four years.

(11) The beaver-skin was the standard of value in the fur trade. The Made Beaver or M.B. became after 1837 the accepted standard. Its cash

take any other, formerly at this place 60
P. 3. were equal to a skin as an inducement to them to track more and to save transportation in the winter with dogs no doubt then a good plan but as the cause no longer exists as the introduction of Carts in the Babine Portage[12] and Boats have removed it consequently the facility of transport being so great and finding we can obtain our supplys independant of them, they now willingly when [they have] any to dispose off part with them at 90 per made Beaver, at Frasers Lake, the West end of this Lake and the Babine Posts the tariff is the same, a difference in a tariff when the Natives are constantly in the habit of meeting causes discontent and this also was another cause of my altering it here, these in regard to Traps and Salmon are the only changes I have made in the Indian tariff, or have authorized to be made in the District. In Waccan[13] the linguist you will find most useful in settling with the Indians none more capable than himself morover [?] from his long experience in this quarter now forty years better acquainted with all good, bad and indifferent Indians I shall now make no further remarks in regard to the Carriers, as from the Linguist the Journal and Indian debt book you can obtain any information you may require. On your arrival here in the Fall no time should be lost in despatching the different Outfits to the out Posts, there is so little dependance to be placed on the Men when without a Gent[leman] in fact now I have generally requested the Gent[lemen] in charge of Posts should it not cause any derangement in their affairs to be here from the 12th to 15th Septr—about the usual period of the

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value was not fixed but varied from 25 to 50 cents. *Cf.* Innis: *The Fur Trade in Canada*, New Haven, 1930, 323–24. Even though the Carriers seem to have been astute traders the price of salmon can hardly be said to have been very high.

(12) Babine Portage, from Babine Lake to Stuart Lake.

(13) Waccan was Jean Baptiste Boucher, interpreter at Fort St. James. Father Morice tells us that he was a French-Cree half-breed who came to Stuart Lake with Simon Fraser in 1806. He was "the Company's gendarme and chief executioner in New Caledonia; he was the official avenger of the killed, the policeman who was dispatched to the villages in order to stir up the natives and send them hunting, or to put a stop to the endless gambling parties, which prevented them exerting themselves on behalf of the white traders." Morice, *op. cit.*, 249.

arrival of the Brigade.[14] Seven men and one Gent[leman] are the number required to proceed to Dunvegan[15] to procure our supplys of Leather, when no other at your disposal then in that case the Gent[leman] in charge of McLeods Lake must accompany the leather party three men at the same time with one of the two stationed at McLeods Lake are required to proceed to Finlays Forks to collect the Furs of the Indians in that quarter and settle with them for the winter the Horses after transporting the McLeods Lake Outfit across should be again sent
back loaded with Salmon and on their return will transport across the Furs as less transport in winter by far less expense and waste incurred as we have always a supply of Leather on hand for one year in advance the supply for following year is left en depot at McLeods Lake and transported across with Horses in June, every exertion must be made before the navigation closes to secure a stock of Salmon not less than 30M are required to meet all demands, from the Babine two thirds of this quantity is supplied two men and four Horses with carts transport it across the Portage and from thence three men in the Salmon

(14) All commissioned officers and clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company were referred to as "Gentlemen," the lower ranks as "Men." The New Caledonia brigade left Fort St. James in the spring, usually late in April or early in May, and proceeded in boats to Fort Alexandria on Fraser River. There a horse brigade was formed which followed a well-defined trail to Kamloops and thence by way of the Okanagan Valley to Fort Okanagan at the confluence of the Okanagan and the Columbia. At this post the goods from New Caledonia were loaded on the boats of the Fort Colvile brigade and conveyed to Fort Vancouver. Early in July the brigades for the interior left the depot, and, as the text indicates, the New Caledonia brigade arrived back at Fort St. James about the middle of September. *Cf.* Sage, W. N.: *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, 37–42; Brown, William C.: "Old Fort Okanogan and the Okanogan Trail," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XV., 1–38; and Buckland, F. M.: "The Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail," in the *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1935, 11–22.

(15) Before 1831 leather and other similar supplies for New Caledonia had been brought from the Saskatchewan district by way of Edmonton, Fort Assiniboine on the Athabaska River, and the Yellowhead or Leather Pass. After that date the Peace River route via Dunvegan and Finlay Forks was preferred. From the passage which follows it is evident that Fort McLeod on McLeod's Lake was becoming the depot for leather in New Caledonia. Innis, *op. cit.*, 307, deals with this leather trade.

Boat in two trips land it here, but when Salmon are abundant in this Lake[16] secure them without delay and afterwards send the Boat to the Portage some years Salmon fail at the Babines not often but in this Lake frequently so whenever you can procure a supply loose not sight off it and Instructions should be forwarded in the Fall to Frasers Lake to trade not less than twenty thousand as a reserve in case of accidents. Salmon with care keep well for two or three years altho not so palatable as those of the present still as last year when a general failure takes place we are glad to have them, when one years staff of life is secured for the year your mind is relieved from a heavy load of anxiety.[17]

Regarding our farming operations I have done all in my power with the slender means at my disposal to encourage them and I would strongly advise you to follow the example, two years following from the scarcity of Salmon that prevailed over the District we had convincing proofs of the benefit arising from farming, at Ft. George ten men were solely supported on grain and at Alexandria even more in proportion, independant of these advantages which are not of minor importance.[18] I have within the last year reduced our demand on Colvile twenty five bags of flour less in itself again no small object when we take into consideration the long transport with Horses and so long as we do not encrease by augmenting the present number of Servants which are fully sufficient for the dutys of the District nor prove injurious to the returns which

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(16) I.e., Stuart Lake. "Here" of course refers to Fort St. James.

(17) Salmon was literally "the staff of life" in New Caledonia. Father Morice, *op. cit.*, 174, tells us that "dried salmon and cold water" were the chief diet of the company's servants. Thomas Dears, a clerk in New Caledonia, writing to Edward Ermatinger from Fraser Lake on March 5, 1831, complains: "Many a night I go to bed hungry and craving something better than this horrid dried Salmon we are obliged to live upon." *Ermatinger Papers*, Public Archives of Canada, 288. (Transcript in the University of British Columbia Library.)

(18) Daniel Williams Harmon, of the North West Company, on May 22, 1811, planted potatoes and "sowed barley, turnips &c," the first ever sowed on the west side of the Rockies in what is now British Columbia. Harmon, D. W.: *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interiour of North America*, Andover, 1820, 202.

ought never to be lost sight off as on them depends our *Salary* and as the latter encreases so do our hopes in like proportion of soon returning to our *homes*. The Servants were formerly allowed three moose skins per man for their winter supply forming a total of upwards 160 Skins and were in the habit of trading and wasting more than half of it with the Natives, the plan I adopted to stop this waste and also most injurious to the trade was in allowing them one pr. of shoes for fifteen days by adopting [such a plan] you will find it not only a saving of more than a hundred skins per annum but also a gain on the trade. In renewing the Servants contracts I have had so far little or no trouble towards the Spring of the year tobacco is a scarce article amongst them and I have always made it a rule on condition of renewing their Contracts to assist them also a few supplys, and in lieu of Liquor[19] now only known by name which was formerly given allow them 1 lb gratuity and if no better description of men than these emported from Canada of late years the refuse of brothels and Gaols you will find it to your interest to secure this. You have, two Orkneymen fishermen and a Blacksmith most particularly the latter not only on account of our Boats but also Farms and Mills is much required in the District, but if your request on the Gov[ernor] & Councile be not more attended to than mine has been for last years you will find it not only useless to apply but also not subject yourself to be slighted. The Servants of this District have almost from the first year the Country was established been represented as most worthless dishonest disolute sett of beings having been now some years with them with few exceptions they are by no means so bad as represented and when we seriously take into consideration the hard duty imposed on them food of an indifferent quality and no variety, temptations great it is not surprising that they should occasionally deviate from the right path and under all these cir-

(19) This is an interesting proof that the use of liquor was being discouraged by the company. On the question of the use of liquor in the fur trade a long controversy has been waged by historians. *Standing Rules and Regulations*, XIII., issued at Norway House on June 23, 1836, contain the statement "that the use of spirituous Liquors be gradually discontinued in the few Districts in which it is yet indispensable" (*The Canadian North-West*, II., 754). New Caledonia was evidently not in this latter class.

cumstances some allowance ought to be made for them. Relative to the

P. 6. transport of Outfit from Okanagan to Alexandria should Greguin re engage will relieve you from considerable anxiety and trouble but should he not the fittest person to succeed him is C Chartier having been employed with Horses for the last four years and having accompanied the Brigade is well acquainted with the *routine*. The Servants attached to the brigade receive their usual allowance of Flour at Okanagan in the following proportions married men 100 lbs each bachelors 50. Servants inland married or single 25 lbs each charged to their accounts. Interpreters 50 lbs each, 25 lb only chargeable the remainder with 15 lb Sugar are given to each of the latter as gratuity[20] Old Waccan the Interpreter (J. Be. Boucher) is an exception to the last his allowance being ½ Keg Sugar gratuity and ½ Keg on account with 1 Bag Flour gratuity and messes at the table.[21] A boat from Frasers Lake instructions being left to that effect in the Spring comes down to meet the Brigade at Alexandria on or about the 15th August in charge of the Gent[leman] superintending at Frasers Lake, the crew consists of 6 men Canadians & Indians the latter engaged for the trip at the rate of 20 Skins each at Alexandria, then the Outfits for the latter place, Ft. George Frasers Lake are made up and at Chin Lac Forks[22] the Frasers Lake boat separates from the Brigade and proceeds to the latter place with its Outfit, five men and an Indian is the crew of each boat and cargo from 50 to 56 pieces, there are only two places in the river that more than usual precautions are necessary the Grant & Stony Island Rapids, old Bem acts in capacity of

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(20) These allowances of flour are important as showing that an attempt was being made to vary the dried-salmon and cold-water diet. Probably this was due to the salmon shortage referred to above, but one feels that Ogden's generosity may also have had something to do with it. The men of the brigade get more liberal allowances than those who remain " inland " at the posts. Interpreters were always ranked as superior to ordinary company's servants.

(21) I.e., the gentlemen's table. Old Waccan was a privileged personage.

(22) Chin Lac Forks, also known as Chinlac, was the old name for the confluence of the Stuart and the Nechako Rivers.

Guide an apology having no authority[23] it is therefore necessary [for] you [to] keep your *eyes open* on all occasions.

Should the superintendance of Thompsons River be attached as it is this year or not to Caledonia[24] I would strongly recommend to you that both Brigades come in together as it not only adds to our respectability amongst the Natives who collect in numbers at the Forks[25] but also a greater security for the property, particularly the T[hompson] River party when coming in alone and a preventative from insult and quarrels. The Provisions required from Colvile for the latter place can as was done last season be transported across land by the Man who remains in charge of the horses at Okanagan without encurring any extra expense whatever and should there be any pieces for Colvile can be transported across land at the same time thereby doing away with the services of the T[hompson] River men going up with the craft in the Summer. I generally take my departure from this place the 22d April so as to join the T[hompson] R[iver] brigade about the 12th May and this early starting has enabled me on my arrival at Okanagan to send the Men to assist in bringing down the Boats from Colvile which plan I consider for all interested you should adopt as with strong crews are less liable to accidents in that most dangerous part of the river and with our weak bowmen for the safety of life and property too many precautions cannot be taken. I would now beg leave to call your attention to the propriety of abandoning the Chilcotin Post but as this cannot be carried into effect without the approbation of the Gov[ernor] & Councile I shall merely state my opinion of the propriety of the measure. When first established the Coast traders were not then in the habit of coming with in two days journey of the Fort and was then most valuable for its returns but within the last two years from the above cause it has been the reverse not paying its expences and still less trouble and anxiety it causes the returns not averaging 100 Beaver

(23) The meaning of this passage is far from clear.

(24) Thompson's River, better known as Fort Kamloops, was in some years reckoned in with the New Caledonia posts and in others with the posts belonging to the Columbia district.

(25) Evidently the forks of the North and South Thompson at Kamloops is here meant.

per annum and the very few small furs collected are of a most inferior quallity it is said by retaining the Post it acts as a check on the Indians of Alexandria from assisting to trade with the Coast traders in this I cannot coincide as I am fully of opinion from as little intercourse existing and enmity between the two Septs and one skin would be lost and by sending twice a year in that direction on trading excursions would answer any purpose of the present Post and cause a saving of the services of a Gent[leman] and three Servants and transportation of Provisions to that quarter.

PETER SKEEN OGDEN.[26]

(26) Ogden's spelling of his second name was by no means uniform.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Those well qualified to judge have upon many occasions emphasized the value of the great store of books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics which are preserved in the Provincial Archives. White men first landed upon what is now the coast of British Columbia only a little more than 150 years ago; and the tremendous transition from savagery to modern civilization, which has taken place in that comparatively short period, is recorded and illustrated, in a remarkable way, by the Archives collection. Research students, and others able to visit the Archives in person, have long been aware of this; but the department has lacked any means of making its resources known to a wider circle. It is hoped that the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* will go far to make good this deficiency. Important manuscripts, hitherto unpublished, will appear regularly in its pages; and it is hoped that the prospect of publication in permanent form, which the *Quarterly* is able to offer, will encourage the writing of worth-while articles upon many aspects of British Columbia's history.

It may be well to add that the *Quarterly* aims to supplement, but in no sense to rival, the *Canadian Historical Review*. A periodical which deals with the history of the entire Dominion cannot possibly concern itself with subjects, however interesting, which are primarily of regional concern; and it is to the latter that the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* will devote a large proportion of its space.

British Columbia Historical Association.

The co-operation of the British Columbia Historical Association has made the publication of the *Quarterly* possible, and its appearance promises to be a landmark in the society's history. The Association was organized in October, 1922, and published its *First Report and Proceedings* in 1924. The *Fourth Report and Proceedings*, the last in the series to appear, was issued in 1929. The Association, like most organizations, had a difficult time during the worst of the depression, but has been very active during the last two or three years. A series of evening meetings is held each season in the Provincial Archives, and these are supplemented in the summer by a field-day, usually held in August. In 1935, members of the society spent the field-day at Sooke, visiting the old Grant and Muir estates, and various other historic spots in the vicinity. In 1936, the members visited the former estate of Chief Trader James Murray Yale, now owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. J. A. Grant, and "Cloverdale," built in 1859 by the late Dr. W. F. Tolmie, and now the home of his son, the Hon. S. F. Tolmie, M.P., former Premier of British Columbia.

Though much interest was taken in these activities, the Association has been conscious of two serious limitations. In the first place, it has been unable to publish its report and proceedings since 1929. In the second place, since no provision was made in its constitution for branches, force of geographical circumstances confined the membership almost entirely to

the City of Victoria and surrounding districts. Both these difficulties have now been overcome. All members of the Association will receive the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, which is the Association's official organ, and the annual membership fee of $2 includes a subscription to the magazine. Outstanding papers read before the society will appear in the *Quarterly* from time to time, the article in this issue entitled " Gilbert Malcolm Sproat," by Dr. T. A. Rickard, being the first of the series. The geographical difficulty has been overcome by the adoption of revised by-laws, which authorize the formation of branch societies. Five or more members in good standing may petition the Council for authority to form a local section in any part of the Province, and these local sections enjoy full autonomy, so far as the management of their local affairs is concerned. Section No. 1, in Victoria, ranks as the senior section of the Association, as it is virtually the successor of the old society. Section No. 2, in Vancouver, has already reported a membership of 130, with 150 members as its immediate objective.

Local Historical Societies.

Though the Historical Association aims to have sections throughout the Province, it recognizes that the local historical society has a distinct place and function in the scheme of things. Many persons are willing to join a local society, which uses its funds exclusively for local projects, who do not care to subscribe to a magazine or organization which is Province-wide in character. To this there can be no objection, particularly if the local society shows its good-will toward the central association by paying an affiliation fee, as most of the local societies have already done, or expressed their intention of doing. It is also to be hoped that at least a few of the members of every local society will be sufficiently interested to join the British Columbia Historical Association individually, in order to assist the latter to attain the Province-wide membership which is its objective.

The Cowichan Historical Society is the only local society on Vancouver Island. One of its members, Mr. John Evans, who has spent a lifetime in Cowichan, recently compiled a most valuable manuscript history of the district for the Provincial Archives, and has also deposited there the first two instalments of his reminiscences. Mr. Kenneth Duncan, of Duncan, is president of the society.

The Okanagan Historical Society, organized in 1925, recently published its *Sixth Report*, which is reviewed at length on another page. The publication of a well-printed volume of over 300 pages is a notable achievement on the part of a regional society; and only one familiar with the difficulties which beset the local historian can appreciate fully the patience and labour which it represents. Readers will be interested to learn that the report is already out of print. Mr. Leonard Norris, of Vernon, president of the society, deserves a large share of the credit, both for the appearance of the report and for the fact that it has been a success financially. A short *Seventh Report* is to be published in the spring.

The Penticton Historical Society was organized in 1935, and held an exhibition of Indian curios and historical relics in July of that year. As in

several of the local societies, some of the members are particularly interested in the Indians of the region and their history. Others are gathering records and pictures regarding the careers of outstanding pioneers.

The North Kootenay Pioneers' Association, with headquarters at Revelstoke, was organized in October, 1933. It features an annual public event, and to date the series has been an outstanding success, both financially and otherwise. In 1935 a monster barbecue, lasting two days, was held in Revelstoke Park. In 1936 a Pioneer Trail celebration was arranged. The motion picture based upon Alan Sullivan's novel of Canadian Pacific construction-days, *The Great Divide*, was being made at the time, and the co-operation of the Gaumont-British Corporation's staff and players made possible many unique features and effects. The membership of the association is now 112, and it is planning to set to work seriously to gather historical documents, relics, and data. It is interesting to note that each year the Association confers a life-membership upon an outstanding and deserving pioneer of the community. Dr. W. H. Sutherland, M.L.A., is honorary president; Mr. C. B. Hume, president; and Mr. David Orr, secretary.

The Thompson Valley District Historical and Museum Association was organized in Kamloops in the fall of 1936. Mr. J. J. Morse is president, and the association is looking forward to a busy year. Kamloops will observe its 125th anniversary in 1937, and an elaborate programme of celebrations, which are to commence on Coronation Day, May 12, and last until the Fall Fair, is being arranged. A committee of the Historical and Museum Association is to co-operate with the official celebrations committee in planning the various events. Mr. David Power, who has a remarkable knowledge of the history of the region, recently located an old building which originally formed part of old Fort Kamloops. He has had the building carefully dismantled and placed in storage, and it is hoped that its re-erection in Riverside Park will be a feature of the 125th anniversary programme.

The Similkameen Historical Association was organized in Princeton on April 27, 1932, when the following officers were elected: Honorary president, Mrs. S. L. Allison; president, Mr. S. R. Gibson; vice-president, Mr. A. E. Howse; secretary, Rev. J. C. Goodfellow. These same officers have since been annually re-elected. A constitution was adopted in May, 1932, which listed the following objectives: to stimulate interest in local history; to promote the preservation and marking of historic sites, relics, etc.; to secure, preserve, and make available records of the early history of the valley, photographs, and life-sketches of pioneers. The area to be covered was defined as "west of Penticton, east of Hope, south of Merritt and Nicola, and north of the International Boundary." Quarterly and annual meetings have been held regularly, many relics and records have been gathered, and papers on local history read. The meetings have been fully reported in the *Princeton Star*. In 1933 *The Geology of Princeton District* (4 pp.), by Miss Jessie Ewart, B.A., was printed for distribution. The annual meetings have coincided with the birthday of Mrs. Allison, the honorary president, who was the first white woman to settle in the Similkameen Valley. They have taken the form of an Old-timers' Banquet, at which the average attendance has

been 150. The guest speaker at the first banquet was the late Mr. John Hosie, then Provincial Librarian and Archivist. At the fifth annual gathering, held last August, His Honour Judge Howay gave a masterly address on the " Historic Sites and Monuments of British Columbia."

The Fraser Canyon Historical Association was organized at a meeting held at Yale on May 24, 1935, at which Dr. W. N. Sage was the principal speaker. Its members are scattered throughout the district from Popcum to as far north at Lytton. Regular meetings have been held, and the members are gathering documents and data relating to the district. Their most ambitious project is a photographic survey, the aim of which is to obtain photographs of all buildings and other evidence of human activity in the area, with the idea of using these photographs as the nuclei around which local history can be built up. The progress of the experiment will be watched with interest. Over one hundred pictures have already been secured, and many more are known to be available. Mr. T. L. Thacker, of Hope, is president of the association, and Rev. Heber H. K. Greene, of Agassiz, secretary.

A number of other local societies, or sections of the British Columbia Historical Association, are in immediate prospect. It is hoped that one of these will be at Lillooet, where the *Bridge River-Lillooet News*, edited by Mrs. M. L. Murray, published a 24-page special historical number of unusual interest on October 29. Mrs. Murray and her staff made use of records preserved at Lillooet, Kamloops, and Victoria, and in addition drew upon the memories of pioneers of the district. The recollections of Alphonse Hautier, son of Louis Hautier, a pioneer of 1858, are of special value.

No local societies or sections have yet been organized either in the Cariboo or Southern Kootenay. Both are vast regions, rich in historical associations; and every effort will be made to see that they are represented before the end of the year.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Potlatch and Totem and the Recollections of an Indian Agent. By W. M. Halliday. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 1935. Pp. xvi., 240. $3.75.

A "potlatch" was a meeting of a tribe or tribes at which, after much feasting and many savage ceremonies, a large amount of goods and other valuables were given to the guests by some one or more of the prominent men of the inviting tribe, upon the tacit understanding that the recipients would in due course return to the donor gifts of one hundredfold or more. If this were not done, it would reflect great discredit upon the receivers.

This book is to a great extent a study of the potlatch. Mr. Halliday has for thirty-eight years been an Indian Agent in the northern part of Vancouver Island. As such, he has had the opportunity, vouchsafed to few in an equal degree, to observe at close range the life of the Indian, his customs and his ideas. There has been much controversy on this question of the potlatch between anthropologists and the officials of the Indian Department at Ottawa. The former regret the ban placed upon it by the Government, claiming that it is an old custom of the race, picturesque, and in many ways beneficial. The latter, admitting its picturesqueness, nevertheless think it necessary, in the interest of the Indian himself, to forbid it being in any way carried on, as being a relic of barbarism, imposing heavy burdens on the people and being accompanied by many vicious practices.

Instead of describing the potlatch in the usual way, Mr. Halliday has endeavoured to make it clearer to his readers by placing it before them in fictional form. He describes the invitation to the guests, their arrival, the ceremonies which take place, the dances, and the distribution of gifts. A great part appears in the first person, especially the speeches. From addresses supposed to be made by members of the tribe who have been educated in the Government schools, we get Mr. Halliday's personal views. He agrees with the Department that the custom is one which should not be encouraged, both on account of the circumstances which surround it and the load of debt which it imposes on the individual Indians.

The latter part of the book is devoted to his personal recollections generally. It covers many other matters relating to the Indians, their ancient customs, arts, and crafts; their morals, creeds, and superstitions. Those who believe that the Indians have been corrupted by the advent of the white men should read this book. Some time, it is to be hoped, the Fort Langley Journal, 1927–1830, a copy of which is in the Provincial Archives, will be published, possibly in this *Quarterly;* and, if so, it will fully corroborate Mr. Halliday's views on the subject.

He shows the progress that has been made by the Indians in modern days, and pays a compliment to such men as Dr. R. W. Large and Dr. George H. Darby, who have laboured among them as medical missionaries; the Columbia Coast Mission, under Rev. John Antle in modern days, and Mr. William Duncan in the past. It is worthy of note that the latter, in dealing with the

Indians of the Skeena, was as strong an opponent of the potlatch as Mr. Halliday.

The book is in an attractive form and is a worthy addition to the literature of the North-west Coast. It is to be regretted that one serious error appears on page 225, where Sir Wilfred Grenfell is referred to as Dr. Richard Grenfell.

ROBIE L. REID.

The Honourable Company: A History of the Hudson's Bay Company. By Douglas MacKay. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1936. Pp. xii., 396. $3.75.

No one can read a chapter of this book without realizing that Mr. Douglas MacKay, the popular editor of the Hudson's Bay Company's magazine, *The Beaver*, has essayed what is plainly a labour of love. The work falls into two clean-cut sections: the history itself and the appendices. The history is plainly intended for the general reader and, especially, for the Company's employees. It is written in easy and graphic style, though now and again one detects a slight straining for effect. To attempt within the straight-jacket of 318 pages to tell coherently, completely, and correctly the story of The Great Chartered Company—a story of more than two centuries and a half in time, of a domain, imperial in extent, and of empire-building in reality—is to attempt the impossible. George Bryce in 1900 required 479 pages; Beckles Wilson in the same year required 646 pages; and Miss Agnes Laut in 1908 required 824 pages; and not one of their efforts was satisfactory. Mr. MacKay has treated his subject topically; his nineteen headings touch the high spots and tell a thrilling story of romantic reality; yet these nineteen topics are a series of pictures rather than one coherent whole. Some of the chapters, notably that in which, under the title of "The Little Emperor," he gives a sketch of Sir George Simpson, are fine pastels; and no one connected with the Company can rise from the perusal of that chapter or the subsequent one on "Some Commissioned Gentlemen" without a deepened feeling of pride in the association.

The author has left gaps of considerable magnitude: The period between 1749 and 1815, which has been neglected by previous writers, has again not been adequately dealt with; the story told is rather the advance of the enemy—the Nor'westers—than the Company's own moves of offence or defence. The work of the Company on the Pacific Coast is left untold; as is its alleged attempt to colonize Vancouver Island. The interval between 1857 and 1869 is untouched so far as the work on the ground is concerned. The last four chapters are biography rather than history; and that on "Smith and the Insurrection," interesting as it is, might well have been omitted for one germane to the Company's story.

Our author takes a little flight of imagination when he speaks of young George Simpson, fresh from London, administering "final blows" to old and trained Nor'westers. His references to the struggle between the companies are scarcely fair at any time to the Nor'westers. If they were carrying on at a loss, so were their opponents: from 1809 to 1815 the Hudson's Bay

Company paid no dividend; and it seems contradictory to speak of the North West Company as an "empty shell" (p. 163), and yet to admit that but for Williams they would have driven their opponents out of the trade—a surprising result from an "empty shell." Nor can it be said (p. 177) that the Athabaska country was "the very storm centre of the fur-trade battle and the last stronghold of the enemy," when the upper waters of the Peace, the Athabaska, and the North Saskatchewan and all the region west of the Rockies had not even felt the footprint of a Hudson's Bay trader, save for the hasty trip of Howse in 1810. The author's outspoken admiration of Sir George Simpson leads him to a view of Dr. John McLoughlin which will not be accepted by the many who believe that the disagreement long antedated the arrival of the first covered wagon.

The seemingly dry appendices will greatly interest the intensive student. The rota of governors and deputy governors, the fluctuations in the prices of the Company's stocks, and the dividends paid during the whole period from 1670 to 1936 give the first complete and reliable information on these important economic matters.

A number of omissions and doubtful statements are noted: though New Caledonia existed from 1805, it is not included in the list on p. 159 until after 1825; having Fort McLeod in mind, the remark that Fort St. James is "the oldest permanent settlement in British Columbia" may require reconsideration; the claim that the Hudson's Bay Company built, in 1799, Jasper or Rocky Mountain House (p. 130) is novel; it is believed by this reviewer that William Wales accompanied Captain Cook only on the second voyage, and not on *two* voyages as stated on p. 98; John McLoughlin came to the Columbia River not in 1823 (p. 232) but in 1824; his son was murdered not by Indians (p. 233) but by his own men; Douglas's proclamations in the gold-rush of 1858 were not made "as an officer of the Company" but as the nearest representative of the Crown (p. 235); and on the same page the date 1867 has inadvertently been written for 1871.

Notwithstanding these defects and doubtful statements, the volume is, beyond all question, the most complete, accurate, and readable attempt at a history of The Honourable Company that has, as yet, appeared.

F. W. HOWAY.

Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society. Vancouver, William Wrigley Printing Company. 1936. Pp. 309. $2.

The Okanagan Historical Society, under the able presidency of Mr. Leonard Norris, has added one more to its valuable series of reports. Miss Margaret Ormsby, M.A., has edited the volume with the assistance of Mr. J. C. Agnew, Mr. C. E. Pope, and Mrs. Judith N. Pope.

The society was organized in Vernon in 1925 as the Okanagan Historical and Natural History Society, but its name was later changed to the Okanagan Historical Society. Its object has been to record the history of the Okanagan Valley, although it has never ceased to be interested in the history of the Province as a whole. The present Report shows how the society is accomplishing its purpose. It is a storehouse of information.

The articles presented are on a variety of subjects, historical, biographical, and scientific. Perhaps the most valuable are the old-timers' narratives. Mr. B. F. Young in his "Early Days in British Columbia" dates back to 1865, when Abraham Lincoln was shot. At that time he was serving in a volunteer regiment in Philadelphia and he with others of his corps mounted guard over the martyred president's body when it was lying in state there. Times were hard in the United States after the war and in 1870 Mr. Young started for California. From San Francisco he came north to British Columbia and after many adventures became a stage-driver on the Cariboo Road. In 1866 he hauled the *Mary Victoria Greenhow*, "the first steamboat on Okanagan Lake from Lansdowne to the head of Okanagan Lake for Captain Shorts."

Mr. Leon Lequime has written a brief but valuable account of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Eli Lequime, who walked in to Rock Creek in 1860 over the Hope Trail. Mr. David Lloyd-Jones in his "Over the Hope Trail" records his adventures on that historic route in 1880. Mr. Robert Lambly in his "Early Days at Enderby" tells how he walked in to the Okanagan Valley over the Hope Trail in the summer of 1876 and in the same year pre-empted what is now the site of the City of Enderby. Mrs. Crestenza Kruger writes a fascinating article on "Early Days at Osoyoos" tracing the history of that settlement from 1861. Her reminiscences of General William Tecumseh Sherman, who was in charge of the United States fort at Oroville in 1883, are extremely interesting. Mr. R. D. Kerr tells of "Early Days in Priest's Valley," where he arrived in November, 1885. "Society in Priest's Valley in those days," he records, "was raw, rude and democratic. The men usually wore long-legged boots with pant legs stuffed into the tops of them, and chewed tobacco, but they were a fine lot of fellows for all that."

Mr. Leonard Norris has contributed a series of historical articles on various subjects connected with the early development of the Province. Perhaps his most interesting is on "Robson and Begbie," in which he gives reasons for doubting whether the pioneer judge is quite entitled to the halo with which tradition has surrounded his memory. Mr. F. M. Buckland's "The Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail" is useful, as is also his note on "Kelowna, Its Name." Mrs. William Brent also gives valuable information on the origin of this historic place-name. Dr. Arthur T. Lang has contributed several brief articles on scientific subjects. The "Okanagan Arc" is dealt with in papers by Mr. Leonard Norris and Mr. J. C. Agnew. "The Camels in British Columbia," by W. T. Hayhurst, sheds new light on that most interesting but rather obscure subject.

A word should be added regarding the poems which are placed at the beginning and end of the Report. They breathe the spirit of the frontier and portray those characters of the cattle-range, the cowboy and the tenderfoot. Most old-timers will agree that

> "On the range
> There's magic in the tinkle of a bell."

W. N. SAGE.

Two of the papers published in the new *Report of the Canadian Historical Association* (University of Toronto Press, 132 pp., $1), are of particular interest to British Columbians. The first of these is "An Unsolved Problem of Canadian History," by F. G. Roe. The title refers "to the somewhat sudden and highly spectacular change in the route of the first Canadian railway to the Pacific Ocean, from the previously adopted survey through Battleford, Edmonton, and the Yellowhead Pass; to the existing route of the Canadian Pacific through Calgary and Kicking-Horse Pass, some two hundred miles further south." After a careful examination of the various explanations which have been advanced, Mr. Roe reaches the conclusion that the rerouting was due to a desire to avoid crossing the privately owned lands and townsites which were scattered along the line as previously located. "The plain truth is," in Mr. Roe's opinion, "that railways west of the Mississippi, whether in the United States or in Canada, have never been very favourable toward the idea of increasing the value of other folks' townsite properties. They have much preferred to own and develop their own."

The second paper is "Some Aspects of the *Komagata Maru* Affair, 1914," by Eric W. Morse. It is much the best account which has appeared, even though attention is directed chiefly to "the way in which the affair was handled in Vancouver, more particularly as regards the cause of the vessel's eight weeks' delay in harbour and the final negotiations that made its departure possible." The paper is part of a forthcoming study of *The Immigration and Status of British East Indians in Canada*, in which Mr. Morse will deal with the broader aspects of the *Komagata Maru* crisis. In passing, it may be noted that Mr. Morse considers that the charge of German complicity is groundless; and publication of the evidence on this and other points will be awaited with interest.

Major Nevill A. D. Armstrong, author of *Yukon Yesterdays* (London, John Long, 287 pp., 18 shillings), is well known in British Columbia, as he lived for some years at Shawnigan Lake. His book makes exciting reading, and consists, as the sub-title indicates, of "Personal memories of the famous Klondike Gold Rush, first-hand accounts of lucky strikes, stories of Dawson in the wild 'Nineties, together with adventures in mining, exploring and big game hunting in the unknown sub-Arctic." Though frankly popular in appeal, the book contains much of interest to serious readers. Some of the descriptions of mining conditions and methods are noteworthy, especially as they are based upon the writer's diaries, and in some instances give details absent from other accounts. Armstrong knew George Carmack well, and his version of the story of how Carmack and his Indian wife made the original discovery which revealed the riches of the Klondike is an interesting contribution to an old controversy. The last third of the book is devoted to a prospecting expedition which spent sixteen months on Russel Creek, a remote tributary of the McMillan River, in 1905–06. The hardships and dangers encountered, as well as the character of the country itself, are vividly described. The party consisted of Major Armstrong, a friend, and their wives. One or two errors should be corrected in future editions. The

Princess Sophia, for instance, was lost in 1918, not 1917. A remarkable series of over fifty illustrations adds much to the value of the volume.

Pay Dirt; a Panorama of American Gold-Rushes, by Glenn Chesney Quiett (New York, Appleton-Century, xxv., 506 pp., $4.50), relates the story of the search for gold on this continent from the time of Marshall's discovery in California in January, 1848, to a date as recent as August, 1936, when news of a rich strike came from Nevada. It is a story crammed with colourful characters and dramatic incidents, and to these Mr. Quiett has added an immense and orderly array of facts and dates, which give the book considerable value as a work of ready reference. Some twenty pages are devoted to a sketch of the Fraser River and Cariboo rushes, and fifty pages to the rush to the Klondike. Possibly the most interesting chapter to Canadians will be the last, which describes recent gold-mining activities in north-eastern and central Canada, with special reference to the career of Jack Hammell. It is a subject about which the general public, in the West at least, seems to know little. On the other hand, Mr. Quiett seems unaware of the extensive revival of gold-mining, in the Cariboo and elsewhere, which has taken place in British Columbia during the last five or six years. *Pay Dirt* is illustrated with nearly one hundred well-selected photographs, maps, and reproductions of old prints and drawings. A critical bibliography indicates the chief sources upon which the author has drawn, chapter by chapter. It is surprising to find neither *British Columbia*, by Howay and Scholefield, nor *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, by W. N. Sage, included in the note referring to Chapter VIII. On both page 196 and page 486, the date of publication of Waddington's *Fraser Mines Vindicated* is given as 1861 instead of 1858.

The Alaskan Melodrama, by J. A. Hellenthal (New York, Liveright, xiii., 312 pp., $3), gives a relatively short yet comprehensive account of the history and resources of Alaska. The first half of the book consists of an interesting description of the country, the natives, early exploration, and the period of Russian rule. The latter half covers the period from the American occupation in 1867 until the present day, and deals with this recent history largely in terms of the development of natural resources. It is highly critical, both of the Alaskan government—which the author describes as "the worst possible under the American flag"—and of the attitude of Congress. Alaska and British Columbia are not only neighbours, but have many resources in common; and Mr. Hellenthal's discussion of the proper policy to pursue in exploiting them, and in particular his attack upon the policy of conservation, will prove of interest and profit to British Columbians.

Interesting details of missionary life and work in Old Oregon are given in the *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee*, by Theressa Gay (Portland, Metropolitan Press, 224 pp., $2.50), which has just been published. Miss Gay has had access to a large store of hitherto unpublished letters and records, and these enable her to give a fairly complete account of Mrs. Lee's early

life and brief career in Oregon. Anna Maria Pittman was born in New York in 1803. It is interesting to learn that her father was proprietor of the ropewalk which supplied ropes for the rigging of the ships owned by John Jacob Astor, founder of the Pacific Fur Company. In 1836 she was selected as a teacher for the Oregon Mission by the Board of the Methodist Missionary Society; and presently it became apparent that they regarded her as the prospective bride of the Rev. Jason Lee as well. She sailed from Boston in July, and after wintering at Honolulu finally reached Fort Vancouver in May, 1837. There she met Jason Lee, and the couple were married two months later. The marriage was a happy one, and all went well until March, 1838, when Jason Lee left for the East, in an effort to secure further support for the Oregon Mission. Three months later Mrs. Lee gave birth to a son, and died a few days later, on June, 1838, at the early age of 35. Miss Gay has supplemented her biography with an appendix of a hundred pages in which she reprints a selection of the letters of Mrs. Lee, together with a few by her husband. The book is well produced, and is complete with illustrations, index, and bibliography. Professor H. E. Bolton contributes a foreword.

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THE DAILY NEWS.

Vol. 1. VANCOUVER, B.C., JUNE 17, 1886. No. 12.

THE FIRE

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THE WHOLE CITY WAS IN FLAMES

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They made their way to a vessel which was at anchor in the harbor, and the watchman on the vessel, with all the proverbial insolence and stupidity of "insect authority," refused to let the party come aboard. He, very soon perceived, however, that

his refusal "did not count," and that his very life would "not ver on the morning after the fire.

LOSSES.

There were probably not more than a score of people in the city on Sunday who did not lose something in the shape either of goods, personal property or

Courtesy *Vancouver Daily Province.*

Facsimile of the first page of the first issue of the Vancouver *Daily News* published after the great fire of June 13, 1886.

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THE FIRE.

Probably never since the days of Pompeii and Herculaneum was a town

WIPED OUT OF EXISTENCE

so completely and suddenly as was Vancouver on Sunday. All the morning the usual pleasant breeze from the ocean was spoiled by smoke from fires in the portion of the townsite owned by the C. P. R. Co., west of the part of the town already built, but no alarm was felt in consequence. The place wherein these fires existed was until two or three months ago covered with forest. A large force of men had been engaged in clearing it. The trees were all felled, and the fallen trees, stumps, etc., were being disposed of by burning here and there in separate heaps. A few weeks ago, during a gale from the west, the city was filled with smoke and cinders from these fires, and fire reached close to several outlying buildings, but after some fighting danger was averted. This, doubtless, tended to lull the people into a sense of security on Sunday. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon that the breeze which had been blowing from the west

BECAME A GALE,

and flames surrounded a cabin near a large dwelling to the west of the part of the city solidly built up. A few score men had been on guard with water and buckets, between this dwelling and the cabin, but when the wind became a gale they were forced to

FLEE FOR THEIR LIVES,

and in a few minutes the dwelling was a mass of flames and the whole city was filled with flying cinders and dense clouds of smoke. The flames spread from this building to adjoining ones with amazing rapidity.

THE WHOLE CITY WAS IN FLAMES

less than forty minutes after the first house was afire Of course, this being the case, a number inevitably

PERISHED IN THE FLAMES.

It is to be feared that the seven whose bodies were recovered constitute only a fraction of the whole number who perished. The total number of victims and their identity will probably

NEVER BE KNOWN.

With the exception of Mrs. Nash and Mr. Craswell, the bodies recovered were all burned to crisp and barely recognizable as human remains. Mr. Craswell's body was found in a well wherein he took refuge and died of suffocation. A young man named Johnson, and his mother were found in the same well. Johnson was dead and Mrs. Johnson has since died.

The body of Mr. Fawcett, the soda water manufacturer, was identified by his wife by means of his watch-chain.

Persons living near the Harbor and in the eastern part of the city hurried toward the wharves at the Hastings Mill, and crowded upon the steamers moored to the wharves. On the steamers and wharves, while the city was a mass of roaring flame, were gathered hundreds of frightened and excited men and sobbing women and children. Anon there emerged from the dense smoke one and another,

GASPING AND BLINDED,

with singed hair and blistered hands and faces, who had struggled almost too long to save property. A considerable number of people were surrounded by the fire and cornered near J. M. Clute & Co's store, and their only means of escape was to make rafts of the planking in a wharf at that place, and push out into the harbor. The wind was blowing fiercely, making the water rough, and the party were in no little

PERIL OF DROWNING.

They made their way to a vessel which was at anchor in the harbor, and the watchman on the vessel, with all the proverbial insolence and stupidity of "insect authority," refused to let the party come aboard. He, very soon perceived, however, that his refusal "did not count," and that his very life would "not count" for much if he attempted to keep the people off the vessel, and surrendered unconditionally. Those who witnessed the conflagration from the water describe the sight as

APPALLING AND WONDERFUL

beyond description.

Many of the large number who lived nearer False Creek than the harbor, and made their way toward that body of water, had a hard struggle to escape with their lives. Mr. Joseph Templeton got through only with the assistance of others Mr. Martin, of the Burrard hotel, barely escaped with his life, and was prostrated when he reached a place of safety. John Boultbee and C. A. Johnson saved their lives hy lying down and

BURROWING THEIR FACES

in the earth. Both are still suffering from their injuries. Everyone suffered not a little from the blinding and suffocating smoke. Families were separated, and agonized women ran wildly about crying for missing children or husbands. Many men were completely crazed, and did not recover their senses for hours. The disaster was one of the most sudden and terrible which ever in the history of the earth has overtaken a community.

The number of

BUILDINGS DESTROYED

is estimated at from 600 to 1000. In the west end of the city one building alone remains. In the east end are the Hastings mill, which was saved by the wind veering to the north. and the dwellings of Mr.. R. H. Alexander and Ald. Caldwell On the banks or False Creek two hotels and eight or ten other buildings escaped. This is all that remained of the city of Vancouver on the morning after the fire.

LOSSES.

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Facsimile of the first page of the first issue of the Vancouver *Daily News* published after the great fire of June 13, 1886.

The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

PATRON.

His Honour ERIC W. HAMBER, *Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.*

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To encourage historical research and stimulate public interest in history; to promote the preservation and marking of historic sites, buildings, relics, natural features, and other objects and places of historical interest, and to publish historical sketches, studies, and documents.

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"Any country worthy of a future should be interested in its past."

Fort Langley, north view. From an original drawing made in 1859 by E. Mallandaine.

EARLY DAYS AT OLD FORT LANGLEY.

*Economic Beginnings in British Columbia.**

Agriculture, the salmon fishery, and the foreign commerce of British Columbia had their origin and early development in the almost forgotten settlement of Fort Langley on the Lower Fraser River, during the years 1827 to 1864.

This was not the first settlement in the Province. The Spaniards settled at Nootka in 1789. But there were disputes between England and Spain as to the ownership of Vancouver Island, which ended in 1795 by the Spanish Commander Manuel de Alava destroying the buildings which his countrymen had erected, and transferring possession to Sir Thomas Pearce, the English representative.[1] The place reverted to the Indians, and though for years after fur-traders resorted there for otter skins, it ceased to be an outpost of civilization. Hudson's Bay posts were established in the interior before Fort Langley was built, but they were carried on merely for the fur trade.

Some twenty years after the abandonment of Nootka, European civilization began again on the Columbia River. From that point, Hudson's Bay traders explored the country to the north, and in 1827, Fort Langley, on the Fraser, came into existence.

Up to the present time little has been known of the early activities of the company at Fort Langley, especially from 1830 to 1843. Thanks to the courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company, in London, and the kind assistance of Mr. Leveson Gower, the archivist, and Mr. J. Chadwick Brooks, the secretary, much new material dealing with this period has been made available, and permission given for its use. This will be referred to here, with dates, as " H.B. Archives." It is proposed in this paper to deal shortly with matters which have been hitherto available to students, and in greater detail with the new material.

In 1824, George Simpson, one of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s governors in North America, first visited the Pacific Coast. He

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* A paper read at the May, 1936, meeting of the Royal Society of Canada. Reprinted by permission from the *Transactions* of the Society, Section II., 1936, pp. 89–102.

(1) Manning, *Nootka Sound Controversy* (Am. Hist. Assn. Rept., 1904, p. 471).

recognized the importance of exploring the country north of the Columbia River, and of establishing trading-posts at various points so as to be able to compete with ships from the United States, then monopolizing the trade of the Northwest Coast. In his journal of that trip west, he says:—

> "From thence we could, with great facility—and at less expense, extend our discoveries and establishments to the Northward and supply all the Interior Posts now occupied."[2]

He knew of Simon Fraser's discovery of a great river to the north of the Columbia, but evidently little of the difficulties experienced by Fraser on his voyage to the coast. He had a vision of the river as a means of access to the interior and of a fort there as the headquarters of the Company, exchanging goods brought in by sea for the products of the fur trade.

He acted without delay. No sooner had he reached Fort George (now Astoria), at the mouth of the Columbia River, in November, 1824, than he sent Chief Trader James McMillan, with 41 men, on an exploring expedition to the Fraser.[3]

On McMillan's return, his report was sent to the head office of the Company in London, and it having been approved there, Fort Langley was established in 1827.[4]

This was the first fort on the coast of British Columbia; others followed. Fort Simpson (now Port Simpson) was built on the Nass in 1831, and later removed to its present location. In 1833, Fort McLoughlin was built on Milbanke Sound; subsequently it was removed to the northern end of Vancouver Island as Fort Rupert. Fort Tako, or Taku, was established in 1840 on the lisière leased from the Russian American Co. in 1839. Each fort had its own district, subject, of course, to the authorities at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. Langley was the most important of the northern forts, its district extending from Milbanke Sound to Whidbey Island in Puget Sound.[5]

The situation of Fort Langley, some distance up the Fraser River, the entrance to which at that time was difficult, owing to the

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(2) Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 73.

(3) John Work's Journal, 3 Wash. Hist. Quar. 200–228.

(4) So says Bancroft (*Hist. N.W. Coast*, Vol. II., p. 476, *et seq.*). It had, doubtless, been approved by the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land under Governor Simpson.

(5) Bancroft, *Hist. of B.C.*, p. 130.

sand-heads at the mouth, was never satisfactory to the Company. Attempts were made to find a more suitable site; one which would be more easily accessible to shipping, and yet have the same advantages as Fort Langley in other respects.

Fort Langley was situated on the banks of a large river, teeming with fish of various kinds, especially salmon. Adjacent to it was a large area of fertile land, lower than the surrounding country, but not low enough to be affected by the spring freshets in the river. This area, situated in a district otherwise heavily wooded, was open prairie.

At first the benefits to be derived from its surroundings were not sufficiently appreciated to prevent attempts to find a more convenient site. In 1833, it was determined to substitute for it a new fort, then under construction at Nisqually at the southern end of Puget Sound. Nisqually was convenient for shipping, and could be easily reached from Fort Vancouver via the Cowlitz River.[6]

Chief Trader Francis Heron, called by John Tod in a letter to his friend Edward Ermatinger, dated February, 1830, "that dam'd black curly headed Irishman," then in charge at Fort Colville on the Upper Columbia, was sent to the coast to make the change. The people and property at Fort Langley were to be removed at once [June] to Nisqually, but not before they had salted all the salmon possible.[7]

Dr. McLoughlin, who was in charge at Fort Vancouver, had his doubts as to the wisdom of the change. He delayed the matter for the time being.[8] The report of the business being done at Fort Langley that year was so satisfactory that, instead of abandoning it, he directed farming operations to be commenced on what he called "the greate prairie."[9]

Heron came to Nisqually as ordered. In August, 1833, at McLoughlin's direction, he visited Whidbey Island to determine its suitability for the Company's purposes. He reported having found there an extensive and fertile plain[10] which could be utilized.

(6) McLoughlin to Simpson, Mar. 20, 1833 (H.B. Arch.).
(7) McLoughlin to Heron, June 18, 1833 (H.B. Arch.).
(8) McLoughlin to Heron, July 2, 1833 (H.B. Arch.).
(9) McLoughlin to Yale, March 23, 1834 (H.B. Arch.).
(10) *Nisqually Journal* (6 Wash. Hist. Quar.), 193–4.

In December, under instructions from McLoughlin, he returned to the island with men to commence the construction of a post to take the place of both Fort Nisqually and Fort Langley. Trouble with his men arose before the work had proceeded far, and they returned to Nisqually.[11] His report on the proposed new site on the island was, however, so favourable that the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land at York Factory, in July, 1834, passed a resolution (No. 70) :—

> " That a post be established at or in the neighbourhood of Whitby's Island, to be called Fort Langley, which is intended to answer the purposes of the Posts now occupied in Fraser's River [Langley] and Puget's Sound [Nisqually], which, on the establishment of that Post are to be abandoned."[12]

Notwithstanding this formal decree, McLoughlin was not yet convinced that it was the voice of wisdom. Being nearer to the seat of operations and more in touch with the possibilities of the country, he could appreciate the advantages of Fort Langley better than Heron or the Council. Instead of acting on the resolution, he wrote Simpson in 1835 that there was no place on the coast where salmon were so abundant or could be caught so cheaply as at Fort Langley; that if a market could be found for it, the sale of salted salmon alone would repay the cost of maintenance. He suggested that matters should remain as they were for the time being.[13]

Then Fort Vancouver itself came into the picture. Its position on the Columbia had its disadvantages. There were dangers to navigation by reason of the bar at the mouth of that river. In June, 1836, Simpson instructed McLoughlin to have the " coast and islands inside the Straits of Fuca examined so as to be prepared to form an establishment . . . as regards farming on a large scale . . . in short to combine as many advantages as possible and save the expense of one or both of the establishments of Nasqually [*sic*] and Fort Langley." Such a post was to take the place of Fort Vancouver as the Company's chief post in the Western Department.[14]

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(11) *Nisqually Journal* (6 Wash. Hist. Quar.), 271–2.
(12) H.B. Archives. B. 239/k/2, p. 73.
(13) McLoughlin to Simpson, Mar. 3, 1835 (H.B. Arch.).
(14) Simpson to McLoughlin, June 25, 1836 (H.B. Arch.).

In 1834, J. M. Yale, in charge at Fort Langley, suggested the possibility of using the "Big Island" in the delta of the Fraser River (now Lulu Island) and was asked by McLoughlin for a report.[15] He probably got it, but that island, though now a fertile district after having been dyked and drained, was too low, and too often subject to overflow at high water, to be available as a site for a post.

Further suggestions were considered. The Straits of Fuca were to be examined for a desirable site. Among other points, Birch Bay, a short distance south of the 49th parallel, was to be looked over.[16] The search went on, and finally a new fort was established in 1843 at Victoria, on the southern end of Vancouver Island. Notwithstanding this, Fort Langley, though from that time subordinate to the new fort, continued to carry on.

Yale, in charge at Fort Langley, insisted on its maintenance, and McLoughlin accepted his advice. No change was to be made until further orders.[17] If a better site were found, it would be considered. In any case, the salmon-fishery must not be sacrificed.[18]

The fort built in 1827 was situated on the Fraser River some two miles below the present site. It had been hurriedly constructed by unskilled workmen, with few tools. It deteriorated rapidly, and by 1839 rebuilding was necessary. The farm, now rapidly growing in importance, was some distance away. It was decided to abandon the old site and build a new Fort Langley nearer to the agricultural land. This in no way interfered with the salmon-fishery or the fur trade, which could be carried on with equal facility at either place. The new fort—four blockhouses and a stockade[19]—was soon completed and all available property removed to the new site by June 25, 1839, by which time "the square" at the new site had been surrounded by pickets and bastions and a store built to receive the goods.[20]

The new fort did not last long. On April 11, 1840, the whole establishment, with small exceptions, was consumed by fire.

(15) McLoughlin to Yale, May 16, 1834 (H.B. Arch.).
(16) Simpson to McLoughlin, June 25, 1836. McLoughlin to Yale, Dec. 12, 1836 (H.B. Arch.).
(17) McLoughlin to Yale, Dec. 12, 1836 (H.B. Arch.).
(18) Douglas to Yale, Nov. 21, 1838 (H.B. Arch.).
(19) Douglas to H.B. Co., Oct. 14, 1839 (H.B. Arch.).
(20) Yale to Simpson, Jan. 15, 1840 (H.B. Arch.).

Furs to the value of £958 were destroyed.[21] While rebuilding was going on, Chief Factor James Douglas and party visited the fort, much to the annoyance of Yale, who wrote to Governor Simpson that he had made only two requests of his visitors—to give him six good axes, and to be off out of his way as soon as possible. Douglas did not exactly comply with Yale's curt demand, but stayed long enough to square the timbers for one building, and then left Yale to his own devices.[22] The new fort was 108 feet in length by 82 feet in width. There were serious fires in 1848[23] and 1852,[24] but none as destructive as that of 1840.

Simpson was disappointed in not being able to use the Fraser as a highway into the interior, owing to the fact that its navigation was so interrupted by rapids and falls as to render it impassable. In 1828, he made a personal inspection. The Fort Langley Journal for October 11 describes the visit of Simpson, who had come down to Fort Langley from Kamloops via the Thompson and Fraser Rivers, and found " that the river is much worse than any idea we could have formed of it, and renders the practicability of opening regular communication this way with the Indians most doubtful."[25]

Even before the 49th parallel had been agreed upon, it was apparent that the boundary would follow that line. Alexander Caulfield Anderson, then at Fort Alexandria on the Upper Fraser, suggested to Simpson that he be allowed to explore a route from Fort Langley inland. This was approved and in May, 1846, Anderson left to see if a route could be made via the lakes from the mouth of Harrison River to Lillooet. He was not satisfied with this route and on his return trip he left the Fraser at Hope and went north-easterly to Kamloops. He reported that a practicable route could be made that way, but owing to the height of land at the summit, it could be used only between July and September.[26]

After some attempts to find another route this was selected and from 1849 to 1858 the brigade followed it. Goods came to

(21) McLoughlin to Simpson, Sept. 2, 1840 (H.B. Arch.).
(22) Yale to Simpson, Feb. 10, 1841 (H.B. Arch.).
(23) Yale to Simpson, Mar. 18, 1849 (H.B. Arch.).
(24) Douglas to Yale, May 27, 1852 (H.B. Arch.).
(25) See also Merk, *Op. cit.*, p. 265.
(26) Howay, *Raison d'être of Fort Yale and Hope* (T.R.S. Can., 1922), p. 53.

Fort Langley by water and were there made up for carriage by the brigade, probably, as on the Red River, in packages by one hundred pounds, called " inland pieces."[27] They were then taken by boat to Fort Hope and overland to the interior. This transhipment at Fort Langley ceased when navigation on the Fraser was opened to Fort Hope in 1858.

The fort in its prosperous days has been described by the late Jason Allard, who was born within its walls. The palisade enclosed an area of approximately 630 by 240 feet. There were four bastions, one at each corner. These bastions were 20 feet square, with 18-foot walls and a roof covered with large split cedar shingles, known as " shakes." In each bastion were two nine-pounder guns and some smaller ones.

The palisade was made of split cedar logs, 15 to 18 inches in diameter, set in the ground close together and rising about 18 feet above it. These were flattened and held together by wooden pegs inserted in holes bored through them. A lookout and firing-step inside the palisade extended along the north side (next to the river) and part of the west side (facing down the river).

The gates of hand-sawn planks were hung on heavy iron hinges, and were of double-door design. They were only opened on special occasions. Each had a little wicket gate for ordinary use, only large enough to admit one person at a time. In the early days, watchmen were maintained at the gates.

The officers' residence, or " Big House," was a log building two stories high. On the first floor, the officer in charge and the clerks, with their families, lived. The second floor was reserved for the officers of the brigade when at the fort.

Near the " Big House " was the cook-house, where the meals were prepared for its occupants. Then came the stewards' quarters, for those who waited on the officers' table. Next the residences of the supervisor and Indian trader, the cooper and boat-builder, the blacksmith and dairyman. There were houses for the labourers, the Kanakas or Hawaiians, the cooper-shop, the traders' shop, store-room, blacksmith-shop, carpenter-shop, and

(27) Bryce, *H.B. Co.*, p. 33.

warehouses. While trade was being carried on in the traders' shop through a wicket, an armed guard was stationed on the upper floor.[28]

Fort Langley's importance gradually decreased. The fur trade became of less importance as the years went on. The demand for the products of the farm decreased with the expiry of the lease from the Russian American Company. During the gold-rush of 1858, Langley was for a time the supply point for the placer mines on the Lower Fraser, but this ended when it was found that stern-wheel steamers could navigate the river to Hope and Yale.

In 1858, Governor Douglas selected the site of the first Fort Langley as the capital (or "seaport town," as he termed it) of the proposed new colony of British Columbia. Before the colony was organized, he had the site surveyed and laid out in town lots. The colony was duly constituted on November 19, 1858, and the officials sworn in as such, at Fort Langley. The detachment of the corps of Royal Engineers that had arrived in the colony in 1858 was at once set to work to erect the necessary government buildings.

On Christmas of that year, Colonel R. C. Moody, the commander of the corps, arrived at Victoria. One of his duties was to advise the governor as to the proper location of the capital. After some delay, owing to certain difficulties at Yale, he made an examination of the proposed capital at Fort Langley, and other possible sites on the Fraser. He selected a site farther down the river, at Queensborough, later renamed New Westminster. He objected to the Langley site, on the ground that it was the "frontier" or southern side of the river, "and no amount of expenditure and skill could effectually rectify the strong military objection to its position."[29]

THE FUR TRADE.

Of course, the immediate cause for the establishment of Fort Langley was to carry on the fur trade with the Indians. Even then the Company did not have a monopoly of the trade, as there are, in the Fort Langley Journal, 1827–1830, and other material,

(28) Nelson, Denys, *Fort Langley* (Vancouver, 1927), p. 23.
(29) *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia*, Pt. II., p. 61.

many complaints about the American vessels—the "Yankee Pedlars," as the Hudson's Bay Co.'s employees called them—selling goods to the Indians at lower prices than those charged by the Company, and paying higher prices for furs.[30]. However, during its early years, the fur trade at the fort was very profitable.

It soon decreased. Continual hunting dried up the local sources of supply. Before 1839, there had been a gradual decrease, but there was an increase that year, because the Indians around the fort had been literally "dunned" into something like exertion.[31] By 1845, the returns had become "trifling to an extreme."[32] In 1846[33] and 1847,[34] the fur returns continued to grow less. The last we hear of the matter is in 1851,[35] when Douglas reported that Fort Langley was still on the decline "owing to the growing scarcity of Martens and the low price of Beaver which the natives in consequence rarely hunt." The silk hat had supplanted the beaver.

THE FISHERY.

The Fraser was, in the early days of Fort Langley, a noble river, teeming with fish, especially salmon. In summer, the salmon came up the river in countless thousands, seeking the spawning-grounds in the rivers and lakes of the interior. Hardly had the schooner *Cadboro* reached the site of the fort in 1827 than the crew were buying salmon from the Indians. By October, a shed had been built in which the dried salmon could be hung over fires to keep them dry and free from mould, a necessary precaution in a damp climate.

The first to make an effort to prepare salmon for export was Chief Trader Archibald McDonald, who succeeded McMillan in charge of the Fort in October, 1828. Without barrels or a cooper to make them, and little salt, he used on the fish what he had, and then smoked them, and so kept them preserved for local use.

This did not satisfy him. His ambition was to preserve the fish so as to be able to ship them to foreign markets for sale. In

(30) See Merk, *Op. cit.*, 329.
(31) Douglas to H.B. Co., Oct. 14, 1839 (H.B. Arch.).
(32) Yale to Simpson, Dec. 17, 1845 (H.B. Arch.).
(33) Ogden to Douglas to Simpson, Mar. 19, 1846 (H.B. Arch.).
(34) Douglas and Work to H.B. Co., Nov. 6, 1847 (H.B. Arch.).
(35) Douglas to Colville, Mar. 10, 1851 (H.B. Arch.).

1830, he salted some salmon, using makeshift barrels, but the experiment was not satisfactory. The fish did not keep well, and he was satisfied that they would not stand shipment to foreign markets. Accordingly, he appealed to Simpson to send him "a good Cooper"—one who knew "something of fish-curing."[36] Evidently, his request was granted, for from that time the shipment of salted fish from the fort increased yearly. By 1838, Douglas had been convinced that "in a few years" Fort Langley would "supply all the salt provisions required for the Coast."[37] Fort Langley did more, it commenced the overseas commerce of the Pacific Coast by shipping salt salmon to the Hawaiian Islands in large quantities.

In 1840, notwithstanding the destruction of the fort by fire, there was put up, besides local requirements, 400 barrels of salt salmon for export.[38]

Not until 1843 was the fort fully equipped to handle all the fish available.[39] Yet in 1845, with salmon obtained in large numbers, there was not a sufficient quantity of salt on hand to meet the demand.[40] In 1846, 800 barrels of salt salmon were put up, of which 460 barrels were sent to the Hawaiian Islands, where they found a ready market at $9 per barrel.[41] Here is the genesis of the foreign trade of British Columbia.

There was a poor run in 1847, yielding only 365 barrels,[42] but this was compensated for in 1848, when Fort Langley produced 1,703 barrels of salmon and 22 barrels of small fish (probably oolachans or candle-fish), and this although another fishery, which had been built 25 miles farther up the river, was destroyed by fire during the fishing season.[43] It was rebuilt immediately. In 1850, the pack was 2,000 barrels, part of which was sold in the Hawaiian Islands for as high as £2 10s. per barrel.[44] Later the fishing industry became centred at New Westminster.

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(36) McDonald to Simpson, Feb. 10, 1831 (H.B. Arch.).
(37) Douglas to Yale, Nov. 21, 1838 (H.B. Arch.).
(38) McLoughlin to Simpson, Sept. 2, 1840 (H.B. Arch.).
(39) Yale to Simpson, Jan. 10, 1844 (H.B. Arch.).
(40) Yale to Simpson, Dec. 17, 1845 (H.B. Arch.).
(41) Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, Mar. 19, 1846 (H.B. Arch.).
(42) Douglas and Work to Simpson, Nov. 6, 1847 (H.B. Arch.).
(43) Douglas and Work to Simpson, Dec. 5, 1848 (H.B. Arch.).
(44) Douglas to Colville, Mar. 10, 1851 (H.B. Arch.).

So commenced the salmon-fishing industry in British Columbia, which has since attained such enormous proportions.

AGRICULTURE.

Farming also had its beginning at Fort Langley, not as a mere garden, but as a business proposition.

When James McMillan and his party came on his exploring trip in 1824, they did not attempt to enter the Fraser at its mouth, fearing that they might be attacked by the Indians there, who had a bad reputation among their neighbours.[45] He took a short cut to the Fraser, by going up a small river, the Nicomekl, as far as possible, and then portaging across a "plain" to a small tributary of the Fraser. Work's report of this trip says of this "plain" that "The soil here appears to be rich, is a black mould, the remains of a luxurious crop of fern and grass lies on the ground."[46] This "plain" is now known as "Langley Prairie," and is composed of some of the most fertile land in the Province.

The occupants of the original fort at first attempted to cultivate the land in the immediate vicinity, but had little success, as the land was poor. They later turned their attention to the prairie. In 1834, McLoughlin gave orders to cultivate as much as possible of it, as although it was low and level, "it was not subject to overflow from the spring floods." As much "barley and pease" as possible were to be grown.[47] This was the commencement of what was long known as the "Hudson's Bay Farm" at Fort Langley. As has been mentioned, the distance from the farm to the old fort was the main reason for the removal of the fort to the new site. Indeed, it was only after the new fort was built that the cultivation of the farm became a matter of importance in the work of the establishment.[48] In 1840, McLoughlin told J. M. Yale, who was then clerk in charge at Fort Langley, to keep as many ploughs going as possible.[49] Yale carried out his instructions faithfully, sowing in 1840, 304 bushels of wheat and 520

(45) Work's *Journal*, 3 Wash. Hist. Quar., p. 214.
(46) 3 Wash. Hist. Quar., p. 218.
(47) McLoughlin to Yale, Mar. 23, 1834 (H.B. Arch.).
(48) Yale to Simpson, Jan 15, 1840 (H.B. Arch.).
(49) McLoughin to Yale, May 19, 1840 (H.B. Arch.).

bushels of potatoes.[50] The " barley and pease " seem to have been forgotten.

There was a reason for the anxiety of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Co. to increase the production of food on the farm at Fort Langley. There had been trouble on the Stikine River in 1834 between the Russian authorities and the Company, and this caused diplomatic discussions between the British and Russian governments.

In 1839, the trouble was settled by a lease from the Russian American Co. to the Hudson's Bay Co., signed at Hamburg, Germany, on February 6, 1839, of what is now known as the Alaska Panhandle, exclusive of the Islands along the Coast. The Russian American Co. was to abandon its trading stations along that coast, and form no new ones thereon for the term of the lease, viz., ten years, the Hudson's Bay to have full control. The Hudson's Bay Co. agreed to pay an annual rental therefor of 2,000 seasoned land-otter skins (excluding cub or damaged skins) taken or hunted on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, and also the right to purchase other otter skins at a fixed price. But what is particularly interesting to us is that by Article 4 of the Lease, the Hudson's Bay Company bound themselves to supply annually to the Russian Company 200 fenagos of 126 lbs. each, of wheat at the price of 10s. 9d. per fenago and also

160 cwt. wheat flour	at 18/5	p. cwt.
130 cwt. peas	at 13/	do.
130 cwt. Grits and hulled pot barley if it can be annually provided	at 13/	do.
300 cwt. salted beef	at 20/	do.
160 cwt. salted butter	at 56/	do.
30 cwt. Pork Hams	at 6d.	per lb.[51]

This agreement was renewed from time to time and came to an end on the cession of Alaska to the United States in 1867.[52]

Hence the instructions to Yale and the reference particularly to " barley and pease."

By 1844, Yale had more land under plough than he was able to cultivate properly. Evidently, little or no draining had been

(50) McLoughlin to Simpson, Sept. 2, 1840 (H.B. Arch.).
(51) Correspondence of Foreign Office and H.B. Co.—Ottawa, 1899.
(52) Bryce, *H.B. Co.*, p. 496.

Interior of Fort Langley looking south. From an original drawing made in 1858 by E. Mallandaine.

done, for he complains of the soil being low and wet. He also complains of not being furnished with proper equipment for the work.[53] Notwithstanding this, Yale was doing well. When Warre and Vavasour visited the fort in 1845, they found 245 acres in cultivation and 20 men at work on the farm. There were then on the farm 180 pigs, 15 horses, and 195 head of " neat " cattle.[54] Notwithstanding that a portion of the land near the fort was covered with water in the spring freshet, and heavy rains in harvest time, Yale had 1,000 bushels of wheat for export.[55]

In 1847, Yale looked forward to a bountiful harvest, but again rains injured the grain crop. Green crops and potatoes were abundant, the potatoes being of the finest quality.[56]

Much of the produce of the farm went north to the Russian American Co. under the lease above referred to. In 1847, for instance, two Russian vessels came to Fort Victoria for wheat, beef, and mutton; a considerable part of their cargo was brought down from Fort Langley in small boats.[57]

The Company was at all times anxious to increase the production of the farm, both for the supply necessary under the Russian lease and also for the provisions of the brigades to the interior. With this objective in view, in 1851, a number of farm labourers were sent out from England to assist in the work. Yale found them impossible to work with and discharged them. Douglas was disappointed, but obtained the services of other men better adapted to conditions in the Far West.[58]

As the demand of the Russians for food supplies decreased, and the market afforded by the Gold Rush of 1858 ceased, there was not sufficient market for the products of the farm. Settlers came in and acquired lands in the vicinity and absorbed the local market. The farm became a liability instead of an asset.

In March, 1859, the farm, with its stock and equipment, but not the land and cows at the fort, was leased to C. J. R. Bedford,

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(53) Yale to Simpson, Jan. 10, 1834 (H.B. Arch.).

(54) Warre and Vavasour to Sec. of State for Colonies, No. 1, 1845. Misc. Papers, H.B. Arch.

(55) Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, Mar 19, 1846 (H.B. Arch.). Yale to Simpson, Dec. 17, 1845 (H.B. Arch.).

(56) Douglas and Work to H.B. Co., Nov. 6, 1847 (H.B. Arch.).

(57) Bancroft, *Hist. of B.C.*, p. 128.

(58) Douglas to Colville, Mar. 16, 1852 (H.B. Arch.).

then magistrate at Fort Langley, for a term of three years.[59] We have no information as to what success the tenant had in his venture. We do know, however, that in 1873, when John Fannin made an exploratory trip through this district for the Provincial authorities, the lands were idle, overgrown with weeds and fern.[60] On April 12, 1864, a grant was made from the Crown to the " Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay " of the Hudson's Bay Farm as Lots 21 and 22, Group 2, New Westminster District, the first lot containing 500 acres and the other 1,500 acres. These lots were subdivided into twenty blocks of 100 acres each. A survey was made in December, 1877, and deposited in the Land Registry Office at the City of Victoria, B.C., on January 28, 1884, a copy of which is deposited in the Land Registry Office at New Westminster as No. 126. The lots were sold at various times from 1883 to 1891 to private individuals, the first sale being to Rev. Alexander Dunn, the Presbyterian minister at Langley.

Fort Langley of to-day is but a pretty country village. Its periods of pre-eminence have ceased. But it has its memories of the days when the industries of civilization in British Columbia took form and shape in and around it.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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(59) Dallas to Yale, March 25, 1859 (H.B. Arch.).

(60) Fannin's Report to C.C.L. & W. Aug. 1873, B.C. Sess. Papers, 1874; C.C.L. & W. Rept., p. 3.

APPENDIX.

List of Men in Charge of Fort Langley taken from the Records of the Hudson's Bay Company.

June 1827–Oct.	1828	James McMillan, Chief Trader.
Oct. 1828–Feb.	1833	Archibald McDonald, Chief Trader.
Feb. 1833–May	1859	James Murray Yale, Clerk (appointed Chief Trader 1844).
May 1859–Jan.	1860	William H. Newton, Clerk.
Feb. 1860–Aug.	1860	George Blenkinsop, Chief Trader.
Aug. 1860–Oct.	1864	William H. Newton, Clerk.
Oct. 1864–Aug.	1874	Ovid Allard, Clerk.
Aug. 1874–Dec.	1874	William H. Newton.
Jan. 1875–Oct.	1886	Henry Wark, Postmaster.
Nov. 1886–Aug.	1887	William Sinclair, Postmaster.
Aug. 1887–May	1892	James M. Drummond, Clerk.
June 1892–Jan.	1893	Walter Wilkie.
Jan. 1893–to closing of post June 26, 1895.		Frank Powell.

A selection from the original letters and documents upon which this article is based will be published in an early issue.

COLUMBIA RIVER CHRONICLES.*

Steamboat history on the waterways of the Kootenay goes back as far as 1865, when a small stern-wheel steamer was constructed on the Columbia River, just south of the 49th parallel, and appropriately christened the *Forty Nine*. She was built by Captain Leonard White, a famous pioneer pilot, who had guided the first steamers up many uncharted miles of the Columbia, Willamette, and Snake Rivers. The gold-rush to the Big Bend country had induced him to leave familiar channels once again, and try his fortune on the Upper Columbia. The *Forty Nine* was launched on November 18, 1865; and it is interesting to note that her engines dated from 1854, and had been used originally in the *Jennie Clark*, the first stern-wheeler ever built in the Pacific Northwest. She left Colville on her first trip northward on December 9, but encountered ice in the Arrow Lakes and was compelled to land her passengers and turn back. In April, 1866, she headed north again, and upon this trip succeeded in reaching the foot of Death Rapids, above the point where Revelstoke now stands. Unfortunately it quickly became evident that the days of the Big Bend rush were numbered. On her third trip the *Forty Nine* carried only three passengers; and thereafter she was crowded when south-bound with departing miners, many of whom were unable to pay their fares. Trade fell off rapidly, but she continued in service at irregular intervals for some years. Captain White remained in command until the autumn of 1869, when his health failed, and he returned to the Coast, where he died early in 1870.

It was nearly twenty years before a successor to the *Forty Nine* appeared, and in the interval the Kootenay was a practically abandoned and unknown country. Then in the early eighties interest and activity revived, due largely to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the north and of American transcontinental lines to the south. Prospectors once again searched the mountains, and much was heard of mining and land reclamation schemes. Some means of regular transportation became

* The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge assistance received from Mr. B. R. Atkins, of Revelstoke, in the preparation of this article.

essential, and in 1884 steamers appeared upon both the Columbia River and Kootenay Lake.

The vessel for the river service was a small 37-ton catamaran called the *Despatch*. She was built at Revelstoke by three well-known Kootenay pioneers—J. Fred Hume, later Minister of Mines in the Semlin Government, William Cowan, and Captain Sanderson—who had organized the Columbia Transportation Company. She was intended for the run from Revelstoke south to boundary, and it was hoped that she would be able to capture for Canadian merchants some of the trade in South Kootenay, which by 1884 was growing rapidly, and which was almost entirely in American hands. In this endeavour she met with some success; and from this small beginning an important enterprise developed, as will be seen presently.

The first steamer ever to ply the waters of Kootenay Lake was the steam-launch *Midge*, which was placed in service in 1884 by W. A. Baillie-Grohman, in connection with a land reclamation project. She was brought from Europe, and reached the lake safely after an eventful journey by sea and land. She crossed the Atlantic on the deck of the liner *Polynesian*, and is said to have been classified by the Customs as an agricultural implement, and thereby imported duty-free. She travelled by water to Duluth, and thence by rail to Sandpoint, in Idaho. From there it was necessary to carry or drag her bodily overland, a distance of some 40 miles, to the point now known as Bonner's Ferry, on the Kootenay River. From Bonner's Ferry she proceeded north under her own power to Kootenay Lake.

The *Midge* did not have the lake to herself for long. The year she arrived the Blue Bell Mine was purchased by the Kootenay Mining and Smelting Company, headed by Dr. Hendryx, and operations on a considerable scale were undertaken there. Other discoveries and developments followed. In 1887–88 Nelson sprang into being, and other now familiar names were added to the map of Kootenay. Trade required transportation and a number of small steamers were placed upon Kootenay Lake. Some of these were no more than large steam launches, such as the *Idaho*, which was brought in bodily in much the same fashion as the *Midge*, and the *Surprise*, which was built by the Hendryx Company to carry supplies to the Blue Bell Mine. In 1888, how-

ever, the latter company placed in service a larger and more important craft—the famous old steamer *Galena*, which was the first vessel on the lake designed for the passenger trade. She was a twin-screw steamer, 80 feet long and 16 feet wide. She was caught in a gale and sank in Pilot Bay in 1894, but was raised and remained afloat until 1897, when she was broken up, as her hull was found to be so rotten that necessary repairs could not be carried out. The *Galena* is remembered as the first lake command of Captain George Hayward, who ranked for many years as the senior captain of Kootenay Lake; and her engines were installed by Hiram ("Hi") Sweet, later chief engineer of many of the lake steamers, who had arrived with the *Idaho*.

All this time the *Despatch* had had no consort on the Columbia; but it had become evident that she was incapable of handling the traffic effectively. The Spokane Falls and Northern Railway, a subsidiary of the Great Northern Railway, was expected to reach Little Dalles, on the Columbia River not far south of the boundary, in 1890; and a large, fast steamer was obviously required if trade was to be diverted northward to the Canadian Pacific main line at Revelstoke. This required more money than the Columbia Transportation Company had available; and Hume, Cowan, and Sanderson therefore joined forces with three influential new shareholders—J. A. Mara, who had operated steamers on Lake Kamloops; Captain John Irving, who was a power in the B.C. Coast shipping world; and Frank (later Sir Frank) Barnard, of Barnard's Express fame. From this reorganization emerged the Columbia and Kootenay Steam Navigation Company, with a capital of $100,000, of which $50,000 was at once paid up.

J. A. Mara was the driving force in the new company, and he set about its development with energy. Alexander Watson, a well-known Victoria ship-builder, was brought to Revelstoke, where he laid the keel of a large stern-wheel steamer in December, 1889. This was the *Lytton*, which was launched in May, 1890, and completed in July, at a cost of about $40,000. She was 131 feet long, 25½ feet wide, and of about 125 tons burthen. The engines of the old *Skuzzy*, Andrew Onderdonk's famous Fraser River steamer, were purchased for the *Lytton*, but it was decided that they were not powerful enough, and they lay for a long time at Revelstoke unused. The new machinery purchased in their

stead gave the *Lytton* an average speed of 12½ miles per hour. Her maiden trip was made on July 2, when she sailed southward with a distinguished company aboard, including W. C. Van Horne and other Canadian Pacific officials. Her first officers were: Captain Frank Odin, master; Alex. Lindquist, mate; George E. Tunstall (Jr.), purser; Mr. Hattersley, engineer; and Mr. Henley, steward.

While the *Lytton* was under construction the Columbia and Kootenay Company purchased the stern-wheeler *Kootenai*, as a running-mate for the new steamer. She had been built in 1885 to carry men and materials for railway construction in the Selkirks, and had been tied up at Little Dalles, Washington, since 1886. It is said that the C. and K. paid only $10,000 in promissory notes for her, and that she paid for herself in her first few trips. She was 140 feet long, but less powerful and speedy than the *Lytton*, and was used mostly on the 150-mile route from Robson, near which the Kootenay River joins the Columbia, north to Revelstoke. The *Lytton* plied the swifter waters south from Robson to Little Dalles, where she connected with the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway. During the low-water season she joined the *Kootenai* on the northern run. At times low water in the Revelstoke River prevented either steamer from proceeding farther than the head of Upper Arrow Lake; and in that event the small steamer *Marion*, owned by Captain Sanderson, gave an emergency service to Revelstoke.

The next few years were a busy time in the Kootenay. Some idea of the mining development which took place can be gained from the annual value of the mineral output, which rose from less than $74,000 in 1890 to more than $781,000 in 1894, and more than $6,500,000 in 1898. The resulting trade was coveted by two great rival railway systems—the Canadian Pacific and the Great Northern—both of which entered the battle through an array of subsidiaries. As already noted, the Great Northern reached the Columbia at Little Dalles in 1890, over the line of the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway. The same year the Canadian Pacific secured control of the Columbia and Kootenay Railway, and pushed forward construction work on its projected line from Robson to Nelson. This line, completed in 1891–92, was the first to give rail access to Kootenay Lake. Soon after this the Great

Northern reached Bonner's Ferry, on the Kootenay River; and in 1895 the Nelson and Fort Shepherd Railway, which in reality was an extension of the Spokane Falls and Northern, was completed to Nelson and gave that city direct connection with the whole American rail system. Meanwhile the Slocan country was coming into prominence, and rivalry broke out afresh there. Nakusp became the base of Canadian Pacific operations, while Kaslo was favoured by the Great Northern. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that business boomed for the lake and river steamers in the early nineties. They were vital links between such rail-heads as Revelstoke and Robson on the Columbia and Nelson and Kaslo on Kootenay Lake, and, in addition, served many points which had no other means of communication with the outside world. Railway construction brought them great quantities of freight; and although the new lines, when completed, often eliminated a steamer service, trade was so plentiful that the vessels could be employed to advantage elsewhere.

More traffic required more ships; and in 1891 the Columbia and Kootenay Company added two large stern-wheel steamers to its fleet. Equally important, J. A. Mara realized that the time had come to turn over the management of the line to an experienced steamboat man, and succeeded in persuading Captain James W. Troup to accept the post. Even in those days Troup was famous, and was recognized as being a ship designer, swift-water pilot, and manager of outstanding ability. He was best known on the Lower Columbia, where he had risen to be superintendent of the water lines of the Union Pacific Railway. His acceptance of a relatively unimportant position in Kootenay must have seemed a strange move to many, but circumstances and his native ability combined to make it a stepping-stone to a new and remarkable career.

The new steamers added in 1891 were the *Columbia*, for the Columbia River route, and the *Nelson*, the building of which marked the expansion of the company's operations to Kootenay Lake. The *Columbia* was a particularly fine stern-wheel steamer, 152½ feet long and 38 feet wide, designed to relieve the *Lytton* on the difficult run south from Robson. She was built by Alexander Watson at Little Dalles, Washington, and, though Canadian owned and operated, was officially an American bottom throughout her

career. She was said to have cost about $75,000. She entered service in August, 1891; and though troubled at first by small mishaps and the development of defects which required some rebuilding, she proved to be a successful and satisfactory vessel. She was placed under the command of Captain John C. Gore, a swift-water skipper of remarkable nerve and judgment, whom Captain Troup had persuaded to join him in the Kootenay. Captain Gore remained there the rest of his days, and was one of the best-known and most popular of all the lake and river captains.

As early as September, 1890, the Columbia and Kootenay Navigation Company had announced its intention to enter the Kootenay Lake trade; and the stern-wheel steamer *Nelson* was built at Nelson for this purpose. She was launched in June, 1891, and was ready for service in August. The *Nelson* was 134.4 feet long and 26.5 feet wide, and her gross tonnage of 496 made her by far the largest steamer on the lake. She was commanded by Captain McMorris, who had been on the old *Despatch* and *Lytton* on the Columbia, but who spent the rest of his career on Kootenay Lake. Her purpose in life was to carry Canadian merchandise into the Kootenay Lake centres, and to do her utmost to divert outward-bound trade to Nelson, over the new railway to Robson, and thence up the Columbia to Revelstoke and the Canadian Pacific main lines. At first she had things very much her own way, for her only competitor was the old *Galena*. In 1892 a second Canadian rival appeared, the 84-foot screw steamer *Ainsworth*, which by degrees acquired the reputation of being a sort of " old reliable " of the lakes. The Nelson *Tribune* records, in its issue of December 23, 1893, that she " never misses a trip and never comes in a minute behind time, not even when storms on Kootenay Lake make things lively for the deck passengers." Unfortunately the story of the *City of Ainsworth*—as she is called in the official registers but nowhere else—has not a happy ending. She was sunk in a squall in 1897, and, though raised and refitted, foundered in 1898 in a storm which overwhelmed her near Balfour, with the loss of nine lives.

Serious American competition commenced on Kootenay Lake in 1892, when the tug *Kaslo* and a number of barges appeared; and in the spring of 1893 the large stern-wheel steamer *State of Idaho*, built with the definite intention of outstripping the *Nelson*,

was completed at Bonner's Ferry. Old-timers will not soon forget the races between the two which took place that summer. The *State of Idaho* was 140 feet long and 23 feet wide, and soon proved she was a speedier craft than the *Nelson*. The Kaslo-Slocan boom was then at its height, and she succeeded in capturing much of the trade for the Great Northern Railway, with which she connected at Bonner's Ferry. But her career under the stars and stripes was destined to be a brief one. In November she ran ashore near Ainsworth in a fog, and, having been hastily surveyed and declared a total wreck, was sold to a passenger, Mr. G. Alexander, of Calgary, for as little as $350. The next day she was towed to Kaslo, and no doubt could have been quickly repaired; but various delays and complications followed, and she lay for many months partly submerged in the harbour there. Eventually she was raised, refitted, registered as a Canadian vessel, renamed the *Alberta*, and placed on the Nelson–Kaslo route in 1895.

Several other interesting craft joined the lake and river fleet in 1892–93. The largest of these was the *Spokane*, 125 feet long and of 400 tons gross, which was built for the Columbia and Kootenay Company at Bonner's Ferry in 1892 for the Kootenay Lake service. She was used chiefly as a freight boat. In October, 1892, the steamer *Illecillewaet* was launched for the company at Revelstoke. She was powered with the engines of the old catamaran *Depatch* and, like her, was of freakish design. She was a sort of steam-scow, designed by Captain Troup to cope with low-water conditions, and could also be used upon occasion as an ice-breaker. She required only a few inches of water—so few that some one once declared that she could "run over sand-bars without wetting them." In service she fulfilled the hopes of her designer; and in the very early spring of 1895, when unusually low water put every other steamer off the run, she was able to make two trips a week between Trail and Northport, the new rail-head on the American side, with tonnage from the LeRoi Mine. Less fortunate was the small screw-steamer *Arrow*, launched at Revelstoke in October, 1893, for Captain C. W. Vanderburgh. That winter, and again in 1894, she struggled valiantly to keep the river channel open, a service for which her owner was publicly thanked; but in December, 1895, she was capsized in a sudden squall on Upper Arrow Lake, and her crew were drowned. Her

hull was found floating bottom up, and she was later righted and taken to Slocan Lake, where she ran for years.

Thus far the Columbia and Kootenay Company had had the good fortune not to lose a single ship; but in 1894–95 it suffered two disasters within a year. Very early on the morning of August 2, 1894, the steamer *Columbia* took fire while lying at a wood-pile just north of the International Boundary, and was burned to the water's edge. Seven months later, on March 17, 1895, the *Spokane* was destroyed by fire at Kaslo. She was being used at the time as a floating wharf, as the town pier had been swept away in the great floods of June, 1894, but was about to be recommissioned when she was burned.

The loss of the *Columbia* was a serious blow to the company, for she was by far the finest unit of its river fleet. Among the many useful services she and the *Lytton* and *Kootenai* had performed was the carrying to Canada of large numbers of American settlers bound for the Prairies. One of the most interesting stories of this Columbia River immigration route is recorded as follows in a Revelstoke paper: "Another large party of American settlers for the Prairies arrived by the *Columbia* Thursday from Little Dalles, Wash. A baby girl was born on the river near its mouth at Hall's Landing on Wednesday. The Bishop of New Westminster [Bishop Sillitoe], who happened to be on board, baptized her in full canonicals, and the ceremony created a considerable impression on the crowded steamer. The baby was christened Columbia Florence Holliday and was presented with a purse of $80."

Captain James A. Anderson, who was purser on the *Columbia* during most of her career, recalls that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, whose assassination precipitated the outbreak of war in 1914, travelled from Revelstoke to Robson on the *Columbia* in 1893, in the course of his coming-of-age trip around the world. The same year Mr. Anderson installed aboard the *Columbia* what may well have been the first ship-to-shore telephone. The office of the line was some distance from the dock at Revelstoke, and in order to avoid delay and save time a telephone was placed on the ship which could be plugged into a shore circuit as soon as she was tied up.

The loss of the *Columbia* and the *Spokane* reduced the C. and K. fleet to the *Lytton*, the *Kootenai*, and the *Nelson*, so far as large passenger ships were concerned, and a new building programme was therefore essential in 1895–96. The first new vessel laid down was the *Nakusp*, by far the largest steamer yet built for service on the Columbia. She was designed by Captain Troup, who spent many an evening poring over her plans; and it is interesting to learn that the main companionway built into the famous B.C. Coast steamer *Princess Victoria* some years later, under Captain Troup's direction, was a replica of that he had designed for the *Nakusp*. The latter vessel was built at Nakusp in 1895 by David Bulger, who was known all over the Northwest as a master-builder of wooden ships. He was born in Newfoundland, and came around the Horn as a ship's carpenter at the time of the California gold-rush. Later he moved to Portland, and, like so many others prominent in the maritime history of the Kootenay, was persuaded to come to Canada by Captain Troup. The *Nakusp* was launched on Dominion Day and completed in August. She was 171 feet long, 33.5 feet wide, and of 1,083 tons gross—more than twice the size of the *Lytton*.

In 1896 the *Nakusp* was joined by the stern-wheel steamer *Trail* and the tug *Columbia*. The *Trail* was a big craft, 165 feet long and 31 feet wide, but was designed chiefly for freight-carrying and barge-work. Barges had been in use for years; but the special design of the *Trail* and the building of a powerful tug indicate how important this trade was becoming. The whole Rossland District was humming with activity; and at this time all Canadian coal for the Nelson and Trail smelters and all merchandise for South Kootenay were routed from Revelstoke down the Columbia.

The Columbia and Kootenay building programme did not overlook the Kootenay Lake service, and in 1896 the passenger steamer *Kokanee* was built at Nelson. She was 142.5 feet long and 24.8 feet wide, and was only in commission a few months when her laurels were challenged by a new American-owned steamer, the *International*. The latter was almost exactly the same length and breadth as the *Kokanee*, and, though she flew the Canadian flag, was owned by the Kootenay Railway and Navigation Company, a Great Northern subsidiary. The racing which had featured the rivalry of the *Nelson* and the *State of Idaho* in 1893 was revived

with zest; but in 1896 it was the Canadian contestant which won. On her trials the *Kokanee* had covered 12 miles in 40 minutes, and in regular service she revealed a turn of speed which the *International* could not equal.

The year 1896 witnessed highly important developments ashore as well as afloat. The completion of a Canadian Pacific branch line from Revelstoke to Arrowhead, which saved much time and trouble, especially in the low-water season, indicated which way the wind was blowing. The Kootenay trade had become so important that better connections with the Canadian Pacific rail system were imperative. This would be provided later by the Crow's Nest Railway, upon which construction had commenced; but in the meantime it was necessary to depend upon the river and lake steamers. Even with its enlarged fleet the Columbia and Kootenay line was regarded as inadequate, and a paragraph in the annual report of the Canadian Pacific Railway tells the rest of the story. "The Company," it reads, "has been at a great disadvantage in reaching the traffic in the mining districts of Southern British Columbia in having to depend upon steamboat connections controlled by other parties. The rapid growth of the traffic, the high rates exacted, and the inadequate service performed, led your Directors recently to negotiate for the purchase of the entire property of the Columbia and Kootenay Navigation Company, consisting of seven steamboats, ten barges, mechanical shops, office buildings, warehouses, etc., and to put under contract for immediate construction three additional steamers for service on the Arrow and Slocan Lakes. You will be asked to approve the expenditure of $280,000 for the boats purchased and under contract, and for a tug-boat and barges that will probably be required."

The sale of the company to the Canadian Pacific was announced in the last days of 1896; and events of the next year or so revealed how rapidly the C.P.R. interests in the Kootenay were expanding. The climax was to come in 1898, when the smelter at Trail was taken over, the railway from Nelson to Robson was extended to Trail and Rossland, and the Crow's Nest line was completed to Kootenay Lake.

Of the three new steamers built by the Canadian Pacific in 1897, two were for the Columbia River service from Arrowhead

to Robson. These were the *Rossland* and a new *Kootenay;* and both were designed by Captain Troup and built at Nakusp by David Bulger. Their machinery was installed by Davy Stephens, another very well-known figure, who engined practically all the large Canadian steamers subsequently added to the lake and river fleets. The *Kootenay* resembled the *Nakusp,* but was somewhat larger, being 183.5 feet long, 32.6 feet wide, and of 1,117 tons gross. With her appearance the original *Kootenai* was withdrawn from service and dismantled. The old steamer was for years a fond and familiar sight to old-timers along the Columbia; and among her many useful services, which included the carrying of the first ore shipments sent north from Slocan and Trail, they will recall her ice-bound rest of two months, south of Wigwam, in 1896, when she was endeavouring to keep the northern river open.

The *Rossland* was as long as the *Kootenay,* but not so wide, and her gross tonnage was 884. What she lacked in size she made up for in speed, for she was probably the fastest of all the river and lake steamers. On one trial trip she travelled from Arrowhead to Nakusp in 1 hour and 42 minutes, at an average speed of more than 20 miles per hour. Her fuel-consumption at this pace was so great, however, that she was only run at full speed when circumstances justified the extra expenditure. The *Kootenay,* on the other hand, was much more economical to operate; and upon occasions she made the return trip from Arrowhead to Trail on as little as 18 tons of coal—a result made possible by slow steaming over the portion of the long run covered at night.

The third new vessel contracted for by the Canadian Pacific was the *Slocan,* a 155-foot stern-wheel steamer designed for service on Slocan Lake. At the same time the railway purchased the small screw steamer *Wm. Hunter,* the pioneer craft on the lake, which had been running since 1892. She was built by J. Fred Hume, one of the shareholders in the original Columbia Transportation Company, which had constructed the catamaran *Despatch* in 1884. In 1898 the tug *Sandon* was added to the Slocan Lake fleet, and she and the *Slocan* remained in service until as recently as 1927, when the new tug *Rosebery* was launched and the older vessels dismantled.

The *Kootenay, Rossland,* and *Nakusp* gave a fast and efficient service from Arrowhead south. Unhappily the trio was not

destined to remain intact for long, for on December 23, 1897, the *Nakusp* was destroyed by fire at Arrowhead. She was replaced the next year in an unexpected fashion, when the steamers *Minto* and *Moyie*, originally intended for service on the Stikine River in connection with the Klondyke gold-rush, were diverted respectively to the Columbia River and Kootenay Lake instead. They were the first steel stern-wheel steamers added to the fleet, and were shipped to British Columbia in sections from Toronto. They were both lengthened by the addition of an extra 20-foot section, and as finally launched were 161.7 feet long and 30.1 feet wide. Their gross tonnage was about 830. The *Minto* was assembled at Nakusp and the *Moyie* at Nelson, and both are still in service to-day.

In this same year, 1898, the Canadian Pacific placed the powerful tug *Ymir* on Kootenay Lake. She was joined by the *Valhalla* in 1901 and the *Hosmer* in 1909, and all three were kept busy handling barges between Kootenay Landing, the rail-head of the Crow's Nest line, and Procter, near Nelson. The large steel barges used carried as many as fifteen cars each; and four of these were required each day to handle the traffic. A similar barge service was maintained between Arrowhead and Nakusp; and in 1909 the tug *What Shan* was built specially for this route. She came to a curious end in 1920, when her hull was dismantled and her machinery installed in the new tug *Kelowna*, on Okanagan Lake. To-day the tug-boat fleet has dwindled to only two vessels —the *Columbia*, which was completely rebuilt in 1919, and the *Granthall*, a powerful new steamer put afloat on Kootenay Lake in 1928.

In 1898 Captain Troup left the Kootenay to take charge of the Canadian Pacific B.C. Coast steamers; and during the next thirty years he there built up what is recognized as being the finest fleet of its kind afloat. He was succeeded as manager of the lake and river steamers by Captain John C. Gore, who retained the position until his death in 1917. Captain Gore was in turn succeeded by Captain Douglas Brown, who retired recently.

Before leaving for the Coast, Captain Troup enjoyed one last exciting swift-water experience. In the summer of 1897 the *Lytton* was commissioned to make a series of special trips to carry machinery to the foot of Death Rapids, north of Revelstoke. She

left Revelstoke on her first trip in the early morning of August 5. Captain Troup was personally in charge; her master, Captain Albert Forslund, piloted her; and James Townsend, who knew the river well, was taken along to advise about the course. For safety, all passengers were put ashore at the foot of the canyon, and they with the crowd assembled saw a great sight. For six hours the steamer lined and coughed, capstaned and chugged, breasting and beating the roaring rapids, before she whistled "all's well." It was 11.45 a.m. before she was over the first rapids, 3.45 p.m. before she was through the canyon and second rapids. Some idea of the swiftness of the water may be gained from the fact that she came down on the return trip in 6 minutes and 51 seconds. Captain Troup then turned her over to Captain Gore, who, with Captain Forslund in the pilot-house, finished the contract in three more trips.

These adventures of the *Lytton* had a sequel; for in 1901 four Revelstoke men—Frank McCarty, G. S. McCarter, Thomas Kilpatrick, and A. E. Kincaid—formed the Revelstoke Navigation Company, to give a regular service on the upper reaches of the river. The steamer *Revelstoke*, designed by Captain Troup, was built at Nakusp in 1902, and for fourteen seasons battled with the rapids of the Columbia. She was 127 feet long and of 309 tons gross; and throughout her career she was in charge of Captain Forslund, master, and Henry Colbeck, engineer. She came to her end in 1915 at the great mill fire at Comaplix, where she often tied up during the winter months. She was not replaced, and no other steamer has ever given a regular service in those waters.

By the turn of the century it was evident that both passenger and freight traffic would pass more and more from rivers and lakes to roads and rails; and little need be added to complete these chronicles. The wooden steamer *Kuskanook*, 193.5 feet long and of 1,008 tons gross, was built at Nelson and added to the Kootenay Lake fleet in 1906. Five years later, in 1911, the big steel steamer *Bonnington* was built at Nakusp, and commenced running on the Arrowhead–Robson route. She was 202.5 feet long and of 1,700 tons, and was thus by far the largest vessel ever built for service on the Columbia River. Though so large, the use of compound engines made her economical to operate. She developed 1,200 H.P., and an idea of the size of her machinery may be gained from

the fact that her piston-rods were a fraction of an inch more than 24 feet long. In 1913 a similar steel steamer—possibly the last of the famous old stern-wheel fleet—was built at Nelson and named *Nasookin*. Her gross tonnage was 1,869 and her length just over 200 feet.

The progress of the railway continued relentlessly, and with the opening of the Kettle Valley Railway for through traffic in 1916 the glory of the Columbia River steamers departed. Only the tourist and local freight traffic remained to them, and the former dwindled steadily. The spirit of old times lingered on Kootenay Lake until 1931, when the completion of the railway from Procter to Kootenay Landing eliminated the last important water link in the Kootenay transportation system.

One by one the old steamers have been dismantled or diverted to other services. The *Lytton* dropped off the list as long ago as 1903. The *Rossland* followed in 1918 and the *Nelson* in 1919. In 1920 the *Kootenay* became a house-boat for Captain Sanderson, and 1923 found the *Kokanee* acting as a floating hotel in Deanshaven. The *Kuskanook* was broken up at Nelson in 1931. The newest and finest steamers are now too large for the traffic offering and the *Bonnington* lies idle at Nakusp. The *Nasookin* has been sold and reconstructed and now serves as an automobile ferry between Fraser's Landing and Gray Creek. To-day only the old *Minto* and *Moyie* ply the waters for which, oddly enough, they were never intended.

Gone are the days when six steamers tied up in a row at Revelstoke and international rivalries led to dashing races on Kootenay Lake. Gone are the days of "white-water" runs, of forced steam, snags, sweepers, sand and gravel bars, rocks and ripples, low-water days, ice bridges, and all the romance and urge of the great river's business in the days when Kootenay was in the making. Gone, seemingly—we live and forget so much quicker now—as far into the neglected past as the gold-digger's little *Forty Nine*, and the bateau brigades of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies.

One can only hope that, after the fashion of most good stories, something of the history and immense vitality of those old days will somehow manage to survive.

JAMES FITZSIMMONS.

NAKUSP, B.C.

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EARLY SETTLEMENT ON BURRARD INLET.

In the first number of this *Quarterly* I attempted to give an outline sketch of the early commercial activities on Burrard Inlet down to 1870. It is now proposed to complete that outline by tracing the general development on the inlet during the same period.

The first rude rough trails in the peninsula between the Fraser River and Burrard Inlet owed their existence to the necessity of protecting the capital. Upon the advice of Colonel R. C. Moody, the Commanding Officer of the detachment of Royal Engineers then stationed in the Colony of British Columbia, Governor Douglas, in 1859, had selected the site of New Westminster as its capital. Vancouver Island was at that time a separate colony, though under the same governor. This selection made, the next step was to reserve lands for military and naval purposes on Burrard Inlet. These included naval reserves of 110 acres and 788 acres at "Jericho" and Point Grey, upon a part of which the University of British Columbia now stands; a military reserve of 354 acres on the south side of the First Narrows—the Stanley Park of to-day; another military reserve of about 950 acres on the north shore, immediately opposite; a naval reserve of 155 acres near the place later known as Granville; another naval reserve near Port Moody, 110 acres; and two military reserves, of 190 acres and 127 acres respectively, on the north and south sides of the entrance to Port Moody. It must be admitted that every point of vantage had been reserved to protect the embryo capital.

Communication between the capital and the inlet with all these defence reserves was a military necessity. Out of this necessity came the first two trails on the peninsula: one from New Westminster to Port Moody, at the head of the inlet, and the other to the naval reserve on English Bay, or the "outer anchorage," as it was first called. The former was made in 1859; two years later it was transformed into a road—the North Road. But as most of the men-of-war then on this station were sailing vessels and as the navigation to Port Moody was tedious, owing to the variable winds and the strong currents of the two narrows, Colonel Moody thought it well to cut a trail 13 miles in

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length to the south side of English Bay, to afford the earliest and latest contacts with them. The line of this trail was, roughly, along an extension of Douglas Street (Eighth Street), New Westminster, for a mile and a half; there it turned to the left to reach the head of False Creek, and thence along the southern shore to the vicinity of the naval reserve, the "Jericho" of later years.

It is extremely difficult to piece together the facts regarding the making of this trail, but the statements that follow are believed to be accurate. A glimpse of the incipient animosity between Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody can be caught in the correspondence touching the matter. It would be interesting to know how much information the Governor had at this time of the land-grabbing activities of the Colonel. Obviously the trail was a military necessity (or, at any rate, most desirable from a military point of view), but Douglas chose to regard it as one for settlement, and ordered that the opinion of the Secretary of State be obtained before the work was undertaken. Apparently that official approved, for in October, 1860, the trail had been carried through to False Creek. There the work stopped for a time, but in February, 1861, Douglas authorized the remainder to be constructed, and it seems that some time in the following autumn it was completed to the vicinity of "Jericho." So far as can be ascertained, this trail does not appear to have come into general use. Its sole purpose was military, an auxiliary protection for the capital.

But in January, 1860, Governor Douglas, who was the whole law-making authority in the mainland Colony of British Columbia, issued a Pre-emption Proclamation—that is, made a law—setting forth the terms on which agricultural land could be obtained. The first land applied for was, naturally, along the trail, later the North Road. Attention was next directed to the fine farming area around Burnaby Lake and soon many pre-emptions in that locality were recorded In consequence, whilst the military trail to "Jericho" was under construction, a contract was let to Sparrow & McDonald to make a trail along an extension of Douglas Street to enable settlers to reach that desirable section of the country. Possibly the fact that Colonel Moody had large landed interests in that direction may have

been a factor in the early performance of the work. From the records of the Department of Lands and Works, of which Colonel Moody was Chief Commissioner, it appears that by December, 1861, a trail of some sort had been built for a considerable distance along the line later known as the Douglas Street Road or Douglas Road. The contract had been for 4½ miles of trail at £79 per mile; however, only 3½ miles were completed at a cost of £373 12s. 4d. It may be added here, parenthetically, that, whilst the decimal currency was in common use in business, the official accounts were kept in sterling money until January 1, 1866. Inasmuch as this trail began 1½ miles from New Westminster, at the point where the military trail to "Jericho" turned off towards False Creek, it follows that it must have ended about 5 miles from that city, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of the junction of the present Sperling Avenue with Douglas Road.

Thus in December, 1861, the transportation lines in the peninsula were three in number: the North Road, just completed as a *road;* the military trail to "Jericho"; and the settlement trail, the germ of the present Douglas Road, which then ended, as above indicated, near Burnaby Lake.

As early as December, 1859, people were seeking to obtain land on Burrard Inlet. The Pre-emption Proclamation had not then been issued; but in anticipation of possible developments a Government reserve for a town near the Second Narrows, later known as Hastings Townsite, was created, about 1860 or 1861. The exact date is difficult to determine, for the material in reference to the formation of the reserves on the inlet, whether naval, military, townsite, or Indian, is extremely vague and indefinite.

The late George Turner, one of the Royal Engineers, in giving evidence in the Deadman's Island case, stated that some time, probably in 1862, he was with Colonel Moody on H.M.S. *Grappler,* when the Colonel landed and marked a spot near the Second Narrows at which he desired the Douglas Street Road to end. In April, 1862, the Government called for tenders for the construction of "a wagon road, eighteen feet wide, from six miles out of Douglas Street to a blazed tree on the south shore of Burrard Inlet, at or about the Second Narrows." Presumably this road was to begin where the existing settlement trail ended

near Burnaby Lake; and, presumably also, the "blazed tree" was the spot that Colonel Moody had shown to Mr. Turner. The notice further stated that the line "will be blazed as soon as possible." As the road to the Second Narrows (Hastings) —the Douglas Road—was not built until 1865, the inference is that the tenders were too high or that the money was not available. There are some who think that though no road was then built, a trail may nevertheless have been constructed in 1862 from Burnaby Lake to the inlet, but of this there is so far as I know no satisfactory evidence.

In October, 1862, came to the inlet the three men whose names are linked with the development of Vancouver, its first inhabitants: William Hailstone, John Morton, and Samuel Brighouse. They settled on a piece of land adjoining the military reserve, now Stanley Park. At that time there was no connection between Coal Harbour and New Westminster; they accordingly built a trail to connect at False Creek with the military trail to "Jericho." In 1863, according to Mr. Turner, they were operating a small brickyard on their land, later known as Lot 185. They had built a house and cleared some of the lot, but the absence of reasonable facilities for marketing their produce caused them soon to abandon residence on the property, though they retained their ownership.

Under instructions from Colonel Moody, George Turner, R.E., who has been already mentioned, made, in February and March, 1863, the first survey on Burrard Inlet. Beginning at the Townsite reserve, a part of which afterwards became known as Hastings, he surveyed along the south shore of the inlet, westerly, laying out, in succession, Lots 184, 183, 182, and 181, a Townsite reserve (which appears to have included the original naval reserve in that vicinity), and Lot 185. This brought him to the military reserve at the First Narrows—the Stanley Park of to-day. Lot 185 was the Hailstone, Morton, and Brighouse property. Lot 184 was granted in January, 1864, to John Graham, a clerk in the Government Treasury. Lot 183 was granted in October, 1863, to Thomas Ranaldson, who early in 1865 conveyed it to H. P. P. Crease, later Mr. Justice Crease. Lot 182 was granted to H. P. P. Crease in October, 1863. Lot 181 was granted to Robert Burnaby in October, 1863; in 1869 it became the

property of Edward Stamp, the manager of the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company. Out of the Townsite reserve, which lay between Lots 181 and 185, was first carved Lot 196, which was granted to Captain Stamp's Company, the B.C. & V.I. Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, on November 30, 1865. On it that company erected the mill then known as Stamp's mill, later the Hastings Sawmill. Granville Townsite was laid out on a portion of the remainder of this reserve. In connection with the establishment of Stamp's mill it may be added that the water required for its operation and protection was brought in by means of a flume some 3 miles in length; it was obtained from the stream that flows out of Trout Lake, on Lot 195.

With the growth of trade consequent upon the operations of Graham & Company's, later Smith's, and still later Moody & Company's mill on the north shore, the necessity for a road from New Westminster to the Townsite reserve near the Second Narrows became pronounced. In September, 1864, C. W. Holmes forwarded to the Colonial Secretary a plan of a proposed road from the end of the existing trail near Burnaby Lake to Hastings Townsite (which did not however then bear that name), a distance of about 9 miles. He added: "The present old road or trail extends about 4½ miles from New Westminster and was made I believe about four years ago." His proposal met with approval. Tenders were invited, and the contract for building a wagon road from New Westminster to Hastings, the Douglas Road, was awarded to John T. Scott—a man who is affectionately remembered by all old-timers as "Colonel Scott." The cost was roughly estimated at $15,000. In October, 1864, the work was reported to be "getting along famously." Through the autumn about one hundred and fifty men were employed. After closing down during a part of the winter, work was resumed early in January, 1865, and completed in May. The *British Columbian* of May 15, 1865, recorded that the Douglas Road was finished and that the contractor had driven Governor Frederick Seymour and A. N. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, over the whole road on the previous day. We have no description of that trip, but it requires little imagination to realize its discomfort. The road was then guiltless of anything like macadam. Its bed had not

yet settled; many low, wet places remained that were far softer and more miry than the higher ground; the worst marshy spots were covered with that terrible pioneer material — corduroy. Drummond's words, had they then been written, must have been in the Governor's mind:—

> " De corduroy road go bompety bomp,
> De corduroy road go jompety jomp,
> An' he's takin' beeg chances upset hees load
> De horse dat'll trot on de corduroy road."

This road—the Douglas Road—ended at the tree blazed by Colonel Moody some three years before, a short distance west of the Second Narrows in the Townsite reserve, later Hastings. At first the terminus had no name; it was simply, in fact and in name, " The End of the Road." But as the people of New Westminster began to frequent it for sea-bathing, John Robson suggested in the *British Columbian* that it should be called " Brighton," after the celebrated seaside resort, and Brighton it became. In August, 1865, Oliver Hocking and Fred Houston opened there the first hotel on Burrard Inlet, which they called the " Brighton Hotel "; they laid out beautiful grounds and picturesque walks, and Brighton took upon itself the aspect of an up-to-date watering place with all the facilities for boating and bathing. Mr. Charles Septimus Jones, the manager of the Bank of British Columbia in New Westminster in 1864–65, tells us that he sometimes walked over the " trail " to Burrard Inlet, a distance of 8 miles, as he says, through an avenue of immense fir trees. Brighton then consisted only of the hotel and a few houses; no streets, just a winding pathway amongst the blackened stumps; a mere clearing on the edge of the inlet and almost shaded by the gigantic trees. Yet pleasure parties came in the summer almost daily by horse and buggy over the road, for it was the only one available to the people of New Westminster for wheeled conveyances—the North Road had been allowed to go to ruin Occasionally picnics were organized and a steamer chartered with a band and all the accessories, especially when some large vessel or man-of-war was in the inlet. One such excursion took place in August, 1865, when Captain Stamp was loading his first spar ship, the *Aquila*. The fact that this vessel was taking to Cork, Ireland, a sample of almost everything produced in the colony—spars, lumber, hides, wool, coal,

salt salmon, and cranberries—probably added to the public interest. In view of these frequent excursions by water Oliver Hocking, the proprietor of the Brighton Hotel, began the construction of a wharf there.

But it was not until Stamp's mill was ready to run that a public conveyance was placed on the road. In July, 1867, a date that synchronizes with the commencement of lumber manufacture by Stamp's company, W. R. Lewis, a hotel proprietor in New Westminster, put on a semi-weekly stage. By October business had increased so much that he enlarged the service to a daily one. The stage left New Westminster at 10 o'clock in the morning and connected at Brighton with Captain James Van Bramer's ferry-boat, the *Sea Foam*, for Moody's mill. Though only about 4 miles separated Brighton from Stamp's mill, this small ferry went first across to Moody's, then back to Stamp's and on to Brighton. Despite the public clamour for a road, the same roundabout route by water continued down to 1876; and this notwithstanding an offer by Captain Stamp to bear one-half of the cost of the extension. Lewis's stage left Brighton each afternoon at 3 o'clock on the return journey. The arrival and departure of the stage was announced by the stirring notes of a bugle, a sort of old land touch. Having constructed the road to Brighton, the Government paid small attention to it, with the result that, when the winter rains came on, it was almost impassable. The *British Columbian* complained that " a road over which there is so much traffic should not be treated with indifference and neglect." But it added that it was understood the Government was " not sweet upon that road." The traffic continued to grow; the Government awoke to its duty; the road was repaired; and in August, 1868, Mr. Lewis was operating two daily stages—a four-horse and a two-horse stage—while Henry Elliott also ran a two-horse stage. The inlet was being well supplied with transportation facilities. More than that: the travel on the road, pedestrian as well as vehicular, was already so great that in October, 1867, Charles Seymour opened a wayside house, the Lake House, on the Finlayson farm (Lot 87), near the little stream that connects Deer Lake and Burnaby Lake. This stopping-place, being midway between the two termini, became quite popular, largely because of the good hunting and fishing then to be had on those lakes.

Soon after Stamp's mill began to operate, Captain John Deighton, familiarly known as " Gassy Jack," established a hotel, first apparently called the Globe House, but later the Deighton Hotel. This was in October, 1867. From his nickname the village that was growing up around Stamp's mill became known locally as " Gastown "; and Gastown it was until 1870, when it was officially named Granville. But the old name persisted in local use and even succeeded, as late as 1877, in finding its way to a place on the Admiralty charts. In November, 1873, " Gassy Jack " sent two letters to the *Mainland Guardian*, the first dated from " Gastown " and the second from Granville. As " Gassy Jack " was the best-known man on the inlet outside of Captain Stamp and " Sue " Moody a few words regarding him may be added. He was an original character worthy of the pen of Bret Harte. A native of Hull, England, he was one of those restless adventurers whom the lure of gold drew to California in 1849. After trying his luck with varying results in Californian mining camps, the fickle goddess beckoned him to the Fraser River and he came with the rush of 1858. He was a miner for a time; then a revenue officer; and then an officer on Captain William Moore's steamer *Henrietta*, on the run to Douglas and Yale. Later he was master of the *Flying Dutchman*, and pilot and master on various other river steamers. Tiring of that life, he retired to open the hotel at Stamp's mill. He was a man without education, but that did not prevent him from airing his views on any and every subject, his lack of " book learning " being compensated for by his wide and varied experience. His fondness for talking gained him his soubriquet: he was no longer Captain Deighton but " Gassy Jack." He died in June, 1875.

In March, 1869, Oliver Hocking sold the Brighton Hotel to Maximillien Michaud, who had for years been connected with the Colonial Hotel in New Westminster. The End of the Road, or Brighton, then became locally known as " Maxie's." At the same time Michaud became postmaster at Brighton; and W. R. Lewis secured the contract for carrying the mail to and from New Westminster. Two months later Lewis established a regular express service to Brighton and Burrard Inlet. All this time there had been no division of the townsite; people had just squatted and built where they pleased. But in November, 1868, the Assistant

Surveyor-General, B. W. Pearse, arrived with a party at Brighton from New Westminster to survey a part of the townsite into lots. That done, the place known as Brighton, The End of the Road, and "Maxie's" disappears and in its stead comes "Hastings, the new town at Burrard Inlet." R. E. Gosnell in the *Year-Book of British Columbia*, 1897, states that it was named after Admiral Hastings, or to give him his full title, Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Fowler Hastings, C.B., of H.M.S. *Zealous*, on this station, 1866–69. Though no definite information on the point has been discovered, this origin would appear to be correct. The *British Columbian* in March, 1869, speaks of Admiral Hastings as "A good friend to this colony"; and suggests public recognition of his approaching departure. In that month also the name of the Literary Institute at Moody's "as a compliment to Admiral Hastings" was changed from New London Institute to Hastings Institute. The survey and plotting of the townsite of Hastings synchronizes with the Admiral's departure, and so does, very nearly, the advent of the Hastings Mill. The first sale of lots was scheduled to be held by auction on July 10, 1869, at New Westminster, but it did not actually occur until a month later. Henry V. Edmonds, the auctioneer, succeeded in disposing of only seven lots, as follows: Lots 2, 3, and 4 for $150 to Maxime Michaud; Lots 9 and 36 to W. R. Lewis for $100; and Lots 34 and 35 to Ebenezer Brown for $100. These lots had gone at the upset price of $50 each; but though the remaining lots were offered at that price, no one was found with enough faith in the future to bid it.

On Burrard Inlet then, in 1869, were these three villages: Hastings; Moody's Mills, later Moodyville; and "Gastown" or Granville. The great business of the inlet was at Moody's, where both the water and the steam-power mill were operating; its large wharf accommodation gave ample space for a dozen vessels at a time. It was the most progressive of the settlements, and was the place where until the middle seventies almost every forward movement, social or economic, had its origin. It was then the largest of the three and even boasted names for the paths that answered for streets, Kanaka Row and Canary Road, for example. Its population was probably less than two hundred. The old Brighton, even under its new name—Hastings—remained but a stopping-place, galvanized into a few moments of activity, two or

three times a day, by the arrival of the stage from New Westminster. It had no industries of any kind. "Gastown," or Granville, suffered under two handicaps: the absence of a road to connect it with Hastings, and the financial difficulties in which the so-called Stamp's mill found itself from January, 1869, until it became the Hastings Saw Mill Company in August, 1870. Then new life came to Granville and it began to grow, though very slowly at first. All three were merely small clearings in the dense forest that then covered both sides of the inlet, though at Moody's the forest was pressed somewhat farther back than was the case in regard to the others.

To conclude this paper a few disconnected notes of events on the inlet will be given. These in the main will relate to the period before 1870, though a few of more recent date may be included.

So far as is known, the first person to undertake farming on the inlet, beyond the limits of the City of Vancouver, was Hugh Burr, who settled on Lot 193, at the mouth of Seymour Creek, about 1864. There he established, despite the wolves and cougars which then were very plentiful on the north shore, the first dairy and fruit farm on the inlet. He found a market in the three little villages and in the ships that came for lumber. From the newspapers it appears that in February, 1865, he had a rowboat at the end of the North Road, from which it is inferred that his only means of reaching New Westminster was by that route.

The first religious service on the inlet was held on June 19, 1865, at Moody's Mill, by the Rev. Ebenezer Robson, a pioneer Methodist missionary, later well known as the Rev. Dr. Robson. He was a brother of the Hon. John Robson, then editor of the *British Columbian*. This pioneer congregation consisted of fifteen men, including in the number Captain Howard of the barque *Metropolis*, then loading at the mill for Mexico. Almost nine years elapsed before the first religious service was held at Granville. That was on Sunday, March 1, 1874, in the Deighton Hotel, by the Rev. Mr. Russ, also a Methodist missionary. In 1874 Burrard Inlet Mission was established with three preaching-places.

The first marriage on the inlet of which a record has been found was solemnized at Moody's Mills, on July 18, 1868, by the

Rev. Edward White, another pioneer Methodist missionary. The bride was Miss Ada Young; the groom, Mr. Peter Plant. Both are described as of "Burrard Inlet," the name frequently applied to Moody's Mills, possibly because it was the largest settlement and also because these mills were "The Burrard Inlet Lumber Mills." The name Moodyville does not appear to have come into general use until after 1871. The first marriage at Granville was on April 4, 1874, when Benjamin Springer, one of the best-known pioneers of the inlet, was united to Mrs. Richards, "the late school mistress."

The first pilot for Burrard Inlet of whom any mention has been found was A. J. Chambers, whose appointment was gazetted on November 15, 1865. At that date only four vessels had loaded lumber on Burrard Inlet: the *Ellen Lewis*, whilst Smith was in control, and the *Glimpse*, *Envoy*, and *Metropolis* under his successor, S. P. Moody & Co. Another of the early pilots, Charles Houston, died of smallpox in November, 1868, at Victoria.

As early as October, 1867, John Robson in the *British Columbian* was advocating the establishment of a graving-dock on Burrard Inlet. Its necessity was brought home to the public in the following May, when the beautiful British barque *Monita* was burned at Stamp's mill and had to be taken to San Francisco for repairs.

In November, 1868, the little steam ferry-boat *Sea Foam*, while lying at the wharf at Brighton, burst some of her steam-pipes. She was just ready to leave for Moody's Mills; the passengers were coming on board at the time. Dr. A. W. S. Black, of New Westminster, Mrs. Bloomfield, and her young daughter were badly scalded; the child's injuries were so serious that she was removed to the Royal Columbian Hospital at New Westminster for treatment. In the following November the *Sea Foam* caught fire and was damaged, but again was repaired. Her place as a ferry-boat seems to have been taken later, probably about 1873, by the *Chinaman*, so called because she had been brought from China on the deck of a lumber vessel The very first ferry from Brighton to Moody's Mills was a rowboat operated by "Navvy Jack," otherwise John Thomas. He began as a ferryman in 1866, but about 1868 Van Bramer brought the *Sea Foam* from Fraser River, and established her on the run.

In August, 1867, an attempt was made to manufacture resin and turpentine on the inlet. It is believed that "Sue" Moody, with his Yankee initiative and energy, was behind the venture. The workers began to tap the fir trees in that month, but the effort ended in failure.

Mount Hermon Lodge, the first Masonic Lodge on the inlet, was organized at Moody's Mills on January 15, 1869. The officers then installed were: J. C. Hughes, W. O. Allen, P. W. Swett, J. Van Bramer, Coote M. Chambers, George W. Haynes, Alex. McGowen, S. P. Moody, and S. T. Washburn. All of these men were, directly or indirectly, connected with the mill.

On January 23, 1869, the first public library and reading-room on the inlet was formally opened at Moody's Mills by the Rev. Arthur Browning, another Methodist missionary. He took as the subject of his address: "Women." The original name was the New London Mechanics Institute, but in March, 1870, it was changed to the Hastings Mechanics Institute, as already mentioned, in honour of Rear-Admiral Hastings. The popularity of that gentleman must have caused some confusion to a stranger: Hastings townsite at the end of the road; Hastings Sawmill at Granville; Hastings Mechanics Institute at Moody's.

In 1869 a telegraph line, known at first as the Brighton telegraph, was strung from New Westminster to the inlet; and on April 11, 1869, a cable was successfully laid from Brighton across to Moody's Mills. The work was done under the supervision of F. H. Lamb, the superintendent of the Western Union Telegraph Company. Moody built the line at his own expense, as Stamp's mill would contribute nothing towards its construction; the Western Union Company merely furnished the wire, insulators, and instruments. Nevertheless, Moody's generosity shows in the fact that the public were allowed to use the line. The charge for a telegram from or to New Westminster was only 25 cents, until April 1, 1871, when it was raised to 50 cents. The operator at Moody's was Coote M. Chambers.

The first school on the inlet was established at Moody's Mills in 1870. An item in the *British Columbian*, in June, 1869, names four schools in the district: Langley, Sapperton, New Westminster, and Burrard Inlet. Notwithstanding this statement, the Burrard Inlet school in 1869 was only a name. Perhaps some

light upon the delay in opening the school may be found in the following circumstance: At a meeting in New Westminster in January, 1870, to deal with school matters, the Rev. Arthur Browning introduced and succeeded in obtaining the passage of a motion that "the Government be prayed to increase the allowance for a teacher at Burrard Inlet from $400 to $500 a year." The Government graciously acceded to this modest request; and the Burrard Inlet school district was formed on July 27, 1870. With the other three schools above mentioned, it was under the jurisdiction of a school board, of which W. J. Armstrong was chairman. Miss Laura A. Haynes was the first teacher, and the pupils numbered thirteen. She resigned in August, 1872, and was succeeded by Mrs. Murray Thain. The school-room, which was supplied by the mill company, was a small affair and but poorly supplied with teaching facilities. The south side of the inlet had in Captain James Raymur, the manager of the Hastings Mill, as energetic a champion as the north side had in "Sue" Moody. He succeeded in having a school district formed at Granville, a commodious school-house erected, and a school with sixteen pupils established and in operation by the end of February, 1872.

The growth of business at Stamp's mill, which after his retirement in January, 1869, was known by a contracted form of its full name, "B.C. & V.I. Mill," led to gradual settlement in its vicinity; but it was mostly a case of squatting on the adjoining Government reserve. After some threats to eject these trespassers the Government determined to survey and offer for sale lots in Granville townsite. The sale was held on April 11, 1870. It could scarcely be called a success: only three lots were purchased, even though the terms were half cash, and the balance on time. The buyers were: J. Deighton ("Gassy Jack"), Lot 1, Block 2, at $135; E. Brown, of New Westminster, liquor merchant, Lot 3, Block 2, at $100; and Gregorio Fernandez, Lot 16, Block 6, at $100. In December, 1870, John A. Webster, of New Westminster, merchant, bought Lot 5 in Block 2, probably at $100, the upset price; and in May, 1871, George Brew bought Lot 4 in Block 2, Alexander McCrimmon Lot 6 in Block 2, and Joseph Silvia ("Portuguese Joe") Lot 7 in the same block, probably at the upset price of $100 each. The Court-house and Gaol stood on Lot 2 in Block 2. Captain Raymur was the resident magistrate.

British Columbia entered the Dominion on July 20, 1871; and on April 24, 1872, "Gassy Jack" raised at his hotel, then the Deighton Hotel, the first Dominion flag that was flown anywhere on the peninsula. He was kind enough to lend it to Ebenezer Brown, liquor merchant of New Westminster, who flew it there on June 5, 1872.

In November, 1873, Granville had a population of sixty-five, including therein both transients and residents, but it had three public houses, "Gassy Jack's" Deighton Hotel, Jones & Mannion's Brown's Saloon, and Alex. McCrimmon's Sunnyside Hotel. By January, 1874, Jos. Reed's hotel was added, and later Henry Hogan established the Terminus at Moodyville. For ten years "Sue" Moody had been able to keep the north side free from the evils of the "saloon," but at last he had been forced to yield.

On Monday, December 23, 1873, Moody's steam sawmill was totally destroyed by fire, which is said to have started in the lamp-room. The water-power mill was saved and continued in operation. The steam mill was rebuilt immediately and was ready for use by the end of May, 1874. Its reconstruction brought to the inlet a man who later became one of the most prominent residents of British Columbia: John Hendry. When, in November, 1872, H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk* was sold out of the service, Moody's firm—which, after July 1, 1870, was known as Moody, Dietz & Nelson—purchased the machinery with the intention of using it in a tug-boat which they were about to build. This plan does not seem to have been carried out, with the result that the old man-of-war's machinery was on hand when the fire occurred, and was installed in the new mill. It is believed that it was still in operation when the Moodyville mill was permanently closed in 1901.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

THREE SIMPSON LETTERS: 1815–1820.

So little is known about the early life of Sir George Simpson that the accompanying letters will be of interest to all students of Western history. Though not documents of the first importance, it is possible that they are the earliest letters from his pen which have so far appeared in print. The originals are preserved in the Archives of British Columbia.

The year of Simpson's birth is usually given as 1792, though Clifford P. Wilson, who contributed three articles on Simpson to *The Beaver* in 1934, believes he was born in 1787, or even in 1786.[1] He was the illegitimate son of George Simpson, a fact that no doubt accounts for the absence of any details of his childhood in his own letters. He was born at Loch Broom in Ross-shire, Scotland, and there received some education. According to his cousin, Alexander Simpson, he owed much to his aunt, the mother of Thomas and Alexander Simpson, not only for early care and education, but also for "his elevation from the position of obscurity and neglect in which his birth naturally placed him."[2] She prevailed upon her brother, who was a member of the firm of Graham, Simpson & Wedderburn, engaged in the West India trade, to receive the youth into the company, and in 1809 he went to London and entered their employ. Later his path crossed that of Andrew Colvile, a brother-in-law of the Earl of Selkirk, and an influential member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, who, attracted by the young Scot, arranged for him to enter the service of the Company. Finally, in 1820, came the mission to Canada which led swiftly to fame and fortune.

The first of the letters here presented, which is dated October 5, 1815, is nothing more than a social note, penned by a friendly and pleasantly imperious young man. It is a pity that we have no details of "all the dangers" to which Simpson declares himself exposed, or of the "tough yarns" he doubtless recounted upon the occasion of his visit. The second letter, dated February 23, 1820,

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(1) *The Beaver*, outfit 265, number 3 (December, 1934), p. 51; also Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company*, Indianapolis, 1936, p. 175.

(2) Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson*, London, 1845, p. 44.

is interesting because it shows that his departure for Canada was both unexpected and hurried, and that he expected to return to London either in November, or as soon as the weather made travel possible in the spring of 1821. In actual fact, Simpson was destined to be absent from England for five years. November of 1820 found him not on the high seas, as he had anticipated, but in charge of the Athabasca country, and holding the appointment of governor *locum tenens* of the Company's vast territories in America. Governor Williams was at the time under indictment in the courts of Lower Canada and it was deemed advisable to have a deputy at hand in case of need. The next year, following the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, Simpson became joint-governor, and in 1826 governor-in-chief.

In the third letter, dated April 28, 1820, Simpson describes his journey to New York and thence to Montreal, and incidentally reveals the strong belligerent strain in his nature. He was strongly anti-American in outlook and so remained in the years which followed. His systematic campaigns against the American traders in such areas as the Snake River country and the Pacific Coast may have been good business; but a deeper feeling shows up in his anxiety to hold every possible inch of the Oregon country for Great Britain. Even more interesting is his sweeping condemnation of the Nor'Westers as a band of lawless and murderous marauders. It shows how much he had to learn about the fur trade and fur-traders; and there is a touch of almost school-boy melodrama in his expressed resolve to sell his life dearly should occasion arise. To-day we know how rapidly and thoroughly Simpson learned his lesson and attained the stature both of an Imperial statesman and a remarkable business executive. Indeed, reading between the lines of this last letter, it is not difficult to catch glimpses of the character soon to be developed fully—the gift of swift and accurate observation, the delight in power and the impression he made, the rapid traveller pressing on in the face of bad weather and worse roads, and the commanding ways later so characteristic of the " Little Emperor."

All three letters are addressed to Richard T. Pooler, Esq., who lived at Reigate, in Surrey, some 24 miles from London. Nothing

is known about the Pooler family, nor have any of the persons mentioned in the letters been identified.

The spelling and punctuation of the original letters have been retained throughout.

MURIEL R. CREE.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA.

London 5th Octr. 1815

My Dear Sir

I have frequently had it in view to avail myself of your repeated Friendly & Polite Invitation to visit you at your beautiful villa in Nulling Lane but hitherto some unfortunate circumstance has always intervened to Prevent my accomplishing that much desired object: I have at length however determined on doing myself the Pleasure of paying my best respects to you Mrs. Pooler & Family next Saturday, (barring all the dangers &c to which You Know I am Daily & Nightly so much exposed) and propose starting from here by the Brighton 3 O'Clock Coach which will take me into Riegate in the Eveng. when I will call on You and have a Gossop for an hour or two, take up my quarters at the Inn for the Night and all Day Sunday will take the liberty of making Your House my Home, and either that Eveng. or early Monday Morning make the best of my way to Tower Street.—You see I make all my arrangements in my usual unceremonious way and have only to request that You will stand upon as little Punctilio with me, but in the interim will be obliged by the favour of a Note say[in]g whether You are or not to be at Home.—

I will endeavour to coil out a few *tough Yarns* at meeting Meantime please make offer of my most Sincere regard to Mrs. Pooler Miss Helen my old Friend Dick and Beleve me always to be with much esteem

My Dear Sir

Yours mo[st] truly and Sincerely

Geo. Simpson.

London 23d. Feby 1820

My Dear Sir

Since I last had the pleasure of seeing You an unexpected circumstance has occurred which renders it necessary for me to leave Old England for a time, and at the short notice of 5 Days.—I was most anxious to shake hands with You and my highly valued Friends at Nutley Lane previous to my departure but my time is so much occupied in winding up publick & private affairs that I have not one hour to spare and a visit to Riegate is utterly impracticable.—

On Sunday afternoon I leave Town for Liverpool, embark in the Packet for New York on Tuesday, from thence I proceed direct for Montreal and

afterwards take an inland Rout by the St. Lawrence, Lakes Ontario, Huron, Superior and Winipig to Hudsons Bay and afterwards thro Athapascow to Slave Lake and Copper Mine River.—The Journey is rather a serious undertaking and the Mission is important connected with the affairs of Lord Selkirk, the Hudsons Bay & North West Compys.—Travellers you know meet with extraordinary adventures I shall therefore have some wonderful Tales to relate when I again have the pleasure of visiting You.—

I expect to return by the Hudsons Bay Compys Ships in November but if they are gone before I arrive at the Bay I must just take up my quarters for the Winter in the Northern Regions.—

The short notice I have had and the multiplicity of my arrangements have so completely occupied my attention that I have scarcely had an opportunity of thinking seriously of the task I am about to undertake and the difficulties I am likely to encounter; Yet in the midst of all my hurry & bustle I must admit that as the time of my departure approaches I begin to feel a certain depression at the idea of leaving my Native Land and so many near relations and sincere Friends amongst the latter Your good Self and Family stand prominent.—

Pray offer my affectionate regard to Mrs. & Miss Pooler Dick & the Children as also to Mrs. Palmer and with unfeigned esteem believe me always to be

My Dear Sir

Yours Most truly

Geo. Simpson

73 Tower St.

P.S. I shall highly estimate a few Words of Salutary advice from You previous to my departure.

G S

Montreal 28th Apl. 1820

My Dear Sir

To the inmates of Nutley Cottage whose uniform Kindness and Friendship has excited in me the liveliest feelings of gratitude, and for whom I shall always entertain the utmost regard and esteem, I am sure it will not be uninteresting to learn, that I have got this length in perfect safety and in the enjoyment of good Health and spirits.—

By Your Letter of 25th Feby, the rec[eip]t of which it is now high time to acknowledge I was deeply concerned to learn that you was on the Drs. list but sincerely trust you are out of his books, bold & active as ever, and that Mrs. Pooler, Miss Ellen, my Friend Dick and the rest of Your good Family are well and happy.—My adventures hitherto possess little interest, yet I shall give you a summary account of my proceedings since my departure from London, and by the time I shall next have the pleasure of seeing you my Journal will be furnished with abundant store for a long evengs chat.—On the 27th Feby I left Town for Liverpool where I was detained a few Days

by contrary winds, and on the 4th ultimo embarked on board the James Munro for New York: My Fellow passengers consisted of 13 Gentlemen & 2 Ladies; the Spanish Ambassader Genl. Vevas & Suite were of the party, the other Gentlemen were commercial Men, but amongst them were two Vile Radicals who would have kept us in continual discord during the Voyage had we not sent them to Coventry which was effected not only by threats but actual hard thumps.—Of the Ladies we fortunately saw little, they were of the same cast going to join their husbands who by their treasonable proceedings had found it necessary to take refuge in the states, an assylum for the outcasts and malecontents of all Nations; these precious nymphs were confined to their cabins the greater part of the Voyage and if the Stewards report be true solaced themselves with copious brandy draughts to the downfal of the House of Burbon:—On the whole we had a very agreeable party but the passage throughout was one continued storm; on the banks of Newfoundland we encountered very severe Weather and [were] much annoyed with Ice; the cold was so intense that wherever the spray reached, it immediately congealed, the Decks covered with Ice a foot thick and our Sails as stiff as a 3 Inch plank: with some difficulty we however got out of this Frozen Latitude and on the 4th Inst landed at New York after a quick but tempestuous Voyage of 31 Days.—The Harbour of New York is perhaps the finest in the World, protected by strong batteries so as to render it impregnable from the Sea.—The Town is well laid out, some handsome streets and a few elegant publick buildings; it is situated on an Island formed by the Harbour North & East Rivers and is altogether a gay, pleasant bustling City with a population of about 130000 Souls.—The Dock Yard is on Long Island, where there are several men of War on the Stocks and a few laying in ordinary, but cannot bear the most distant comparison to any of our establishments of the same kind: they are building fast in all the Ports and will soon have a very formidable Navy.—I was in company with several of their principal officers who with little delicacy never lost an opportunity of reminding us of our disasters on the Lakes and wherever else they had any advantage: I of course called their attention to the destruction of Washington,[1] gave them my sentiments freely (as here we may speak without reserve) expressed our contempt for their weakness, vanity and arrogance and assured them that John Bull merely wanted the opportunity to chastise them for their presumption & insolence.—The Americans generally speaking have a rooted and insuperable hatred towards the English, the antipathy is reciprocal and I suspect will at no distant period assume a more decided character: We have much to apprehend from this rising nation if the states continue unanimous, but it is gratifying to find that they look on each other with a jealous Eye from collision of interests, their dissentions are frequent & serious and I sincerely hope a Civil War may soon check its growth.—At New York I remained a few Days & received much attention & hospitality from some Friends to whom I had Letters of Introduction.—From thence I took my departure Inland by Steamer to Albany about 170

(1) Washington was taken in August, 1814, by British troops, who burned the Capitol, the White House, several of the public offices and the navy yard.

Miles up the North River which is a noble stream Navigable by Ships of any burthen and on an average from ½ to ¾ ths of a mile broad, on which there is much Traffick & abounding with Fish; on its banks are several large Towns, old English, Dutch, German & French Colonies where the different Languages are spoken in their original purity; the Country behind in a good state of Cultivation with sufficient Wood for use and ornament and the scenery in many parts bold & romantick.—

Albany is a neat pretty Town where I merely remained an hour to get Horses and proceeded direct for this place, thro' boundless Forests, extensive plains and over some stupenduous Mountains; an interesting country at any other Season of the Year but covered with Snow, the Roads one continued morass so that it was necessary to keep my eye fixed on them to avoid getting drowned in the Sea of Mud and the weather so bad that I had no opportunity of devoting much of my attention to the surrounding Scenery; my Vehicle was nothing more than an open cart drawn by 4 animalcule unworthy the Name of Horse and after about 50 Spills in which I had numberless bruises & contusions was compelled to have recourse to the Marrowbone stage the greater part of the Journey; my time being limited I found it necessary to Travel by forced marches 19 hours out of the 24 and got here the seventh Day nearly worn out with Fatigue; had the credit of opening the St. Lawrence being the first boat that crossed this Season, the floating Ice made it a source of some danger but the Soaking I had will teach me to be more cautious in future.—Here I am in excellent quarters and quite at Home with many of the first Families in Town, my time pleasantly divided between business and amusement; Dinner parties, Tea Squalls, Cards, Balls, Theatres & Masquerades occupy my Evengs and I assure you the representative of the Hudsons Bay Coy & Lord Selkirk is looked upon as no inconsiderable personage in this part of the World.—The City itself is a filthy irregular place and no fine scenery in its neighbourhood, it should have been situated a few miles lower down the River as the Water is so Shoal that no Vessel of heavy burthen can get near it and the current so powerful that it requires a strong Easterly Wind to bring small craft up:—The St. Lawrence is a magnificent River upwards of a mile in breadth here, Tomorrow I shall see more of it as I intend going down to Quebeck by the Steam Vessel[2] and will not fail to pay due attention to those scenes you was so good as [to] point out.—I am busily preparing for my Journey into the interior, a serious undertaking, my conveyance is a canoe pulled by 10 stout Fellows which they carry over the portages; my Cloak will answer all the purposes of a Bed and the canoe turned bottom upwards my chamber so that there is no danger of my getting enervated by ease & luxury. The first part of my Journey I expect to accomplish in 40 Days and my future proceedings will be regulated by the state of things in the interior.—The serious differ-

(2) The steamship *Accommodation*, built by the Hon. John Molson, entered service between Montreal and Quebec as early as 1809. The Molson Line had four or five steamers on this route by 1820.

ences between the Hudsons Bay & North West Compys. are the ca[use of][3] my mission and from the preparation making by both parties I suspe[ct we][3] shall have some hard Blows; I am not however paid for fighting will therefore keep my bones whole if possible yet must show my Governors that I am not wanting of Courage if necessity puts it to the test.—There is a possibility that I may be obstructed in my Rout as the N. W. Coy a band of unprincipled Lawless Marauders stick at nothing however desperate to gain their ends; I am however armed to the Teeth, will sell my Life if in danger as dear as possible and never allow a North Wester [to] come within reach of my Riffle if Flint Steel & bullet can keep him off.—I trust to have my business accomplished so as to get home by the end of the year when I shall give you a Journal of my proceedings.—Pray offer my Friend Dick my best wishes and thank him for his esteemed Letter I hope to find him comfortably settled in London on my return, also with kind remembrances present my warmest acknowledgements to Miss Ellen for her highly valued Postscript.—To Mrs. Pooler & the rest of your Family offer my best regards and with unfeigned esteem believe me to be

My Dear Sir

Yours most truly & Sincerely

Geo. Simpson.

This is enclosed to my Friend Scott who will forward it; Your old acquaintance *Sample* is my constant attendant.

G S

(3) Manuscript damaged.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Contributors to This Issue.

Robie L. Reid, K.C., LL.D., possesses one of the finest collections of Canadiana in the West, and has written many papers on the history of the Province.

Captain James Fitzsimmons served for thirty-eight years as seaman, officer, and captain with the Lake and River Service of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Judge F. W. Howay is the leading authority upon the history of British Columbia. He is the author of the standard history of the Province and of many other books and articles.

Muriel R. Cree is Keeper of the Manuscripts in the Provincial Archives and has written a number of articles based upon the documents in her care.

Madge Wolfenden is Assistant Provincial Archivist and is in charge of the Provincial Library's famous North West Collection. Miss Wolfenden will be glad to hear from readers who can contribute additions or corrections to the biographies and bibliographies of the two Alexander Beggs which appear in this issue.

Some Archives Accessions in 1936.

Readers of Dr. Reid's paper on *Early Days at Old Fort Langley* will be interested to learn that two early paintings of the fort have been added recently to the Provincial Archives. One of these was painted in 1862 by W. H. Newton, who was then in charge of the post, and was the gift of his daughter, Miss F. M. Newton, of Victoria. The other is one of three water-colours of unusual interest presented to the Archives by Mrs. Vivian M. Carkeek, of Seattle, in memory of her late husband. All three were painted by Captain James Alden, of the United States survey ship *Active*, after which Active Pass was named. That of Fort Langley is dated 1858, and a view of an Indian village near Nanaimo was painted the same year. The third painting, which is historically much the most valuable of the three, is an excellent view of Fort Victoria in 1854. It is the earliest original picture of Victoria in the Archives Collection; and it is possible that only the well-known picture painted by Paul Kane, in 1847, shows the fort at an earlier date.

A water-colour portrait of Admiral Sir Robert Lambert Baynes, and a valuable silhouette portrait of the Admiral, after Frith, were presented by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. H. C. A. Baynes, of Hampton Court Palace, Middlesex. As Rear-Admiral Baynes, he was commander-in-chief on the Esquimalt station in 1857–60. The portraits were accompanied by two paintings of his flagship, H.M.S. *Ganges*, which was the last sailing line-of-battleship in active commission on foreign service in the British Navy.

One of the most interesting acquisitions in 1936 was a large oil painting of Sir James Douglas, by Mrs. Frances M. Rowley, daughter of the Hon.

A. N. Richards, at one time Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. The painting was the gift of three of Sir James's grandchildren—Miss Hilda Harris, Mrs. J. E. W. Oland, and Colonel Chester Harris—and now hangs in the main hallway of the Provincial Library.

Two other pictures received relate to very early events in British Columbia's history. One of these is an original silhouette portrait of James Strange, who visited this coast with a trading expedition in 1786. It was the gift of his grandnephew, Mr. A. P. Trotter, of Salisbury, England. A contemporary note on the back of the portrait records that it was made in Edinburgh, in 1830, by the silhouettist to the French Court. The second picture is a photograph of a miniature of Captain Charles William Barkley, who arrived on the coast in 1787, just one year after Strange. It was presented by Captain Barkley's great-granddaughter, Lady Constance Parker of Waddington, of Tunbridge Wells.

A number of items of great interest were added to the Archives Museum during the year. A small writing-desk from the old home of Simon Fraser was acquired, and joined the other relics of the explorer already on display. The sword of Captain H. R. Luard, one of the officers of the Royal Engineers who arrived in 1858, was presented by his daughter, Miss E. M. Luard, of Chestleham, England. The sword was brought to Canada by Sir Percy Vincent, Lord Mayor of London.

Several of the new acquisitions relate to the economic development of the Province. The first hydraulic monitor ever used in the Cariboo has been presented to the Archives Museum by F. J. Tregillus and Joseph House, of Barkerville. The monitor was one of many relics displayed in Vancouver last year during the Jubilee celebrations. Mr. George Murray, M.L.A., secured for the Archives a rail from the first railway ever constructed in British Columbia—the tramway built in the gold-rush days between Anderson and Seton Lakes, as a link in the Harrison Lake route to the Upper Fraser, and later the Cariboo. These first rails were made of ordinary angle-iron, and were used to face the wooden timbers which formed the track proper. The department has also received on loan a remarkable working model of the first locomotive owned by the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway. This model, which is nearly 5 feet long, was built by the late Dennis Harris, son-in-law of Sir James Douglas, and was loaned to the Archives by his son, Colonel Harris. It forms a fitting companion-piece to the magnificent 7-foot model of the steamship *Princess Margaret*, presented to the Archives last August by Mrs. J. W. Troup, in memory of her husband, the late Captain Troup, who was for many years manager of the Canadian Pacific B.C. Coast Service. The *Princess Margaret* was one of the largest and fastest of the many steamers designed by Captain Troup for the *Princess* fleet, and constructed under his supervision.

Very extensive additions to the photograph collection were made in 1936. The plates of Mr. Howard Chapman, the well-known photographer, were purchased in September, when Mr. Chapman retired from business. Though many of them were taken recently, thousands of the pictures thus

acquired date back thirty or forty years, and form an invaluable supplement to the famous Maynard plates, which were purchased by the department some time ago. Possibly the most interesting part of the collection consists of a fine series of pictures taken in the Kootenay and in the Boundary country, about forty-five years ago. Early views of Rossland, Trail, Greenwood, and other cities in the region are now difficult to procure; and the Chapman plates have filled this and other gaps in the Archives Collection. Another fine series of Kootenay views was included in a collection of almost 500 pictures acquired last year from Mrs. Gerrard Mason. Approximately 100 plates of early Prince Rupert were purchased in October. They will be of great interest in years to come, for they date as far back as the arrival of the first surveyors and axemen on the site where the city now stands. Another important acquisition included the photograph collection of the late Edgar Fawcett, one of Victoria's best-known pioneers, and author of *Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria*. Though most of the pictures included were already in the Archives, Mr. Fawcett's notes, which accompany them, are of the greatest interest.

A valuable collection of some fifty-five plates was presented to the Archives in May by Mr. Herbert Carmichael. They include very early views of Port Alberni and Powell River, including the original pulp-mill erected at the former point. Another picture collection, consisting mostly of Kootenay views, was received the same month from Mrs. Alan Morkill; and other gifts of unusual interest were received during the year from Mrs. T. H. Laundy, Mrs. John Newbury, and Mr. Fred Pemberton. Special mention must be made of the photographic survey of old Victoria homes and commercial buildings which Mr. Chartres Pemberton has kindly undertaken on behalf of the Archives. Some of the buildings already photographed have since been torn down; and the collection will be of the greatest interest in the years to come, as old familiar landmarks disappear, one by one.

NEW MANUSCRIPTS.

Several notable additions were made in 1936 to the files of official records preserved in the Archives. Most important of these was a series of photostatic copies of dispatches to and from the Colonial Secretary, in London, which were missing from the set in Victoria. They were obtained from the Public Archives, Ottawa, where a practically complete series is on file; and the courtesy and co-operation of Dr. James Kenny, Acting Dominion Archivist, who made the records available, is most deeply appreciated. The Archives now possess the series complete to 1858; and by degrees it is hoped that funds will be available to fill the gaps still existing in later years. The dispatches to and from Downing Street form the most important single source for the early history of the Crown Colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island; and a few notes upon their character, and the curious history of the documents themselves, will appear in an early issue of this *Quarterly*.

Mr. R. D. Cumming, of Ashcroft, recently presented to the Archives the first land registry book of the old Crown Colony of British Columbia. It is an acquisition of exceptional interest, and its preservation is entirely due to Mr. Cumming, who found it in an abandoned building. Some of the entries were made before the official proclamation of the Colony, on November 19, 1858; and they throw curious light upon the history of certain properties and personalities.

Two valuable volumes of records have been transferred to the Archives by the Department of Education. One of these is the Minute Book of the old Board of Education. It covers the years 1865–1869, and the greater part of it is in the handwriting of Alfred Waddington. The second volume is the departmental Correspondence Book for 1872 and 1873. Another interesting transfer came from the office of the Collector of Customs, Victoria, and consisted of records dating back to Crown Colony days. They form a useful supplement to the early port records, which were unearthed in one of the vaults in the Parliament Buildings in 1935. Later in date, but most valuable because of the scarcity of material relating to the place and period, is a series of official letters and reports from Germansen Creek, dated from 1871 to 1875. The original documents are now in private hands; but copies were secured through the kind co-operation of Mr. Louis LeBourdais, of Quesnel.

Transcripts of a whole series of most valuable fort journals were secured for the Archives last year. Through the kindness of Mr. David Power, of Kamloops, the department was able to copy six Kamloops journals, running in all to nearly 600 foolscap pages. Though not consecutive, these cover many of the years from 1850 to 1870. Judge Howay very generously permitted the Archives to copy the transcripts of early Nanaimo records in his possession. These include a series of letters from J. W. McKay to Governor Douglas, dated 1852 and 1853, and the Nanaimo journal for 1855–57.

The most valuable private document acquired in 1936 was the letter-book of John Evans, best known to history as Captain John Evans, M.L.A. for Cariboo. Late in 1862, Evans sailed from Liverpool in charge of what he himself calls the "British Columbia Mining Adventure." His party consisted of twenty-six young Welshmen, bent on making a fortune in the Cariboo. The expedition was financed by one Harry Jackson, who had once been a fellow-clerk with Evans, but who later made a fortune. Evans sent Jackson a full account of their progress and problems; and the letter-book—which is also part journal and part ledger—enables us to trace their history in detail. It throws a flood of light upon conditions and life in the Cariboo, and carries the story as far as the end of 1864. Harry Jones, the well-known Cariboo pioneer who died recently in Vancouver, was the last surviving member of the Evans party.

Copies of a collection of letters written by Bishop Cridge and the Rev. W. B. Crickmer, in 1858–61, were secured through the kindness of Rev. John Goodfellow, of Princeton. Judge W. E. Fisher, of Prince Rupert, has given the Archives the diary kept by his father, William Fisher, on his voyage from England to British Columbia by way of Cape Horn, in 1863–64. Miss Violet Ellis, who is at present residing in London, has

presented a copy of the diary kept by her father, Thomas Ellis, in 1865, at the time of his arrival in this Province. A number of photostatic copies of manuscripts preserved in the Bancroft Library, at Berkeley, were secured during the year. These included a short sketch of the "Characteristics of James Douglas," by Bishop Cridge. Copies of several most interesting letters and documents relating to its early history were presented by the Canadian Pacific Railway through Mr. Murray Gibbon, of Montreal. Miss Geneva Lent, of Calgary, very kindly gave the department copies of the numerous articles relating to Louis Riel which she had transcribed from *The New Nation*, a newspaper published in Winnipeg in 1870. Mr. G. Herbert Dawson presented a complete set of the posters used by the Red Cross in Victoria during the Great War—probably the only collection of the kind in existence. Finally, the Archives acknowledges with thanks the receipt of a large number of miscellaneous papers, photographs, and relics from Mrs. R. B. McMicking.

British Columbia Historical Association.

The paid-up membership of the Association has more than doubled since the publication of the first issue of the *Quarterly*, and the future of the magazine is now assured. On March 31 there were 110 paid-up subscribers in Victoria, 168 in Vancouver, and 45 elsewhere, or a total of 323 in all. This total does not include the exchange copies sent out by the Provincial Archives. New subscriptions are still arriving daily, and it is probable that the total will rise substantially during the next three months.

Victoria Section.

The first meeting of the year was held in the Provincial Archives on January 8. The speaker was the Hon. A. Wells Gray, Minister of Lands, who had chosen to speak on his native city, New Westminster, of which he has been fourteen times Mayor. He described its growth from early days to the present, and dealt with such contrasting events as the famous Minto Cup lacrosse games, and the great fire which swept the city in 1898. Two reels of moving pictures, shown by Mr. Melrose, of the Forestry Department, were much enjoyed by those present.

On February 12 Mr. W. H. Bullock-Webster read to the Section a paper entitled *The Golden Days in the Yukon*, by the late David Doig. Mr. Doig was in charge of a party sent to the Yukon in 1898 by the Bank of British North America to establish a branch in Dawson. The management was most anxious that this branch should be the first open for business in the city, and the paper described the many amusing and perilous experiences met with by the party as it hurried overland from Skagway. Mr. Bullock-Webster had himself travelled over the route followed by Mr. Doig, and added many interesting details of his own adventures.

A third meeting, held on February 26, was addressed by Captain Alexander McDonald, who described the remarkable voyage made by Captain Voss, from Victoria to England by way of Australia and New Zealand, in the famous old Indian canoe *Tillicum*. His graphic description was gripping

from first to last. The *Tillicum* has been on display in Victoria for some years, but is now in a very dilapidated condition. The Thermopylae Club, a ship-lovers' association of which Captain McDonald is master, is endeavouring to raise funds for her restoration. The lecture was illustrated with charts and slides.

The annual reception commemorating the landing of Richard Blanshard, first Governor of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, was held at "Rosemead," the beautiful home of the President, Dr. T. A. Rickard, and Mrs. Rickard, on March 11. The occasion was graced by the presence of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Hamber and the programme took the form of a pageant of Colonial ladies. An amusing account of a ball given by Governor Seymour on November 12, 1864, was read by Mrs. M. R. Cree, and Mrs. Fitzherbert Bullen, granddaughter of Sir James Douglas, described a Christmas party given in her honour by Governor Seymour a few years later. This was followed by the procession of costumed ladies, several of whom wore authentic dresses which had belonged to some ancestress of the sixties or seventies. Old-fashioned music was played by Mrs. George Phillips as the ladies descended the staircase, curtsied to His Honour and Mrs. Hamber, and passed into the candle-lit drawing-room. Mrs. Rickard sang a delightful group of Elizabethan songs and the programme concluded with the presentation by Mrs. Curtis Sampson of a Colonial bouquet, made by Miss Alice Pooley, to Mrs. Hamber.

Vancouver Section.

This year the Vancouver Section has concentrated its efforts upon a membership campaign, in order to ensure the success of the new *Quarterly*. The objective of 150 paid-up members was passed some time ago, and the Section is to be congratulated upon its progress.

It was most fitting that the first speaker of the year should have been Dr. Robie L. Reid, who was responsible for the organization of the Section. His address upon *Transportation into the Cariboo in the Early Sixties* was specially interesting, since it was the result of diligent research and incorporated much unpublished material. Dr. Reid described the tremendous difficulties of the route in early days, and told of the coming of the Welsh miners, who, when they finally reached the goldfields, found that they were unable to apply to their work the methods to which they were accustomed in Wales, with the result that their exertions were fruitless. The President, Dr. W. N. Sage, led the discussion which followed the reading of the paper.

At the February meeting Dr. G. H. Raley, former principal of Coqualeetza Indian School, was the guest speaker. His subject, *The Romance of Indian Life*, was one upon which he is a recognized authority. The lecture was illustrated by hand-painted slides made by a Coast Indian. The latter part of the evening was devoted to an interesting discussion of Indian totems and their symbolism. Dr. Raley exhibited a fine series of photographs of famous totems and outlined the history connected with each. It is to be hoped that Dr. Raley will put his story in print, so that students may have an authentic record of this artistic and idealistic side of Indian life.

The final meeting of the year, to be held late in April, will take the form of a dinner gathering.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Similkameen Historical Association. At the quarterly meeting held in January, Rev. E. E. Hardwick read an interesting paper on the life of Robert ("Bobby") Stevenson, the well-known pioneer prospector and miner. In preparing his address, Mr. Hardwick received considerable help from the Stevenson family. The life of Mr. Stevenson touched the history of the Province at many points—Cariboo and Kootenay, Fraser Valley, Okanagan and Similkameen.

Satisfaction was expressed that with the resumption of operations at Copper Mountain and Allenby, Princeton is passing out of the doldrums into the trade winds; and the hope was expressed that adequate photographic records of progress would be made.

Mr. Lloyd Saunders had prepared for the Association mimeographed pictures of the Indian rock paintings between Princeton and Hedley. There are twenty-one pictographs shown on a single sheet, with their location from Princeton. Copies may be obtained from the secretary, Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton, B.C.

The Okanagan Historical Society expects to publish its *Seventh Report* about the first of May. It promises to be one of the most interesting and valuable of the series, and will be reviewed in the July *Quarterly*.

The Thompson Valley Historical Association is taking an active part in the preparations for the 125th anniversary celebrations in Kamloops. Of special interest is the effort being made by George D. Brown, Jr., and others, to secure copies of all available fur-trade journals and other early records relating to the history of the community. The site upon which the surviving building from old Fort Kamloops will be re-erected in Riverside Park has been selected, and the Hudson's Bay Company is contributing most generously to the cost of the work. An attractive souvenir booklet was just been issued by the Celebrations Committee.

The Kelowna Museum and Archives Association was organized recently, its objects being the erection of a regional museum, where relics and records relative to the Okanagan Valley may find a safe and permanent home. The first annual general meeting was to be held late in March.

GRADUATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Graduate Historical Society of the University of British Columbia was organized in 1934 by Miss Helen R. Boutilier and Mr. Willard E. Ireland, to provide graduates with a stimulus for continuing their interest in history. The members, numbering approximately sixty, are graduates of the University who have majored in history, or who are engaged in research.

For the 1936–37 season the society took as its central theme the topic *Modern Canadian Problems.* The programme has included an address on *The Economic Position of British Columbia in the Canadian Federation*, by Professor W. A. Carrothers; a paper on *Canadian Foreign Policy*, by Mr.

L. A. Wrinch; three papers on *Canadian Race Problems*, by Miss Beth Dow, Miss Katie Thiessen, and Miss Patricia Johnson; and a fourth upon *Canadian Railway Problems*, by Mr. Archie McKie. The annual dinner was held in the Hotel Georgia on March 20, when Professor F. H. Soward spoke on *Canada and the League of Nations—1919–1937*. Special guests invited for this occasion included His Honour Judge F. W. Howay, Dr. and Mrs. R. L. Reid, and Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Keenleyside.

At the final meeting of the season, to be held May 10, papers on Canadian Literature, Drama, and Art will be read by Professor A. C. Cooke and Mr. Jack Lort.

The officers for the year are as follows: Honorary President, Dr. R. L. Reid; Faculty Representative, Dr. W. N. Sage; President, Mr. F. H. Hardwick; Vice-President, Mr. John Conway; Recording Secretary, Miss Helen R. Boutilier; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Eleanor B. Mercer; Treasurer, Mr. Creswell Oates.

MRS. S. L. ALLISON.

On the first day of February there passed away in Vancouver Mrs. Susan Louisa Allison, a lady whose name had become a household word everywhere between Hope and the Okanagan Valley. She had borne a long illness with patience and fortitude, virtues learned in Similkameen before Vancouver was born. Now she rests in the family plot at the base of a rugged height, 2 miles east of Princeton, known locally as Castle Rock. Here her late husband was buried in 1897.

John Fall Allison was born at Leeds, England, where his father was House Surgeon in the Infirmary, in 1825. The family moved to Illinois, U.S.A., in 1837. As a young man John went overland to California, in 1849, and ten years later came to Victoria. On the advice of Governor Douglas Mr. Allison explored the Similkameen Valley, prospecting for gold and mapping trails. He was appointed J.P. in 1876, assistant gold commissioner in 1885, and became one of the best-known cattlemen in the valley.

Mrs. Allison was born August 18, 1845, in Colombo, Ceylon, where her father, Stratton Moir, owned a large tea plantation. She was his youngest daughter and was sent to England for her education. After Mr. Moir's death his widow married a Mr. Glennay; and in 1860 the family came to British Columbia, arriving at Hope on Susan's birthday. Four years later her sister married Edgar Dewdney, of Dewdney Trail fame, and for a time Susan was the only white girl in Hope. Here she met Mr. Allison, to whom she was married in September, 1867. Soon after the wedding they crossed the Hope trail together and made their home below the forks of the Tulameen and Similkameen Rivers, a little east of the Princeton of to-day. With the exception of some years spent in the Okanagan, Mrs. Allison remained in the Similkameen until 1928, when she went to Vancouver to reside.

The story of these years is best told by Mrs. Allison herself in her *Early History of Princeton*, which appeared serially in the *Princeton Star*, beginning in January, 1923; and her *Recollections of the Sixties*, which were continued through thirteen issues of the *Vancouver Sunday Province*, commencing February 22, 1931. Mrs. Gellatly has devoted an interesting chapter

of her booklet entitled *A Bit of Okanagan History* to the fortunes of the Allison family during their stay in the Okanagan Valley. Mrs. Allison had a sympathetic understanding of the native Indians of the valley and embodied much of their history and legend in fifty pages of verse, entitled *In-cow-mas-ket*, which she published under the pseudonym of Stratton Moir (Scroll Publishing Company, Chicago, 1900). In later years she contributed a number of articles to the annual reports of the Okanagan Historical Society.

When the Similkameen Historical Association was organized in April, 1932, Mrs. Allison was elected Honorary President, an office which she held till the time of her death. In 1935 she was made Honorary President of the Okanagan Historical Society as well.

She is survived by a large family circle and a whole host of friends. For many years the Allison home was the stopping-place for all who travelled through the valley. Pioneers and prospectors were made just as welcome as Governor Douglas, General Sherman, and Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney. Her writings in prose and verse have preserved much of the history and legend of the Similkameen that would otherwise be lost. She was a lover of Nature and in matters of religion sought a faith that was broader than creed. She has long been known and will long be remembered as the "Mother of Similkameen." [J. C. GOODFELLOW.]

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

ALEXANDER BEGG VERSUS ALEXANDER BEGG.

In Victoria in the late nineties the paths of the two subjects of this article crossed each other; from that time until the present they have been confused by the public in general and by biographers and bibliographers in particular. To a few they were known as Alexander Begg, Crofter Commissioner to the Government of British Columbia, and author of a *History of British Columbia;* and Alexander Begg, late merchant of Winnipeg, journalist by profession, editor of the *British Columbia Mining Record,* and author of three lengthy volumes entitled *History of the North-West.*

In order to segregate these two authors and their respective works, and to present from the numerous conflicting stories of their activities and pursuits a narrative as nearly approaching the truth as might be, care has been taken to consult all available authorities. The writer has corresponded with relatives of the deceased authors, with persons who were associated with them in business at one time or another, and has referred to official registers of births and deaths.

The younger of the two, the Alexander Begg best known to British Columbians as the editor of the *British Columbia Mining Record,* was a native of Quebec City, where he was born of Scottish parentage on July 19, 1839, son of Alexander and Mary Urquhart Begg.

After being educated at St. John's, Quebec, and in Aberdeen, Scotland, he began a business career in the city of his birth, after which he moved to the Red River Settlement in 1867. There he first introduced Canadian goods to the people of the Settlement, who until that time had only been accustomed to English and American manufactures. At Fort Garry, as Winnipeg was then called, he established himself as an independent fur-trader, and he was also the first express and steamboat agent in the town.

Soon after arriving in Winnipeg, he entered into partnership with A. G. B. Bannatyne, and carried on the business of general merchant and outfitter with him for a number of years.

In 1872 he became interested in journalism and published the *Manitoba Trade Review* and the *Gazette and Trade Review.* Two

years later he became editor of the *Daily Nor'Wester*, and subsequently of the *Daily Herald*, in 1877. From 1877 to 1884 he held various appointments with the Provincial Government of Manitoba, including those of Sergeant-at-Arms, Queen's Printer, and Deputy Treasurer and Auditor.

During his residence in Winnipeg he was closely identified with the social, religious, charitable, and business life of that small community, and took an active part in the formation of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.

In 1884 Alexander Begg became Immigration Agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and shortly afterwards moved to London, where, for four years, he carried on much useful work for the Company, and was able to interest English and Dutch capitalists in Manitoba and the Canadian West. In this same year he was elected Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society.

After severing his connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, Alexander Begg came to the Pacific Coast, in 1888. He settled in Seattle, where he remained until early in 1892. While in Seattle he devoted himself exclusively to journalism, and founded and edited three newspapers—the *Daily Trade Journal*, the *Puget Sound Gazetteer*, and the *Citizen*. He was also business manager of the *Daily Telegraph*, of which D. E. Durie was editor. In September, 1889, he founded the *Washington Magazine*, but after issuing a few numbers relinquished his control to the editorship of Lee Fairchild, who changed the name of the publication to the *Pacific Magazine*.

His next move was to Victoria, whither he was brought by Theodore Davie to edit and manage the *Victoria Daily News*, a paper which Mr. Davie, who was then Attorney-General, required to support him in his political ambitions. Mr. Davie had imported American printers to work on his newspaper, an unpopular move which compromised Begg's position, and so brought about his early dissociation from the enterprise. He at once devoted himself to the completion of his principal undertaking, the comprehensive *History of the North-West*, the three volumes of which appeared in 1894 and 1895.

Begg next undertook to found and edit the *British Columbia Mining Record*, which made its first appearance in October, 1895,

and which he continued to edit successfully until within a short time of his untimely death, which occurred in Victoria on September 6, 1897.

In 1868, in Hamilton, Ontario, Alexander Begg married Katherine Glen Rae, daughter of Dr. John Macaulay Hamilton, R.N., formerly of Stromness, Orkney, Scotland. Dr. Hamilton, who was a cousin of Lord Macaulay, the historian, and whose wife was a sister of Dr. John Rae, the Arctic explorer, migrated to Hamilton with his wife and young family some years previous to 1868, and settled there. Two children were born to Alexander and Katherine Begg, a son who died in childhood, and a daughter, Minna, who died some few years ago.

The elder Alexander Begg, author of the well-known *History of British Columbia*, was born at Watten, Caithness, Scotland, on May 7, 1825, being the son of Andrew and Jane Taylor Begg. He was educated privately at Backlass, Dunn, later obtained a teaching diploma at the Edinburgh Normal School, and for a time taught at Cluny, in Aberdeenshire. In 1846 he emigrated to Canada and settled in Ontario, where he taught in the public schools at West Huntingdon, Madoc, and Oshawa. In 1854 he became interested in journalism, and with J. F. Macmillan published the *Messenger*, which was the first newspaper of Bowmanville; established the Brighton *Sentinel*, and later published the Trenton *Advocate*, selling out his interest in the latter paper to his brother Peter about the year 1855.

For a number of years Alexander Begg was employed in the Department of Internal Revenue at Ottawa, and in 1869 was appointed Collector of Customs for the North-West Territories. He was, however, unable to assume this position, as he was turned back at Pembina by Riel's followers, whilst a member of Governor McDougall's ill-fated expedition.

During a visit to his native land, in 1872, Alexander Begg was appointed Emigration Commissioner in Scotland for the Province of Ontario, with headquarters in Glasgow. By virtue of his lectures throughout Scotland, he succeeded in persuading thousands of Crofters to settle in Canada, where the Government allowed them to purchase farms on easy terms.

His next enterprise was the establishing of a temperance colony at Parry Sound and Beggsboro, about 1874. He then became owner and editor of the *Muskoka Herald,* and commenced the publication of the *Canadian Lumberman.*

In 1881 he paid his first visit to the Canadian Northwest, travelling by way of Chicago, St. Paul, and Bismarck, as a correspondent of the Toronto *Mail.* He remained for a time at Dunbow Ranch, Alberta, to which place he imported horses and cattle from Montana. After various set-backs the ranch eventually flourished under the management of his son, Robert A. Begg, who is now a resident of New Westminster.

In 1887 Alexander Begg came to Victoria, where his son Roderick had recently joined the staff of the *Daily Colonist.* While in Victoria he organized the Sir William Wallace Society, which consisted entirely of Scots, and of which he and his son were elected Chief and Vice-Chief respectively. The following year he was appointed Emigration Commissioner for the British Columbia Government to investigate the possibilities of settling Scottish Crofters on Vancouver Island, a scheme which was eventually abandoned as impracticable. By virtue of his government appointment he appended the initials C.C. (Crofter Commissioner) to his name, in order to distinguish himself from his namesake.

While in London, in 1889, in connection with the Crofter Settlement scheme, Alexander Begg was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Royal Colonial Institute. He remained in London until 1897, when, upon his return to Victoria, he and three of his sons formed the Stickeen and Teslin Railway, Navigation, and Colonization Company, and obtained a charter for the purpose of building a railway from the headwaters of the Stikine River through Canadian territory into the Yukon. The following year the Company sold out its interests to Mackenzie and Mann. In 1898 Begg was employed by the Dominion Government to assist in defining the boundary between Canada and the Territory of Alaska.

At Brockville, Ontario, in 1858, Alexander Begg married Emily Maria Luke, daughter of Miles Luke and Emily Ann Ash. To this marriage were born eleven children, six sons and five daughters. Mrs. Begg lived to the age of 93 years, and passed

away in New York City as recently as 1932. In 1877, and for some years subsequently, the Beggs lived at Orillia, Ontario, where a memorial fountain to the late Mrs. Begg was erected in 1935 by her son Ralph.

Alexander Begg retired from public life in 1903, and moved from Victoria to New York City, where five of his sons and a daughter were engaged in professional work. In the eightieth year of his age, in March, 1905, he passed to his rest and was buried in the family plot at Orillia, thus ending an active and useful career.

A son, Roderick (Norman) Begg, was a resident of Victoria from 1887 to 1904. He came to Victoria from Alberta and joined the staff of the *Daily Colonist* as advertising manager and city news reporter, and became a member of the firm of Kerr & Begg, booksellers and stationers. In 1904 Roderick Begg left Victoria to study law in the City of New York, where he still practises as the sole surviving member of the firm of Begg, Begg & Begg.

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Journal of the Red River Settlement—1869–70. A two-volume typewritten copy of this daily journal is to be found in the Library of the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

The Creation of Manitoba. Toronto, Hovey, 1871. 408 pages. Undoubtedly based on the above journal. J. S. Ewart considers it "By far the most complete account obtainable of the events it deals with."

"Dot It Down"; A Story of Life in the North-West. Toronto, Hunter, 1871. 381 pages. The author's second work of fiction.

Practical Hand-Book and Guide to Manitoba and the North-West. Toronto, Belford, 1877. 110 pages. Contains much valuable information for intending settlers.

Ten Years in Winnipeg. Winnipeg, Manitoba Times Co., 1879. Written in collaboration with W. R. Nursey; contains an interesting and valuable account of the growth of the city from the days of its fur-trading period, as well as much autobiographical material.

The Great Canadian North-West. Montreal, Lovell, 1881. 135 pages. Gives a good account of the Red River Settlement.

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Pamphlets entitled: *Canada, The Canadian Pacific Railway, Emigration,* and *Indian vs. Canadian Wheat,* are listed in the author's own bibliography in the third volume of his *History of the North-West,* and were doubtless written while he was in the employ of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The writer has had no opportunity of examining them. Another 32-page pamphlet entitled *Manitoba and the North West Territories,* and dated 1886, has been seen listed in booksellers' catalogues. It is probably one of this Alexander Begg's many articles on his favourite province, but, as far as is known, is not contained in any of the libraries of the Pacific Northwest. In his *Canadian Men and Women,* Morgan lists *A Story of the Saskatchewan* in the short bibliography attached to his biography of Begg, but this item is given nowhere else.

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MADGE WOLFENDEN.

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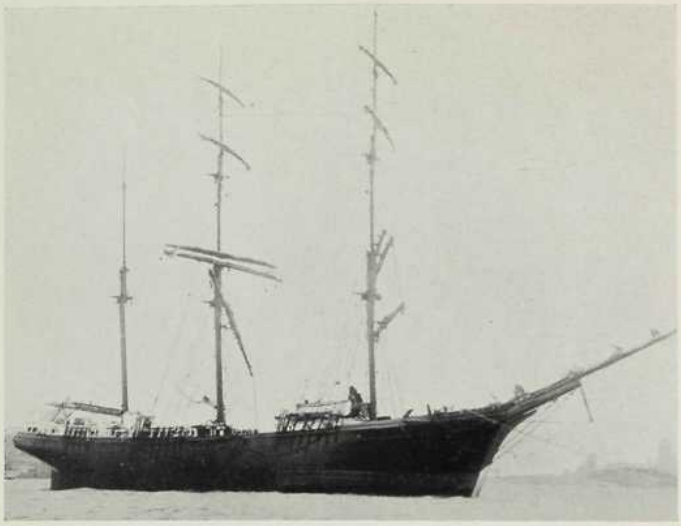
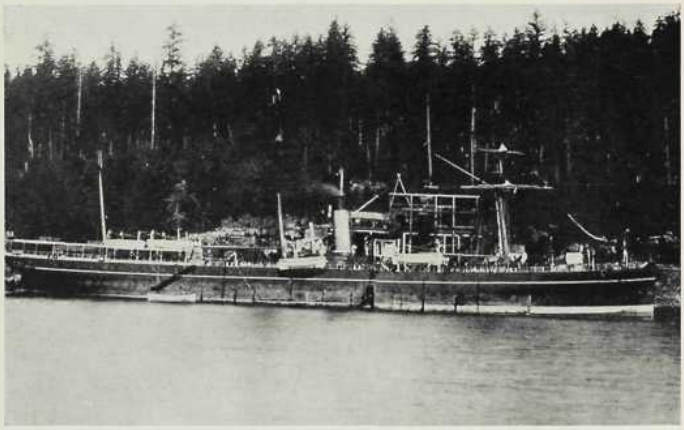


The *W. B. Flint*, which carried the first cargo from the Orient to be shipped over the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886.



The *Abyssinia*, pioneer steamer of the Trans-Pacific service, coaling at Departure Bay.

THE PIONEER DAYS OF THE TRANS-PACIFIC SERVICE.* 1887–1891.

A steamship line from its Pacific terminus to the Orient was from the first an essential part of the plan for a Canadian transcontinental railway. The attractions of the scheme were partly military; and the lively interest taken by the British Government in the railway was due largely to the fact that, in conjunction with steamers on the Atlantic and the Pacific, it would provide an all-British route to the Orient and Australasia. But commercial considerations entered the picture as well; and it was these that George Stephen, first President of the Canadian Pacific, had in mind when he wrote, in 1885, that the railway would not be complete "until we have an ocean connection with Japan and China." Years before, Stephen's interest in the trade possibilities of the Orient had been roused by James Morrison, a great London merchant who had befriended him in early days; and as early as October, 1884, he journeyed to England with the object of arranging for a steamer service between Port Moody and Japan and China.

Two months later it was reported in the press that he had succeeded in his mission; but the announcement was premature. Nevertheless, the Imperial authorities were genuinely interested; and in October, 1885, a month before the last spike was driven at Craigellachie, the Postmaster-General in Lord Salisbury's administration advertised for tenders for the carriage of mails from Vancouver to Hong Kong. The Canadian Pacific responded with an offer to provide a fortnightly service, maintained by

* The author wishes to acknowledge with thanks the help received from many persons in the preparation of this article, and in particular the ready assistance given by the Cunard Steam Ship Company, Limited, Liverpool; Mr. Malcolm K. Scott, Secretary of Lloyd's Register of Shipping; Mr. James R. Meston, of Seattle; Mr. F. W. DeGuire, Executive Assistant to the President, Northern Pacific Railway; Mr. J. Murray Gibbon, General Publicity Agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who supplied the half-tones; and Miss Inez Mitchell, for much patient checking of references in the newspaper files.

steamers built under the supervision of the Admiralty and capable of an average speed of 13 to 14 knots, for a subsidy of £100,000 per annum.[1] In addition, the Company undertook to carry the mails from Halifax to Vancouver free of charge. The only other tender submitted asked for a higher subsidy for a slower service, but the Canadian Pacific proposal was not accepted. The reason given officially for its rejection was the fact that the China mail subsidy already paid to the Peninsular & Oriental (P. & O.) line would not be reduced by the proposed service. Actually, a change in government and the crisis over the Irish Home Rule Bill seem to have played an important part. In any event the Directors of the Railway were by no means discouraged, and reported to the shareholders that their plans fitted in so well with Imperial interests that they were confident " that their proposals must soon be accepted by Her Majesty's Government."[2]

Meanwhile the Company was not content to let the Oriental trade go by default. Regular transcontinental train service was due to commence between Montreal and Port Moody late in June, 1886, and the Railway was anxious to secure a share of the traffic as soon as its line was in operation. An arrangement was therefore made with Frazar & Company, a well-known importing firm, to act as agents for the Canadian Pacific in Japan and China; and during the last half of 1886 seven sailing-ships were chartered and dispatched to Port Moody with cargoes consisting mostly of Japanese tea. The first of these was the now famous American barque *W. B. Flint*, which arrived in the Royal Roads on July 26 and reached Port Moody in tow of the tug *Alexander* the following day. " Her arrival," according to the *Vancouver News*, " created much talk and interest among the citizens," and as she passed up the Inlet they " inspected her closely by the aid of field glasses."[3] Her cargo consisted of 17,430 half-chests of tea totalling 1,240,753 pounds. It was consigned chiefly to Toronto, Hamilton, Chicago, and New York. A special effort was made to handle

(1) The exact time specified in the tender was a 460-hour service from Vancouver to Hong Kong and a 420-hour service from Hong Kong to Vancouver—corresponding to an average speed of 13 knots and 14.02 knots respectively. Detention at Yokohama was not included.

(2) *Annual Report*, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1885, p. 16.

(3) *Vancouver News*, July 27, 1886.

this first shipment of Oriental goods as rapidly as possible, and the Railway succeeded in breaking all previous transcontinental freight records. Shipments reached Montreal on August 7, 47 days from Yokohama, and New York two days later.[4]

The second vessel to arrive, the *Flora P. Stafford*, reached Port Moody on August 27. She carried 26,918 packages of tea totalling 1,658,074 pounds. Captain Smith, her commander, reported that she had been pursued for several days by Chinese pirates. The third arrival was the small Australian barque *Zoroya*, which sailed up to within a few miles of Point Atkinson lighthouse without the assistance of either a tug or a pilot. The feat was not unusual, but was regarded as important because the contention that the Inlet was difficult of access was still heard in certain quarters. The *Zoroya* tied up at Port Moody on September 17 with 529,206 pounds of tea from Hiogo, Japan. She was followed by the German barque *Bylgia*, Captain Weiss, which arrived on October 12, after a record passage of only 22½ days from Yokohama to Cape Flattery. She, too, was a small vessel and her tea cargo totalled about 550,000 pounds. The remaining three ships of this pioneer tea fleet were larger craft. The *Carrie Delap*, which reached the Royal Roads on October 26, brought the largest cargo of the season—about 1,800,000 pounds. The *Eudora*, which arrived in the Inlet on November 19, and the *Frieda Gramph*, which followed in January, 1887, each carried about 1,000,000 pounds. In all, the seven vessels brought over 176,000 packages of tea, together with small shipments of curios and rice, totalling about 4,000 tons weight and about 9,000 tons measurement—a most acceptable addition to the transcontinental freight traffic of a young railway system.

Everett Frazar, senior partner of Frazar & Company, visited Vancouver in September, 1886, on behalf of his own firm and a number of insurance agencies. He declared himself well pleased with the facilities of the Inlet and compared conditions favourably with those at Portland, to which Frazar & Company had also

(4) The *W. B. Flint* was built at Bath, Maine, in 1885 and was owned by Benjamin Flint, of New York. She was a wooden vessel 178.4 feet long, 35.4 feet wide, and of 835 tons gross. Of late years she was owned by Libby, McNeill & Libby; and, after lying idle for some time in Lake Union, was burned for her metal at Seattle as recently as March, 1937.

dispatched a number of tea ships. He stated that no further vessels would be sent to the Columbia, as towage costs there were much higher and the river-bars made navigation hazardous. He was convinced that a regular steamer service to the Orient would be a profitable venture, and thought that it should be able to capture a large share of the trans-Pacific silk trade, almost all of which was routed at the time through San Francisco.[5]

A steamship service was exactly what the Canadian Pacific was determined to secure. The chartering of sailing-ships was never regarded as anything but a stop-gap; and, pending the outcome of its negotiations with the Dominion and Imperial authorities for a mail subsidy, the Company arranged for a temporary service. Early in 1887 it became known that three old Cunard liners—the *Abyssinia, Parthia,* and *Batavia*—had been secured to run between Vancouver and the Orient. The circumstances which brought these particular steamers to the Pacific are not without interest, for they arose from the intense rivalry for the Atlantic record which has continued to the present day. In the late sixties the Cunard Company had come to the conclusion that the game was not worth the candle; and during the next ten years no steamers comparable to the best ships possessed by rival lines were added to the Cunard fleet. By the end of that period, however, it had become evident that economy could be an expensive policy and that the famous old line must either build a new express fleet or suffer total eclipse. Two fine new steamers did much to restore the prestige of the Cunard flag; but their margin of superiority over rival liners was a narrow one. It was decided, therefore, to place an order for two additional steamers with the yard which had built the fastest of the competing liners—John Elder & Company, of Govan, Scotland. At this time the Elder Company was controlled by Sir William Pearce, who had started his career as a naval architect, but had later become not only a famous ship-builder, but a noted owner and manager of ships as well. The construction of its new liners taxed the resources of the Cunard Company to the utmost; and it was arranged that three of the older units of the fleet should be handed over to the shipyard as part payment for the new ships

(5) On Frazar see *Vancouver News,* September 4, September 7, November 7, 1886.

—an arrangement made possible by the diverse interests of Sir William Pearce. Thus it came about that the *Abyssinia, Parthia,* and *Batavia* passed into the hands of Pearce and his associates upon the completion of the new *Umbria* and *Etruria,* in 1885.

All three steamers had been built on the Clyde in 1870—the *Batavia* and *Parthia* by the famous firm of Denny, at Dumbarton, and the *Abyssinia* by the Thomson yard at Clydebank. Steel ships were then still in the experimental stage, so their stout old hulls were of iron. Their small size will amaze the ocean traveller of to-day. The *Abyssinia,* largest of the three, was only 363.5 feet long and 42.2 feet wide, with a gross tonnage of 3,651. As fitted for the Cunard service she could carry 200 first-class and 868 steerage passengers. The *Parthia* resembled the *Abyssinia* in general design, but she was not a sister ship, as is often stated. Her length was 360.5 feet, her width 40.4 feet, and her gross tonnage 3,431. The *Batavia* was very different, not only in size but also in appearance, for she had a clipper bow instead of a straight stem. She was not of Cunard design, having been built as a speculation by the shipyard and sold to the Company. Her length was 327.4 feet, her width 39.3 feet, and her gross tonnage only 2,553—less than half that of several of the *Princess* steamers which now sail between Victoria and Vancouver.

The three steamers were overhauled at the Elder yard, where the *Abyssinia* and *Parthia* received new triple-expansion engines, which increased their speed. They were then assigned to the Guion Line, which Sir William Pearce controlled; but he was well aware that they were no longer suitable for the Atlantic trade. From his point of view, the demand for a steamer service from Vancouver to the Orient was thus most opportune. The old Cunarders were capable of meeting immediate needs and an agreement was soon reached between Pearce and the Canadian Pacific. Pearce retained control of the steamers, but undertook to operate them upon a route and schedule which met the needs of the Railway; while the appointment of Adamson, Bell & Company to act both as managers of the ships and as agents for the Canadian Pacific in the Orient ensured the necessary unity of action. It was announced at first that the *Parthia* would inaugurate the new service; but in the end it was the *Abyssinia*

which sailed from Hong Kong on May 17, 1887, and from Yokohama on May 31, as the pioneer steamship bound for British Columbia.

By the latter date preparations for her arrival on the other side of the Pacific had been completed. Port Moody had lost its fight to prevent the transfer of the railway terminus to a point farther down Burrard Inlet, and the first transcontinental train reached Vancouver on May 23. In February the Canadian Pacific had called for tenders for the construction of a 500-foot addition to its Vancouver wharf. Work commenced in March and the new wharf, complete with freight-shed and baggage-room, was ready for use two months later. On May 28 the *News-Advertiser* noted that the previous day the steamship *Willamette* had had "the distinguished honor of discharging the first full cargo at the C.P.R. wharf."

The *Abyssinia* arrived in the Straits on the afternoon of June 13; and the telegram announcing that she had been sighted caused much excitement in Vancouver. "Preparations were now made to give the pioneer vessel a hearty welcome," the *News-Advertiser* reported the next day. "The City Council met and immediately adjourned, the Mayor and most of the aldermen making their way down to the wharf. Presently the strains of music were heard, and the City Band went marching down the street, playing lively airs, towards the wharf. By this time hundreds of people were congregated on the wharf, along Water street and on every point affording a good view of the Inlet." As darkness fell many of the buildings were illuminated; but all these preparations were made in vain. Hour after hour passed and there was no sign of the *Abyssinia;* "and by 11.30 there was no one left on the wharf but the nightwatchman." Five minutes after midnight the lights of the small steamer *Eliza,* which had gone out with Company officials and others to meet the liner, were seen rounding Brockton Point; and when she docked it was learned that the *Abyssinia* had anchored in English Bay at 9.25 p.m.[6] Some time in the early morning of June 14

(6) *News-Advertiser,* June 14, 1887.

she entered the harbour and tied up at the new Canadian Pacific wharf.[7]

The *Abyssinia* was commanded by Captain Alexander Marshall, who reported an uneventful passage of thirteen days fourteen hours from Yokohama. She brought twenty-two first-class passengers—a capacity list, as her cabin accommodation had been much reduced when she was overhauled—and eighty Chinese steerage. The first trans-Pacific mail consisted of three bags of letters and eleven packages of newspapers. Her cargo totalled 2,830 tons measurement and consisted mostly of tea, the bulk of which was consigned to Chicago and New York. Smaller shipments were consigned to Montreal and a number of other Eastern Canadian and American cities. The *Abyssinia* also carried a pioneer silk shipment made up of sixty-three packages for New York and two for Montreal. She carried curios for Eastern centres, and 1,217 packages of general merchandise for Vancouver and Victoria.[8]

A few days after her arrival, Captain Marshall entertained the Mayor and City Council at dinner on board the *Abyssinia*. Those present included Captain Henry Webber, Vancouver representative of Adamson, Bell & Company; J. A. Fullerton, Canadian Pacific marine superintendent; and D. E. Brown, freight agent for the Railway. At least one of the speeches delivered was to some extent prophetic, for, when called upon to say a few words, Dr. Lefevre responded with the suggestion that the C.P.R. should "work up a new industry in bringing the wheat of the great North West to Vancouver, where mills could be erected to grind it, and from thence distribute to our Eastern Hemisphere, for which suggestion Mr. Brown expressed his thankfulness, and made a note of the same."[9]

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(7) It is a curious fact that no contemporary record has come to light which indicates just when the *Abyssinia* actually arrived. Mr. C. Simson, of Vancouver, remembers seeing her "coming through the Narrows all lit up and blowing a syren whistle," but does not recall the hour. Some old-timers contend that she docked at Port Moody; but a careful search has failed to reveal any contemporary evidence that any of the trans-Pacific steamships ever docked there.

(8) *News-Advertiser*, June 14, 1887, which gives full details of the cargo.

(9) *News-Advertiser*, June 18, 1887.

As in the case of the *W. B. Flint*, the tea brought by the *Abyssinia* was hurried across the continent in order to demonstrate the efficiency of the new Canadian route from the Orient. Part of her cargo arrived in Montreal on June 27, only twenty-seven days from Yokohama; and shipments reached New York two days later. Meanwhile a more sensational record had been established by a small trial parcel of tea which reached New York on June 21, caught the liner *City of Rome*, and was delivered in London on June 29, having travelled from Japan in only twenty-nine days.[10]

The *Abyssinia* cleared for the Orient on June 20; and a fortnight later, on July 4, the *Parthia*, second of the trans-Pacific steamers to arrive, tied up at Vancouveer. She was commanded by Captain Charles Brough and carried 37 first-class and 110 steerage passengeers. Her cargo totalled 2,975 tons measurement and consisted of a very large shipment of tea, over 5,000 sacks of rice, 36 bales of silk, and a quantity of miscellaneous goods.[11] These figures and those relating to the *Abyssinia* have been quoted because they are representative of the cargoes which were brought to Vancouver during the next few years, and thus indicate the general character of the trade which developed. The steamers usually arrived in Vancouver well laden, and capacity cargoes were not infrequent. On the other hand, the volume of trade outward was much smaller, though fairly regular shipments of a few staple articles soon appeared. The most important of these was flour, most of which was brought from Portland in coastal steamers and trans-shipped at Vancouver. The *Abyssinia* carried a small quantity on her first west-bound voyage; but the first large shipment was sent in the *Parthia*. Cotton goods consigned to China from the Eastern United States also became an important item; and 1,500 bales were shipped by the third ship to enter the new service, the *Port Augusta*. The latter was a new 2,833-ton steamer owned by Milburn & Company, of Newcastle, and had been chartered to make one round trip to Vancouver in place of the *Batavia*, which was not yet available. Another Milburn ship, the *Port Victor*, of 2,793 tons, made a similar voyage later in the year.

(10) *Ibid.*, July 15, 1887.

(11) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1887, which gives further details.

When the *Parthia* reached Vancouver for the second time, on August 20, her passengers included Sir Francis and Lady Plunkett. Sir Francis was then British Minister to Japan and he seems to have been the first distinguished personage to travel by the new Canadian Pacific route. On her return passage the *Parthia* carried the first royal patrons of the line—the brother of the King of Siam and his four small sons, who were homeward bound after attending Queen Victoria's Jubilee in London. The new service was attracting much attention, and this was reflected in a keen local interest in the steamers and their movements. We are told that the second arrival of the *Parthia* "was witnessed by an immense crowd of people, who required all the efforts of the C.P.R. employees to keep them from crowding in the way of the men at the wharf"; and that gates had to be erected to prevent a repetition of this trouble in future.[12] Local pride in the line led to exaggerated conceptions of the size and grandeur of the ships themselves; and Captain Urquhart, who piloted them in and out, became a popular hero. Thus we read that, when the *Parthia* sailed in November, "the way in which he handled the enormous mass was a source of admiration to the crowds of spectators who had assembled to see the vessel sail."[13] One grasps the scale of the picture better when one notes that owing to the fact that the *Parthia* "brought ten sacks of mail matter for different points," Postmaster Miller and his assistants were kept busy sorting all night![14]

The *Batavia* did not enter service until late in the year; and it was on December 27 that she reached Vancouver, after a phenomenally rough passage from Yokohama lasting almost seventeen days. She was the ninth and last arrival in 1887. According to George B. Dodwell, who was a partner in Adamson, Bell & Company at the time, the service was operated during this first season at a loss;[15] but the Canadian Pacific was satisfied with its progress and prospects. The temporary service, in the words of the report to shareholders, had "fully justified the

(12) *News-Advertiser*, August 21, August 23, 1887.

(13) *Ibid.*, November 11, 1887.

(14) *Ibid.*, August 21, 1887.

(15) *Ibid.*, October 26, 1888 (report of interview with Dodwell).

expectations of your Directors as to the value and importance of the trade to be developed in that direction."[16]

Meanwhile the negotiations for a subsidy, though on the point of success, still hung fire. Lord Salisbury was again Prime Minister and in the autumn the Imperial Government notified the Canadian Pacific that it was prepared to grant an annual subsidy of £60,000 for a monthly service from Vancouver to Japan and China. Details were settled by December, but one difficulty still prevented the signing of a contract. The existing steamer line from Great Britain to Canada was much too slow to form a satisfactory part of the new all-British route to the Orient; and the British Government was unwilling to subsidize a fast Pacific service until an improved Atlantic service to supplement it became assured. The problem did not concern the Canadian Pacific directly, for the Company had no intention of entering the Atlantic trade at the time; but its contract was held up nevertheless.

There were nineteen Canadian Pacific sailings from Vancouver to the Orient in 1888, thirteen of which were taken by the regular liners *Abyssinia*, *Parthia*, and *Batavia*. One night in the autumn the *Batavia* rescued two shipwrecked Japanese in a violent storm in the China Sea, but for the most part their voyages were uneventful. Under the command of Captain George A. Lee, who had succeeded Captain Marshall, the *Abyssinia* crossed the Pacific in May at an average speed of 13¼ knots, which was a record for the line; but the *Parthia* later proved to be the fastest of the trio and upon occasion arrived as much as two days ahead of time.

The six extra sailings were taken by chartered steamers, made necessary by the growth of trans-Pacific trade. The first to arrive was the *Zambesi*, an old P. & O. liner of 2,421 tons. She was followed by the *Port Adelaide* and the *Albany*, the latter of which made two voyages. The remaining two sailings were made by more notable craft—the *Aberdeen* and the *Duke of Westminster*. The former was a ship of some historic interest, as she was the first large steamship fitted with triple-expansion engines. They proved a great success, which led to general adoption of the principle. The *Aberdeen* was of 3,616 tons gross, which made her the largest steamer which had yet entered

(16) *Annual Report*, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1887, p. 11.

Burrard Inlet; and she bettered this record by bringing the largest cargo yet landed—3,425 tons measurement. It consisted of 2,417 tons of tea, 1,007 tons of general merchandise, and 237 packages of silk. When she sailed outward the *Aberdeen* carried 25,000 sacks of flour, 2,125 bales of cotton goods, and a quantity of paper and machinery, totalling in all about 1,200 tons.[17] It will be noticed that the character of the trade had altered little since the pioneer voyages of the *Abyssinia* and *Parthia*.

The *Duke of Westminster* broke the port records once again, for she was of 3,726 tons gross and her cargo totalled 3,844 tons measurement. She, too, has a place in shipping history, for she ran ashore near the Isle of Wight, pounded on the rocks for a week, and confounded the critics of steel ships by neither cracking a plate nor starting a rivet.

But the great event of 1888 was not the mere coming and going of ships, but the invasion of the San Francisco trade by the Canadian Pacific. At this time neither Portland, Tacoma, nor Seattle had any regular connection with the Orient. American trans-Pacific trade was almost exclusively in the hands of two lines running out of San Francisco—the old-established Pacific Mail Company, which had started the first trans-Pacific steamer service in 1867, and the Oriental & Occidental Line, which operated a number of chartered White Star steamers. Working agreements linked the O. & O. with the Pacific Mail, and control of the latter was divided between the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific Railways.[18] Nothing daunted by this imposing combine, the Canadian Pacific determined to try and secure a share of the San Francisco freight trade, and also of the Chinese passenger trade, which was increasing rapidly. When the *Parthia* reached Vancouver on April 9, she carried freight and Chinese for San Francisco, and proceeded thither on the 12th. A month later the *Abyssinia* arrived with no less than 625 passengers, 590 of them Chinese, most of which she took to San Francisco. All during the summer the steamers averaged more than 600 passengers a voyage, the record list of 708 being brought by the *Batavia* in June. In all, twelve steamers sailed south between

(17) *News-Advertiser*, July 26, August 17, 1888.

(18) Oddly enough, the wide interests of Sir William Pearce, owner of the Canadian Pacific line, included part ownership of the Pacific Mail.

April and October; but in the latter month the service ceased as abruptly as it had commenced. Its usefulness had ended, for an exclusion order had ruined the Chinese steerage trade, and certain traffic concessions had been secured from the American railroads.

The matter did not end there, for exaggerated reports of the traffic handled by the Canadian Pacific sprang up on every hand. In August, 1888, Senator Cullom, of Illinois, persuaded the United States Senate to appoint a committee to investigate the whole question of competition from Canadian transportation lines.[19] A long inquiry followed, in the course of which officials of most of the companies concerned gave evidence, including W. C. Van Horne, who appeared on behalf of the Canadian Pacific. The voluminous report of the committee was printed in 1890, and many interesting facts regarding the trans-Pacific trade can be found in its pages.[20] Attention was directed to the volume of United States imports from Japan and China which had been routed via Canadian Pacific steamers and rail lines. This had been tabulated by consular representatives, who reported that in 1888 560,591 pounds of raw silk, 216,385 pounds of rice, and no less than 14,687,627 pounds of tea had been shipped in this way.[21] Van Horne's comment upon these figures is interesting. "Our business from China and Japan," he told the committee, "has been taken almost wholly from the Suez Canal. There is more business done between San Francisco and Tacoma and China and Japan than before we opened. But the trade between China and Japan and Canada and the United States, via the Suez Canal, has fallen off 75 per cent. since we opened. The business we do is not done at the expense of the American lines." On the contrary, competition had probably helped them by stirring them to greater activity. "I think the [trans-Pacific] traffic has doubled over any period before we opened."[22]

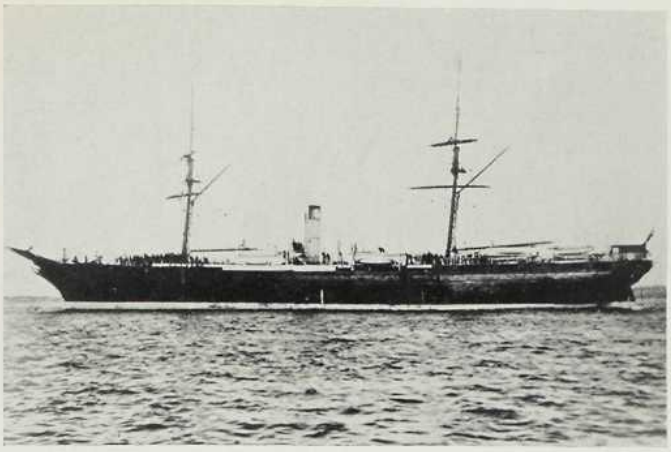
West-bound, the chief American exports carried by the Canadian steamers were flour and cotton goods. Little was said about

(19) *Congressional Record*, August 3, 1888.

(20) 51st Congress, 1st Session; Senate Report No. 847; May 2, 1890, 671 pp.

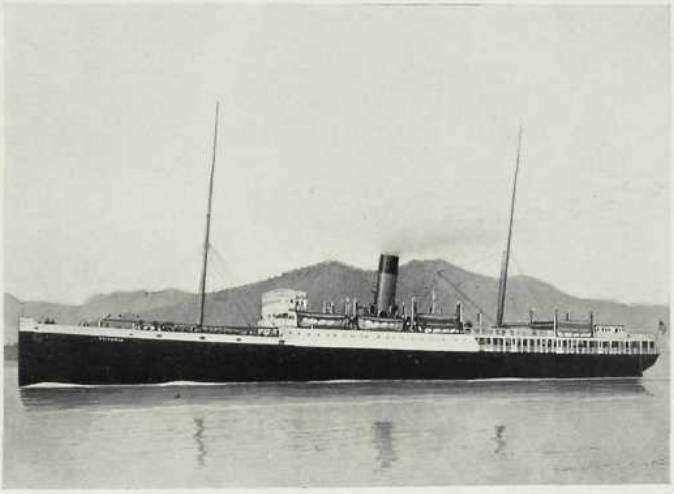
(21) *Ibid.*, p. 666. For the 11 months ended November 30, 1889, the figures were: raw silk, 790,791 lbs.; rice, 3,461,382 lbs.; tea, 8,600,500 lbs.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 242.



(Photo courtesy Cunard Steam Ship Company.)

The *Batavia* as she appeared when in the Cunard service and when first in the Trans-Pacific service.



(Photo courtesy Alaska Steamship Company.)

The Alaska liner *Victoria*, formerly the *Parthia*, as she appears to-day.

(Photo by Notman, Montreal.)

Unloading tea from the *Parthia* at Vancouver.

the former, but careful attention was paid to the cotton trade. During the year ended June 30, 1888, it appeared that 4,660,168 pounds of cotton goods had been carried, and in the succeeding twelve months the total had jumped to 11,756,504 pounds.[23] In addition, heavy shipments of English cotton goods had been landed at Montreal and shipped thence to China. In defence of the Canadian Pacific, even American witnesses admitted that the cotton trade was a new development, and that the through rates and rapid transit the line could offer gave the Canadian route important advantages.

It appeared, in the final analysis, that it was the American railways, rather than the steamer lines, which lost traffic to the Canadian Pacific. It was true that the steamers no longer had a monopoly, but, in spite of competition, the traffic they handled had increased. On the other hand, the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific had been compelled to assign a definite share of the transcontinental freight originating in the Orient to the Canadian Pacific. It was estimated that of the total traffic Tacoma and the Northern Pacific Railway handled about 12 per cent., Vancouver and the Canadian Pacific about 27 per cent., and San Francisco and the southern lines about 60 per cent.[24]

Great interest was taken in Vancouver in the arrival and departure of the trans-Pacific steamers; and fairly complete traffic statistics can be compiled from the newspapers. The cargoes carried on fifteen of nineteen inward voyages in 1888 totalled 32,401 tons measurement; and assuming that the average size of the unrecorded cargoes was the same as those on record,[25] the total for the year was approximately 41,000 tons. Cargo carried outward on thirteen voyages totalled 17,721 tons, or about 24,500 tons in the twelve months. Applying this method to other figures available, it is possible to arrive at the following totals:—

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 665.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 361.

(25) This would appear to be a legitimate assumption, as it is clear that failure to note the size of the cargo was quite accidental and bore no relation to the season of the year or the size of individual cargoes.

INWARD VOYAGES—TONS MEASUREMENT.

1888—15 recorded cargoes, 32,401 tons; 19 voyages (about), 41,000 tons.
1889—17 recorded cargoes, 32,350 tons; 18 voyages (about), 34,250 tons.
1890—17 recorded cargoes, 34,169 tons; 18 voyages (about), 36,000 tons.

OUTWARD VOYAGES—TONS MEASUREMENT.

1888—13 recorded cargoes, 17,721 tons; 18 voyages (about), 24,500 tons.
1889—12 recorded cargoes, 16,674 tons; 18 voyages (about), 25,000 tons.
1890—10 recorded cargoes, 22,131 tons; 17 voyages (about), 37,600 tons.

It will be noted that the outward cargoes are less carefully recorded, and less reliance can therefore be placed upon the annual estimates given. The estimate of 37,600 tons for 1890 is probably high; but a number of heavy shipments were made that year, and on March 18 the *Abyssinia* sailed with a cargo of some 2,100 tons weight and 4,000 tons measurement, which broke the port record by a considerable margin. From the figures available it is evident that over the three-year period 1888–1890 the average inward cargo consisted of about 2,020 tons measurement, while outward cargoes averaged about 1,615 tons.

Passenger lists were usually noted for the inward voyages and the following totals appear to be substantially correct:—

	First Class.	Second Class.	Steerage.	Total.
1887	220	13	361	594
1888*	252	51	6,087†	6,390
1889	293	34	1,156	1,483
1890	279	39	1,947	2,265

* Includes only seventeen of eighteen sailings, but figures lacking would be small.
† Mostly Chinese booked to San Francisco.

Outbound passenger lists were often not reported, and totals corresponding to those above cannot be given with any confidence. Generally speaking, the volume of travel to the Orient seems to have been only slightly lower than that east-bound, except in the exceptional year 1888, when thousands of Chinese were carried to San Francisco.

The Canadian Pacific was satisfied with the freight traffic, but it hoped for greater things from the passenger trade. "The freight traffic to and from China and Japan continues to increase," the Directors reported early in 1889, "but the steamships forming the present temporary line on the Pacific have accom-

modation for very few passengers, and the passenger business in that direction, which should afford to the railway far greater profit than the freight, is consequently limited."[26] The truth was that after the first burst of interest in the new route had subsided, the old Cunarders found it difficult to compete with more modern steamers on other routes. Though their accommodation was enlarged and improved from time to time, and they acquired a reputation for cleanliness and courteous service, their design remained cramped and antiquated. Quite as serious, it proved almost impossible to keep them up to time; and again and again it was necessary to cancel schedules and revise sailings. There is significance as well as humour in an incident recorded by a traveller who sailed in 1888 from Vancouver: "Nobody ever knows to an hour or so, just when a China steamer means to depart, and we had heard the farewell whistle so frequently before, that it did not in the least occur to us, as we lingered in town buying blue veils and pickled olives for the voyage, that she could be blowing it five times for us. It is an original experience to be hunted up by an angry emissary in a cab, [and] to be driven down post haste through the rain to the docks . . ."[27]

What was required to attract and develop the passenger trade was a fast, reliable service performed by comfortable modern steamers; and the long-delayed signing of a mail contract with the Imperial Government in July, 1889, at last made it possible for the Canadian Pacific to build the necessary liners. The contract called for a monthly service from Vancouver to Yokohama, Shanghai and Hong Kong, to be performed by steamers built to specifications approved by the Admiralty and capable of a sustained sea speed of at least 16 knots. In return the Company was to receive an annual subsidy of £60,000, of which £15,000 was provided by the Canadian Government. The Canadian Pacific went ahead with its plans at once, and early in October three steamers were ordered from the Naval Construction and Armaments Company of Barrow, England. It is ironical to note that preliminary arrangements for a fast Atlantic line to Canada, the completion of which had induced the British Government to sign the Canadian Pacific contract, collapsed only a few days later.

(26) *Annual Report*, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1888, p. 12.
(27) *News-Advertiser*, December 29, 1888.

There were eighteen sailings from Vancouver in 1889, of which fourteen were taken by the regular liners. In addition, the steamers *Port Augusta* and *Port Fairy* each made two voyages. Early in January word arrived that Sir William Pearce, virtual owner of the service, had died on December 18; and a blue streak was painted forthwith on the sides of the *Parthia*, which was in port at the time, as a sign of mourning.[28] Rumour was busy during the year with reports of new trans-Pacific services. In February one of the managers of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha visited Vancouver and inferred that the Company might enter the trade. In June it was announced that the P. & O. Line had completed arrangements for a service to San Diego which would connect with the Santa Fé Railway. The diversion of trade from the Suez Canal to the Canadian Pacific had been accomplished partly at the expense of the P. & O., and such a move would not have been surprising. More was heard of the proposal at various times, but in the end it came to nothing. Late in 1889 the Canadian Pacific was faced with an unexpected crisis, due to the fact that its new steamers were to be built by the Naval Construction Company. The Elder yard, which had by then developed into the Fairfield Shipbuilding & Engineering Company, had expected to receive the contract, and threatened to withdraw the *Abyssinia*, *Parthia*, and *Batavia* at the end of November, when the current running agreement with the railway expired; but tempers cooled rapidly and the service continued without interruption.[29]

The Pacific Mail remained the chief competitor of the Canadian Pacific, and early in 1890 another clash between the two was impending. Though none of its trans-Pacific steamers had called at San Francisco since 1888, the Canadian Pacific had placed the smaller *Danube* in the coastal trade in August of that

(28) *Vancouver World*, January 18, 1889.

(29) There would appear to be a story behind the scenes in this connection, for as early as November, 1887, Van Horne announced in Vancouver that "three grand new steamers" had been ordered for the trans-Pacific trade from the Fairfield Yard. See *News-Advertiser*, December 1, December 23, 1887. Incidentally, all four of the *Empress* liners at present running to the Orient were built by Fairfield.

year.[30] She was used chiefly to bring flour from Portland, but upon occasion ventured farther south. The Pacific Mail prepared for eventualities by building the new liner *China,* which entered service in November, 1889. She was built by the Fairfield Company, at a cost of $826,000, and was the finest trans-Pacific steamer of her day. Early in 1890 it became known that the Pacific Mail was negotiating with the Northern Pacific Railway regarding a service from Tacoma to the Orient; and with this scheme in the air it was not surprising that when its traffic agreement with the Canadian Pacific expired, a rate war followed. Upon this occasion it was the Pacific Mail which took the initiative and instructed its steamers to call at Victoria. The first to arrive was the new *China,* which anchored off the outer wharf on August 2, picked up six passengers, and proceeded to the Orient. A few days later the inbound *City of Pekin* called and landed 108 passengers; but by the time she reached San Francisco the rival lines had patched up their differences. A belated call by the *City of Rio de Janeiro* in September brought the episode to a close, for little more was heard of the Tacoma project.

Extra steamers were again required in 1890 to handle the growing trade between the Orient and Vancouver. The *Sussex* made one trip and the *Straits of Belle Isle* two. The latter struck the wharf when docking at Vancouver in August, but no great damage was done. This was one of only three minor mishaps suffered by ships of the line in its pioneer days. In November the *Abyssinia* touched bottom in the Narrows, but a diver found her to be unharmed, except for a slightly bent propeller. An amusing controversy followed as to whether or not she had struck a water-main, which had been crushed mysteriously the day she sailed. The third mishap occurred to the *Batavia.* When making a special trip to Portland she grounded in the Willamette River, but was refloated undamaged. In May, 1890, the *Abyssinia* arrived from the Orient with the Duke and Duchess of Connaught on board, and received a royal welcome both at

(30) In September, 1890, the *Mongkut* arrived from China to replace the *Danube,* which had been purchased by the Canadian Pacific Navigation Co. Early in 1891 the Canadian Pacific Railway withdrew from the coast trade and the Portland flour shipments were handled thereafter by the Union Steamship Company.

Victoria, where she made a special call, and Vancouver. In November of the same year the *Abyssinia* brought the first shipment of raw sugar for the new refinery at Vancouver, which was due to commence operations a month later.

Meanwhile the construction of the new trans-Pacific steamers was proceeding in England; and on August 30, 1890, the first of the trio slid down the ways and was named *Empress of India*. By the end of the year she and her sister ships, the *Empress of Japan* and *Empress of China*, were nearing completion; and early in 1891 the old chartered liners began to drop out of the service. On January 28 the pioneer of the line, the *Abyssinia*, sailed from Vancouver for the seventeenth and last time. Ten days later, on February 8, her successor, the *Empress of India*, sailed from Liverpool on her maiden voyage, carrying a large party of round-the-world excursionists. Late in March the *Batavia* made her last Canadian Pacific sailing, which completed her fifteenth round trip in the service. With her departure the contract with the Fairfield interests expired; but the *Parthia* was retained under special charter pending the arrival of all three *Empresses*. It is interesting to note that on this final crossing of the original schedule the *Batavia* carried a capacity cargo, and that her passengers included Captain Marshall, who had commanded the *Abyssinia* on her first voyage in 1887, and who had since become manager of the Guion Line, which operated the ships for the Fairfield Company.

The *Empress of India* arrived at Vancouver on April 28, 1891, after a fast maiden voyage which broke the Pacific record. She carried 131 first-class passengers and 355 Chinese—a list which must have gladdened the heart of Van Horne, who was on the wharf when she docked. Her arrival caused great excitement in Vancouver, but some present sensed that the occasion fell short of the arrival of the line's pioneer ship four years before. As the *News-Advertiser* remarked in an editorial, it was "impossible to bring about again an enthusiasm like that which found popular vent on that day in May [*sic*], in 1887, when a brief telegram to the *News-Advertiser* announced that the *Abyssinia* had passed Victoria and would arrive in Vancouver in a few hours. Then men felt that the period of suspense and difficulty which beset

the earlier months of the existence of the city was at an end."[31] The *Abyssinia* had been a symbol, whereas the *Empress* was only a new and finer trans-Pacific liner.

The *Empress of Japan* reached Vancouver in June and the *Empress of China* followed in September. Chartered steamers were no longer required and on August 20 the *Parthia* sailed on her twentieth and last voyage for the Railway. She had been the most satisfactory of the three pioneers and had won a place in Vancouver's affections; and as she left the dock for the last time "a number of rockets were shot off as a last farewell."[32]

The story of the *Empresses* is beyond the scope of this article; but the subsequent history of the three pioneer liners is worthy of record.

The *Abyssinia* loaded a cargo of tea at Hong Kong and carried it to London, where she arrived in September. She was then placed in the trans-Atlantic trade by the Guion Line. On December 13, 1891—a date of which the superstitious will take note—she sailed from New York for Liverpool, carrying fifty-six passengers and a crew of eighty. All went well until noon on the 18th, when the vessel took fire; and a few hours later flames broke through the deck and it became clear the ship was doomed. It appears to have been a model shipwreck. The life-boats were carefully provisioned and all aboard were given a substantial meal; and at the critical moment when it became necessary to abandon ship the North German Lloyd express liner *Spree* appeared and picked up the passengers and crew. All were landed safely at Southampton on December 22, having reached England several days before the slower *Abyssinia* was due.

Much longer careers lay ahead of the *Batavia* and *Parthia*. The former was first chartered by the Upton Line, which a Mr. Frank Upton established between Portland, Victoria, and the Orient in 1891. The *Batavia* made four round trips in this service, her last sailing from Victoria being on April 30, 1892. By that time the Upton Line was on the point of collapse, and it ceased operations in the course of the summer. The *Batavia* was only idle for a brief period, however, as a new trans-Pacific service with more substantial backing was organized in May.

(31) *News-Advertiser*, April 28, 1891.
(32) *Ibid.*, August 21, 1891.

This was the Northern Pacific Steamship Company, which was managed by George B. Dodwell and his associates, who had previously operated the temporary service for the Canadian Pacific. Despite its name, it was neither owned nor controlled by the Northern Pacific Railway, though it connected with the latter at Tacoma and had traffic agreements with it. The *Batavia* was taken over immediately by the new line and called at Victoria on her first inward voyage on July 6. Dodwell also arranged to place the *Parthia* on the run. Like the *Abyssinia*, she had been sent to Great Britain; but instead of being placed in the Atlantic trade she was turned over to the Fairfield yard to be extensively rebuilt and modernized. Finally, when it was arranged that she was to enter the Northern Pacific service, she was renamed *Victoria*, with the result that she received an official welcome when she called at the city of that name for the first time on September 19. Meanwhile the *Batavia* had been taken in hand and refitted at Hong Kong; and in December, 1892, she made her first voyage under the new name of *Tacoma*.

The *Victoria* and *Tacoma* continued in regular service to the Orient for the next six years. Then in October, 1898, they were transferred from British to United States registry; and in 1899 were requisitioned as transports during the Spanish-American War. In September the *Victoria* sailed from Tacoma with horses, bound for Manila by way of Dutch Harbor, Alaska, and Kobe. Late in November she sailed with a second load from Seattle; but over 200 of the 410 horses on board were lost in a storm and she was forced back to port. She made her third and last trip as a transport from San Francisco in December, and was turned back to her owners in March, 1900. A few months later the Nome gold excitement took her off her regular run once again; and on June 7 she sailed from Seattle for Cape Nome with no less than 1,200 passengers. From Nome she proceeded to Yokohoma and resumed her place in the trans-Pacific service.[33]

In 1901 the Northern Pacific Railway itself organized a new Northern Pacific Steamship Company, which later in the year purchased the *Victoria*, *Tacoma*, and other vessels. In 1902 ownership of the line was transferred to the Northwestern Im-

(33) These details are from the log-books of James R. Meston, who was Engineer of the *Victoria* at the time.

provement Company, another Northern Pacific subsidiary. By this time it was clear that the steamers were too small to compete successfully in the trans-Pacific trade; and in February, 1904, they were sold to the Northwestern Commercial Company, of Seattle, of which John Rosene was President. The *Victoria* and *Tacoma* were placed on the Alaska run in June; and in August the *Victoria* sailed on a special excursion to Alaska and Siberia, where Rosene had mining interests.

War had broken out between Russia and Japan just before Rosene purchased the steamers; and even at the time it was said that it was his intention to use them as blockade runners between Alaskan and Russian ports.[34] Whether this was true or not is difficult to say; but the fact remains that the *Tacoma* was used eventually for this purpose. On January 3, 1905, she sailed from Seattle with a cargo of corned beef, under the command of Captain Connaughton. Ostensibly her destination was Shanghai; but January 14 found her coaling at Dutch Harbor, and on February 3 she was caught in the ice in the Sea of Okhotsk. She was soon observed by the Japanese; and on March 14, when she managed to work clear of the ice, was boarded by the cruiser *Takachiho,* which escorted her first to Hakodate for coal and then to Yokohama, where she was formally taken over as a prize and placed under the Japanese flag on March 29.[35] It is said that she was used for a time as a training-ship; but she spent most of her later years in the Japanese and Chinese coasting trade under the name of *Shikotan Maru.* In October, 1924, she ran ashore while carrying coal from Tsingtau to Shanghai; and though she was subsequently refloated, she was broken up soon after.[36] So ended her long and eventful career of some fifty-five years.

Meanwhile the *Victoria* continued in the Alaska trade. In 1908 the Northwestern Steamship Company was merged with the Alaska Steamship Company, under the latter name, and the *Victoria* has flown its house flag ever since. Her regular run is to Nome, and she is usually the first ship to reach that port in spring and the last to leave in the autumn. Her passenger ac-

(34) *See,* for example, *Pacific Marine Review,* April, 1904, p. 22.

(35) From the diary of Marshall McGinitie, who was on board.

(36) From the records of Lloyd's Register of Shipping, London.

commodation has been rebuilt, but her staunch old iron hull is as sound as ever, though it has been reinforced to enable her to cope with the ice she occasionally encounters in the far north.

During the maritime strike of 1936–37 the *Victoria* was for several months tied up at a pier in Vancouver Harbour; but few persons recalled that she was the old *Parthia*, or that she had once been known as the Pacific flyer. Once a fortnight the Harbour watched with pride as one of her proud successors sailed for the Orient; yet it is certain that none of the great liners of to-day will attain to her ripe old age, and none will surpass her amazing record of useful service.

W. KAYE LAMB.

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BILLY BARKER OF BARKERVILLE.

Beyond the fact that he was a Cornishman, had been a pottery-worker in the Old Country, and had spent some years at sea before he became a miner in British Columbia, very little is known about William (Billy) Barker, after whom the town of Barkerville, in Cariboo, is named.

At what port Barker left his ship is not known. He joined in the rush to the Fraser River in 1858 and apparently reached Williams Creek early in 1862. Apparently, too, he staked the first "Barker" claim several weeks prior to the first entry in the Williams Creek record-book, now in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, which gives the date as August 13, 1862. The rush to Williams Creek commenced in 1861, following "Dutch" Bill Dietz's discovery of good "pay" above the canyon.

The lead was struck in the Barker about August 21, according to an entry in the diary of Bishop Hills, who made a trip from Victoria to Cariboo in the summer of 1862. This entry, which is characteristically brief, reads: "When lead struck on Barker's claim, about August 21st, all went on spree for several days, except one Englishman, well brought up."

There were seven Englishmen in the original Barker claim, each holding a full interest of 100 feet. Their names and free miners' certificate numbers, listed in the following order, were: W. Barker, 7751; H. P. Walker, 9164; C. Hankin, 272C; R. Dexter, 207C; H. Gabel, 873D; A. Anderson, 874C; and G. Hankin, 9815.

Bob Dexter was foreman of the Barker Company and Charles Hankin secretary. The seven Englishmen, headed by Billy Barker, erected the first building—a rough, log-walled shaft-house—on Williams Creek below the canyon. All mining, prior to Barker's strike, was confined to the upper part of the creek, above the canyon—a narrow, rock-walled gulch, perhaps 500 yards in length, which separated Upper Williams Creek and the town of Richfield (which has now almost entirely disappeared) and the lower portion of the stream. Jack Buie built the second log structure, to be used as a store, just across the narrow street and a little below the Barker shaft-house. Around these two

buildings grew the town of Barkerville, which, a year later, boasted a floating population of 10,000.

Drinking was the prescribed method employed to give expression to feelings of joy in those early days; and it was to the Richfield saloons, a mile up-stream, that English Bill Barker and his partners hied themselves to celebrate their strike. Barker was a free spender; and there is little doubt that he and his partners (with the possible exception of the one who was well brought up!) put on a celebration which was not confined to the saloons of Richfield. Those of Grouse Creek Town and Antler Town, 5 and 10 miles distant, respectively, would have reaped some of the reward of the Englishmen's new-found wealth.

Barker and his company received little encouragement from contemporary miners up-stream. And there were many times, according to reports which have been handed down, when Barker was sorely tempted to discontinue his shaft-sinking operations. But he was a stubborn man and refused to give in, despite the lack of funds which harassed the company for weeks before the strike was made.

Bill Brown, permanent resident of Barkerville since 1872, who knew Barker well, claims that the company would have been forced to quit sinking had Barker not received financial assistance from Judge Begbie. Bill Brown states that when asked about this afterwards the Judge explained that he let the Barker company have funds to continue sinking their shaft because, in his opinion, financing them would be less expensive than to pay their way out of the country. All seven Englishmen were broke. After they struck it, Barker offered Begbie an interest; but because of his position he refused it. It was pretty generally understood on Williams Creek, however, that the Barker company reimbursed the Colonial Government in gold for the help they had received through Judge Begbie.

Billy Barker's share—unofficial records credit the Barker with a production of $600,000—did not last him long. He spent the winter of 1862–63 in Victoria, and it was there that he met and on January 13, 1863, married Elizabeth Collyer, a London widow. Along with a number of other women, some of whom later became the wives of lonely Cariboo miners, Mrs. Collyer had reached Victoria aboard the sailing-ship *Rosedale,* which

struck Race Rocks when nearing port on December 12, 1862, and was beached at Ross Bay in a sinking condition.

Barker, who is described as a man of less than average height, stout with heavy body, short, slightly bowed legs, was 42 years of age at the time of his marriage. His face was partially hidden beneath a bushy black beard, plentifully streaked with grey.

He found that he had let himself in for a lot of trouble when he landed back on Williams Creek, in the early spring of 1863, with a woman who, in the evenings, preferred a gay time with the boys to the companionship of a bushy-bearded miner in a log cabin, sitting before a rough stone fireplace in his stockinged feet. With two to three hundred young men to every woman, Billy Barker soon became a freer spender than ever in an effort to hold a place in the London widow's affections.

Barker had a habit, when entering a saloon, particularly after taking a few drinks, of performing a little step dance and singing out at the same time:—

> "I'm English Bill,
> Never worked, an' never will.
> Get away girls,
> Or I'll tousle your curls."

At other times he would shuffle a few steps and call out some of his favourite sayings, which were: "Blue clay, an' the bedrock pitchin'; sulphides of iron, cows' tongues, an' black sand in the pan." Any one of these was a good indication in a prospecting-shaft; but a combination of them was almost a sure thing. Cows' tongues, of course, meant well-washed stones, all lying at a certain angle, like those in the bed of a flowing stream.

Barkerville, Richfield, and Camerontown—which sprang up in 1863–64 around John A. "Cariboo" Cameron's claims a half-mile down-stream—were plentifully supplied with saloons, and it was not long before Billy Barker's money was gone. And with it the woman!

But not all of Barker's gold was pushed in pokes across the polished bars of Williams Creek saloons. He was free with his money in other ways; loaned out a lot of it, and grub-staked many prospectors to work claims which he knew at the time were hopeless.

By the time the Barker claim was worked out—late in the fall of 1866, according to James Buie Leighton, who, as a boy of 14, reached Williams Creek in the summer of 1865—Billy Barker was broke. But this did not worry him a great deal. He had been in that condition many times, and there were other "Barker" claims on the creek. Prospect-shafts sunk in various places over a three-year period convinced him, however, that paying claims were not so easily found.

In November, 1869, he was reported to have struck a good prospect in a shaft he was sinking on the hill sloping toward Valley Creek, close to the Prairie Flower's ditch, which he called "Barker No. 2." It had long been believed that the ancient channel, to which French, Canadian, Grouse, and Antler Creeks were tributaries, took its course along the section bordering on Valley Creek.

Apparently the prospect petered out, for in less than two months Barker had started to sink a shaft on the left side of Williams Creek, near the Cariboo claim. This, too, proved a failure and Barker was now not only flat broke, but heavily in debt as well. In an effort to recover some of the proceeds of the Barker No. 1, which he had loaned, he resorted to the law.

One particular debtor, who had owed him a considerable sum over a long period, was ordered by the Court to pay up or go to gaol. He preferred gaol.

In those days one could be put in gaol for debt; but the plaintiff had to pay for the defendant's board and lodging during the period of his incarceration. Barker paid this man's expenses for several months, until further financial difficulties finally forced him to discontinue the support of his prisoner.

Pursued by ill luck and abandoning hope of a second bonanza, Barker sought a grub-stake on Poorman's Creek, a tributary of Lightning, midway between Beaver Pass and Stanley. This stream was known and recognized as a "grub-stake" creek on which down-and-outers could work ground which, at the moment, remained unoccupied.

There, with George Munroe, Cy Roe, and Frank Orr as partners, he worked for a time. But his bad luck held. Cy Roe

became ill and was sent to the hospital in Barkerville, where he died shortly afterwards. And a few days later, in an abandoned cabin below Barkerville, they found the body of Frank Orr. A partly-filled bottle of cyanide stood on a table near the bed and alongside it a note, which read: "I can't live without Cy." The two had been inseparable companions for half a lifetime.

But the grim reaper remained unsatiated. George Munroe was the next to go. Death claimed him suddenly one day as he stood talking to a friend on the road between Stanley and Van Winkle.

For some little time before Barker left Poorman's Creek (now called Donovan) for the lower country to earn a frugal living by working as cook on the government road, a sore appeared on his lower lip. This refused to heal and later developed into cancer.

Broken physically and financially, Billy Barker died in the Old Men's Home, Victoria, on July 11, 1894.

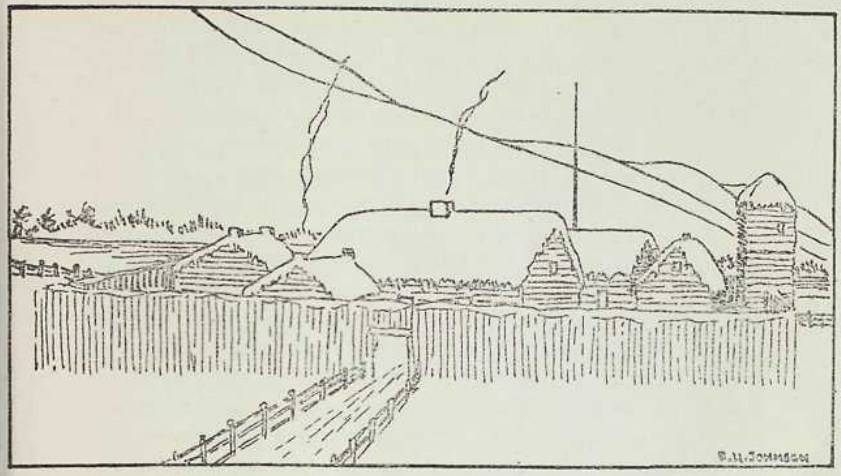
Not more than 200 words were used by Victoria newspapers in an obituary to a man who had brought fortunes to scores of men on Williams Creek in the years which followed Bill Barker's strike. The press of the time made mention of the fact that "in partnership with the late Bob Dexter, Barker's profits, for a few months ran into thousands of dollars a day," and then proceeded to reprove the dead adventurer for being so free with his money that he failed to save anything for his declining years.

No mention was made of the good which was accomplished by the money that Barker and his partners recovered from the bed-rock of Williams Creek and freely spent, or lent to their less fortunate contemporaries. It was gold from the first "Barker" that financed "Cariboo" Cameron's trip from Williams Creek to Victoria when he took out the body of Sophia, his wife, who died at Richfield on October 23, 1862. Fifty pounds of the yellow metal were loaned to Cameron by Charlie Hankin, a member of the original Barker company. It was with part of this gold that Cameron purchased additional interests on Williams Creek in the vicinity of the Cameron claim; interests which helped swell the fortune in gold which was loaded on pack-horses when he left Barkerville in October, 1863.

August of this year will mark the 75th anniversary of Bill Barker's strike which started the town of Barkerville, a log-and-frame-building metropolis which, in 1862–63, drew men and women from every part of the civilized globe.

LOUIS LEBOURDAIS.

QUESNEL, B.C.



Fort Kamloops about 1850.
(Drawn from an old painting in the Provincial Archives.)

FUR-TRADING DAYS AT KAMLOOPS.

This summer the City of Kamloops is celebrating its 125th anniversary. In doing so it recalls the days of its infancy as an American fur-trading post. It was in 1811 that the first white man penetrated to the Thompson country in the person of David Stuart, from the Pacific Fur Company's post at Astoria; and in the following spring came his colleague, Alexander Ross. Trading possibilities amongst the Shuswap Indians appeared so promising that Stuart returned in August, 1812, and founded a regular fur post at the point the natives called Cumcloups ("the meeting of the waters"), at the junction of the North and South Thompson Rivers. The exact site of this post is in some doubt, but from the testimony of old Indians it appears to have been located on the south bank of the South Thompson, where Kamloops stands to-day.

Hard on the heels of the American traders came their British rivals, the North West Company. A party of Nor'Westers under Joseph Laroque arrived at Kamloops this same summer of 1812 and erected another post, across the South Thompson from the

Astorians. In November, 1813, the North West Company bought out the Pacific Fur Company and Kamloops became exclusively a North West fort. It so remained until the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821, when it first flew the initialled flag of the Company of Gentlemen Adventurers.

Judging from the account of Alexander Ross, trading in the Thompson country got off to an auspicious start. Stuart had reported that the natives "were numerous and well disposed," and that the area abounded "in beavers and all other kinds of fur."[1] Not less than 2,000 Indians collected when Ross himself first visited Kamloops in 1812. "Not expecting to see so many," he records, "I had taken but a small quantity of goods with me; nevertheless, we loaded all our horses—so anxious were they to trade, and so fond of tobacco, that one morning before breakfast I obtained one hundred and ten beavers for leaf-tobacco, at the rate of five leaves per skin; and at last, when I had but one yard of white cotton remaining, one of the chiefs gave me twenty prime beaver skins for it."[2]

There are few records of the trade at Kamloops under the North West Company. Archibald McDonald, the Chief Trader in charge of Fort Kamloops in 1827, in reporting on the trade of the post, wrote: "Thompson's River has been Established since 1811 [*sic*] and I believe from that time the trade increased annually to the 2d Year of the Hudson's Bay Company [i.e., 1822] . . . From 1817 to 1822 the returns rose from 1600 to 2900 [beaver] . . ."[3] The only other figures available are given in a letter to Governor Simpson from Chief Trader Lewes, from which we gather that in 1820 the returns had totalled 1,800 beaver, and in 1821 had risen to 2,400.[4]

(1) Alexander Ross: *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, London, 1849, p. 151.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 200.

(3) H.B. Archives, B 97/4/1. Besides the various spellings, Kameloops, Kamaloops, and Cumcloups, the post was also known as Fort Thompson or Thompson's River. In the late fifties Kamloops became the standardized name. Extracts from documents in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company incorporated in this article are published by kind permission of the Governor and Committee of the Company.

(4) For this letter *see* Frederick Merk: *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 177.

This was a promising beginning; but owing to its geographical position the future of Kamloops was bound up in a larger issue than its own trade returns. The post served as a link between the two great fur-trading areas west of the Rocky Mountains—New Caledonia, which corresponded roughly to what is now termed the Northern Interior, to the north; and the Columbia District, which centred upon the lower valley of the Columbia River, to the south. The North West Company had never been able to make a profit from the trade of the Columbia region, and after 1821 the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company seriously considered abandoning the whole district, in spite of the fact that to do so would be to concede the lower Columbia basin to the United States. They were naturally unwilling to take so drastic a step without investigating the whole situation thoroughly; and it was for this purpose that Governor Simpson made his celebrated journey across the continent in 1824. He arrived determined to make every effort to retain the Columbia District and rehabilitate the fur trade there; and to achieve this end he was prepared to enforce the strictest economy, to reduce personnel to the utmost, and, if necessary, to abandon certain posts.

It seems clear that Simpson arrived strongly inclined, if not actually determined, to abandon Kamloops. The evidence available seemed to indicate that that would be the wise course. To begin with, the trade returns from Kamloops and its outpost, Fort Okanagan, had declined rapidly from the peak reached in 1822. The number of beaver-skins secured in the next few years was as follows:—

	Thompson's River.	Fort Okanagan.	Total.
1822	2,251	695	2,946
1823	1,625	584	2,209
1824	1,584	577	2,161
1825	882	512	1,394[5]

In the second place, the number and unreliable character of the natives in the Kamloops area made it necessary to maintain a larger staff there than the extent of the trade warranted; and it seemed to Simpson that to close the post would be an excellent

(5) H.B. Archives, B 97/4/1.

means both of reducing expenses and bringing the Indians to time, always providing that most of their furs could be diverted to other trading centres. While at Jaspers House, on his way westward, he recorded in his journal his desire to draw the Shuswaps, " or natives of the North branch of Thompsons River to the Mountain [i.e., to Rocky Mountain House, in Athabasca Pass] from the Establishment of Kamloops or Thompsons River which they have hitherto frequented as that Post on account of the heavy Establishment of people required for the purpose of defence yields little or no profit so that it is desirable we should abandon it; by this change a few Packs Furs may be lost (the hunts of the Natives occupying the South branch of Thompsons River) but that deficiency in the returns will ultimately indeed immediately prove a gain as the people can be employed to greater advantage in other parts of the Columbia, and the absence of a Post will in the course of a year or two humble the Natives and ensure its safety when re-established at one half of the present expence."[6]

Indian troubles were already a familiar story at Kamloops. As early as 1815 a Nor-Wester named Charette, in temporary charge of the post, had been shot and killed by a young Indian.[7] In 1822 Chief Trader John McLeod, who had just arrived at Kamloops, found himself in a dangerous situation amidst warring tribes following the murder of a noted Indian chief.[8] Inter-tribal clashes caused anxiety and interfered with trade upon many subsequent occasions; and as late as January, 1859, Chief Factor Donald McLean complained of such a problem in a letter to James Douglas. " Furs are not coming in so plentifully as could be wished owing to a feud among the Aboriginies [*sic*] which renders each party fearful of hunting at any distance from their respective Villages," McLean wrote. " I am however in good

(6) Merk, *op. cit.* pp. 30–31.

(7) Alexander Ross: *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, London, 1855, Vol. I., p. 61.

(8) See *Journals and Correspondence of John McLeod, Senior . . . from 1812–1844.* Copied from the originals in the Dominion Government Archives by R. E. Gosnell [Typewritten; in Archives of B.C.], pp. 8–9. (Cited hereafter as *McLeod Correspondence.*)

hopes of making them agree to a general peace for the winter at all events."[9]

One other factor had a bearing upon the future of Kamloops. Simpson hoped to transfer the Coast headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company from the mouth of the Columbia to that of the Fraser, and to make the latter river the great trade route to the Interior—a change which would have placed Thompson's River far off the beaten path. Through some combination of circumstances Simpson had neither seen Simon Fraser nor John Stuart, nor had he read Fraser's journal. He was still ignorant of the character of the Fraser Canyon, and was under the impression that the Fraser was, to quote his own words, "a fine large deep navigable River," which had been "formed by nature as the grand communication with all our Establishments on this side the mountain."[10]

When Simpson had crossed the Rockies the news which greeted him only served to confirm his poor opinion of Kamloops. "The returns of Thompsons River," he wrote to John McLeod from Fort Okanagan, "I am concerned and surprised to learn have fallen off while at the same time the expences are considerably increased within the last year or two . . . I however sincerely trust things will assume an improved appearance next spring:— if its affairs do not look better, my opinion as also that of Messrs McLoughlin, McMillan & Ogden is that it should be abandoned as 1700 Beaver will do little more than cover the interest on the capital employed, whereas in many other parts of the Country it can be turned to much greater advantage." He went on to say that he was reducing the personnel of the post from 21 to 18 and that its ultimate fate would be decided in the course of the winter. Meantime McLeod was instructed "to make the necessary arrangements for abandoning it by removing every valuable article in Spring in case it may be deemed expedient to adopt the latter measure."[11]

Simpson's thrifty soul was shocked at the expense of maintaining the posts in the Columbia region. He complained that

(9) Donald McLean to James Douglas, January 10, 1859 (Archives of B.C.).

(10) Merk, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 76.

(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 246–247.

everything there was on too grand a scale "except the Trade" and roundly denounced the lavish importation of "Eatables Drinkables & Luxuries" which he uncovered. He was convinced that most of the posts could exist upon the resources of the country itself, Thompson's River included. "In regard to Provisions and Luxuries," he noted in his journal, "not one oz. is required for this place beyond the established allowance as excellent fish can be got in abundance with little cost or trouble, and at merely the expense of a little ammunition the table of the Gentleman in charge can be occasionally supplied with Game."[12]

After spending the winter of 1824–25 at Fort George (Astoria) and becoming thoroughly conversant with trading conditions in the Columbia region generally, Simpson arrived at two conclusions. The first of these was that, properly developed and managed, the Columbia District could be made to pay handsomely. The second was that New Caledonia, which had hitherto received its supplies from and shipped its furs to the East, should be linked instead with the Columbia District. In other words, the whole area west of the Rockies should be dealt with as a unit.

The latter decision had a vital bearing upon the future of Kamloops. Simpson still hoped to use the Fraser as a trade route; but in the meantime its geographical location made the post a natural and necessary half-way house between the Columbia District and New Caledonia. Though its personnel was reduced to a chief trader, one clerk, and twelve men (two of whom were stationed at its outpost, Fort Okanagan), there was no further talk of abandoning it. Simpson had the courage to reverse a decision and he now planned to abandon Rocky Mountain House instead.[13] He even had hopes of rehabilitating the Thompson River trade; and as he had a singularly poor opinion of John McLeod, appointed Chief Trader Archibald McDonald to Fort Kamloops in 1825.

During the next few years the number of beaver traded at Kamloops continued to decline. The returns fell from 1,394 in 1825 to 1,042 in 1826, rose to 1,290 in 1827, but declined again to

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 147.

1,105 in 1828.[14] At the same time the profits of the post increased from approximately £1,000 in 1825 to £1,100 in 1826 and £1,300 in 1827.[15] We may assume from this that the new regime of rigid economy was having its effect. But there was an additional reason for the better financial showing—a great increase in the number of martens traded. Archibald McDonald, reporting on the trade of the Thompson area in 1827, wrote: "For this sudden falling off [in beaver skins], there is no other pheasable way of accounting, than the Beaver run on the verge of extermination, which the natives themselves observe, & not only deprecate this loss, but the rapid disappearance of the wood animals also.—Within these two Years they are [word indecipherable] to hunt Small furs: and from whatever cause the 400 Martens procured this year are more than have been traded in the District collectively since its first Establishment . . ."[16]

In 1828, in the course of his second western tour, Governor Simpson actually visited Kamloops and in his report to the Governor and Committee in London seemed more sympathetic toward the Thompson traders. He was now aware of the difficult nature of the country. "Generally speaking," he reported, "the country is poor both in large and Fur bearing animals, of the former, we merely saw a few Deer tracks, of small animals none, and many of the Lakes being impregnated with Salt and Sulphur, and the small Streams being frequently dried up in Summer, there are only a few detached spots favorable to the rearing of Beaver."[17] Nevertheless he again complained that Kamloops was "a very unprofitable Establishment" and that "the people could be employed to more advantage elsewhere," were the post not an essential divisional point on the brigade route from the Columbia northward to New Caledonia.[18] That it was such a point this same tour made clear; for Simpson travelled by way of the Fraser River and saw for himself the hopelessness of using it as the highway into the Interior. Thenceforth the pack-train route

(14) *Columbia District and New Caledonia Fur Trade Returns* (MS. in Archives of B.C.).

(15) H.B. Archives, D. 4/93. f. 29–31.

(16) H.B. Archives, B. 97/4/1.

(17) H.B. Archives, D. 4/93. f. 29–31.

(18) *Ibid.*

from Fort Alexandria, on the Fraser, to Kamloops and on to Fort Okanagan, on the Columbia, was regarded as a permanent line of communication; and it so remained until after the boundary settlement of 1846, when the brigades sought a new route, after leaving Kamloops, which would lie entirely within British territory.

Simpson's dismal description of the Thompson country is echoed again and again in the early correspondence of the fur-traders, and is usually accompanied by accounts of starving Indians. Francis Ermatinger, who succeeded Archibald McDonald at Kamloops, wrote thus to John McLeod in 1829: "The charge of Thompsons River devolved upon me aided by Mr. [Thomas] Dears and the misery we have had is unprecedented. The natives all round us, are actually in such a state of starvation, that it is impossible they can survive. Some are already dead, and we were obliged to send 7 of our men to the sea for the winter."[19] The Company had ceased to expect much from Kamloops. "Your old post Thompsons River seems determined to remain in the background," James Douglas informed McLeod in 1832. "I believe its resources are exhausted, or perhaps Langley and Colville have a share of the trade which in your time it exclusively enjoyed."[20] Accounts varied little in later years. "I am Sorry to State that this has been a very hard year at Thompsons River," Chief Trader Paul Fraser, then in charge at Kamloops, wrote in 1852, "the total want of food amongst the Natives has led to dreadful privation & suffering amongst the poor Indians . . ." He considered himself fortunate to be able to report that the returns would equal those of the previous year.[21] "The Indians are suffering from Starvation," Chief Factor Donald McLean wrote to Douglas in 1859, "God only knows what will eventually be the fate of the poor Aborigines if there should be no salmon again this Year. This winter has caused them to eat up nearly all the horses they had and many are reduced to eat any offals chance may throw in their way indeed I am afraid of poisoning bates for the Wolves fearing that the starving

(19) *McLeod Correspondence*, p. 117.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 150.

(21) Paul Fraser to Eden Colvile, March 26, 1852 (H.B. Archives, B. 235/c/1.).

Indians might be induced by hunger to the eating of them the baits."[22] Numerous entries in the fort journals record the misery and periodical starvation the natives suffered as a result of a severe winter or failure of the salmon fishery.

Kamloops never seems to have been considered either a particularly safe or attractive post. It was permitted to fall into decay repeatedly, and time and again was the centre of more or less serious Indian troubles. It is even said to have been burned by the natives in 1826.[23] Early in 1841 Samuel Black was shot and killed by a savage while in his own quarters in the fort; and the post was at once deserted by the rest of the staff, who feared a general massacre. In March, news of the murder reached the redoubtable John Tod, then in charge of Fort Alexandria.[24] Tod was anxious to leave at once for Kamloops, but it was August before he actually arrived. He found the fort locked up and bearing unmistakable evidence of long neglect. " Men employed in clearing away the bushes and grass which have been allowed to shoot up time out of mind till it was quite impossible to discover the Fort at the distance of more than ten feet," he wrote on August 12. " Never in the whole course of my travels in this country have I beheld a place that exhibited a more complete picture of desolation than the present establishment of Kamloops. The buildings have apparently been long in a state of decay and notwithstanding the props by which they are supported are fast tottering to the ground."[25]

Tod organized a search for Black's murderer, and after the latter had been drowned while attempting to escape from custody he returned to Alexandria. August of 1842 found him back at Kamloops as Chief Trader in charge of the post; and he set to work at once to build a new fort on the west bank of the North Thompson. Work proceeded slowly, and the new post was not occupied until October 11, 1843. The Kamloops journal for that date reads as follows: " The last of the property was crossed

(22) Donald McLean to James Douglas, February 23, 1859 (Archives of B.C.).

(23) William Kittson to John McLeod, March 8, 1827; *McLeod Correspondence*, p. 93.

(24) John Tod to Edward Ermatinger, March 1–2, 1841; *Ermatinger Papers.*

(25) *Thompsons River Journal*, August 12, 1841.

over at midday and shortly after I left the old Fort I hope for ever—indeed from the shocking catastrophe which once occurred there, it ought to have been abandoned long ago."

The new fort did not entirely solve the Indian problem. At least two attempts to capture the post were frustrated cleverly by Tod, as recorded in the well-known account by Bancroft.[26] Nor did new buildings improve the trading prospects at Kamloops. "There appears to be no longer any prospect of either profit or pleasure here," Tod wrote to Ermatinger in 1844, "a general scarcity of furs prevails at present all over the country, so that even a ready Market in China would in the present exhausted State of the Country, be of little or no advantage to us."[27] The forties were, indeed, a discouraging period for the fur traders at Kamloops, as the following returns indicate:—

	Beaver.[28]	Marten.[28]	Profit.[29]
1843	300	784	£582
1844	194	1,182	867
1845	248	1,610	985
1846	140	2,446	1,259
1847	156	1,773	859
1848	6	637	83

It will be noted that the rise and fall in profits now corresponded roughly with the marten trade and not the beaver trade, so low had the latter fallen. The decline was to a degree general throughout the country; for in 1848 the beaver returns of all New Caledonia fell to the lowest point touched in a generation.

Conditions improved materially during the next few years. Because of the plentiful bunch-grass on the surrounding hills, Kamloops was entrusted with the raising of horses for the large pack-trains the trade required—the first recognition of the district as a fine stock-raising country. "Kamloops," writes Malcolm McLeod, son of John McLeod, "was always the 'capital'

(26) *See* Hubert Howe Bancroft: *History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, pp. 134–156.

(27) John Tod to Edward Ermatinger, March, 1844; *Ermatinger Papers.*

(28) *Columbia District and New Caledonia Fur Trade Returns* (MS. in Archives of B.C.).

(29) *Synopsis—Columbia Affairs* [by James Douglas] (MS. in Archives of B.C.). Totals given to the nearest pound.

of the Thompson's River District . . . I remember the old compact and well palisaded Fort, and the 'stockades' a little distance off, large enough for three or four hundred horses, for the horse brigades for transport of 'goods in' and 'returns out' for the District, and for New Caledonia, generally numbered about two hundred and fifty horses. A beautiful sight was that horse brigade, with no broken hacks in the train, but every animal in his full beauty of form and color, and all so tractable!—more tractable than anything I know of in civilized life."[30]

It appears that after 1850 it became difficult to procure horses from the Columbia District to supply the transportation needs of the Interior; and from 1852 on Kamloops became the horse-raising centre for the New Caledonia pack-trains. Writing from Kamloops in March, 1852, Paul Fraser was able to inform Eden Colvile, Governor of Rupert's Land, "that last year and this, there has been Considerable Encrease of Colts than usual, and I have no doubt should the winters prove mild as the last one has been, but Thompsons River will be able in two years from this, to meet all reasonable demands in Horses."[31] Horse-raising was undertaken on a considerable scale; and a return given in the last pages of the fort journal for 1854–55 indicates that the post then possessed 342 mares, 75 year-old mares, 65 year-old horses, and 184 colts, or a total of 666 animals.

It was during these same years that farming became an important factor at Kamloops. In line with his policy of rigid economy, Simpson had been in favour of each post having a farm attached to it for the production of hay, cereals, vegetables, and such crops as would render them as nearly as possible self-sufficing in foods. In 1835, when Peter Skene Ogden became a Chief Factor and was appointed to the command of New Caledonia, he acted upon Simpson's suggestion; and under his instructions Samuel Black, then in charge of Kamloops, began farming there with a small potato-patch a couple of miles from the fort in the Schiedam Creek Valley. John Tod tells us that

(30) *Peace River; a canoe voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific, by the late Sir George Simpson . . . edited, with notes, by Malcolm McLeod,* Ottawa, 1872, p. 114.

(31) Paul Fraser to Eden Colvile, March 26, 1852 (H.B. Archives, B. 235/c/1.).

it produced well.[32] When Tod succeeded Black at Kamloops, he continued and expanded the farming activities. Besides Black's garden, land was cultivated in what is now North Kamloops, on the west side of the North Thompson at its mouth, as well as in several locations nearby. Indian women were employed on the farm.

Farming operations expanded further under the management of Donald McLean and William Manson (1852–1861). The work of the farm is recorded almost daily in the fort journals of the period, but little definite information about the extent of the crops harvested is given, except in the case of potatoes. We know that 34 kegs (or approximately 34 bushels) of potatoes were planted in 1851, and that the crop totalled 400 kegs. In 1852, 50 kegs were planted, and in October, 1854, 600 kegs were harvested—"more than expected." In the spring of 1859, 98 kegs were planted. The amount of grain raised was never great —only 31½ kegs of wheat, 3 kegs of barley and 3 of oats were planted in the spring of 1859.[33] The same year Manson investigated the possibility of establishing another farm at Cherry Creek, about 15 miles from Kamloops, but the prospects were apparently not very tempting.[34] In the late autumn a so-called "experimental farm" was started at Calumet, on Green Lake, but the venture was abandoned at the end of the 1860 season.[35] Despite all this activity, it is clear that to the personnel of the post farm products remained a luxury. The fort journal records with grim regularity the slaughter of worn-out horses as provisions for the men; and it is significant that the serving of beef, flour, and potatoes on Christmas Day, 1859, was considered an event worthy of special mention in the fort journal. Dried and smoked salmon remained the staff of life in the Thompson country; and a poor run caused anxiety to whites and natives alike. Large quantities were traded from the Indians and stored

(32) *Thompsons River Journal*, April 11, 1843.

(33) *Thompsons River Journal*, April 22, October 30, 1851; April 30, 1852; October 27, 1854. *Kamloops Journal*, May 14, 1859.

(34) *Kamloops Journal*, August 23–24, 1859.

(35) A *Calumet Journal*, covering the period April–July, 1860, has survived and gives many details of the operations there.

for winter use; and it was estimated in 1832 that some 21,000 salmon were required to provision the district.[36]

While farming and horse-raising were developing at Kamloops, the fur trade recovered from the slump it had suffered in 1848. The number of beaver secured jumped from 29 in 1850 to 352 in 1851, 639 in 1852, and 746 in 1853. Though it fell to 592 the next year, the number of marten traded reached the astonishing total of 4,846, with the result that 1854 went down in history as a banner fur year. "Finished with the Packs," the journal records on May 18, 1855. "Say 36, the best return which this place has turned out for the last 20 years." It seems clear that the Company no longer expected a greater return than this, even at the best of times. "We do not look for anything very large in the shape of Returns from Thompsons River," Chief Factor Dugald Mactavish wrote to Chief Trader J. W. McKay, in 1860, "we shall be perfectly satisfied—with something near the same quantity of Furs—we had been in the habit of getting from there during the late Chief Trader [Paul] Frasers time—which probably never exceeded more than forty packs annually."[37] Even when the trade failed to reach this level Mactavish was satisfied. "The Returns are good, at all events as much so, as we can well look for," he wrote in 1862, "the increase in Martens making up for the deficiency in Bears, Beavers &c."[38]

There was little change in the life of the fur-trading community at Kamloops until the discovery of gold at Tranquille Creek and in the bars of the North Thompson in 1858. In 1860 there were 200 Chinese miners working at the mouth of Tranquille Creek. With these the fort did a bustling trade, but by May, 1861, the Tranquille miners had a store of their own and no longer came the 7 or 8 miles to the fort.

By July, 1862, the claims at Tranquille Creek seem to have been altogether worked out and but few miners remained there.

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(36) Unsigned letter, probably from Samuel Black, to Alexander Fisher, dated Kamloops September 16, 1832 (Archives of B.C.).

(37) Dugald Mactavish to J. W. McKay, August 31, 1860 (H.B. Archives, B. 226/b–18, p. 219).

(38) Dugald Mactavish to J. W. McKay, April 21, 1862 (H.B. Archives, B. 226/b/22, p. 273).

But that year a new event awoke interest—the arrival of the Overlanders, who had made their way across the plains from eastern Canada and down the North Thompson to Kamloops. Laconically, their arrival is noted in the Fort Kamloops journal: "Oct. 11, 1862. A party of men have come down North River by Raft. They are from Canada and the States and have come via Red River, Saskatchewan and Jasper House to Tete Jeaunes Cache thence to the source of North River and down to this point." A few hours after their arrival the first white child in the vicinity was born to Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Schubert of the party.

These events usher out the era of the old fur-trading days. Things were no longer the same—particularly since the gold-rush had led to the revocation of the Hudson's Bay Company's exclusive trading rights, late in 1858. Its word was no longer law and its business no longer free from competition. Two entries in the fort journal which briefly chronicle the change deserve quotation. The first, under the date June 19, 1859, records the arrival of W. G. Cox, Assistant Collector of Customs, and on June 24 continues as follows: "Mr. Cox started to inspect the train of Provisions &c that are at Nicholah's Lake and Levy the duties on the same." The second, which is brief and to the point, is dated February 21, 1860: "Received an intimation from Asst. Commissioner Ball that I am to pay $10 as due for License to trade."

The sixties saw the beginnings of a typical frontier village. The first settler's house was erected in 1862; the first steamer built in 1865; the first private store erected in 1867; and the first flour-mill in 1868. In 1863 the Hudson's Bay Company had moved its post from the north side of the Thompson to the south bank, a short distance from the future village. This, the first post at Kamloops without a stockade, marked the transition from fur fort to general store. Ultimately the Company erected in 1885 a store in the modern manner at the village which by then had grown up beside its post. The same year the Canadian Pacific Railway reached Kamloops and the village boomed into a town. As in the days of the fur trade, transportation again proved to be the life-blood of the community.

F. HENRY JOHNSON.

KAMLOOPS, B.C.

APPENDIX.

FURS TRADED AT KAMLOOPS, 1826–1856.*

	Beaver.	Marten.		Beaver.	Marten.
1826	1,042	441	1842	301	878
1827	1,290	380	1843	300	784
1828	1,105	606	1844	194	1,182
1829	739	576	1845	248	1,610
1830	691	407	1846	140	2,446
1831	1,151	711	1847	156	1,773
1832	977	610	1848	6	637
1833	1,025	1,009	1849	90	1,294
1834	1,197	964	1850	29	1,813
1835	971	1,456	1851	352	1,398
1836	745	969	1852	639	1,533
1837	599	2,341	1853	746	2,554
1838	511	2,177	1854	592	4,846
1839	688	806	1855	480	2,378
1840	426	155	1856	368	1,694
1841	419	389			

* Compiled from *Columbia District and New Caledonia Fur Trade Returns* (MS. in Archives of B.C.).

FORT LANGLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

The correspondence which follows should be considered as an appendix to the article entitled *Early Days at Old Fort Langley*, by Dr. Robie L. Reid, which appeared in the April issue of this *Quarterly*. The letters are published with the kind permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, in whose Archives either the letters themselves or letter-book copies of the originals have been preserved.

CHIEF TRADER ARCHIBALD McDONALD TO GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON.

Fort Langley, 10th February 1831.

In my last Communication I touched at some length on the prospect of curing Salmon at this place, as an additional source of Returns, and I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that the experiment of last Season completely proved the theory: the fish it is true arrived late—indeed after we had almost given up hopes of making any thing at all of it; but from the 25th of August to the 15th of next month we were fortunate enough to procure upwards of 15,000. enough to make up more than 200 Barrels which in that very short space we contrived to do into nearly that number of casks of our own making, with means so imperfect however, that I fear from the sample that remained with ourselves—the first Cargo will not stand the Test of a foreign market, and trust by the next Season, we shall be provided with a good Cooper, that will know something of Fish curing. . . .

. . . last Spring still with the hoe we prepared what might be considered an extensive Crop for the use of the place, but an unusual high rise of the water, did it great damage, and immediately on that subsiding what remained of the potatoes and all sorts of Vegetables was destroyed by a frightful pest of Caterpillars; we however secured near 100 Bushels of grain, which with our other resources make things go on sufficiently well notwithstanding: our Stock of pigs now, although be [sic] no means a rapid increase is up to 20 head, and the horned Cattle received from the Columbia do very well our time at present is principally occupied about cooperage, and the construction of wharfes and other conveniences for the Salmon business. . . .

CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO CHIEF TRADER FRANCIS HERON.

Fort Vancouver, 18th June 1833.

You will proceed to take charge of the New Establishment* in Puget Sound the object of which is to relieve us at this place from the necessity of

* Later called Nisqually.

keeping a party constantly in that quarter at the same time it will serve for the trade of Fort Langley and if necessary as a Depot.

As soon as Mr. Chief Factor Finlayson can he will send a Vessel to remove the property and people from Fort Langley to the New Establishment, but it will be necessary that you salt as much salmon as you can this summer before leaving Fort Langley. . . .

CHIEF TRADER DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO CHIEF TRADER FRANCIS HERON.

Fort Vancouver, 2nd July, 1833.

. . . The people now at Fort Langley can carry on the Fishery & the Vessel transport what is necessary to be brought from the last place to the New Establishment; but enough of Trading Articles must be left at Fort Langley to carry on the Indian trade till next spring, as we cannot yet say whether we ought to abandon it or not, and when our harvest is in & the brigade come from the other side, we will have I hope means to keep it up till next spring and carry on all our operations. . . .

CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JAMES MURRAY YALE.

Fort Vancouver, 23rd March 1834.

I received yours of 7th Feby. and your report of the same, and was happy to find every thing at Fort Langley in a prosperous state, . . . I am sorry to find that you are so short of Horses or Cattle, and if you send to Nisqually you can have the four Horses, as every means ought to be taken to sow the greate prairie, and as much at the Fort as you can, only sowing the wheat you require, but as much Barley & Pease as you possibly can. . . .

CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON.

Fort Vancouver, 3rd March 1835.

In regard to Fort Langley and Nisqually, there is no place on the coast where Salmon is so abundant and got so cheap as at Fort Langley; and if we find a sale for Salmon, it would alone more than pay the expence of keeping up that place: Nisqually is the best situation for Trade in Puget Sound, and though Whitbys Island is said to be as fine a situation for a Farm as could be desired, yet as it is not conveniently situated for Trade, I beg to suggest that these two places be allowed to remain separate until we see how our opponents will act and how the Salmon sells.

GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON TO CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

Norway House, 25th June, 1836.

On the subject of making one of the Posts on the coast the principal Depot or depository of goods and returns for the whole of the trade on the west side

of the Mountains instead of Fort Vancouver which is objectionable on account of the dangers of the Columbia bar, I beg to refer you to the 11th paragh. of the Govr. & Committees Dispatch of 8th December,* and we have to beg you will take the necessary measures to have the coast and islands inside the straits of De Fucca examined, so as to be prepared to form an establishment in the most eligible situation, as regards farming on a large scale, harbour anchorage, timber &c., for the security and convenience of shipping, likewise for trade, in short to combine as many advantages as possible and save the expense of one or both of the Establishments of Nasqually and Fort Langley, if such can be done without materially affecting the returns. Nasqually you seem to think is not well adapted for an agricultural, although it is for a grazing establishment, I do not know how it is in regard to timber fisheries &c but from all I can learn respecting it, I do not think it is likely to answer the purpose Chief Trader Heron speaks very favorably of Whidby's Island, it might be well to have it examined and I would recommend that Mr. Finlayson Mr. Work or Mr. Douglas should accompany the Cadboro in one of her voyages to the Gulph of Georgia; or perhaps it might be better. . . .

CHIEF TRADER JAMES DOUGLAS TO JAMES MURRAY YALE.

Fort Vancouver, 21st November, 1838.

. . . I feel much gratified by the progressive improvement of the Farm & stock, in a few years Fort Langley will supply all the salt provisions required for the coast. The Salmon fishery is an object of much importance and merits the utmost attention. . . . The Farm is also of great service and should be carefully attended. I am sorry that the site selected for the new Fort should be found subject to so many disadvantages, and we must therefore abandon it, and fix upon some other spot, alike convenient for the fur and Salmon trade, combined with facilities for the farm and Shipping. Probably the place you first pointed out to Mr. Finlayson will be found on the whole most suitable, but if a better can be found, let it have the preference; however remember that the Salmon trade must not be sacrificed, as it will always yield, a more valuable return at less trouble risk & expense than the farm.

CHIEF TRADER JAMES DOUGLAS TO H.B.C., LONDON.

Fort Vancouver, 14th October 1839.

The Outfit of Fort Langley for 1839, was forwarded by the Cadboro, and landed there in June; the several Branches of business carried on at this post continue in a flourishing state, except the Fur Trade, which all Mr. Yale's efforts have not succeeded in restoring to its former standard of prosperity, there is nevertheless a slight advance, and the prospect of still further improvement, arising however, solely from increased production

* In this letter the Governor and Committee requested that the coast should be examined with the idea of finding a better situation than that of Fort Vancouver for the Company's chief post in the Western Department.

on the part of the Fort Indians who have been literally dunned into something like exertion; limited as this source may be found, it is the only one left, whereby we may in some measure, repair the diversion of trade from this Post, produced by extending the Steam Vessel's range into Johnston's Straits; in all such cases particular branches, will be unavoidably, more or less, exposed to sacrifice, although the general result is proportionally increased in value. We have abandoned the old Langley Establishment which was in a dilapidated State, as well as inconvenient in some respect for the business, and removed all the effects, into a new Fort built a few miles higher up on the Banks of Fraser's River, the stockades of which, four block houses, and nearly all the necessary buildings are now erected. It is fully as convenient for the fur and Salmon Trade, as the former site, and moreover possesses the important and desirable advantage of being much nearer the farm.

By our latest dates of 21 July the Salmon Fishery, was yielding abundantly, and the Crops looked remarkably well, the season having been in that quarter rather favourable. I may be permitted to mention here as a matter likely to interest the friends of our native population, and all who desire to trace the first dawn and early progress of civilization, that the Cowegins around Fort Langley, influenced by the Council and example of the Fort, are beginning to cultivate the soil, many of them having with great perseverance and industry cleared patches of forest Land of sufficient extent to plant each 10 busls of Potatoes, the same spirit of enterprise extends, though less generally to the Gulf of Georgia & De Fuca's Straits, where the very novel sight of flourishing fields of potatoes satisfies our Missionary Visitors, that the Honble. Company neither oppose, nor feel indifferent to the march of improvement.

J. M. YALE TO GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON.

Fort Langley, 10th February, 1841.

. . . In the night of the 11th of April Fort Langley was burnt to the ground and every thing in it, excepting the trading Goods, a few Furs, eleven muskets, seven Barrels Salmon, and three or four old impliments for building, Staves and hoops ready prepared for seven hundred Barrels, Tubs for pickling salmon in &c. all went with the rest. This unfortunate calamity, and by which the Company has sustained a real loss of about £340 was brought upon us by the carelessness of one of the Men, a new hand from Fort Vancouver called Brûlé, who in the meantime of finishing a House for himself, and the last to complete the Fort, was permitted to take up his lodgings in the Blksmiths Shop but unluckily at this time did not sleep there and so the fire had attained (assisted by the wind) such an advanced state before it was perceived as to render all efforts to check its progress vain. In a few minutes the whole was in flames, and we were soon obliged to retreat outside half naked, scorched, and wounded by Nails &c and immediately prepare for the security of ourselves, the property we had rescued and what remained to be gathered the Ironworks, none of which was lost tho; we were surrounded

by Savages who for the sake of a little property would gladly have made a feast of us if they had dared but we were not at this time destined for their Kettle and the whole total affairs of Fort Langley would hardly seem to have met with a check. Nearly everything that could be done in the way of Farming was accomplished. The Salmon fishery in due time reestablished that is in the necessary buildings. Vessels for pickling the fish in &c and in regard to the business of the Dairy it would appear that we may carry the feather. Have a Fort much more spacious than the old one, and things inside nearly as far advanced towards a completion as Fort Langley was when you first visited it, the second year after it was established. Last winter Chief Factor McLoughlin proposed to send us plenty of aid to get in the crops &c but unluckily the the [sic] had apparently become great none could be spared, he has however tho' rather late consoled me a little by sending Fort Langley an old broken thrashing Mill. When Mr. Douglas touched here on his way to the Coast latter end of april we were in perfect security inside a little Fort 108 x 72 feet and I had only two requests to make, that they would supply me with six good Axes, and be off out of our way as quick as possible, but he would not altogether comply and got part of the timbers for a House 48 x 24 squared for us, while getting the Steamer ready to proceed on the route. . . .

CHIEF FACTORS JAMES DOUGLAS AND JOHN WORK TO H.B.C. LONDON.

Fort Victoria, 6th November 1847.

1. Since we had the honour of addressing you from Fort Vancouver on the 20th of September, I have made an excursion to Fort Langley chiefly for the purpose of putting matters in train, for the passage of the Brigade by the Contemplated new route to the interior, mentioned in the 18th paragraph of that letter. Accompanied by Chief Trader Yale, and Mr. William Sinclair, leaving Chief Factor Work during the absence of the former in charge of Fort Langley, we proceeded with an Indian Canoe up Frasers River to the Saumeena Village, where the horse road to Fort Kamloops falls upon the River about 100 miles beyond Fort Langley. We spent Several days in examining the chain of rapids known as "The Falls" which constitute the chief obstacle of that route. With a few intervening spaces of smooth water, these rapids extend from the Saumeena to the upper "Teat Village" a distance of 13 miles, and we are of the opinion that they will be found exceedingly dangerous at every season, and absolutely impassable in the Summer freshets, when the River is full and attains a level of 60 feet above the low water mark in autumn. The Rapids occur at a spot where Frasers River forces a passage through the Cascade Mountains, and stretch from side to side of that stupendous barrier. It is impossible to conceive any thing more formidable or imposing, than is to be found in that dangerous defile which cannot for one moment be thought of as a practicable water Communication for the transport of valuable property. We propose to avoid that part of the River entirely by extending the horse road about 13 miles to

the lower end of the Rapids from whence the navigation is unexceptionable to the sea Coast distant 130 miles. This extension of the horse road must be carried through the Mountain in a narrow winding defile on the North side of Fraser's River which runs nearly parallel with it. Though neither smooth nor level it is practicable, and when the timber is cleared away will make a much better road than we expected to find in so rugged a section of Country. It has moreover the important advantage of being perfectly safe, and is infinitely preferable to the most perilous piece of water communication in the Indian Country.

Among other points of valuable information obtained from the Indians whom we Saw in the Course of our journey, they pointed out another route to the Interior considerably to the Southward of those already explored which falls upon Frasers River 25 miles above Fort Langley. This would be of immense advantage in many ways, and relieve us of the expense of maintaining a fleet of boats exclusively for the River transport. A party of men with an Indian Guide have been sent to examine that route, and as soon as we receive their report we will make our final arrangements for opening one of these two roads as soon as possible; it being now made clear that one or the other must become the highway of commerce to the Interior, and we Confidentially expect to have everything in readiness for the passage of the Brigades by the new route in the summer of 1849. We will thereby escape the exactions of the United States Government, and have it in our power to supply the Interior with British goods free of import or transit duties.

. . . . . .

17. Every branch of business Carried on at Fort Langley exhibits a decline this year; to a greater or less extent, as compared with the prosperous result of last Outfit, in Consequence of causes which the able and indefatigable exertions of Mr. C[hief] T[rader] Yale, Could not altogether controul. The Salmon Fishery at the Establishment which yielded upwards of 1000 barrels of fish in the Summer of 1846, produced only 365 barrels this year. In anticipation of the failure which occurred. . . . The grain Crops were nearly destroyed in the fields by long continued rains in harvest; a misfortune of frequent occurrence at that Post, where unfortunately the climate is not so well adapted, as the rich and fertile soil for the purpose of Agriculture. The green Crops were on the contrary, unusually abundant and the potatoes perfectly healthy, and of the finest quality. The fur returns are also inferior to those of Outfit 1846, but the decrease is considerable, and may possibly be made up before the close of the Outfit.

CHIEF FACTORS JAMES DOUGLAS AND JOHN WORK TO H.B.C., LONDON.

Fort Victoria, 5th December 1848.

Our accounts from Fort Langley extend up to the 1st of last month,—when Chief Trader Yale and the servants of the establishment were all well, and the Companys affairs in their usual state. The trade in furs was rather dull, but is nevertheless expected to yield as valuable a return as the

business of last year 1847. The fisheries were very closely attended and produced 1703 Barrels of Salmon and 22 Barrels of small Fish. . . . An accident occurred last summer, at the Upper Fishery, 25 miles above the establishment, where the dwelling house, sheds, salting tubs, 200 empty Barrels and about 60 Bushels of salt, were consumed by fire, which some careless Indians had made in the neighbouring woods from whence it spread to the buildings. Mr. Yale at first suspected that the place had been burnt by some evil minded incendiary and felt much uneasiness on the subject not knowing how soon other attempts of the kind might be made on a more extensive scale, but afterwards discovered through the Indians themselves, how the accident had occurred.

The preparations for opening the new road to the interior for the passage of the summer Brigade threw much additional work upon the establishment of Fort Langley, as besides making the road from Kequeloose to the Ferry, and from thence through the Portage to the lower end of the Falls of Frasers River a distance of 18 miles, through a wooded country, levelling and zig-zaging the steep ascents, bridging Rivers, there were stores erected for the accommodation of the Brigades above and below the Falls, boats and skows built for the ferry, and seven large Boats for the navigation from Fort Langley to the Falls, there was the heavy transport of provisions to the latter place, and a vast amount of other work connected with that object which it required no common degree of energy and good management in Chief Trader Yale to accomplish with 20 men in the course of a severe winter.

The grain and other crops at this place suffered extremely from drought, and fell short of the average annual return of the Farm. There is, however an abundant supply of all kinds of food to meet the ordinary demands of the year.

CHIEF FACTOR JAMES DOUGLAS TO GOVERNOR EDEN COLVILE.

Fort Victoria, 10th March 1851.

The affairs of Fort Langley continue in a prosperous state. The fur trade is rather on the decline, owing to the growing scarcity of Martens and the low price of Beaver, which the natives in consequence seldom hunt. The salmon fishery yielded last season 2000 Barrels of fish the most valuable product of this post, now averaging at the Sandwich Islands £2,,10,,0 barrel. We propose this year to extend the farm at this post and hope soon to raise enough Bread Stuffs for the supply of the interior. The Neat Cattle are increasing in number, but the stock of swine is not doing so well for want of careful attendance. Staves have been split for 2100 barrels and a large supply of salt was lately sent there for the coming season which I trust will be a productive one in fish. Coal has been found in thin surface beds a few Miles below Fort Langley and also on the Sea Coast between the north Channel of Frasers River and Burrards Canal, but it is of no immediate value beyond indicating more valuable deposits of the Mineral at a greater depth from the surface.

CHIEF FACTOR JAMES DOUGLAS TO CHIEF TRADER J. M. YALE.

Fort Victoria, 13th February 1852.

I have been so much oppressed with toil and trouble that I have altogether neglected you of late, having I fear not even acknowledged your letter of the 10th Octr.* announcing the safe arrival of Mr. Logan at Fort Langley, and containing a statement of the articles omitted in the Fort Langley accounts. . . .

Your letter of the 12th Feby arrived to day with the two " Works " whom I regret to observe were discharged from the service as useless and I perceive from your letter that Atkinson is little better. This is unfortunate in as much as it entirely defeats our plan of improving and extending the Fort Langley farm with the view of rendering it independant of foreign supplies of provisions. There is no man here capable of replacing Atkinson nor any substitute for the " Works " except stubborn Englishmen whom you would find quite unmanageable seeing that you have not the character of being a liberal Master nor disposed to feed them on roast beef and plum pudding. . . .

CHIEF FACTOR JAMES DOUGLAS TO W. G. SMITH, SECRETARY, H.B.C. LONDON.

Victoria, V.I., 23rd July, 1858.

. . . Both brigades left Fort Langley in high spirits about 5 days ago, and will I trust get through their journey without any unusual accident.

A considerable cash business is now carried on at Fort Langley. The sales are averaging about $1500 a day. The articles sold are principally Flour, Bacon and Beans and Mining Tools, which we import from San Francisco, together with Blankets and woolen clothing, from our stock of English goods. The miners were not generally at work in the upper parts of the river, in consequence of the high state of the water which had inundated all the river bars. They were chiefly employed on the dry diggings above the water levels, which yielded about $6 a day to the man.

They were all in high spirits anticipating the fall of the River, and prepared to submit to all our rules and regulations, which were at first unpalateable to their republican notions. . . .

* Missing from the Hudson's Bay Company's archives.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Contributors to This Issue.

Louis LeBourdais, M.L.A., of Quesnel, is one of the Cariboo's best-known citizens, and has written many articles on the pioneers and early history of the district.

F. Henry Johnson, B.A., is a member of the staff of the Kamloops High School.

W. Kaye Lamb, Ph.D., is Provincial Librarian and Archivist.

G. Neil Perry is Secretary of the Economic Council of British Columbia.

Celebrations at Kamloops.

To those interested in history, the most interesting features of the anniversary celebrations held at Kamloops on July 1 were the parade and the opening of the new historical museum. The parade depicted a series of events in the history of the community since its foundation 125 years ago; and the remarkable quality of the many floats made the occasion a memorable one. The museum, which has been organized by the Thompson Valley Historical and Museum Association, was formally opened by His Honour Judge Howay, at the conclusion of an address on the history of Kamloops. Mr. J. J. Morse, President of the Museum Association, received the big cast-iron key of the fort from Judge Howay. Mr. C. H. French, who represented the Hudson's Bay Company, also took part in the ceremony, dressed in a black frock coat and beaver hat such as were worn by the officers of the Company in the long ago.

The museum is housed in the building from old Fort Kamloops, which, it will be recalled, was discovered and preserved by Mr. David Power, who presented it to the Museum Association. It has been re-erected upon a site in Riverside Park provided by the City of Kamloops. The exact age of the building is not known, but it evidently formed part of the first Hudson's Bay Company fort at Kamloops, and may even date back to the days of the North West Company's post, previous to 1821. In any event, it is almost certainly the oldest building now standing in British Columbia. It is built in sections, and so designed that any individual timber can be handled with fair ease by two men. The interior of the building has been finished in modern style, in order to make it suitable for museum purposes; but the reconstruction of the main structure has been carried out in accordance with the original plan, wooden pegs having been used instead of spikes, and so on. The completed building measures about 19 by 20 feet, and the Museum Association is to be congratulated upon the very interesting display of old relics and photographs which it already houses.

British Columbia Historical Association.

Victoria Section.

The meeting held on April 2 was addressed by Mr. A. N. Mouat, former Comptroller-General for British Columbia, who described the North West

Rebellion of 1885, and recalled his own experiences during the campaign. Mr. Mouat paid special tribute to the work done by the Mounted Police, whose share in the operations was recognized so tardily that members of the force waited fifteen years for their medals. Several veterans of 1885 were present, including Bishop Exton Lloyd, who spoke briefly. A number of photographs and relics were on exhibition, and were examined with interest by the large gathering of members and friends who attended.

Sir Charles Piers, Bart., former historian for the Hudson's Bay Company, was the speaker at the meeting held on May 7. He chose as his subject *The Early Days of the Overland Fur Trade*, and described the operations of the North West Company, Hudson's Bay Company, and Astorians in a most entertaining as well as informative manner. At the conclusion of the address, Mr. Charles H. French, for many years a Fur Trade Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, showed a remarkable series of slides, prepared from old photographs and drawings of fur-trading posts. Many of these were associated with his own services in the Company. Mr. George Simpson McTavish, also for many years in the service of the Company, contributed engaging reminiscences of his experiences at some of the posts illustrated.

On May 18 the Historical Committee of the B.C. Conference of the United Church held a joint meeting with the Association in the Provincial Library. The first speaker was Dr. Kaye Lamb, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, who spoke on *A Day in the Life of an Archivist*. He described a visit paid last August to Saltspring Island and to some of the old-timers resident there, and outlined the eventful history of the community in early days. Rev. A. E. Roberts, President of the Conference Historical Committee, next described the first Methodist Conference held in British Columbia, the fiftieth anniversary of which is being observed this year. Rev. J. H. White, of Sardis, who attended this first Conference, was present at the meeting. The third address of the evening was given by Rev. W. Stott, who contributed a most amusing account of early days both in Cariboo and in North Vancouver. At the conclusion of his remarks Mr. Stott presented to the Archives the fortieth and final part of a commentary on the Bible which was published in 1858 on the day the Royal Engineers sailed for British Columbia, and which was thrown aboard the old *Thames City* as she left the dock. Rev. John Goodfellow, Secretary of the Conference Committee, spoke briefly.

Vancouver Section.

The Work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in British Columbia was the subject chosen by Judge F. W. Howay for his address at the first annual dinner meeting of the Vancouver Section. The meeting was held in the Patricia Room of the Hotel Georgia on Friday, April 30, 1937, with over seventy-five members present.

In his introductory remarks the President, Dr. W. N. Sage, spoke of the work of the Section, and expressed the regret of the executive that it had not been possible to accommodate all who had wished to attend the dinner.

Greetings from the Provincial Executive were brought by the President, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb. Letters from Mrs. M. R. Cree, Honorary Secretary, and Dr. T. A. Rickard, President of the Victoria Section, were read by the Secretary, Miss Helen R. Boutilier.

During the evening musical numbers were provided by Mrs. Burton L. Kurth, accompanied by Mr. Kurth.

Dr. R. L. Reid introduced the speaker of the evening and told of his work among Canadian historians. Judge Howay outlined the methods of research necessary to ascertain the exact location of various historic spots in the Province, and stressed the idea that organizations such as our own could carry out the idea which the Board had in mind—the preservation of the history of our country.

Judge J. A. Forin, in a short speech in which he outlined Judge Howay's career as a member of the British Columbia Bar, the Bench, and various historical associations, expressed the appreciation of those present to the speaker.

The meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem. [HELEN R. BOUTILIER, Secretary.]

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The *Seventh Report* of the *Okanagan Historical Society* has just been published and is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Similkameen Historical Association. At the quarterly meeting held in April, Mr. James A. Schubert, of Tulameen, was elected Honorary President in succession to Mrs. S. L. Allison, who passed away in February. Mr. Schubert is one of the few surviving members of the famous Overland Party of 1862, who travelled from Ontario and Quebec to British Columbia via Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton. A large keekwillie hole was reported on the Rowland property, which lies on the ancient boundary-line between the Nicola Indians to the north and the Similkameens to the south. In early days it was the scene of many inter-tribal conflicts, and arrow-heads are still found frequently on the property.

The Graduate Historical Society awards a book prize each year to the member of the Graduating Class of the University who stands first in History. This spring the prize was won by Robert T. McKenzie, of Vancouver.

LOCAL PUBLICATIONS.

The Story of St. Andrew's United Church, North Vancouver, a 36-page pamphlet compiled by the Rev. William Stott, is of wider interest than its title might indicate. It deals with the history of the community as well as that of the church itself; and several of the photographs reproduced are of considerable historic value. The section entitled *Moodyville Days* is of special interest, for in certain respects it supplements the articles on the early history of Burrard Inlet which Judge Howay has contributed to this *Quarterly*. Mr. Stott is able to give the origin of the name Moodyville, which, he tells us, was "suggested by Mrs. Captain Murray Thain, who moved to Moodyville in 1872. Before that it was known simply as Moody's Mills."

The ultimate fate of the mill itself is also indicated. "The mill was shut down and sold in 1901. During the great war the buildings were demolished and the machinery used for scrap. Most of the dwellings disappeared when the low level road was put through in 1927, the slope on which they stood being cut away in the process."

Kamloops—1812–1937 is the title of an attractive mimeographed pamphlet which has been prepared by the Junior Historical Club of the Kamloops High School, under the direction of Mr. F. H. Johnson. It is a most interesting and worth-while effort, and the history of the community is traced in 26 brief chapters. Careful use has been made of the surviving fort journals and of the source material recently made available through the courtesy of the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, in London. The booklet is complete with illustrations and maps, a bibliography and an index, and consists in all of 107 pages. It is to be regretted that it cannot be made available in a more permanent form.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

North Pacific; Japan, Siberia, Alaska, Canada. By Edward Weber Allen. New York: Professional & Technical Press. 1936. Pp. xvi., 282. $2.50.

The circumnavigation of the whole North Pacific Ocean was the adventurous voyage of Mr. Allen, United States Commissioner and Secretary to the International Fisheries Commission, and in this book he describes his experiences. Boarding the *Santa Ana* at Seattle, a schooner which had suffered the indignity of conversion into a steamer and had never quite recovered poise, the author began the journey which took him northward along the coast of British Columbia and Alaska, across Bering Sea to Siberia, southward to Japan, and ultimately to San Francisco. The book is something more than mere description, however, for the author did not hesitate to interrupt his travel account at intervals to share an interesting anecdote from the romantic history of the area, or perhaps to describe a previous visit. In an easy intimate style he has built a background for his experience, that is both colourful and revealing. One might expect a technically-equipped, statistically-minded Commissioner to produce a factual document of peculiar interest to the historian or to the political scientist, and it is a matter of some interest that Mr. Allen has instead chosen to write a full-length narrative.

Perfectly at ease with his subject, he has allowed a generous fund of humour to influence his writing with delightful effect. His character sketches are particularly refreshing in this regard. Fully appreciating the importance of connotation, he makes frequent use of that aid to the imagination, as, for example, when he writes: "For many people the name Siberia conjures up thoughts of a hungry wolf pack chasing a long-bearded Russian wrapped in furs, madly driving his frantic horses hitched to a troika."

The book is generously supplied with local colour. Something is hinted of the early history, of the peculiar economic and geographic characteristics, about each point visited. With discernment he does not emphasize the oft-repeated stories of Alaskan history, but instead he recalls such fascinating adventures as those of missionary William Duncan, Vitus Bering, the Russian Governor Baranof and his contemporaries. Skilfully he has interwoven these characters from the past with the more immediate problems of the present, and the reader is placed in a general position to form his or her own conclusions.

Mr. Allen holds certain definite personal opinions about the international problems of the North Pacific, and whether or not the reader sympathizes with these views, it would seem difficult to overlook the very grim possibilities that could arise should reason be dethroned. Passion smoulders deep in the heart of Alaskan history, and like Shishaldin—Smoking Moses of the North—it might be aroused from slumber.

G. Neil Perry.

Seventh Report of the Okanagan Historical Society of Vernon, British Columbia. Vernon [Walker Press, Enderby], 1937. Pp. 52. $1.

It will be recalled that the Okanagan Historical Society published a *Sixth Report*, of some 300 pages, last year. This was in reality a consolidation and revision of the five previous reports issued by the Society, together with some additional material. The new *Seventh Report* is intended to be the first of a further series of provisional publications, which it is hoped may eventually be consolidated into a second permanent volume, similar to the *Sixth Report* of 1936.

The title of the series is somewhat misleading, for the " Reports " consist of collections of historical notes and articles and are not merely accounts of the activities of the Society, as might be supposed. The *Seventh Report* is fully as interesting and valuable as its predecessors. The article on " Princeton Place Names," by the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, is a model of its kind, and shows how interesting and enlightening the study of place-names can be. Mr. Goodfellow also contributes a brief account of the discovery in 1935 of the grave of Chief Trader Paul Fraser, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was killed by a falling tree on Manson Mountain as long ago as 1855. The article entitled " Over the Penticton Trail," by Bernard Lequime, describes the early experiences of one of the Okanagan's best-known pioneer families. Mr. Lequime's parents came to British Columbia in 1858, when he was one year old. In 1861 they moved first to Rock Creek, then the centre of a mining excitement, and later to Okanagan Mission, near the present City of Kelowna. He has much of interest to relate regarding the Mission itself, as well as his own life and that of his family. In " The Welby Stage Coach," Mrs. Jessie Ewart Bird records the eventful history of the old coach run by W. E. Welby between Penticton and Hedley in 1905–1913. The coach itself is now the treasured possession of the Similkameen Historical Association. " The Gold Brick Robbery at Camp McKinney," the story of which is told by Arthur K. W. Cosens, occurred in 1896; and the hiding-place of two of the three bricks stolen still remains undiscovered.

The longest article is that entitled " Has Canada Kept Faith? " by Leonard Norris. It is of much more than regional interest, for it considers the question whether or not the Dominion Government loyally carried out the railway clause of the Act of Union of 1871. Mr. Norris thinks that it did; but whether the array of evidence he presents and his interpretation of it can be regarded as conclusive will remain a matter of opinion. One point new to the reviewer is the contention that there was a direct connection between the San Juan boundary decision, which awarded the island to the United States, and the selection of Esquimalt, in preference to Burrard Inlet, as the terminus for the projected Canadian transcontinental railway. As Mr. Norris points out, fortifications on San Juan Island would have made Burrard Inlet practically useless as a railway and shipping terminus if hostilities had broken out between the United States and Canada.

Shorter articles have been contributed by Max H. Ruhmann, George W. Johnson, Mrs. Angus Wood, and J. W. S. Logie. Notes and Comments and a number of poems make up the balance of the *Report*.

W. KAYE LAMB.

Under Western Skies. By Arthur S. Morton. Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 1937. Pp. 7+232. $2.

The author of this book is Professor of History in the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, and is an indefatigable student of the early days of the Fur Trade in the Prairie Provinces. Not only has he obtained much information from the literature of the times referred to, but he has had access to the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, and has made personal investigations on the ground itself. The list of subjects dealt with varies from " The Prairies and the Buffalo " to the conquest of the Barren Grounds, or, as he calls it, " In the Land of Feast and Famine." The style is easy and readable, and the wealth of information given is tremendous.

The book purports to be " A series of pen pictures of the Canadian West in the early fur trade times." This evidently means that it is not to be considered as a book for students of history, but for popular reading. If so, it has one most serious defect, for it is overloaded with detail. The author is too much the historian to recognize the fact that the casual reader will quickly tire of a book which gives so much information packed in so little space. The readers who will be interested will necessarily be those who are interested in the same line of study as the author, and it must therefore be considered from that point of view.

Treating it, then, as a treatise on Western History, its great defect is that it gives no references to authorities, so that it is almost impossible to check the accuracy of the statements made. In great part, the author writes as if he were a contemporary of the persons whose travels, adventures, and difficulties he describes, relying on his own knowledge of the events of the times as authority for the statements made. Books and records are sometimes mentioned in a casual way, but even where language of others is quoted, no indication is given as to the source from which it comes.

This is a book of the prairies, almost entirely, but there are a few references to British Columbia. The most important is the allegation on page 171, which illustrates what has been said above as to the lack of authority for the author's statements. He states definitely and dogmatically that " In 1801, his last year in the interior, [Duncan] McGillivray crossed the Rockies into the valley of the Columbia River." He gives no authority for the statement, and its correctness has been directly challenged by J. B. Tyrrell, one of the most careful historians of Western Canada, who, in the *Canadian Historical Review* for April, 1937, cites authorities to show that during the winter of 1800–01 McGillivray was ill at Rocky Mountain House, that he started in that state for Fort William on Lake Superior, and that he returned to his post in the autumn. David Thompson was also at Rocky Mountain House till June, 1801, and then tried to cross the Rockies but failed in his attempt.

It is only fair to Professor Morton to say that his rejoinder to Tyrrell has not yet been published and no suggestion is made here as to which is correct.* The point is cited as an illustration of the difficulties which arise when new matter is set out as fact, without any reference being made to the source of the statement.

Professor Morton does not agree with the commonly accepted estimates of many of the great figures of the days of which he writes. Especially he thinks Thompson to be an overrated man; one not as great as Peter Fidler, of whom we know very little, or Philip Turner, of whom we know about as much. Hearne was a greater explorer than Alexander Mackenzie, and so on. Professor Morton's explanation of it all is summed up in this bit of sarcasm: "If you wish to be famous, write a book about yourself and be sure you leave everybody else out of the story." But this does not fit Hearne at any rate, for he *did* write a book about himself.

The book is worth most serious consideration because of the author's great local knowledge and wide research, but until it is rewritten in proper form with full references to sources, it cannot be accepted as definitely authoritative.

The mass of details above referred to renders the absence of an index even more annoying than in ordinary cases.

ROBIE L. REID.

Arctic Trails. By William Campbell. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1936. Pp. vi., 335; ill.

Policing the Arctic. The story of the conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canadian (formerly North-West) Mounted Police. By Harwood Steele. Toronto: Ryerson Press [1935]. Pp. 390. Ill. and map.

Just as stories of the struggles of the pioneers on the frontier of any new country have been welcomed by the reading public, so to-day Canadians are enjoying the many books which are being written about Canada's newest frontier, the North, which, in the words of André Siegfried, "abounds in poetry and latent hopes" and has become "a boundless territory of limitless possibilities." What was regarded until recently as a vast inhospitable wasteland is now "a window which opens out . . . on to the potential future." Even the titles of books dealing with the region indicate this change; and Warburton Pike's *Barren Ground of Northern Canada* has become *The Friendly Arctic* of Stefansson. The latter is a firm believer in the possibilities of the Arctic region; and in his *Northward Course of Empire* has stressed the adaptibility of northern Canada to permanent settlement.

The Royal North-West Mounted Police have played an important part in subduing Canada's northern regions and making them safer for the coming of prospective settlers. The "Silent Force" in its inimitable way has penetrated to the outposts of civilization, carrying with it law and order, assisting

* Mr. Morton's rejoinder to Tyrrell has since come to hand, but it leaves the question at issue in much the same condition as it was before.

lost or missing hunters and trappers, and helping to carry out numerous governmental duties.

The most outstanding amongst recent books dealing with the North-West Mounted Police is Major Harwood Steele's *Policing the Arctic*, which is the only authentic history, as yet, of the northern patrols of the Force. Major Steele has had correspondence with many of the survivors of the numerous adventures which he relates, and, together with his minute perusal of the Annual Reports of the Commissioners, has built up a fascinating and informative story comprising an imposing volume of nearly 400 pages. Of particular interest are the sections dealing with the Yukon gold-rush and the actions of the "Mounties" in subduing the rough element and making the Territory safe for the gold-seeker.

From his lengthy bibliography given at the end of the volume, it is quite evident that the author has read practically everything of note that has been written about the northern regions of Canada and the doings of the North-West Mounted Police since the formation of the Service in 1873. His intense interest in the Force and his intimate knowledge of its history cause no surprise when one learns that he is the son of the late Sir Sam Steele, one of the veterans of the Force. Major Steele has had an adventurous career of his own and amongst his many undertakings has explored the Canadian North as historian to the Dominion Government Arctic Expedition of 1925.

The book is written in well-chosen English in a somewhat staccato tempo which seems to suit the many exciting episodes which are related. If one were to venture any adverse criticism, one might say that the too frequent use of quotations is to be regretted and that the author's attempt to keep the narratives of the different patrols up to the same period, like a juggler with six or eight balls all in the air at the same time, is somewhat confusing. However, a copious index and a good map help considerably towards ameliorating this condition.

In marked contrast to Major Steele's book is William Campbell's *Arctic Patrols*, which is a popular account of the North-West Mounted Police. It contains many exciting stories of murders and man-hunts in the North, fights against the elements, encounters with wolves, etc. It appears to the reviewer that the author draws a very long bow at times. The shift of the frontier from the West to the North has been followed by a corresponding supersession of the old popular literature of the wild west by such books as *Corporal Corey of the Royal Canadian Mounted* and *The Yukon Patrol*, and, along with them, *Arctic Patrols* is no doubt sure of a warm welcome from the general reader.

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

The Mitchell Library, Sydney. Historical and Descriptive Notes. Issued by the Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in the centenary year of the Founder. 1936. Pp. 122. Ill.

David Scott Mitchell (1836–1907) was born in Sydney, and after a brilliant University career was called to the bar at the age of 22. Later he was offered the portfolio of Attorney-General of New South Wales; but

neither politics nor the practice of his profession appealed to him, and he devoted himself to the management of his father's estates, which he presently inherited, together with a substantial fortune. This inheritance enabled him to devote more and more time to his library, which soon became the chief interest of his life. "At an early age," the volume under review tells us, "he had begun to make a collection of books, chiefly poetry and drama, with special reference to the Elizabethan period, the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But, realizing that in these fields he was but one collector among many, and far from the centres where such collecting could be most satisfactorily pursued, for the last thirty years of his life he devoted himself to the task of gathering together records of all kinds, books, manuscripts, pictures, prints, maps and charts, concerning the history of Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific. Such a project had never been previously attempted on the grand scale. He brought to it wealth, knowledge, and singleness of purpose, and he succeeded, therefore, in acquiring a collection which, in all departments save perhaps the printed book, can never be rivalled." The Mitchell Library, as it is now known the world over, was bequeathed to the Public Library of New South Wales, in Sydney, along with an endowment of £70,000; and the special building constructed to house it was opened in March, 1910.

Even the brief notes given in this volume reveal the astonishing richness of the Mitchell collection. Certain items listed are of the greatest interest to students of the history of British Columbia, notably the series of manuscript journals, logs, and letters relating to the third voyage of Captain Cook. The collection of printed material upon Cook is probably the most complete in existence. The Library also possesses certain papers of La Pérouse and members of his expedition; and it would be interesting to have particulars of the "collection of papers concerning Vancouver's voyage, dated 1791–8," which is included in the Banks Papers.

Incidentally the Mitchell Library and the Provincial Library and Archives have more in common than an interest in Cook and Vancouver; for their fundamental purpose is the same—the collection and preservation of printed and manuscript material relating to the region in which they are situated. There is no Archives Department in New South Wales, and the Government has transferred many early records to the Mitchell Library, which makes the resemblance greater still. The chief point of contrast is the lack of an endowment in British Columbia; and some idea of what such a fund would mean to the Provincial Library may be gained from the record of the Mitchell Library. In the comparatively short time since it was bequeathed to the State, the Trustees have been able not only to increase the library from 61,000 to no less than 170,000 volumes, but also to acquire the major part of all manuscript material relating to the Southern Pacific which has come on the market in recent years.

W. K. L.

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"Any country worthy of a future should be interested in its past."

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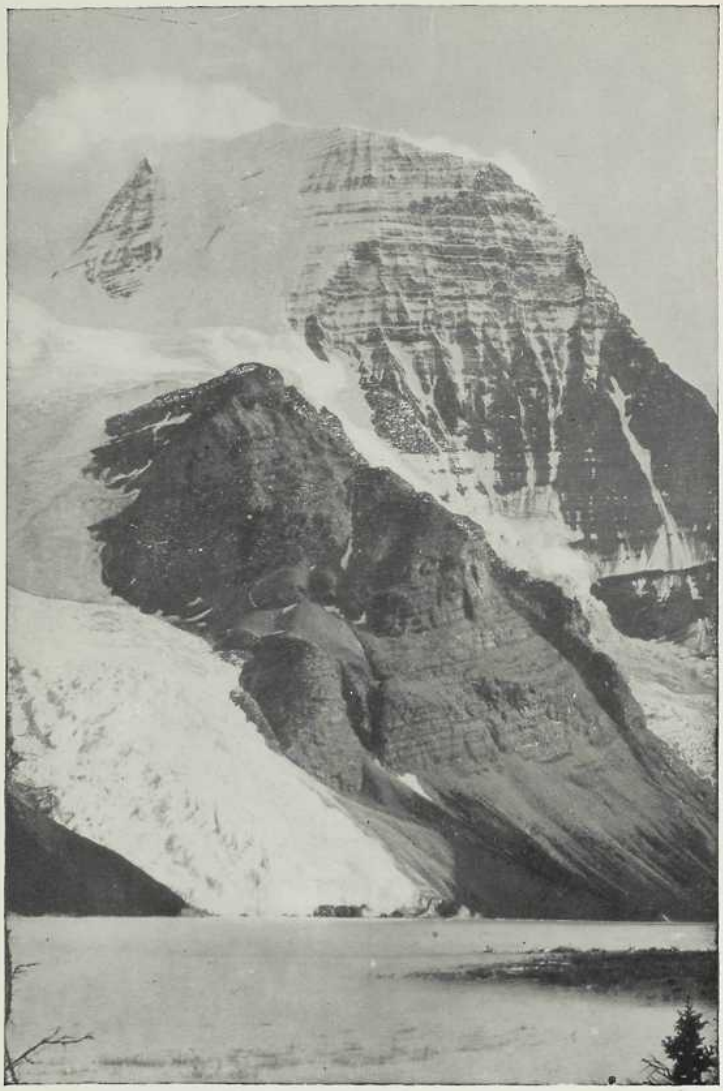

(Photo courtesy Canadian National Railways.)

Mount Robson.

THE MYSTERY OF MOUNT ROBSON.*

Mount Robson, monarch of the Canadian Rockies, is fairly well known throughout the Pacific Northwest. Many persons have a slight acquaintance with the mountain, from having read of it or seen pictures of it; others have a nodding acquaintance from having seen it; while a few have an intimate acquaintance from having climbed it.

How did this well-known mountain get its name—why was it named Robson? That is a simple question but one not so simply answered, for thereby hangs a tale; several tales, in fact; different tales, conflicting tales; but nevertheless interesting tales, since they dip into the early history of the Northwest.

The earliest known description of the mountain is found in the journal of John M. Sellar, one of a party of gold-seekers bound for the Cariboo, who passed the peak on August 26, 1862. The entry reads as follows: " At 4 P.M., we passed Snow or Cloud Cap Mountain which is the highest & finest on the whole Leather [Yellowhead] Pass. it is 9000 feet above the level of the valley at its base, and the guide told us that out of 29 times that he had passed it he had only seen the top once before."[1] There can be no doubt as to the identity of the mountain here described; and as the guide knew the locality well, the inference is that the name Mount Robson was not well known, if it had been bestowed, at that time.

Milton and Cheadle.

Eleven months later, on July 14, 1863, Viscount Milton and Dr. W. B. Cheadle passed the mountain in the course of their overland journey of adventure to the Pacific Coast via the Yellowhead Pass and the North Thompson River. Their book, *The North-West Passage by Land*, published in London in 1865, con-

* The thanks of the author go to Mr. J. N. Wallace, of Calgary, for his helpful criticisms and suggestions, and to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, for the information furnished by them; also to Major J. S. Matthews, City Archivist, Vancouver, for his kind assistance.

(1) Quoted from the transcript of Sellar's journal in the library of His Honour Judge Howay, New Westminster. On Sellar *see* Mark S. Wade: *The Overlanders of '62*, Victoria, 1931 (Memoir IX., Archives of B.C.).

tains the earliest known description of Mount Robson by name, and this has led some persons to conclude that they named it.

After describing the junction of the Grand Fork of the Fraser (now Robson River) with the main stream, which was the original location of Tête Jaune Cache (now 12 miles farther west), they say: "On every side the snowy heads of mighty hills crowded round, whilst, immediately behind us, a giant among giants, and immeasurably supreme, rose Robson's Peak. This magnificent mountain is of conical form, glacier-clothed, and rugged. When we first caught sight of it, a shroud of mist partially enveloped the summit, but this presently rolled away, and we saw its upper portion dimmed by a necklace of light feathery clouds, beyond which its pointed apex of ice, glittering in the sun, shot up far into the blue heaven above, to a height of probably 10,000 or 15,000 feet. It was a glorious sight, and one which the Shushwaps of The Cache assured us had rarely been seen by human eyes, the summit being generally hidden by clouds."[2]

Some years ago the late James White, technical adviser in the Department of Justice at Ottawa, in an endeavour to solve the mystery of the mountain's name, communicated with Earl Fitzwilliam, son of Viscount Milton, and also with Dr. Cheadle's son, and obtained a copy of Cheadle's original journal. The more brief entry there is: "To the right Robson Peak, a magnificent mountain, high, rugged, covered with deep snow, the top now clearly seen, although generally covered with clouds."[3] Neither Milton's son nor Cheadle's son could suggest anything to help solve the mystery. Although Mr. White previously had been of the opinion that Milton and Cheadle had named the mountain, his conclusion after "a study of the whole question" was "that it had been named prior to their expedition."[4]

---

(2) *The North-West Passage by Land*, p. 257. The height of the mountain has been established since as 12,972 feet above sea-level.

(3) *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada, 1862–1863*. With Introduction and Notes by A. G. Doughty and Gustave Lanctot. Ottawa, Graphic Publishers, 1931, p. 177.

(4) James White: "Cheadle's 'Journal'—across the mountains . . . 1863," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, XIV. (1924), p. 111. The earlier article is entitled "Place Names in Vicinity of Yellowhead Pass," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, VI. (1914–15), pp. 143–158.

A paper read by Milton and Cheadle before the Royal Geographical Society on November 28, 1864, contains the following: "This grand fork of the Frazer is at the foot of a very high mountain, which has received the name of "Robson's Peak," and is the original Tête Jaune's Cache. It was the highest peak they had hitherto seen."[5] The Society's Librarian, Mr. G. R. Crone, informs me that this paper was taken from a privately printed pamphlet in which the reference to Mount Robson is in identical terms.[6]

The question arises as to whether the words, "which has received the name," mean that Milton and Cheadle had given the name or whether it had been given previously. Mr. Crone considers "that it merely implies that the name had been fairly recently bestowed, but makes no implication as to who had given it." He adds that "in the pamphlet referred to, they proposed to call two other peaks 'Mount Milton' and 'Mount Cheadle' . . . As in these two cases they use the expression 'named Mount Milton,' etc., it is possible to argue that the other phrase was used to imply that someone else had bestowed the name 'Robson's Peak,' but this is not entirely conclusive." Of greater significance is the fact that we have three separate references to the mountain by Milton and Cheadle, in none of which they take credit for naming it; which is very strange, if they did name it.

If they did name it, the further question remains as to whom it was named after. Possibly a clue may lie in the number of entries in Cheadle's journal relating to the theatre.[7] If he and Milton were lovers of the drama, probably they knew and admired the famous English actor Thomas Frederick Robson, who was at the peak of his career in the years just before his death in 1864; and it is possible that they may have thus honoured him.

JOHN ROBSON.

Another suggestion is that the mountain was named after John Robson, editor of the New Westminster *British Columbian*,

(5) *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, IX. (1864–65), p. 19.

(6) G. R. Crone to the writer, May 8, 1935. The pamphlet is entitled *An Expedition across the Rocky Mountains by the Yellow Head or Leather Pass.* The reference is to p. 19.

(7) See *Cheadle's Journal*, pp. 236, 265, 271, 282, 286, 301, 303.

and later Premier of the Province (1889–92), following his imprisonment by Judge Begbie in 1862 for contempt of Court, an incident which made him a popular hero. This explanation is given by A. O. Wheeler, alpinist, though he doubts its truth.[8] Indeed, it seems most improbable. In 1862 the Mount Robson region was practically unknown; and although John Robson may have been very popular in New Westminster, there was at the time no travel route to the mountain and consequently no travellers to carry his name to it. The only ones to pass the mountain came from the East—a few gold-seekers en route to the Cariboo.[9]

FOREMAN ROBSON AND PETER SKENE OGDEN.

Mr. Wheeler makes a further suggestion in his article based upon a letter from the late H. J. Moberly, well-known Hudson's Bay Company factor, which reads:—

Macdowall, [Saskatchewan]
31st May, 1912.

A. O. Wheeler, Esq.

Dear Sir,—

Your letter, dated 21st instant I received a day or two ago, and am now answering it, stating, as far as I have always heard, the origin of the name given to Mount Robson.

Years before the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'-West Co. joined (1821), it was the custom for the Nor'-West Co. to outfit a party for a two years' trip, hunting and trading. They went west and north, even as far as the border of California. One party, under the charge of Peter S. Ogden, some two hundred men, chiefly Iroquois and French Canadians. When west of the Rockies, he scattered his hunters in different parties under the charge of a foreman, to hunt for the season. One of his camps, under the charge of a man named Robson was somewhere in the vicinity of this mountain, and it was the rallying point where all other parties came together for their return east.

I remain, yours truly,

H. J. Moberly.[10]

---

(8) Arthur O. Wheeler: "The Alpine Club of Canada's Expedition to Jasper Park, Yellowhead Pass and Mount Robson Region, 1911." *Canadian Alpine Journal*, IV. (1912), p. 42.

(9) It has also been said that the mountain was named after John Robson's younger brother, the Rev. Ebenezer Robson, pioneer Methodist missionary, but no evidence to prove this has been brought forward.

(10) *Canadian Alpine Journal*, IV. (1912), pp. 42, 43.

It is true that Ogden was one of the best known and most colourful characters in the fur trade. He served the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company at various places, from Athabasca on the east and California on the south, to the Stikine River and Stuart Lake on the north. The city of Ogden, Utah, is named after him. He succeeded Dr. John McLoughlin as chief factor at Fort Vancouver, and died at Oregon City in 1854. I find nothing, however, to substantiate Moberly's statement that Ogden had a camp near Mount Robson. In fact, it is doubtful if he was ever in its vicinity. From his entry into the North West Company service in 1811 until 1818 he was at Ile-à-la-Crosse, on one of the headwaters of the Churchill River. This was 500 miles from Mount Robson in a straight line and probably double that distance by the trade routes. Other posts of the Company were much nearer; and it is extremely unlikely that Ogden ever set out from Ile-à-la-Crosse on a hunting trip to the other side of the Rocky Mountains, especially with "some two hundred men."

He was transferred to the Columbia in 1818, with headquarters at Fort George (formerly Astoria). According to John McLeod, he was at Kamloops for a time, in charge of the Thompson River district, and found the territory at the headwaters of the North Thompson, which lay between Kamloops and Mount Robson, impenetrable; and it remained so for many years.[11] Furthermore, the system of large trapping-parties mentioned by Moberly, though adopted about 1816, seems to have been confined to the territory south of the Columbia River.[12] It was there that Ogden attained his fame as a leader of these parties,

(11) Writing in 1872, Malcolm McLeod, son of John McLeod, refers to "the wood choked, boggy, and glacier covered mountain fastnesses of the head waters of the North Thompson. It is a region which has hitherto been impenetrable, even, I believe, to the Indian." He states that his father, who was in charge of the Thompson River district in 1823, reported "that up to that time his predecessors—and among them were men of keen intelligence and great energy, and especially Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden . . . had failed in every effort to even enter that region, for trade." Cf. *Peace River. A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific . . . Journal of the late Chief Factor Archibald McDonald . . .* Edited, with notes, by Malcolm McLeod. Ottawa, 1872, pp. vi., vii.

(12) *See* Alexander Ross: *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, London, 1855, Vol. I., pp. 73, 74.

and it was there that he spent the remainder of his life, except for ten years or so on the Northern Coast and at Stuart Lake, and furloughs in Canada and Europe.[13] Finally, it seems strange that no mention of Ogden's foreman, Robson, can be found anywhere except in Moberly's letter. Records remain of most of the early white traders engaged in the Far West, but no one else mentions this Robson.

In making these criticisms I do not overlook the fact that this story comes from a man who, himself a fur-trader, spent some years in the territory where Mount Robson is well known. Moberly served under the Hudson's Bay Company at Jasper House for three years and at Rocky Mountain House and Edmonton for shorter periods; and on at least one occasion he journeyed past the mountain.[14] But forty years had elapsed since Ogden's departure from Ile-à-la-Crosse for the Columbia when Moberly first wintered at Jasper House. Meanwhile Ogden had become famous and died. But his fame did not die with him, and therein may lie the origin of the story. I am inclined to think that the Moberly letter is an attempt to solve the mystery of Mount Robson by drawing upon the glamorous memory in which Ogden was held by the fur-traders. To quote one example of this, Archibald McKinlay, a co-worker on the Columbia, wrote of him in 1882: "Whenever the Hudson's Bay Company had occasion to send any of their officers on a dangerous expedition, Peter S. Ogden was sure of the berth. His even temper, his great flow of good humor and his wonderful patience, tact and perseverance, his utter disregard of personal inconvenience and suffering rendered him just the man for any difficult and dangerous task. He was greatly esteemed by his brother officers and nearly worshipped by his men and the Indians."[15]

BLACKSMITH ROBSON.

A further story comes to me from Mr. T. C. Young, of Jasper, Alberta, who is interested in the early history of that part of the

(13) On Ogden *see* T. C. Elliott: "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1910), pp. 229–278.

(14) Moberly's autobiography, *When Fur was King*, London, 1929, makes no mention of Mount Robson.

(15) Quoted by Robert E. Pinkerton in *The Gentlemen Adventurers*, Toronto, 1932, p. 321.

country. He says: "During the summer of 1915 I was on the construction of the Canadian Northern Railway [now part of the Canadian National Railways] through the Yellowhead Pass. At the time several lodges of Shuswaps Indians were living at Tête Jaune Cache. One Indian who could speak English very well—he was a man about 60 years of age, I should judge—said that as long as he could remember Mt. Robson was known as Robson's Peak, but he did not have any knowledge of the original naming. He informed me his father who lived with him might have some information relative to the origin of the name, so I interviewed the old man. He was blind and very old, could not speak English, but his son interpreted for him. His story was as follows. One time when he was young man, whiteman shoe horse at junction of Grand and Fraser Rivers, or on the old site of Tête Jaune Cache. The horse kicked the blacksmith and he died from the effects of the kick. He was buried at the place of accident and the mountain was called Robson, that being the name of the whiteman."

It may be interpolated here that other persons who have interviewed Indians on the subject have obtained different stories. Dr. J. M. Thorington, of Philadelphia, an eminent mountaineer, writes: "The Cree Indians call Robson simply 'The Big Mountain,' but this seems to be a modernism; old men, with whom I have talked, say that their tribe never had a special name for the peak."[16] The Kamloops Indians, according to Dr. G. M. Dawson, called it "Yuh-hai-has-kun, from the appearance of a spiral road running up it. No one has ever been known to reach the top, though a former chief of Tsuk-tsuk-kwalk, on the North Thompson, was near the top once when hunting goats. When he realized how high he had climbed he became frightened and returned."[17] In 1871, Mr. A. R. C. Selwyn, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, reported that the Indians told him their name for the mountain signified

(16) J. Monroe Thorington: *The Glittering Mountains of Canada*, Philadelphia, 1925, p. 231.

(17) George M. Dawson: "Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, IX. (1891), Section II., p. 37.

" The lines in the rocks ";[18] and it will be recalled that in 1862 Sellar's guide gave the name of the peak as Snow or Cloud Cap Mountain.

It seems unlikely that there would have been a blacksmith at Tête Jaune Cache as long ago as the story told to Mr. Young would imply; but the latter suggests that the Robson in question might have been a Joseph Robson who is said to have landed at Hudson Bay in 1791. In answer to an inquiry on the point, the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, stated that the Company's ships' logs for 1791 and the *Lists of Servants in Hudson's Bay for 1791–3* contain no reference to any one named Robson, and, further, that a search of their archives for several years before and after the union with the North West Company in 1821 discloses no mention of a Joseph Robson, and that the only man of this name recorded as formerly in their employ served between 1733 and 1747, when he assisted in the construction of the stone Fort Prince of Wales[19]—which brings us to our next story.

JOSEPH ROBSON.

It has been suggested that the mountain may have been named by Thomas Drummond, a botanist who visited the Athabasca district in 1825–1826, in honour of Joseph Robson, author of two books dealing with the Hudson's Bay territories. This Robson was an architect and had to do with the construction of Fort Prince of Wales on Hudson Bay, near the present Churchill. His books were: *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, published in 1752; and *The British Mars*, a treatise upon various military " schemes and inventions," published in 1763. The suggestion is that Drummond had read one or both of Robson's books before leaving England and had been so impressed by their author that when he came upon the mountain he named it after him. This theory was advanced by the late Professor E. S. Meany, for many years head of the Department of History in the University of Washington, in an article entitled *The Name*

(18) Geological Survey of Canada: *Report of Progress for 1871–72*, Montreal, 1872, p. 44.

(19) Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, to W. A. McAdam, Acting Agent-General for British Columbia, London, November 20, 1933.

of Mount Robson a Puzzle.[20] Professor Meany discusses the possibility that the mountain was named by Milton and Cheadle, or by one of the great early explorers—Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, or David Thompson—but rules out all these in favour of the possibility that Thomas Drummond named it after Joseph Robson, architect and author.

Robson's first book (I have not read the second) is largely an attack on the Hudson's Bay Company for its indifference to the great possibilities of the country and the need for westward exploration and the discovery of a North-west passage. Though he was biased against the Company, as he had been dismissed from its service after a quarrel with the governor, Robson's criticisms contain a good deal of truth and many of his prophecies have come true. He warned of the advance of the fur-traders from Montreal and of the probable trouble which the Hudson's Bay Company would have with them, trouble which came sure enough, in the long and deadly conflict with the North West Company, ending only with the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821. He did not travel inland far from Hudson's Bay, but he learned a lot about the vast hinterland and foresaw its agricultural and commercial possibilities. Indeed, he qualifies as one of the earliest boosters of the Canadian Northwest.

But while Robson may have been worthy of having a great mountain named after him, it is most unlikely that Drummond gave the name. Drummond was attached to the second Arctic expedition of Sir John Franklin; but instead of accompanying it to the Arctic he spent the time botanizing about Athabasca Pass and the headwaters of the Athabasca and Smoky Rivers. The accounts of his journey show that he was never near the mountain—probably not near enough even to see it in the distance—and they make no mention of it or of Joseph Robson.[21]

(20) *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIX. (1928), pp. 20–30.

(21) One account is in Hooker's *Botanical Miscellany*, London, I. (1830), pp. 178–219; the other is in Sir John Franklin's *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, London, 1828, pp. 308–313. Professor Meany quotes from a letter from James White which states that it "is practically a certainty" that Drummond never saw the mountain. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIX. (1928), p. 27. For a further reference to this story *see* the Victoria *Colonist*, November 2, 1915.

There remains the possibility that even if Drummond did not name the mountain, it was named after Joseph Robson by some one else. May not some fur-trader have honoured him? I do not think so. At that time, and until comparatively recent years, Robson's reputation was not of the best. He was said to have been actuated by prejudice and revenge because his ideas were rejected by the Hudson's Bay Company.[22] The Nor'Westers would be the only traders who might have had any regard for him, and it was too early for the truth of his prophecies to be understood or appreciated by them. Moreover, a fur-trader would be unlikely to name a mountain after a man dead and gone for many years and known to him only as the author of a book. He would be more likely to name it after some one of his personal acquaintance, either alive or recently dead, for whom he had a high regard. It should be noted that the Mount Robson region was not visited by men of education or science until late years—Milton and Cheadle in 1863 were the first.

COLIN ROBERTSON.

Still another story suggests that Mount Robson was named after " Colin Robertson who served both [the] North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company in Athabasca before and after 1815 and that Francois Decoigne, the fairhaired trader after whom the Yellowhead Pass is named, who also served both the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company, and who was in charge at Jasper house in 1814, named it after his superior officer."[23]

Colin Robertson was one of the most prominent figures in the conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. After several years in the Far West under the latter

(22) Note, for example, the following: " Robson from his six years residence in Hudson's Bay and in the Company's service, might naturally have been supposed to know something of the climate and soil immediately round the Factories at which he resided; but the whole of his book is evidently written with prejudice, and dictated by a spirit of revenge, because his romantic and inconsistent schemes were rejected by the Company." Samuel Hearne: *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean.* London, 1795, p. xxii.

(23) Geographic Board of Canada: *Place-Names of Alberta*, Ottawa, 1928, p. 109.

company, he returned to Montreal and became associated with Lord Selkirk, as close adviser and right-hand man in Selkirk's colonization plans. He it was who selected the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers as the site for Lord Selkirk's colony. "A great empire will be there some day," he prophesied.[24] He recommended measures for making the Hudson's Bay Company more efficient and progressive, measures which were adopted when Selkirk secured control of the Company, and which put new life and energy into the old concern. When hostilities broke out at Red River he took charge of affairs, brought back the colonists who had been driven out by the Nor'Westers, and became acting-governor of the colony. Robertson was an enthusiastic leader, a man of ability, a dominating personality. The hopes of the colonists were revived. Retaliatory measures were taken. Fort Gibraltar, the North West post, was captured and demolished, and its commander taken prisoner and sent to Hudson Bay. The winter express of the North West Company was intercepted and its contents seized. Robertson was charged with violence and indicted; but when brought to trial in Montreal in May, 1818, he was acquitted.[25]

In the fall of 1818, "to fight fire with fire," Robertson led an expedition for the Hudson's Bay Company into the enemy's territory, the Athabasca region, in an effort to ruin the business of the Nor'Westers in that El Dorado of the fur trade, where hitherto their supremacy had been undisputed. Here he was seized by the Nor'Westers and imprisoned at Fort Chipewyan for eight months, during which he kept in communication with his men by an ingenious use of whisky barrels, which is a story in itself.[26] In the summer of 1819 he was sent East under escort to face trial again on the Red River charges, and was threatened with death if he ever returned. While en route by canoe his guards attempted to drown him, but he escaped and they were

(24) F. H. Schofield: *The Story of Manitoba*, Winnipeg, 1913, I., p. 99.

(25) *See* Chester Martin: *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, Toronto, 1916, pp. 97, 98, 104, 106–108, 156.

(26) *See* Schofield: *The Story of Manitoba*, pp. 148, 149; also Agnes C. Laut: *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*, Toronto, 1918, II., pp. 209–218.

drowned instead.[27] He led an expedition into the Peace River district in the winter of 1819–20; and on his way East in the spring was again arrested by the Nor'Westers and again escaped. Upon the union of the companies he was appointed in charge of Norway House, for many years the capital of the fur trade. He died in 1842.

Here was a man to name a mountain after: a virile, vigorous, resourceful, two-fisted fighter of the North; unafraid of anybody or anything; a courageous leader in a great cause, a maker of history; a live hero! To implement the altruistic plans of Selkirk, the visionary Scottish nobleman and semi-invalid, for planting an agricultural colony amid the preserves of the embittered Nor'Westers there was needed the bold and driving force of just such a man as Colin Robertson. Himself a former Nor'Wester, he knew their methods of trade and transportation, and he knew that the best way to fight them was to get the Hudson's Bay Company to adopt the same methods, and this he succeeded in doing. When the Red River colony was torn up by the roots, he it was who replanted it and watched over it. Indeed, if it had not been for Robertson's courage and Selkirk's money things might have turned out quite differently: the conflict probably would have ended in victory for the Nor'Westers and in the eradication of the colony. Although the result of the conflict may be termed a draw, it enabled the colony to survive.

Hated and feared by his enemies, respected and admired by his friends, Robertson was known up and down the fur-trade routes from Montreal and Hudson Bay to the farthest posts in the West. What could be more natural than that one of his admirers should name a great mountain after him?

This admirer, it is suggested, was a French-Canadian fur-trader named Francois Decoigne (or Du Quoin), who entered the service of the North West Company in 1799, a few years before Robertson. They served under the same master, John McDonald of Garth—" of Garth " to distinguish him from other John McDonalds.[28] Decoigne was in the Athabasca district for

(27) On the different versions of this incident *see* G. C. Davidson: *The North West Company*, Berkeley, 1918, pp. 158, 159.

(28) *See* John McDonald of Garth: " Autobiographical Notes 1791–1816," in L. F. R. Masson: *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnia du Nord-Ouest*, Quebec, 1889, II., pp. 23, 29.

several years and for a time was in charge of Jasper House (Rocky Mountain House).[29] Robertson left the North West Company in 1809 and returned to Montreal, where he met Lord Selkirk.[30] Decoigne went to Montreal in 1814.[31] There he was induced by Robertson to leave the Nor'Westers and join the Hudson's Bay Company. He returned to the Northwest in the spring of 1815 and remained for some years.

Further argument in support of this story would run, I presume, as follows: If Decoigne had not already explored the pass through the mountains leading towards Mount Robson, he probably did so now. Competition between the two companies was keen and bitter and all possible haunts of fur-bearing animals were sought out, even in the remotest places. Possibly it was Decoigne who moved Jasper House from Brûlé Lake to Jasper Lake, making it a better post and 25 miles nearer the mountains. He is said to have been the fair-haired trader who had the fur cache at the junction of the Robson (Grand Fork) and Fraser Rivers, the original Tête Jaune Cache, where an excellent view of Mount Robson may be had;[32] and the supposition is that he gave the mountain the name of his friend, now his superior officer, whose courage and heroism were the talk of all the trading-posts.

The name Robertson would easily become contracted to Robson. Most of the men frequenting the region then and for years afterwards were illiterate Indians, French-Canadians, or half-breeds. Decoigne himself, a French-Canadian, would be in-

(29) Gabriel Franchère: *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, New York, 1854, p. 298.

(30) E. H. Oliver (editor): *The Canadian North-West* (Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9.), Ottawa, 1914, I., p. 41.

(31) Franchère: *Narrative*, pp. 303, 354.

(32) *Report of Geographic Board of Canada*, Ottawa, 1924, p. 280. Malcolm McLeod, whose father, John McLeod, was a figure of some note in the fur trade, said: "Tete Jaune was so called from the colour of the hair—not infrequent amongst French Canadians of Breton and Norman French origin—of an enterprising French trapper, of the name of Decoigne, who used this singularly appropriate locality—an immense hollow, but comparatively level, of some 70 square miles in area, amongst the mountains there—for his 'cache' or entrepot in his line of work." *Natural Resources, Canada*, July, 1924, p. 4, quoting the *Montreal Gazette*, 1874.

clined to pronounce it Rob-er-son, and even if he pronounced it correctly they would pass it on as Rob-er-son or Rob'son. The fact that the derivation of the name was forgotten would not be surprising. Decoigne was modest and made no special announcement about it. He left the fur trade in 1818 and returned to the East, where he married in 1821.[33] Colin Robertson's fame continued for a time—indeed, it was expected that upon the amalgamation of the two companies he would become governor; but he was passed over in favour of young George Simpson, with the result that Simpson's name took the place of Robertson's on every one's lips. Moreover, Decoigne's cache was a very out-of-the-way place; few white men had visited it. Even in 1824, when Sir George Simpson travelled overland to the Pacific via Athabasca Pass, the region was little known. He proposed to place a winter establishment at Moose or Cranberry Lake, "to draw the Freemen further into the Mountain than they have been in the habit of going, where they are expected to make good Hunts as it has been rarely Wrought."[34] "Rarely wrought"—yet Decoigne's cache was about 20 miles farther still. The Yellowhead Pass was not used as a trade route until 1827; thereafter it was used occasionally by parties from New Caledonia, who went to the prairies for supplies of hides needed for leather[35]—hence the name Leather Pass. But this was discontinued, and for many years the pass was unused. In 1863 Milton and Cheadle found travel through it "exceedingly difficult and harassing," necessitating "struggling through floods, logs and *debris*," and resulting in the loss of a horse and a load of provisions.[36] These facts give an idea of the inaccessibility of the Mount Robson region until comparatively recent years, and of the ease with which the naming of the mountain has been forgotten.

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(33) Librarian, Montreal Public Library, to the writer, February 15, 1935. The letter states further that Decoigne died at Lachine, Quebec, in 1861, aged 94.

(34) Frederick Merk: *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 30.

(35) *See* McLeod: *Peace River*, p. 31; A. G. Morice: *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1904, p. 153.

(36) *The North-West Passage by Land*, pp. 251, 258.

But this argument cannot stand. There is nothing to show that Decoigne was ever in the vicinity of Mount Robson after his departure from Jasper House in 1814; and according to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, who has very kindly made a search of the surviving records, the latter go to show that Decoigne was elsewhere. His report is as follows:—

So far as we know Decoigne was not in the Yellowhead Pass Region subsequent to 1814, when he was dismissed from the North West Company's service. He was engaged by Colin Robertson for the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the autumn of 1814 and was employed at Montreal during the winter of 1814/15 in engaging men for the service of the Company. In the spring of 1815 he accompanied Colin Robertson from Montreal to Lake Winnipeg. On August 1st, 1815, he bade adieu to Robertson and pursued his way to Lesser Slave Lake, where he arrived on October 18th and remained in charge throughout the ensuing winter. On June 27th, 1816, Colin Robertson includes the following remarks in his journal:—

> "About 12 O'Clock arrived [at Sea River Portage near Norway House] Messrs. Logan and Decoigne, with the melancholy news of fifteen of the Companies servants being starved to Death in Peace River"

and adds a tribute as follows to Decoigne:—

> "Decoigne has done remarkable well at Lesser Slave Lake, he has brought 25 Packs of excellent Furs from there."

Decoigne was again entrusted with the charge of Lesser Slave Lake for the Trading Season of 1816/17, and left Cumberland House for that place on August 13th, 1816. Whilst he was at Lesser Slave Lake he and all the men with him were taken prisoners by Alexander Stewart of the North West Company and the property seized.

Decoigne was appointed in charge of the Athabaska Department for the trading season of 1817/18 and embarked at Norway House for that place on August 31st, 1817, arriving at the "Old Fort" on Lake Athabaska on October 12th following, where he remained until the middle of February and then removed to Fort Wedderburn on the Northern shore of Lake Athabaska—and adjacent to the North West Company's Fort Chipewyan.

After residing here until the end of May 1818, Decoigne returned to Montreal and apparently left the Service. At any rate we have no information regarding his subsequent movements.[37]

All the places mentioned in these records are so far distant from Mount Robson or Jasper House that it seems very unlikely that Decoigne visited either of the latter places. Indeed, this

(37) J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, London, to the writer, September 18, 1935. Published by permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

part of the country was not occupied by his employers, the Hudson's Bay Company, until the union with the North West Company in 1821, and by then he had left the country.

In answer to the suggestion that it was Decoigne who moved Jasper House from Brûlé Lake to Jasper Lake, 25 miles nearer the mountains, the Hudson's Bay Company state that:—

The house on Brulé Lake came into the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company at their union with the North West Company in 1821. The post was still situate here when Governor George Simpson visited it in April 1825, on his way eastward across the mountains from Fort Vancouver to Edmonton. Simpson ordered it to be abandoned, but his intention does not appear to have been carried out, though, possibly because it was merely an outpost, Jasper House is not mentioned at this time in the Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department.

At any rate, the post here was still in existence when Aemilius Simpson, hydrographer of the Hudson's Bay Company passed here on his way across the Continent from York Factory to Fort Vancouver in the autumn of 1826. On October 6th, he (Aemilius Simpson) describes the situation of Jasper House as under in his Journal:—

> "Having followed a bend W N W ½ mile we rounded a Point & entered Jaspers Lake, & crossing the Lake S W 1½ mile, We arrived at the Post."

He also states that "this small Post is situated on the West side & Northern extremity—nearly—of Jaspers Lake which extends North & South —about 10 Miles," and computes its situation to be in Lat. 53° 18′ 40″ N. Long. 118° 38′ 36″ W.

On leaving Jasper House on the following day, Aemilius Simpson states that he ascended the Lake in a southerly direction for 9 miles before re-entering the Athabaska River. As further proof of the fact that Jasper House was at this time in operation Aemilius Simpson mentions the delivery of, "the Outfits for this Post" and in confirmation of the fact that its position was still on Brulé Lake, he states that, on continuing his journey from the post up the Athabaska he encamped the first night "at the base of Milletes' Rock." Shortly after resuming the journey he passed through another Lake—evidently that now known as Jasper Lake.

Edward Ermatinger, in the course of his journey from Fort Vancouver to York Factory, mentions stopping on May 4th, 1827, at Jasper House on his way down the Athabaska and that it was, at that time, still situate on the "2nd or Lower Lake"—i.e. Brulé Lake.

A reference to the "litter" in the store in the Journal of Jasper House on October 1st, 1828, indicates the continued existence of the old post.

The preparations for the removal to the new site on the present Jasper Lake are indicated in the Jasper House Journal of 1829/30, and on March 19th, 1830, Michael Klyne, who was in charge of the Post, says:—

"I went up once more to see the horses and mares and to work at the store and house."

An entry in his Journal on March 29th, 1830, says:—

"I went off to see the horses once more and to work at the house and store."

It is, therefore, evident that the actual abandonment of the old site on Brulé Lake took place when Michael Klyne left with the returns of the post in the spring of 1830, and that he commenced to reside at the post on the present Jasper Lake on his return to the locality in the autumn of that year. There is no mention of the actual removal of the post in the Journal, but on October 5th, 1830, Klyne refers to "the old post" and on November 19th to "the old house" thus indicating that the move had been completed by that time.

The fact that Brulé Lake was still occasionally referred to as Jasper Lake as late as 1846—some sixteen years after the removal of the post to its new position—is borne out by the following extract from Father Pierre Jean de Smet's "Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845/6" (Early Western Travels Series, Vol. XXIX, Pp. 251/2 (Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906)

"Lake Jasper eight miles in length, is situated at the base of the first great mountain chain. The fort of the same name, and the second lake, are twenty miles higher, and in the heart of the mountains."

The opening up of the route through Yellowhead Pass to New Caledonia recorded in Resolve 64 of the Minutes of the Northern Council for July 2nd, 1827, no doubt indicates an additional reason for the continued existence of Jasper House as a provision depot for both the Columbia and New Caledonia Brigades.[38]

As to journals or letters written by Decoigne, the Hudson's Bay Company state:—

We have one Journal kept by Decoigne at Lake Athabaska during the trading season of 1817/18. We also have copies of a few letters written by Decoigne. In these items there is no mention of his having named a mountain after Robertson, or anyone else, and there is only one brief reference to Robertson, this being in a letter from Decoigne to James Bird, Chief Factor at Edmonton, dated at Lesser Slave Lake, January 22nd, 1816, and copied in the Edmonton Journal. This reference is as follows:—

"I request of you to forward a copy of the arrang[e]ment that has taken place between the H. B. Coy & N. W. Coy to Mr. Colin Robertson. I have sent you a letter directed to Mr. Robertson which after your perusal you will be kind enough to seal and send him."

(38) *Ibid.*

No copy of this letter from Decoigne to Robertson has been made in the Edmonton Journal.[39]

As to any mention of Decoigne by Robertson in his journals, the Company says:—

We have in our Archives a correspondence book kept by Colin Robertson during his imprisonment by the North West Company in Fort Chipewyan in the winter of 1818/19. Also a Journal of Events at the post of St. Mary's, Peace River, in the trading season of 1819/20. In neither of these is there any mention of Decoigne apart from a brief reference in a letter from one, Vital Bourassa, to Colin Robertson, dated St. Mary's, Peace River, May 17th, 1820, when he speaks of a gun which had been handed over by the North West Company to Decoigne after the receipt of Col. Coltman's orders to that effect. This was apparently when Decoigne was employed in Athabaska in 1817/18.

In a private Journal or Diary of Events kept by Robertson during the years 1814/17, there are several mentions of Decoigne, but no reference to a mountain having been named in Robertson's honour.[40]

These records seem to force us to the conclusion that the Colin Robertson story is without foundation in fact. At least they would seem to prove that if Decoigne named the mountain after him he must have done so out of pure friendship before he went East in 1814, and therefore before Robertson became famous.

OTHER STORIES.

So much for the six stories of the naming of Mount Robson. Each one may have its advocates; each may have its critics. The reader can take his choice; or, he may bring forward another story, for there may be other stories.

It has been said, for example, that the mountain was named by one of the several parties of gold-seekers who travelled overland from the East to Cariboo by way of the Yellowhead Pass in 1862.[41] A Robertson and a Robinson crossed at that time, and there were other men whose names are unknown. Their journey was even more adventurous than that of Milton and Cheadle; several were drowned in descending the Fraser.[42] There was a John Robson in the Cariboo in 1863, for his death

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) *Ibid.*

(41) See *Canadian Alpine Journal*, XIV. (1924), p. 111.

(42) *See* Wade: *The Overlanders of '62*, pp. 119–126, 166, 169.

is recorded. He was a Canadian, but whether he came overland is not known.[43]

Another possibility is that the mountain may have been named in honour of Commander Charles Rufus Robson, of Her Majesty's gunboat *Forward*, who died at Esquimalt on November 5, 1861, from the effects of a fall from his horse. A monument to his memory stands in the old cemetery in Victoria. He is said to have been of a heroic type, one of his exploits being the rescue of the crew of an American vessel wrecked on the west coast of Vancouver Island, for which the American residents of Victoria petitioned President Buchanan that Robson be accorded national honours by the United States Government.[44] Apparently this was not done; but some of the American gold-seekers en route overland to the Cariboo may have honoured him by conferring his name on the great peak which they passed.

Our conclusion then is that a real mystery exists as to the naming of Mount Robson. Let us hope that some day some one will solve it.[45]

A. G. HARVEY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(43) Victoria *Colonist*, November 26, 1863.

(44) *Ibid.*, November 8, 1861.

(45) Mr. T. C. Young, of Jasper, Alberta, contends that the mountain had a name as early as 1827 and quotes from a journal (now unavailable) of George McDougall, a fur-trader who passed the mountain in that year en route from Fort St. James to Fort Carlton and return, in which the mountain was mentioned as " Mt. Robinson " or " Mt. Robson " (Mr. Young contradicts himself as to which). Mr. Young's letter, together with criticisms by Mr. J. N. Wallace and Father A. G. Morice, is in the Provincial Archives.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The author's reference to George McDougall's journal (note 45, *supra*) deserves more detailed mention. In July, 1924, Mr. T. C. Young, of Jasper, Alberta, visited Fort St. James and was permitted to examine certain of the old records then preserved there. Amongst them he found the journal of George McDougall, one of the first traders to cross the Rockies by way of the Yellowhead Pass. The portion of the journal describing the journey was copied by Mr. Young; and according to his

transcript the party left Fort St. James on April 17, 1827. Under the date April 25, there is the following entry:—

> Arrived at Tete-Jaune Cache, after encountering very heavy travel. The men were nearly exhausted, and one of them died of a vile disease. Tete-Jaune Cache, is a place where one an Iroquois Indian half Breed who was fair-haired, had made a fur-cache, or a place to store his Catch of furs, and was known as Tete-Jaune Cache, or Yellowhead. It is near the meeting of the Grand River—which flows from the Base of Mt Robinson—and the Fraser River.[1]

Mount Robson is undoubtedly the mountain here referred to as "Mt. Robinson"; and the latter name may either have been used in error for Robertson or Robson, or may indicate the original name of which Robson is a corruption. Unfortunately at this late date it is exceedingly difficult to judge the accuracy, and therefore the value, of the McDougall diary. The original journal consulted by Mr. Young has disappeared, and all efforts to ascertain its fate have been unsuccessful. Father Morice quotes from a George McDougall journal which he examined when preparing his *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia;* but neither the dates nor the text he gives agree with those in the transcript made by Mr. Young. To add further to the confusion, the dates of McDougall's journey, as indicated by the records in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, agree with neither version.[2]

The reference to Mount Robson appears only in the Young transcript, and is much the earliest mention of the peak yet discovered. This suggests the necessity for further examination and research.

W. K. L.

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(1) Quoted from the original notes made by Mr. Young at Fort St. James, July 19, 1924 (now in the Provincial Archives).

(2) The dates given in each instance may be tabulated as follows:—

	Morice.	Young.	H.B. Archives.
Left Fort St. James	March 18	April 17	March 13
Arrived Tête Jaune Cache	March 30	April 25	.....
Arrived Jasper House	April 18	May 4	April 12

Morice: *History*, p. 155; J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, London, to the Canadian Committee, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg, January 22, 1934; original transcript of McDougall's journal by T. C. Young (in Provincial Archives). It is pertinent to note that at the time Mr. Young visited Fort St. James he was not aware that the origin of the name of Mount Robson was a mystery.

MY FATHER: WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE.*
1812-1886.

The name of my father, the late Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, is prominently connected with the pioneer days, and perhaps an outline of his activities in the Pacific Northwest from the time of his arrival, in 1833, until his death, will be interesting to you.

These were all active years. I say active because he was energetic and I cannot remember a single instance in his later years that would indicate indolence on his part, and he certainly did not permit anything that had the appearance of laziness during the growing years of his family.

My mother passed away in 1880, when I was 13 years old. My father died six years later. During these six years I was practically at his call continuously, and it was during this time that he helped me so greatly with my studies, which I have had reason to appreciate ever since.

Before delving into my subject I am simply giving you a few general impressions, so that you may have some idea of the character of the man.

I said a moment ago that he was energetic; and as an illustration, one of his favourite sayings was that an hour in the morning was worth two at night. We usually retired about 9 p.m. We arose at 5 in the morning and foregathered in his library about 5.20 a.m., and there we would go over my lessons for the day—Euclid, Algebra, Latin, French, and Greek. He was an excellent scholar in all these subjects. At 7 o'clock our studies were over, and I packed up my lunch and books and walked from 7.30 until a quarter to 9 to the public and high schools of Victoria, at the corner of Yates and Fort Streets. It was three-quarters of a mile, without any sidewalks, from the house on the farm to the nearest public road.

My father also taught me boxing. I remember he secured the services of a boy who was two years older than I, and how that fellow used to hammer me I will never forget; but I had to stand up and take it, because I had the utmost respect for

* The revised text of an address delivered before the British Columbia Historical Association, November 23, 1934.

what my father could do to me in the event of my failing to obey orders. He had often rehearsed on my six older brothers. My first riding lessons were also interesting. I can remember the Saturday afternoon when I received the first lesson. I fell off three times; and after he caught the horse my father's instructions were very brief, consisting of just two words: "Climb on."

My father came from Inverness and was inspired with Scottish thrift. I shall never forget the purchase of suits for the seventh son. The idea was not to buy a suit that fitted me, but first to get one that I would not outgrow before it wore out. He was particular about the lasting qualities of the material; and I can see him yet trying the cloth to see if it would wear well.

He was a great student and reader and possessed a good library. He led a clean life and was a strict disciplinarian with his growing family. He was a profound student of religion, and though he did not attend church latterly on account of slight deafness, he insisted upon the family going and upon the younger members attending Sunday School. He obeyed the law and expected others to do likewise. He had a deep appreciation of the Pacific Northwest, and great faith in the future destinies of British Columbia, whose claims he never tired of backing.

William Fraser Tolmie was born in Inverness, Scotland, on February 3, 1812. He received a sound but not expensive education at private schools in Edinburgh, and subsequently studied medicine at Glasgow University, from which he received the degree of M.D. in 1832. On September 12 of the same year he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, as physician and surgeon; and three days later, on the 15th, he sailed from Gravesend for North-west America in the sailing-ship *Ganymede*. He celebrated his twenty-first birthday on the way out, but his diary does not indicate how. It would perhaps be interesting to know.

The *Ganymede* travelled by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, and arrived at Fort George (Astoria), at the mouth of the Columbia River, on May 1, 1833. Three days later my father reached Fort Vancouver and reported to Dr. John McLoughlin, the Chief Factor in charge. He began his work as medical officer and clerk immediately, and learned that it was

intended that he should pay a brief visit to a new post at Nisqually, on Puget Sound, and then be stationed at Fort McLoughlin, which had been built in the spring of the year on Milbanke Sound. After the long sea voyage he preferred to travel overland from Fort Vancouver to Nisqually, where he arrived after a pleasant journey of some twelve days on May 30. At that time the post consisted of only one half-built store building, and the site of the fort proper had not yet been definitely chosen.

Early in June one of the men at Nisqually was seriously injured; and as he would require skilled attention for a considerable time, it was decided that Dr. Tolmie should remain there for the present. For part of the time the post, and the building operations under way there, were placed in his charge. "Recollected as I scampered along," my father noted in his diary on June 23, after he had been out riding, "that the past week was the second anniversary of my trip to the Trossacks, last year at this time I was officiating for a few days at the Cholera Hospital and this year am commander of a trading post in a remote corner of the New World with only a force of six effective men in the midst of treacherous, bloodthirsty savages, with whom murder is familiar."

My father was an enthusiastic botanist; and perhaps the most important result of his longer stay at Nisqually was that it enabled him to make a botanizing and exploring expedition to the vicinity of Mount Rainier. He set out on August 29, 1833, accompanied by five Indians. He had hired his guide for the trip for a blanket, and the guide's nephew for ammunition. The other Indians went along in the hope of killing elk and deer. The expedition was poorly and cheaply equipped and suffered many hardships. Travel was through virgin country with no trails, and the party crossed swollen streams of icy water from the glaciers, and slept out under the trees on the side of the mountain in heavy rain. It was quite a change for a 21-year-old Cheechako, fresh from Scotland, but his diary gives a remarkably cheerful account of the whole affair.[1] On September 2, and

(1) The portion of Dr. Tolmie's diary recording the expedition has been published several times. The most accurate and accessible text is probably that in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I., pp. 77–81 (October, 1906).—W. K. L.

again the following day, he reached the summit of the peak now known as Tolmie's Peak. From this point Mount Rainier "appeared surpassingly splendid and magnificent," and he was able to see small glaciers on the conical portion; but he was not able to climb the great mountain itself. Time was short, and the Indians, who entertained a racial superstition of the giant spirits who lived among the snows, were loath to advance above the timber-line. Indeed, it seems that it was only by stressing his search for medicinal herbs that Dr. Tolmie persuaded them to go as far as they did.

This was the first attempt made by a white man to ascend Mount Rainier, and the first observation of living glaciers within what is now the United States. For many years these facts were overlooked; and credit for the first climb towards Mount Rainier, and the first report of glaciers, was given in published records to Lieutenant (later General) A. V. Kautz, the date of his expedition being 1857. Thanks largely to the efforts of the late Professor E. S. Meany, of the University of Washington, a former president of the Mountaineers' Club of Seattle, Dr. Tolmie's claims to priority are now known and acknowledged. On September 2, 1933, the National Park Service of the United States and the Rainier National Park Advisory Board invited a number of people from the State of Washington and from British Columbia to attend a centennial celebration and the dedication of a Mowich, or Tolmie, Entrance to Mount Rainier National Park. To serve as a reminder of the rude life of the pioneer, the National Park Service constructed an entrance typical of a Hudson's Bay Company post of one hundred years ago. On the gateway is a bronze plaque recording the significance of the celebration, to serve as a permanent record of this first exploration of the mountain by Dr. Tolmie in 1833. Several descendants of Dr. Tolmie were present, and I was very proud to be asked to take part in the ceremony.

The trip to Mount Rainier by Dr. Tolmie was fruitful in more ways than one. He discovered and recorded many new plants which bear his name. He also secured the skins of many birds, including that of the Macgillivray's Warbler (*Oporornis tolmiei*), which was named after him by Dr. J. K. Townsend.

On December 12, 1833, Dr. Tolmie left Nisqually on board the schooner *Cadboro*, bound for Fort McLoughlin. He arrived on December 23, after a tempestuous voyage, in the course of which the *Cadboro* more than once almost came to grief. A. C. Anderson, Donald Manson, and my father spent Christmas Day together, and celebrated the event with a rifle-shooting tournament. Later, Dr. Tolmie's diary tells us, they " Passed the evening very agreeably. Sang several old Scotch ditties and the other gentlemen also tuned their pipes." They drank Mountain Dew, whatever that may be; and the Doctor claims that he was " the only person who awoke in good trim " the next morning, and did not suffer from headache and thirst. We do not seem to have changed very much in the last century. The fellow who tells the story still insists that he never had any headache, and never felt badly at all. It is all so human.

Dr. Tolmie remained at Fort McLoughlin for five months, and then joined a party under Peter Skene Ogden, bound for the Stikine. They sailed in the brig *Dryad* on May 30, 1834. During the voyage Dr. Tolmie read Ross Cox's *Columbia River*— " a work," he noted in his diary, " which has made much noise at home." As I have said already, he was a great reader; and the previous winter, while at Fort McLoughlin, he and Donald Manson " conceived the idea of establishing a circulating library among the officers of the company . . . The officers subscribed, sent the order for books and periodicals to the company's agent in London; the books were sent out, and as everybody had subscribed, they were sent to all the forts throughout the length and breadth of the land. The library was kept at Fort Vancouver, subscribers sending for such books as they wanted, and returning them when read . . . This was the first circulating library on the Pacific Slope, extending from 1833 to 1843."[2]

The *Dryad* called at Fort Simpson, then situated on the Nass River, on June 15. To understand her mission, it must be recalled that in 1833 Roderick Finlayson, an able officer of the Company, who later married an aunt of mine, had been sent north by the Hudson's Bay Company on a scouting trip, to find a site for a trading-post which would intercept the furs then reaching the

(2) H. H. Bancroft: *History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, p. 63 (quoting Dr. Tolmie).

Russian establishments in Alaska, from what is now the Northern Interior of British Columbia. The Stikine was found to be the chief trading route of the district, and in 1834 Peter Skene Ogden was sent to erect a fort on that river; but he found the Russians blocking the entrance to the territory, and the Indians of the area allied with them. Dr. Tolmie's diary gives an interesting account of the progress and failure of the negotiations which followed. As he was unable to come to any understanding with the Russians, Ogden and his party had to withdraw. On the return voyage southward Ogden moved Fort Simpson from the site upon which it had first been built by Captain Simpson in 1831, on the Nass River, to the present site of Port Simpson; and my father gives a graphic account of the evacuation of the old post, which was abandoned to the natives on August 30.

Dr. Tolmie remained at Fort Simpson for a time, but arrived once more at Fort McLoughlin on November 3. His description of the New Year festivities on January 1, 1835, is worth quoting: "The men after breakfast visited us in the dining hall and after the compliments of the season received a couple of drams. In the evening they assembled in the same apartment and danced with great vivacity till 10—to vocal music. Manson and I danced several reels. The Canadians possess a natural ease of manner equally remote from the free and aisy of the Emerald Isle and the sheepishness so characteristic of the Sawney. They sung several paddling songs. Our two Iroquois danced the war dance of their tribe with great spirit, and the S[andwich] Islanders sung Rule Britannia tolerably well. They all seemed to enjoy themselves highly."

Another entry in the diary made about this time will be of interest. Under the date December 11, 1834, Dr. Tolmie wrote as follows: "Have of late been frequently enquiring amongst the Indians about the rock on which Sir Alexr. McKenzie made the inscription on his arrival at the Pacific. They talk of a rock marked with vermilion about half a days journey hence which I am to visit tomorrow." The next morning my father set out as planned, and the Indians piloted him to "a bare rock partially washed by the tide" upon which were "some Indian hieroglyphics marked with red earth"; but from the course they had

followed to reach it, Dr. Tolmie concluded regretfully that it could not be Mackenzie's Rock.

In the spring of 1836, Dr. Tolmie left Fort McLoughlin and was stationed at Fort Vancouver, where he remained until 1841, when he was granted permission to visit his homeland. He left Fort Vancouver on March 22, 1841, by Hudson's Bay Express, being one of a party in charge of George T. Allen, headed for York Factory, on James Bay. They travelled via the Columbia River to Walla Walla and Fort Colville; and on April 25 left the latter point with two boats and fourteen men. Ten days later, on May 4, they arrived at Boat Encampment, the highest point on the Columbia to which a boat can be used. From this point they travelled on foot and with snow-shoes, where possible, the travel being heavy with soft snow. Proceeding north-eastward, they came to the headwaters of the Athabasca River, the valley of which they followed. On May 10 they met their horses, and on the 12th reached Jasper's House. Taking to boats once again, they proceeded to Fort Assiniboine, from which horses carried them to Fort Edmonton, where they arrived May 20. The next day they started down the Saskatchewan River, and on the 25th reached Fort Carlton. Having reduced their baggage to a minimum there, Mr. Allen and Dr. Tolmie started across the plains, bound for the Red River, in company with an Indian guide and three men. Fort Garry was reached on June 10, and a fortnight later they set out once more for James Bay, by way of Norway House. York Factory was reached finally on July 4, after a journey from Fort Vancouver which had lasted three months and twelve days.

Most of these details have been taken from Mr. Allen's very interesting diary. He and my father travelled the whole distance together, and it is amusing to read his complaints about Dr. Tolmie's temperate habits, the latter never having accepted a drink of liquor on the whole journey, while Allen had an adequate supply. This is a day of records—aeroplane flights, sports, etc.—but I have no doubt I am right in claiming for my father the record of having travelled from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic by canoe and horseback without taking a single drink of alcoholic liquor. Surely this must be a record for a Scotsman.

At York Factory my father boarded a ship and proceeded to London. While in Europe he visited France and took a post-graduate course in medicine there. While in Great Britain he had acquired a knowledge of Spanish, having in mind an appointment to the Hudson's Bay post at Yerba Buena (San Francisco); but when he returned to Fort Vancouver, in 1843, he was stationed at Nisqually instead—this time as superintendent in charge of the Nisqually farms of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, which had taken over the farming and kindred operations of the Hudson's Bay Company. Dr. Tolmie retained this post until 1859. While he was in charge at Nisqually the foundation live stock was mostly imported from California, and they were of Spanish breed, very much the type of the old Texas longhorn, nearly all horns and legs. In body conformation they looked as though they were bred for speed rather than beef. Nearly twenty years ago I saw in the Buckhorn Saloon in San Antonio, Texas, two specimens of horns from this breed of cattle, one set being 6 feet 6 inches from tip to tip, and the other set 7 feet 3 inches. As my father established such an outstanding record for temperance on his trip to York Factory, I think that I should mention here that I entered the saloon for the sole purpose of seeing the horns.

The farming operations of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually were quite extensive. In 1846 the farm possessed 8,312 sheep, 3,180 cattle, and nearly 300 horses. As early as 1841 they were milking 200 cows and making cheese and butter which, in addition to supplying the forts, was sold to the Russians in Alaska. They sold 15,000 bushels of grain in one year to these people. Hides, horns, tallow, and wool were exported to Great Britain, providing additional cargo for the Company's ships. Some of their surplus stock was sold to American settlers. In 1854, Dr. Tolmie made a drive of 3,000 surplus sheep to the Willamette Valley, going as far as Eugene, Oregon. Good prices were secured, and the trip is said to have been very profitable. This source of food and breeding stock was a great boon to early settlers before they were well established.

From the time of his arrival in this country Dr. Tolmie made a careful study of Indian languages, and he acquired a very good knowledge of them. This was useful in trading, and also in his

medical work among the Indians. When the Indian War broke out in 1855–56, his knowledge of these languages was of great assistance in bringing about peace. Shortly before his death, in collaboration with Dr. George M. Dawson, Dr. Tolmie compiled a comparative dictionary of Indian languages in British Columbia.

In 1846 the Oregon boundary award gave the Americans title to what is now Oregon and Washington. As a result, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company were removed in 1849 from Fort Vancouver, Washington, to Victoria, which thereafter became the chief trading-post. In July, 1859, Dr. Tolmie himself moved to Victoria, where he took over the management of the Puget Sound Company's farms on Vancouver Island, and also became one of the three members of the Board of Management of the Hudson's Bay Company. He retired from both services in 1870.

Years before this he had obtained a tract of land near Victoria, comprising 1,100 acres, where he settled and where he resided until his death, which occurred on December 8, 1886. This was known as Cloverdale Farm. The house my father built there in 1859–60 is still in an excellent state of preservation, and has been kept as nearly as possible in its original condition. It is now more than 75 years old, and it is interesting to note that the original stucco coating is still in first-class condition. It was the first stone private dwelling-house built in what is now British Columbia. The kitchen and the rear of the house are constructed of hewn Douglas fir; and this timber is still perfectly preserved. The doors, sashes, and mouldings were imported from California, and are made of California redwood. Wright & Saunders, of San Francisco, were the architects. Needless to say, many functions of interest have taken place in this old home. Among the striking features in the grounds are the original acacia trees imported from Fort Vancouver, one of the largest oaks on Vancouver Island, estimated to be 800 years old, some very excellent Oregon ash, and a fine specimen of California redwood, planted about the time the house was built. This is the house in which I was born, and which I acquired when I became Premier of the Province, in 1928.

Among other interesting things that my father did was to import quail from California, in 1866. They were kept in confinement for some time in what we used to know as the "quail-house." I remember it very well, as it was in existence for some years. The descendants of these quail are still to be seen every day in the grounds of Cloverdale.

My father took a deep interest in public affairs. Before the jurisdiction of the United States Government was extended to Oregon and Washington a provisional government, in which both British and American subjects participated, managed affairs there; and in June, 1846, Dr. Tolmie was elected to represent Lewis County, Washington, in the House of Representatives. This House met at Oregon City on December 1, and the members were sworn in the next day.

In 1860, after he had moved from Nisqually to Victoria, my father was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island, and remained a member until the union of the Crown Colonies in 1866. He took an active part in the proceedings of the House. The old records show that in 1860, for example, he introduced a bill relating to the laying-out and repairing of roads—then, as now, an important subject in this Province. The same year he introduced a bill for the protection of persons aiming at the improvement of live stock; and in this year, too, he introduced a motion relative to the improvement of postal communications with the Mother Country. He also moved for a Select Committee to draw up a petition to be forwarded to Her Majesty regarding the future management of Indians.

Dr. Tolmie's keen interest in live stock has been indicated. In 1865 a *Stock and Carcass Act* was passed, supposedly for the purpose of protecting the producer of live stock on Vancouver Island. The import duties imposed by the Act were heavy; and the measure was opposed by a group led by my father, who claimed it would retard the development of farming on account of the lack of breeding stock. In 1866 Dr. Tolmie moved successfully for the reduction of these duties, and they were lowered substantially, that on cattle being cut from $4 to $1 per head. Finally the Act was rescinded altogether; and when the free importation of live stock was resumed, my father showed his interest in herd improvement by importing a pure-bred Short-

horn bull from California, the first to set foot on the Island for a private owner.

After British Columbia joined the Dominion, Dr. Tolmie represented Victoria District in the Legislature. He was elected in February, 1874, at the by-election necessitated by the resignation of Amor De Cosmos, who was a member of the House of Commons at the time and vacated his seat owing to the abolition of dual representation. Dr. Tolmie was re-elected at the general election held in 1875, and retired from political life in 1878. Among the measures introduced by him were *An Act to amend the Law of Trespass so as to provide for Summary Jurisdiction in certain cases, An Act to prevent the Spread of Thistles, An Act to prohibit the Sale or Gift of Intoxicating Liquors or Drugs to Minors and to prevent the frequenting of Liquor Saloons by such Persons,* and *An Act respecting Breeding Stock.* He was also responsible for a resolution urging upon the Federal Government the establishment of Indian Agencies throughout the Province, which was duly passed.

Dr. Tolmie took a great interest in education, and was a member of the first Board of Education, which was appointed in 1865. The first meeting of the Board was held on June 2, and was attended by His Excellency Governor Kennedy, who explained the provisions of the *School Act* and submitted a memorandum thereon. My father was elected chairman of the Board, but resigned this office, in spite of the protests of his colleagues, in June, 1867. A sharp difference of opinion existed between the Board and Governor Seymour at that time, and Dr. Tolmie seems to have resigned in order that he might take a more direct part in the meetings. In any event, the minutes show that he either moved or seconded most of the resolutions passed between that date and March 9, 1869, when the Board adjourned *sine die.* The record of the first Board of Education is very interesting. It made a gallant fight to maintain the system of free education that had been inaugurated on Vancouver Island, but as Governor Seymour was not in favour of free education it was forced through inadequate provision of funds to give up the unequal struggle. This was one of the first fights for free education in this section of the continent.

After the Crown Colony joined the Dominion in 1871 the *Public School Act* was passed on April 11, 1872. By this Act a new Board of Education was created for the Province, consisting of the following persons: W. F. Tolmie, M. W. T. Drake, A. Munro, A. J. Langley, R. Williams, and E. Marvin. Dr. Tolmie continued to act as a member of this Board until it was abolished by the *Public Schools Act* of 1879. The report of the Superintendent of Education for the year ending July 31, 1877, states that at the Teachers' Convention held that year there were present forty-seven teachers and Dr. Tolmie, and that the latter " gave a sketch on the relation of teachers, trustees and parents, and impressed on the teachers the necessity of inculcating the 'Golden Rule' as the best means of securing the highest morality."

After leaving the service of the two companies he kept on improving his herd of live stock and continued deeply interested in this work until his death. He always took a keen interest in agriculture, and in the development of agricultural exhibitions; and in 1862 was the first president of the Victoria Agricultural Association.

His interests were by no means confined to live stock. In 1833 he brought dahlia seeds from Hawaii to Fort Vancouver; and students of history may care to know that they were planted on May 7 in the garden under a frame. On May 18, when leaving for Nisqually, my father paid them a farewell visit, and noted in his diary that the plants were by that time " nearly an inch high and numerous." This is the first recorded importation of dahlias into the Pacific Northwest, and there are now thousands of varieties of the plant in this section of the country.

The same year he also brought seeds of the acacia tree from Hawaii to Fort Vancouver, and these trees have done remarkably well in the Northwest. It is recorded that in 1857 Dr. Tolmie sent strawberry plants from Nisqually to James Douglas at Victoria. I do not know whether or not there is any earlier record of the domestic strawberry in British Columbia.

Dr. Tolmie's deep interest in the plant-life of this country was due no doubt to his early training in botany; and from the time of his arrival on the Pacific Coast he collected specimens of plants, which he sent to his friend Sir William Hooker, the cele-

brated naturalist, at Kew Gardens, in England. As a consequence there are a number of flowers and shrubs named after him, among which are *Saxifraga Tolmiei, Carex Tolmiei,* and *Tolmiea Menziesii.*

In 1835, when my father was stationed at Fort McLoughlin, a number of Indians from the north end of Vancouver Island came to trade. The blacksmith was at work at his forge, and when he put more coal on the fire the Indians were very curious. They asked him where the coal came from, and he explained that it took six months to bring it by ship from Wales. He noticed that they were greatly amused and asked what was so funny about it. The Indians replied that it seemed funny that the white men should carry this soft black stone so far when it could be had without expense close at hand. The blacksmith called Dr. Tolmie, and the Indians told him there were places on Vancouver Island where he could get all the soft black stone he wanted, as it cropped out of the ground. My father then notified Dr. McLoughlin, at Fort Vancouver, who ordered the steamer *Beaver* to stop on her next voyage to see if the Indians were telling the truth. The result was the discovery of the coalfield at Beaver Harbour and the founding of Fort Rupert some years later, when the Hudson's Bay Company determined to undertake mining operations there. The venture was not a commercial success, but the finding of the Beaver Harbour seam nevertheless ranks as the first important discovery of coal in British Columbia.

My father strongly favoured Confederation and was an enthusiastic advocate of a transcontinental railway. For the latter he favoured a route through the Yellowhead Pass, reaching the coast at Bute Inlet, crossing by ferry or bridge to Vancouver Island and terminating at Esquimalt. He fought hard for this route, but after it had practically been decided to adopt it, and rails had been unloaded at Esquimalt, the change was made to the Kicking Horse Pass and a terminus on Burrard Inlet.

Dr. Tolmie frequently contributed articles to the press pertaining to the devolpment of this country and took a great interest in public affairs. When I was a boy I used to drive him to town on Saturdays, which the average boy has for a holiday; and I sat for hours outside newspaper offices and other places while he was talking politics with somebody. I thought it was

a very poor way to spend Saturday, but as I look back on those days I feel that I might have been worse occupied.

One cannot study the work of the early pioneers of the Pacific Northwest, on both sides of the line, without the deepest possible appreciation of what they have done for us in laying the foundation of this great section of the North American Continent, a section which, owing to its geographical situation, bountiful resources, and excellent climate, seems destined to be one of the most important centres of commerce in the world.

S. F. TOLMIE.

"CLOVERDALE,"
VICTORIA, B.C.

As this number of the *Quarterly* goes to press we have received, with the very deepest regret, news of the death of Dr. Tolmie.

SIMPSON TO TOLMIE.

To attain the rank of Chief Factor in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company was Dr. Tolmie's most cherished ambition; and the letter from Sir George Simpson quoted below throws interesting light upon the circumstances of his promotion. The original letter is preserved in the Provincial Archives.

Hudsons Bay House
Lachine 28. January 1856

Private

My dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge your favor of 29. March last and should have answered it sooner, but deferred until I could have the pleasure of congratulating you on attaining "the prize" as you call it, for which you have been working—a Chief Factorship, to which rank you have been promoted as from the 1. June next.—My visit to England was opportune, as far as regarded your interests, as after the nominations were sent in, in which you were recommended for promotion, it proved there was but one Factorship to fill up, which, as McNeill[1] had the majority of votes, was conferred on him. It so happened at this conjuncture, that news reached us of the death of poor Paul Fraser,[2] and I lost no time in recommending that the half share that would thereby become vacant on 1. June 1856, should be applied to your promotion as originally contemplated, to which arrangement the Governor and Committee assented. It is true you will get but 1½ share for O[utfi]t. 1856 (with two full shares in 1857)[3] but you are secured your step beyond chance of miscarriage had you to be balloted for again, when the next Factorship falls vacant.—

By my late advices from Fort Vancouver, I learn you have had considerable trouble with the Indians in your part of the country, but that by good management you have secured the Company's property from pillage, while at the same time you have maintained, or rather improved, your friendly relations with the American officials.[4] This is very satisfactory

(1) Captain William Henry McNeill (1803–1875), who arrived on the Pacific Coast in 1831 in the American brig *Llama*, which was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1832. He was the second captain of the pioneer steamer *Beaver*, which he commanded from 1837 to 1843. Later he was in charge of several trading-posts, and retired in 1863.

(2) Fraser was killed by a falling tree on Manson Mountain in 1855, while travelling from Kamloops to Victoria.

(3) Forty per cent. of the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company went to the "commissioned gentlemen" in the service—the Chief Traders and Chief Factors. The sum available was divided into 85 shares, 7 of which were credited to a retiring allowance. Each Chief Trader received one share; each Chief Factor two.

(4) The boundary settlement of 1846 placed Nisqually in American territory, and American settlers made every effort to secure possession of the extensive farming and pasture lands there which were claimed by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. It is to the settlement of these claims and the counter claims that Simpson refers later in the letter.

and creditable to your discretion and careful attention to the public interests.—I regret to notice there was a loss on the Fur Trade operations at Nisqually last Outfit, but hope they may do better this year, otherwise we must there, as elsewhere in the Oregon Department, discontinue business when it ceases to cover expenses.—On Puget Sound Co's affairs I shall not touch, as you will have communications direct from London: that concern is not doing very well on Vancouver's Island, where the system of making heavy advances to persons holding farms on halves must be discontinued. I hope you are watching the interests of the Association in getting their claim secured by the U/S authorities, who in conducting their survey should lay out the boundaries we claim, leaving it for the Company and the U/S Government hereafter to settle, whether the whole, or only a portion (to be agreed upon) of such claim shall be confirmed to them. We make little progress in our negociations at Washington, although there is a drive on the part of the President and Cabinet to close with us, but frustrated by the proceedings of Congress, which after being seven weeks in session has not commenced business, being unable to elect a Speaker for the House of Representatives.

I returned here about a fortnight ago from England, where I saw many of our old acquaintances. There is little news worth noticing from hence, and from the interior the advices are tolerably satisfactory. With good wishes,

Believe me
My dear Sir
Yours very truly
G Simpson

William F. Tolmie Esq
Nisqually

TO THE FRASER RIVER MINES IN 1858.

Written records describing the early days of the Gold Rush to British Columbia in 1858 are few. The adventurers were seeking gold and that alone. They were too busy to set down, at the time or even later, the details of their experiences in this country. There may have been writers amongst them—we know that Bret Harte came at least as far as Point Roberts—but we hear nothing from them. If letters were written home, they were private letters, and have not come to light. Hence the discovery of a detailed account of a trip in June, 1858, from Whatcom, in Washington Territory, via the Fraser and Harrison Rivers, and the intervening lakes, to the spot where the town of Lillooet now stands, and thence down the Fraser, is a real find, and one which all students of the history of British Columbia will appreciate. Such is the Gardiner letter hereto appended.

The route described was afterwards opened, first by trail in the autumn of 1858 and then by road in 1860, and was the principal route to the upper reaches of the Fraser until the opening of the road through the Fraser Canyon, the Cariboo Highway of to-day. We have several accounts of journeys over this route after it was made available to traffic by the construction of roads between the lakes, and the operation of steamers upon the lakes themselves; but, so far as the writer is aware, Gardiner's account is unique, in that it describes travel prior to the opening of the trail.

The possibilities of travel over this route were, of course, known to the Hudson's Bay Company. It had been considered at one time as a possible road from the coast to the interior; but upon investigation it was found to be too difficult for ordinary use, and an alternative route was chosen instead. There were some Indian trails between the lakes, but nothing more. It was not until September, 1858, that the first through trail was completed under the supervision of Governor Douglas.

It is indicative of the interest of the world at large in the reports of gold on the Fraser River that this letter should have been discovered in a newspaper called *The Islander*, published in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. Its existence was first called to my attention by the late Henry C. Shaw, for many

years Police Magistrate in Vancouver, who obtained for me the copy from which the letter is now reprinted. The writer of the letter was a prominent resident of Charlottetown for many years, and Mr. Reuben MacDonald, the present editor of the Charlottetown *Patriot*, has kindly furnished some particulars of his career.

Charles Coulson Gardiner was a native of Bedeque, Prince Edward Island, and was born in 1835. As a young man he was attracted by the reports of gold in California, and left for that far-off western land. Even in 1858, when he came north to the Fraser River, he was only 23 years of age. One wonders if he would have gone through with the adventure had he been older, or if he would have turned back when his party lost most of their provisions on the Lillooet River. But his splendid physique and natural force of character, and his strength nurtured on the Island farm where he was reared, brought him through in safety.

He made considerable money in California, although his trip north did not add to his savings, and he did what so many of his fellow-adventurers failed to do—he brought it back to Prince Edward Island with him. On his return he became interested in business, first in his native village of Bedeque and later in Summerside. Tiring of mercantile life, and strongly drawn to the farm, he sold out and went to Charlottetown, near which city he purchased a large property which he operated for many years, specializing in cattle-raising and the breeding of heavy draught horses. He took a great interest in agricultural matters generally and was one of the founders of the Prince Edward Island Exhibition. He died as recently as July 24, 1924, in his ninetieth year. All old residents of the Island knew him well and speak of him with respect and esteem.

In reading the letter we must remember that Gardiner had no means of measuring distances accurately, and that his statements in this regard were merely rough estimates. Owing to the care he took to make matters intelligible to the readers of *The Islander*, very few notes are necessary, and most of these refer to place-names which have come into use since the days when our Island friend paddled his boat up the Fraser.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

FRASER RIVER OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

To the Editor of *The Islander*.

Sir:

As I have just arrived from British Columbia, or what is more commonly called Fraser River, and informed myself to a considerable extent concerning the facilities of obtaining gold in the New Eldorado, I have come to the conclusion I would write a few lines for publication in the columns of your widely circulated paper, for the benefit of my friends, and inhabitants of P. E. Island generally, if any there may be who have an idea of emigrating to that country.

No doubt you are aware that about the 1st of May last a great excitement arose, and spread quickly over the lands of California, Oregon and Washington Territories, proving equally infectious to men of all vocations—the merchant, the farmer, the mechanic and miner—that gold in abundance was found on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. I being, perhaps, like many others, of somewhat an excitable disposition, left, on the 20th May [1858], a mining town in the interior of California, and proceeded to San Francisco, where I found the excitement even more intense than in the mountains—the greatest credence being given to the stability of the reports, they going unanimously to prove the country could not be surpassed in richness with gold.

After no little deliberation respecting the most accessible way of getting to the new mines, I concluded I would go by the way of the Dalles,[1] that being a route by trail across Oregon and Washington Territories, to the Thompson River, in the British Possessions. Accordingly I left San Francisco on the last day of May, for Portland, O[regon] T[erritory]; but on my arrival there found that Col. Steptoe, with a company of U. S. soldiers had just been repulsed by the Indians who were reported to be very hostile all through that section of the country. Consequently, under such circumstances, I thought it more prudent to proceed across Oregon and Washington Territories to Bellingham Bay, where, to my astonishment, I found the excitement, combined with American enterprise, had already two towns in course of erection, viz; Seahome and Whatcome [now Bellingham], the latter of which there was some talk of incorporating, it being then about four weeks old. These places were allowed by the old Pioneers of California to bear a strict resemblance to San Francisco in 1849, especially in two particulars. The hundreds of tents which were squatted in every direction, and the great amount of gambling which was practised in every saloon, restaurant, and accessible place throughout the towns.

Some thousands men were waiting there at that time in the greatest dilema, not knowing which way to proceed to the new mines. Fraser River being so high could not be ascended for two months, a sufficient distance to reach the main diggings, on account of the current running so swiftly through the Big Canon, forming rapids, which would be impossible to navi-

(1) On the Columbia River, in Oregon.

Map to illustrate Gardiner's narrative.

gate at that stage of water. Nevertheless, many would form in companies, buy a canoe, lay in from three to six months' provisions, and start, working their way as far as possible, until the river fell. Others would assert they would wait for the trail, which was then in operation of being cut through the country, across the Cascade Mountains to Thompson River, at the expense of some Land and Town Lot speculators, who were determined to have the great depot and centre of trade, effected by the new mines, on American soil.[2] The balance of the men were divided in opinion, the weaker, or perhaps I may now justly allow, the wiser, being disgusted with the chances of getting to the New Eldorado, resolved to return to California.

When the more determined, and those who persisted in getting to the Upper Fraser, and that immediately, took by way of preference what is called the Harrison route, and the only route that turned out to be practicable at that time, though many had much doubt of its practicability, thinking it would be quite impossible to pack the provisions across the Cascade Mountains, over which the old Indian trail was supposed to run. But I having received some information from a gentleman of the Hudson Bay Co. to the effect that the trip would be hard nevertheless could be accomplished, came to the conclusion I would join in with a company, and decided on going that way. Accordingly my partner and I linked in with a company of six, purchased a large Indian canoe, for which we paid $135, laid in about four months' provisions, mining tools, etc., etc. and on the 25th day of June, left Whatcome, Bellingham Bay, for the Upper Fraser, via Harrison River, or Lilcoot [Lillooet] route.

The first day out we were favored with a good strong breeze, which caused us, as we were very deep loaded, to ship some water, as well as to reach across Georgiana Bay [the Gulf of Georgia] that evening to Sandy Point,[3] where we camped; and next morning after taking a good breakfast of pork and beans put out again, and crossed Semiahmoo Bay, camping that night in the mouth of the Fraser River, which we perceived to be a large stream and the first British water I had seen for some time. We the next evening reached Fort Langley, a distance of forty miles from the mouth of the river, where my curiosity was at last satisfied in seeing one of the oldest trading posts belonging to the Hudson Bay Co. on the Pacific. What constitutes the Fort is an enclosure of high and large pickets, containing about 25 buildings, strongly built of logs the roofs of which are covered with bark. The chief part of these buildings are used as dwelling houses for the officers and men, stores, fur rooms, cooper shop, etc. It is built on the bank of the river, and for the protection of the company in case of an outbreak with the Indians.

During my stay there what is called the Brigade Train, happened to arrive from New Caledonia, a country situated west at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, for whom quite an interesting Ball was given, as a welcome for their annual visit; the great number of furs which they bring going to

(2) *See* R. L. Reid: "The Whatcom Trails to the Fraser River Mines in 1858," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVIII. (1927), pp. 199–206, 271–276.

(3) Semiahmoo, opposite the town of Blaine.

prove their last year's success in trading with the savages in that desolate part of the country. To this ball I received an invitation, which I, with much pleasure attended, and was not a little surprised at seeing the company composed of so heterogeneous a kind. There were the English, Scotch, French and Kanackas[4] present, and their offspring, and all so thoroughly mixed with the native Indian blood, that it would take a well versed Zoologist to decide what class of people they were, and what relation they had to each other; though that will cause you but little surprise, when you are informed that almost all the Co.'s wives are the native Squaws, their children, which are called half breeds, as a general thing, being quite fair, docile and intelligent. The Ball was conducted with the best possible decorum. The music was sweet, from the violin, and the dancing was performed in the most graceful manner, by the Indians and the half breeds, who took a very prominent part on that occasion. I retired to my tent about twelve o'clock leaving them still enjoying their mirth to the utmost extent.

On the following morning we again started, and the following day reached the mouth of the Harrison River, a large stream emptying into the Fraser from the left. That being our route, we thought it prudent to hire an Indian pilot, which we did, and proceeded up the river a distance of ten miles, where a large lake presented itself to our view, called Harrison Lake, which we crossed, being a distance of 75 miles.

After landing, at a short distance we perceived three tents, belonging to some white men, whom we were much pleased to see, and who informed us that the swift running stream emptying into the lake was called the Lilicoot [Lillooet] River. They also stated that some companies were ahead of us; and that the Indians would not go any further as pilots, as they were afraid to venture their lives on the river at that stage of water, the current being judged to run, by sea-fareing men, at about 14 knots. We first concluded to wait, as they intended to, until the water fell. We waited three days but on close examination found the river still rising, and thought it best to proceed onward.

During those three days, several other companies arrived, bound upward, three of whom started in company with us. We had prepared ourselves with a strong tow-line of about 200 feet in length, it being quite impossible to row or paddle against such a current; but were so unfortunate the second day out as to upset our canoe and loose some $350 worth of stuff, the principle of which were our meat, sugar, rice, molasses, indeed I may say all of our provision kind except flour and coffee. We also lost five of Colt's Revolvers, which at that time and ever after, while in the country, we much needed as the Indians from hence, through to Fraser River proved to be in many instances very hostile.

The upsetting of our canoe was nothing more than an accident, which most every company experienced, many not only losing their grub, but their lives. We very nearly lost two of our men, but were providentially saved by catching hold of the branches of a leaning tree, as the current was taking them swiftly down.

(4) Kanakas were natives of the Hawaiian Island.

After getting our flour ashore and dried, we held a consultation whether we should go on with only our flour and coffee, any further, or return; but one moment's thought respecting the new mines being so rich immediately dispersed all fears of trying, which we did, after fitting up our canoe.

The more minute particulars which would be too tedious to relate, while on that rapid stream, I shall pass over, by giving only the synopsis of the principal events during the 23 hard working days we were getting up the river, a distance only of about 35 miles. Every day of the 23 we were in the cold water most of the time, with our heads out, but very frequently with them under, an unpleasantness which could not be avoided, in passing the line outside the trees and brush which grew on the banks of the river, when the water was low, but were now submerged half way to their tops. Those nights we passed in sleeping in our wet clothes, or part of them only, as each in his turn had to keep watch, with revolver in hand, that the Indians did not steal our provisions, as well as Mamaloose[5] us while asleep. Notwithstanding our guard, every few mornings one or the other of the companies would have something missing that the Red Skin had stolen at night. Indeed it is considered as impossible to keep them from or detect them stealing, as it is to detect the celebrated Wizard of the North in his tricks of legerdemain.

We were also put to much trouble in having to make, in several places, a portage of our canoe and provisions, in order to avoid the Canons which the water ran so swiftly through, as to form currents running almost in every direction, they again making whirlpools, which we noticed would immediately suck down the drift timber, and would not come to the surface, a distance of 200 feet below. Notwithstanding all those privations, and the very laborious work we executed on that stream, we arrived safely at its head, where we found a lake of 5 miles breadth [Little Lillooet or Tenas Lake], and never was the oasis on the sandy desert more welcome to a weary traveller, than it was to us. We then thought we had gone through our most dangerous ordeal, which was the case.

We camped on its banks that night in high spirits, and next morning after a not very hearty breakfast on bread and coffee, started across the lake, when we came to a swift little river of 2 miles, which took us one day to navigate. We came then to another lake of 15 miles [Lillooet Lake]; that we crossed, after which we went up a river of 5 miles, at the head of it being a beautiful valley of some thousand acres, on which was situated a large Rancharee of Indians, the most of whom were naked, and appeared somewhat hostile. This we soon ascertained was the starting-in point of the Indian trail leading to Fraser River.

After a recruit of a few days, we, with much difficulty, hired, for some clothing, a number of Indians to help us pack our stuff across the portage, but had much trouble with them in keeping the villains from stealing their packs and returning home again. I, as well as some of my partners, had the moderate weight of 100 pounds in our packs, which we all allowed would,

(5) Kill (Chinook jargon).

at least, be 200 pounds by the time we would have our trip performed, as it kept getting heavier, or we weaker, every hour we travelled. But on the evening of the third day the work was accomplished and we again beheld another beautiful lake [Anderson Lake] which had not a ripple on its surface.

The portage which we crossed was 40 miles by the trail, which we were much surprised at finding so level, there being a kind of gap through the Cascade Mountains, having but some trifling elevations of ground.

At this lake a great number of Indians were also camping, and who, after going through a great many military evolutions, allowed us to pitch our tents, where we stayed for two days; and on the morning of the third, the old chief consented—though not without many preliminaries—to take our company across the lake in his canoe, which he did to our satisfaction, and where we were met by 200 of the largest and most hostile natives we had yet seen. They were each armed with a musket and knife, besides an innumerable number of bows and arrows; the two former they purchased from the Hudson Bay Company. Their faces were painted with a red and black substance, always used by them when going to war with another tribe. We hired some of them to help us pack our stuff across a 2 mile portage, when we came to another lake [Seton Lake], and there camped, though much against their will as they wanted us to go a mile further up to their ranch, so that they could have a better opportunity of stealing from us. The Chief told us if we did not go he would keep us there ten days, and take our provisions from us. We made him believe we did not understand him, as the only way we could converse with them was by signs. They then cocked their guns and levelled them at our heads, a very common occurrence in that country, and by which many poor fellows have lost their lives; an accident there but little worse than loosing your provisions, as the country is altogether destitute of any support for a white man. After a little while they became less excited and many went to their camp. There were only seven of us in company and, believe me, we slept but little that night, expecting every moment they would be down upon us, though we were not disturbed until very early in the morning, when two made their appearance, offering to take us across the lake in their canoe. We bargained with them, giving them a shirt and blanket, as money they do not know the value of. We started with them, but much to our dissatisfaction, when opposite their ranch, they steered the canoe for the shore, where about fifty Bucks were in readiness to receive us, thinking we were going so soon it would be their last chance to pilfer. I was sitting in the bow of the canoe where our cooking utensils were. A big fellow stepping down, snatched the camp kettle and ran off. I jumped out and gave him chase, but only a short distance, until two guns were cocked and levelled within a few inches of my head. Discretion being the better part of valor, especially in a crowd like that, I returned and walked back to the canoe. In a few moments the old Chief came down with the kettle in hand, which we had to buy back, my partner taking the handkerchief from his neck, gave it to the old Chief, who gave it then, in our presence, to the villain who took the kettle. The Chief then

asked us for some Mucamuc (food). We told him we had none, when he seemed quite vexed, and again took the kettle, which we had to purchase the second time with some flour. We concluded then, had we not lost our revolvers, we would sell our lives as dear as possible, though our number was only as one to fifty, after a few yells from them would be given. After a great deal of trouble they let us go, and I felt very much like as if we had got out of a pretty bad scrape, and I guess the other boys felt the same. We got across the lake about noon, a distance of 18 miles, where we found another portage of 7 miles. We loaded 6 big Bucks, as well as ourselves, pretty heavily, and started, leaving you to imagine, better than I can describe, our delight that evening in seeing Fraser River; the same stream we had left some 40 days ago, and were now about 400 miles from its mouth,[6] and where the gold diggings were reported to be the best.

We found quite a number of men camped on the river banks, the most of whom had come by trail from the Colville Mines in Washington Territory, and who were forced to kill their horses and mules, the flesh of which they had been subsisting on for the last 4 weeks. Flour we soon ascertained (if there was any for sale) was worth $125 per 100 lb., meat of all kinds $1.75, beans $1.00, and everything else in proportion.

Fraser River was still very high, and the miners informed us they could only make from two to five dollars per day, that not being sufficient to grub them the way provisions sold, and there was not a probability of it getting much cheaper for some time.

Five of us in Company pitched our tent, fixed up our mining tools, and went to work. We prospected up and down the river a distance of 40 miles each way, and could find gold in small quantities most any where on the surface of the bars, which were then getting bare, as the river fell. The gold is much finer than any found in California, and found in a different deposit. On Fraser River what has been dug has been found within three to eighteen inches of the surface, in a kind of sand being underneath a very pretty gravel, but no gold in it. In this country it is just the reverse, in sand like on Fraser, we can find nothing in California, but in the gravel, and the nearer we approach the bed rock, the coarser the gold, and the richer it pays. We found a bar which prospected better than any other in that section, and set in to try our luck. We worked early and late, averaging from $3 to $5 per day. We washed out dirt in rockers, using quicksilver, not then being able to save all the gold, it being so fine, much would float off, and some rusty that would not amalgamate. After working there about six weeks our stock of provisions was getting nearly exhausted, and we concluded to pack up and start down stream. I for one was getting tired of living on bread and water alone, for long since the Indians had stolen the coffee. Not any of the miners within fifty miles of us at this time were making grub, at the price of provisions; indeed it was hard to get it at any price, as few had it to spare. The river had fallen quite low, and where we expected, as in California, to find it rich, we could make

(6) Gardiner almost invariably overestimates distances, the correct figure in this instance being about 205 miles.

nothing. Men began to think it a great humbug, and the glowing accounts of Fraser River became gradually pronounced a fiction. The natives there were all so very troublesome, stealing and pointing guns at men was a prominent feature of their character. A few nights before we left the bar, one of them [entered] while five of us were asleep in the tent, and stole several pieces of clothing, as well as fifty pounds of floor, worth then the sum of $60. One of the boys happened to awake, and saw him coming in for another load, but by giving the alarm a little too soon, the scamp made good his escape. Next morning we were much amused when the man who detected the thief stated that both pairs of his pants were gone, but had a very good idea who had taken them. As I before suggested, we packed up our duds and started down the river, by an Indian trail, meeting every day hundreds of men coming up, all stating that the mines were of no account. They were all bound for a place called the Fountain,[7] which they heard was very rich, but up to my certain knowledge they could not make a dollar per day within five miles of it. We proceeded onward to Fort Yale, making every inquiry about the mines the general pay being from two to four dollars per day. Men at this time were coming into the country by thousands, as a great many new routes had been opened, one in particular by which a great many travelled,—a trail from Fort Yale up the river along its banks, crossing the Cascade Mountains. We went down that way, and after a journey of six days, arrived at Fort Yale, where we found quite a nice little town, which had been built up during the excitement, but was now about on a standstill, as bad accounts had come down from the upper mines. My partners there and then, as well as myself, resolved to return to California, not having faith in the mines. The hills are all composed of rock, which, in my estimation goes to prove the mines in that country can never be extensive. We took a boat at Fort Yale, and went down to Fort Hope, another of the Company's trading posts, fifteen miles below, between which two places the mines have paid better than in any other place on the river, but they being so very shallow were soon worked out. The next day we left Fort Hope that night reaching Fort Langley, a distance of 60 miles. We proceeded from there to Victoria, Vancouver's Island, which is now quite a town containing about 1000 inhabitants. Its location is very much like that of Charlottetown, and I have no doubt that in a few years it will be quite as large, as the mines, if not so rich [as] in California, will help it much; besides a great part of Vancouver Island is very fertile, and has at the present time many fine farms on it. The climate is good, resembling that of P. E. Island in summer, but much milder in winter, more resembling the climate of the Middle States. The climate of Fraser River is hot in summer, and cold in winter. The river near its mouth has been known to be frozen over for 4 months at one time. The country on each side is very mountainous, and can never be adapted for farming purposes.

Governor Douglas, governor of Vancouver's Island, and its dependencies, I had the honour of seeing at Victoria, who has a very good house, and

(7) Fourteen miles above the town of Lillooet.

pretty location, and is considered, I believe, a very plain and fine man. His wife is a lady from Red River Settlement. His daughters are rather nice looking, and seem to have a great deal of attention paid them by the Officers of the man-of-war ships, two of which have been there this summer, the *Satellite*, and *Plumper*, the former of which had the collecting of Licences from the miners, as they went up the river. Another large 74 gun-ship had lately arrived on that station, from South America. Contracts of some thousand dollars have been given out for the building of barracks. They are also building a large Court House and Police Office, the Government intending to have Victoria for its head quarters, as a military and naval station on the Pacific, like Halifax on the Atlantic. I almost forgot to mention that those two towns at Bellingham Bay, Seahome and Whatcome, which were so flourishing in the spring, faded as the season advanced, and are no more; as the rush all coming to Victoria, caused town lots there at one time to sell at high prices.

I left Victoria about the middle of October, when times were rather dull on account of such a reaction. Instead of hundreds leaving there daily for the mines, as they did a short time ago, there were that number coming back, on their way to California, pronouncing the diggings a humbug; many of them without a dollar in their pockets. We had a pleasant time down in the steamship *Pacific*, only taking us three and a half days to San Francisco, California; a country a little the best of any I have seen on the Pacific, both in climate and productions, and where I think I shall stay, in spite of all other gold excitements, until I leave for the Atlantic side again.

I am afraid, Mr. Editor, I have taken up too much space in your columns, and shall conclude by saying I should not advise any one from P. E. Island to come to Fraser River, with the intention of making his fortune; and I'm quite sure, speaking from experience, nothing will be gained by going for anything else, as the trip is a very expensive and laborious one.

C. C. Gardiner.

Michigan Bluffs, Placer County,
California,
November 17, 1858.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

A. G. Harvey, of Vancouver, a former alderman in that city, has published a number of articles upon interesting problems and personalities relating to the history of the Province.

The Hon. Dr. Simon Fraser Tolmie, P.C., M.P., V.S., was Federal Minister of Agriculture in two administrations, and Premier of British Columbia from 1928 to 1933.

INDEX TO VOLUME I.

Subscribers who intend to bind the *Quarterly* will please note that a title page and index to the first volume, which is completed with the publication of this issue, will be distributed with the January, 1938, number.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, on October 8. There was a good attendance, in spite of the fact that many other meetings and social events were being held in the city the same evening.

The Secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree, presented a report which gave details of the recent growth of the Association. A year ago the membership was 70; on October 1, 1937, the total had risen to 412. The Victoria Section reported 133 members; the Vancouver Section 192. Members-at-large numbered 87. The latter represent practically every section of the Province, as well as other parts of the Dominion, the United States and Great Britain; but it is hoped their number may be increased substantially during the coming year, as the Association and the *Quarterly* become more widely known.

The presidential address was delivered by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, his subject being *Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island: 1844–1865*. The revised text of this address will appear in an early issue of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. T. A. Rickard, President of the Victoria Section, spoke briefly upon the Drake plate, recently discovered in California. He suggested a number of tests which might be made and which, in his opinion, would go far to determine whether or not the relic is genuine.

The Secretary reported that the ballot of the membership had resulted in the election of the following officers and councillors for the year 1937–1938:—

President	Dr. W. N. Sage.
1st Vice-President	Dr. J. S. Plaskett.
2nd Vice-President	Mr. K. A. Waites.
Honorary Secretary	Mrs. M. R. Cree.

Honorary Treasurer	Mr. E. W. McMullen.
Members of the Council	Mr. J. M. Coady.
	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.
	Judge F. W. Howay.
	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
	Major H. T. Nation.

Dr. Sage, President-elect, then took the chair, and in the course of his remarks outlined the substantial contribution to historical research which is now being made, year by year, by graduates and undergraduates of the University of British Columbia.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Similkameen Historical Association.—The regular quarterly meeting was held in July, and the annual meeting in September. At the former some interesting reports were received on old trails and "lost" mines in Similkameen. It is planned to place a marker upon the site of the old Hudson's Bay post at Keremeos.

The sixth annual banquet of the Association was held on Thursday, September 9. Over 150 persons attended. Mr. S. R. Gibson was in the chair, and spoke of the work of the Association during the year. The Honorary President, Mr. J. A. Schubert, of Tulameen, who arrived in Kamloops with the Overlanders in 1862, told of early days in Lillooet, Cariboo, and Okanagan. Mrs. R. B. White, of Penticton; Mrs. D. Innis, of Keremeos; and Mr. M. P. Williams, of Kelowna, brought greetings from kindred historical bodies. Rev. J. C. Goodfellow spoke on the place of the prospector in Similkameen history.

At the quarterly meeting in October Mr. C. R. Mattice will read a paper dealing with the Great Northern Railway and its operations in the Similkameen valley. [J. C. GOODFELLOW, *Secretary.*]

THE MUSEUM OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

BY NEAL M. CARTER, F.R.G.S.

(Director, Pacific Fisheries Experimental Station, Prince Rupert.)

As it is both the terminus of the Canadian National Railway and the most northerly port of call in Canada for Alaskan tourist steamers, Prince Rupert early felt the need of a museum which would serve as an attraction for the many tourists who spend from an hour to several days in the city. Even more important, the area of British Columbia is so immense that the flora and fauna and geographical and geological features of the northern portion of the Province, as well as its indigenous Indian population, are sufficiently distinctive to warrant local preservation for educational purposes and scientific study.

In 1924 Mr. H. F. Pullen, editor of the Prince Rupert *Daily News*, sounded out the feelings of the citizens through the medium of articles and editorials; and in November of that year an interested group of five persons met, under

Mr. Pullen's chairmanship, to discuss ways and means of instituting a museum. The manager of the local branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Mr. Campbell, gave permission to house in the lobby of the Bank what exhibits were on hand, and so a nucleus was formed. Those interested formed themselves into a Museum Board and endeavoured to raise funds through the sale of associate membership cards; but progress was slow, and as the years passed interest flagged and the meetings of the Board became fewer and fewer.

Late in 1934 widespread interest was aroused by a report that the remains of a strange sea monster had been found on an island some 30 miles from the city. Before the skeleton was positively identified as that of a basking shark, Prince Rupert's "sea serpent" had become a nine-days' wonder in the world press. Popular opinion demanded the preservation of the skeleton that had brought so much publicity to the city, and interest in a museum was thus reawakened. Almost simultaneously with this episode, the City Commissioner, Mr. W. J. Alder, had well under way a plan to purchase and erect in the city a representative collection of totem-poles from near-by Indian tribes; and the interest shown by tourists in these poles furthered the idea of a more suitable museum to house other Indian exhibits.

Mr. Alder was able to secure the unused second floor of the Public Library for museum purposes, and the exhibits in the Bank of Commerce were transferred thereto. Campaigns were put on by local organizations to raise funds, and many citizens contributed oddities of one nature or another. The Museum was particularly fortunate in its Indian collection. Specimens of dried native foods, ceremonial robes, masks, etc., were contributed by various tribes. The Museum regained possession of an excellent collection of Indian curios and artifacts belonging to the estate of Dr. Hyde, who had resided for many years in the Nass River district. A still more valuable acquisition was a collection of some fifty-five specimens of carved slate (nephrite) totems from the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands. These were gathered by Mr. George Cunningham, of Port Essington, and have an interesting history, as they were the product of a competitive expression of art on the part of Chief Edensaw, of the Haidas, and a crippled boy born of parents who had been brought to the Islands as a result of a raid amongst some mainland tribes.

The Indian exhibits naturally predominate and comprise over half the total items on display. As opportunity offers, exhibits are being secured which illustrate the industries of the region. Forestry exhibits and mineral and marine forms may be less attractive to the tourist, but they lend themselves even more readily than Indian curios to educational purposes. Careful arrangement and labelling adds much to the interest and value of the whole. It is the aim of the Board to make the Museum both representative and characteristic of the area in which it is situated, and for this reason the acquisition of material having no particular relation to the North is not encouraged. Space is already at a premium, and an extensive exhibit of the pulp and paper industry has been donated but cannot be shown at present. In view of this, and the fact that the number of tourist visitors

(over 2,000 in the three summer months of 1937) severely taxes standing room at times, serious consideration has been given to the possibility of moving into larger quarters devoted exclusively to the Museum.

The officers and members of the Board are as follows:—

Honorary President	Hon. T. D. Pattullo, Premier of British Columbia.
Honorary Vice-President	Olaf Hanson, Esq., M.P.
President	R. L. McIntosh.
Vice-President	Canon W. F. Rushbrook.
Secretary-Treasurer	R. H. W. Bartlett.
Honorary Curator	Dr. N. M. Carter.

Members of the Board:—

W. J. Alder, Prince Rupert City Commissioner.
Rev. W. E. Collison, Skeena Indian Agent.
Mrs. J. B. Gibson, President, Caledonia Diocesan W.A.
C. G. Ham, Prince Rupert Junior Chamber of Commerce.
Dr. J. T. Mandy, Resident Mining Engineer.
A. E. Parlow, District Forester.
H. F. Pullen, Editor of the *Daily News*.

Mr. N. L. Jones was appointed custodian of the Museum when it was opened in its new quarters, early in the summer of 1936. A unique feature is the daily attendance, during the tourist season, of the Rev. W. H. Pierce, who, though nearly 90 years of age, is proud of his Scottish-Indian parentage and can still recall vividly many of the interesting and historic episodes in the early development of Christianity among the Indians of the Northern Coast. He is designated official Guide to the Museum, and gives a most interesting lecture on its Indian exhibits soon after each tourist steamer docks. On request, he demonstrates the "drum dance" and can still sing with vigour the ancient "paddle song." His fund of legends is immense; and his character and genuine background make him a distinct attraction.

In 1934 attention was drawn to the fact that financial assistance for certain museum work might be secured from the Carnegie Corporation, and application was made to Mr. H. O. McCurry, Secretary of the Canadian Committee, for a grant of $1,500. This was finally received early in 1937, and is being used judiciously to further the development of the Museum and to make it of greater educational value.

INDEX TO THE VICTORIA *COLONIST:* 1858–1871.

Some years ago work was started by the Provincial Archives upon an index of the Victoria *Colonist*, which is the oldest existing newspaper on the Pacific Coast. The first issue appeared on December 11, 1858, and the file therefore covers all but the first few months of the gold-rush era. The intention was to carry the index through the Crown Colony period, to 1871; but work was discontinued during the depression, following staff reductions. It was finally resumed in November, 1936, and completed in September of this year. The index has had to be rechecked and to a great extent remade

from the beginning; and the whole of the work has been done by Miss Inez Mitchell, who has discharged her task with the most painstaking care.

Some idea of the scope of the index may be gained from the fact that it extends to over 24,000 cards and at least 75,000 entries. References are arranged chronologically under proper names and subjects. Only some one who has had occasion to consult old newspaper files can realize what an immense saving in time and labour the existence of the index makes possible.

It is hoped that before long it will be possible to supplement the *Colonist* index with an index of the *Victoria Gazette*, the first newspaper published in what is now British Columbia. The latter first appeared in June, 1858, and thus chronicles the six extraordinarily interesting and eventful months which preceded the founding of the *Colonist*. To this should be added, as soon as circumstances permit, the earliest newspapers published on the Mainland—the *New Westminster Times* (1860) and the *British Columbian* (1861), the latter of which is still flourishing at the age of 76.

For over twenty years the daily newspapers published in Victoria and Vancouver have been indexed by the Provincial Library, as part of its Legislative Reference service. Though an immense work remains to be done upon the 1871–1915 period, the Library and Archives in combination have now advanced almost half-way to their mutual objective—a newspaper index covering the whole period from 1858 to the present day.

MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS.

THE MAYNE AND WILSON JOURNALS.

Few accounts of early days in this Province are as interesting or valuable as that given by Commander R. C. Mayne in *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, which appeared in 1862. Lieutenant Mayne, as he then was, arrived at Esquimalt in H.M.S. *Plumper*, a survey ship, in 1857, and served in her until she was relieved by H.M.S. *Hecate*, at the end of 1860. Thoughout that period Mayne kept a journal; and this most interesting record of his work and adventures, later used as the basis of his book, was recently acquired by the Provincial Archives. It contains considerable material not included in the printed narrative, some of which at least is worthy of publication. The manuscript is bound in a single volume of nearly 400 pages, and is in a perfect state of preservation.

In his journal Mayne records the arrival of the British Boundary Commission, in 1858, the members of which were conveyed to the Mainland in the *Plumper*. By a curious coincidence the diaries of Lieutenant C. W. Wilson, R.E., who served as Secretary of the Commission, were presented to the Archives only a few weeks after the receipt of Mayne's journal. The two volumes were the gift of Wilson's son, Major-General Francis A. Wilson, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., of Farnham, Kent. They cover the entire period of his service in British Columbia, which extended from 1858 to 1862, and give an absorbing account of conditions and events as the Commission saw them in the boundary country, from the Gulf of Georgia to the Rockies. Lieutenant Wilson was born at Liverpool in 1836, and was therefore only 22

when he came to British Columbia. Following his return to England he served with distinction in Asia Minor and Egypt, and as Director-General of the Ordnance Survey. He was knighted and retired with the rank of Major-General in 1898, and died in 1905.

HELMCKEN AND BLANSHARD.

Through the kindness of his daughter, Mrs. Edith L. Higgins, the Archives recently acquired a collection of the personal papers of the late Dr. J. S. Helmcken, first Speaker of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island. Dr. Helmcken entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as long ago as 1849 as medical officer, and in 1850 was stationed at Fort Rupert, then the centre of coal-mining operations. The same year he was appointed Magistrate by Governor Blanshard; and perhaps the most interesting papers in the present collection are the personal letters from Blanshard which he received following this appointment. These are supplemented by contemporary letters from Captain Robert Brown and others, and also by much later correspondence with Blenkinsop, whose memory of events at Fort Rupert was stirred by the publication of Bancroft's *History of British Columbia*, in 1887. The collection also includes letters received by Dr. Helmcken when Confederation was the great issue of the day, and notes and memoranda upon the question compiled by him.

NAVAL AND RAILWAY SURVEY RECORDS.

The British Admiralty has generously deposited in the Provincial Archives three large volumes of original *Records of the Senior Naval Officer stationed at Esquimalt*. These relate to the period from 1866 to 1898, and consist in all of nearly 1,200 manuscript pages. The earlier volume especially will be of great interest and use to students of local history.

Much light is thrown upon the history of the surveys which preceded the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a series of fifteen diaries recently presented to the Provincial Archives. These were compiled by the late Marcus Smith, while in charge of various survey parties, and were the gift of his son, Arthur G. Smith, of Vancouver. The first diary is dated 1872, and those which follow carry the narrative to within a few months of the driving of the last spike, in 1885. Though the diaries are the property of the Archives, a reserve has been placed upon their use by the public before 1939.

OTHER ACCESSIONS.

It is impracticable even to list all the manuscripts which have been received, but a number of items call for special mention. Copies of records in the Hudson's Bay Archives relating to the history of Kamloops were courteously furnished by the Company some time ago to Mr. F. Henry Johnson, who in turn has deposited these transcripts and photostats in the Archives. Mr. Barrie Goult has likewise presented the copies of records relating to the *Princess Royal* sent to him by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Miss Aurora Hunt, of Banning, California, has presented transcripts of a series of letters received by her father, the late George Hunt. Eleven of

these are from his friend Richard Wells, and were written from Cedar Creek and Barkerville in 1866–68. Mr. D. Lay, Resident Mining Engineer at Hazelton, has sent to the Archives an interesting record from another mining district—the ledger kept in the general store of Ezra Evans at Manson Creek, in 1872–1882.

A most interesting gift was received from Mr. L. H. Borde in the form of a large manuscript volume entitled *General Notes relating to the Victoria Fire Department*. It contains minutes, records of fires and fire alarms, and annual reports dating from November, 1872, to September, 1885. In those days the Department consisted of three volunteer brigades—the Deluge Engine Company, the Tiger Engine Company, and the Union Hook and Ladder Company. The Fire Chief was elected by the rank and file and bore the title of Chief Engineer.

Rev. George Cockburn, who has spent much time investigating early church history in British Columbia, has compiled a manuscript entitled *Some Persons and Places in Anglican Church History*, and deposited it in the Provincial Archives. It is a most useful work of reference, for it is arranged alphabetically, and a summary of the history of any church or clergyman, in so far as it has been ascertained and relates to British Columbia, can be turned up in a moment. Of kindred interest is a series of extracts from the records of the Colonial Church, Victoria (1856–68), and of Christ Church Cathedral (1874–75), which have been carefully copied from the originals and presented to the Archives by Mr. Hollis Slater.

A copy of the diary of James Cran, who travelled from Vancouver to Dawson in the Klondyke rush of 1898 in the interests of the Bank of British North America, has been made by kind permission of Mrs. Cran. Gifts of collections of miscellaneous papers have been received from Mrs. Hugo Beaven and Mrs. J. D. Seymour, and transcripts of an interesting series of early letters have been presented to the Archives by Dr. R. L. Reid.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

A Checklist of Crown Colony Imprints.

The checklist which follows is intended to be the first of a series which together will constitute, as nearly as possible, a complete bibliography of printing and the press, in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. This first list includes no newspapers, and likewise omits many documents issued more or less regularly by the Governments of the Colonies, such as the journals of the House, the estimates, etc., as well as the official *Gazettes*. Proclamations, ordinances, bills, and acts have also been excluded. The intention has been to list all known individual publications and fugitive items, whether sponsored directly by the Government or not. It is highly improbable that the list as here presented is complete, and it is hoped that libraries and collectors possessing additional items will communicate with the Provincial Archives, in order that these may be noted in a supplement.

In the preface to *The Fraser Mines Vindicated,* Alfred Waddington characterises it as " the first book published on Vancouver Island," and a word should be said regarding the controversy to which his statement has given rise. Conclusive evidence is available that it was the third, and not the first book (or, more correctly, the first pamphlet) published on the Island. Waddington's preface is dated November 15, 1858, and the *Victoria Gazette* for November 13 announced in an advertisement that David Cameron's *Rules of Practice* was just off the press. Later in the month the *Gazette* printed a pamphlet giving the text of the various proclamations issued in connection with the formal establishment of the Crown Colony of British Columbia on November 19; and though the exact date is not known, it seems to be clear that *The Fraser Mines Vindicated* did not appear until early in December.

1. *Addresses and Memorials,* together with Articles, Reports, &c., &c., from the Public Journals, upon the occasion of the retirement of Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., from the Governorship of the Colonies of Vancouver's Island, and British Columbia. Deal: Edward Hayward, Victoria Printing Office, Broad Street, 1864.
   74p.O.

Printed cover.

The significance of the word "Deal" is not clear. There is every indication that the booklet was printed in Victoria, but it is possible that it was printed in Deal, England.

2. Batterton, J. H.

Facts and Acts, what has been done and what is going on in British Columbia. A Letter to the people of British Columbia, by One of Themselves. Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1860. Price 25 Cents.

16p.sq.S.

Cover lacking.

An attack upon the Government of the Colony.

3. Bentinck Arm and Fraser River Road Company.

Prospectus of the Bentinck Arm and Fraser River Road Company, Limited . . . Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1862.

7,[2]p.Q.

Printed cover.

Includes a report upon the proposed road dated January 1, 1862, and signed by Ranald McDonald and John G. Barnston.

4. Blanshard, Richard, 1817–1894.

Vancouver Island. Despatches. Governor Blanshard to the Secretary of State. 26th December, 1849, to 30th August, 1851. New Westminster: Printed at the Government Printing Office.

15 numb.l.F.

Probably not printed earlier than 1863.

5. British Columbian Investment & Loan Society.

The British Columbian Investment & Loan Society . . . [Prospectus]. Victoria, B.C. David W. Higgins, Printer. 1869.

8p.nar.O.

Printed cover.

6. Brown, Robert, 1842–1895.

Vancouver Island. Exploration. 1864. Printed by authority of the Government, by Harries and Company. Victoria, Vancouver Island.

1 p.l.ii, [28]p.nar.Q.

The report is dated November 6, 1864, and signed by Robert Brown as "Commander and Government Agent of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition." The expedition was organized by a committee of which Selim Franklin was chairman, with the co-operation and financial help of Governor Kennedy. It left Victoria on June 7, 1864, and arrived back on October 21, having explored the Cowichan and Comox country and the West Coast as far as Barkley Sound, as well as much of the interior of the southern half of Vancouver Island.

7. Brown, Robert Christopher Lundin.

British Columbia. An essay. By the Rev. R. C. Lundin Brown, M.A., Minister of St. Mary's, Lillooet. New Westminster: Printed at the Royal Engineer Press. 1863.
2 p.l.64, xxxiip.D.

This essay was adjudged the best of those submitted in 1862 in competition for a prize of fifty pounds offered by the Government of British Columbia. A similar contest was sponsored by the Government of Vancouver Island (*cf.* item 16, *infra*).

8. Cameron, David, 1804–1872.

[*Order in Council, constituting the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island and Rules of Practice and Forms to be used therein.* Victoria, 1858.]
vii,74,v p.F.

No covers, no title-page.

No copy of this first edition complete with title-page or cover is known to exist. The advertisement in the *Victoria Gazette*, November 13, 1858, gives the title as *The Rules of Practice and the Forms to be used in the Superior and Inferior Courts of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island.* The price was $10.00. The book was published by the *Victoria Gazette* (*cf. Victoria Gazette*, January 11, 1859, p. 2).

9. Cameron, David, 1804–1872.

Order in Council, constituting the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island; and Rules of Practice and Forms to be used therein. Victoria, Vancouver Island: Printed by Authority of the Government, by The Vancouver Printing and Publishing Company, (Limited) 1865.
cover-title, vi,90,v p.F.

Contains additional matter not in the 1858 edition.

10. Coleman, Edmund T.

Prize Essay and Poem of the Literary Institute, Victoria, V.I. On the Beauties of the Scenery Surveyed from Beacon Hill. Victoria, V.I. J. E. McMillan, Printer, Morning News Office. 1868.
15p.O.

Printed cover.

The essay is signed "E. T. Coleman" and is followed by a *Prize Poem* signed "W. H. Parsons."

11. Cridge, Edward, 1817–1913.

Pastoral Address on the occasion of the Consecration of Christ Church, Victoria, December 7th, 1865 by the Rev. E. Cridge, Rector.

With statement of facts respecting the Church Reserve. Printed at the Daily Chronicle Office, Victoria, V.I.

7p.O.

Cover lacking.

12. Dashaway Association of Victoria.

Constitution and by-laws of the Dashaway Association of Victoria, V.I. Printed by Amor De Cosmos, At the Colonist Office, Victoria, V.I. [1860 or 1861].

8p.S.

Date supplied from *Colonist* files.

The Association was a temperance organization.

13. Deluge Engine Company, no. 1, Victoria.

Constitution and by-laws of Deluge Company, no. 1, Victoria, Vancouver Island. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1863.

18p.T.

Printed cover.

The constitution of one of the early volunteer fire companies.

14. Douglas, Sir James, 1803–1877.

Despatches and Correspondence transmitted to the House of Assembly in Governor Douglas' Message of 3rd September 1863. Victoria, V.I.: Printed at the "Daily Chronicle" Office, Government Street, 1863.

cover-title, 64,ii p.Q.

Comprises two parts. Part 3 bears title:

Correspondence upon the subject of the conveyance to the Crown of certain Lands by the Hudson's Bay Company, Subsequent to Correspondence upon the same Subject laid before the House of Assembly, by the Governor, on 15th September, 1863. Victoria, V.I.: Higgins & McMillan, Printers, "Daily Chronicle" Office Government Street, 1863.

cover-title,4p.Q.

15. *The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, and Cape Horn Chronicle.*

Published originally on manuscript forms . . . during the voyage, from Gravesend to Vancouver Island, of the Detachment of Royal Engineers selected for service in British Columbia, Between the 10th November, 1858, and the 12th April, 1859. Edited by Second-Corporal Charles Sinnett, R.E., assisted by Lieut. H. S. Palmer, R.E. Printed by John Robson, at the Office of the "British Columbian," New Westminster, British Columbia, 1863.

unp.illus.Q.

The *Gazette* ran to 17 numbers, which here occupy 68 pages. The original manuscript is preserved in the Provincial Archives. The *Gazette* was printed a second time in 1907.

16. Forbes, Charles.

Prize Essay. Vancouver Island: its resources and capabilities, as a Colony. By Charles Forbes, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S., Eng., Surgeon, Royal Navy. Published by the Colonial Government [of Vancouver Island], 1862.

2 p.l.[1]-63,[1]-18, 1 p.O.

Printed cover.

In October, 1861, the Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island announced that a premium of fifty pounds would be awarded by the Government to the author of the essay "adjudged to set forth in the clearest and most comprehensive manner the capabilities, resources and advantages of Vancouver's Island as a Colony for settlement." The prize was awarded to Dr. Charles Forbes in 1862 for the essay here printed.

17. Gosset, William Driscoll, & Seddall, J. Vernon.

Industrial Exhibition. Circular respectfully addressed to the inhabitants of British Columbia, by Captain W. Driscoll Gossett, R.E. F.R.S.E., and J. Vernon Seddall, Esq., M.D., Staff Assist. Surgeon, Honorary Secretaries. Printed at the Royal Engineer Camp, New Westminster, B.C., by Corporal R. Wolfenden, R.E., April, 1861.

20p.D.

Gives details of the exhibits which it was proposed to send on behalf of the Colony to the Industrial Exhibition to be held in London in 1862, and appeals for help in their preparation.

18. Harnett, Legh.

Two lectures on British Columbia, by Legh Harnett, Esq., of California. Victoria, Published by Higgins & Long, 1868.

50p.nar.O.

"Lecture II. On the Agricultural, Commercial, Geographical, Political and National Resources, Advantages and Aspects of the Country."

No cover.

The lectures were delivered at New Westminster in 1867, and published in the spring of 1868. The first, which appears without a title, is devoted almost entirely to mining in the Cariboo.

19. Hills, George, 1816–1895, Bishop of Columbia.

The "Occasional Paper." Two letters from the Bishop of Columbia to the Rev. E. Cridge and Bishop Demers. Printed at the British Colonist Office, Victoria, V.I. 1860.

8p.D.

Printed cover.

The reference is to *An Occasional Paper on the Columbia Mission with Letters from the Bishop, June, 1860,* published in London "for the benefit of the mission." The *Paper* quoted a private letter from Bishop

Hills containing remarks upon Roman Catholicism and the election of 1860 which he found it necessary to explain and excuse.

20. Hills, George, 1816–1895, Bishop of Columbia.

Pastoral Address of George Hills, D.D., Bishop of Columbia, to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Columbia, March 26, 1863. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1863.
10p.O.

Printed cover.

21. Kennedy, Sir Arthur Edward, 1810–1883.

Message from His Excellency Governor Kennedy, C.B., to the Legislative Assembly, 27th November, 1865, enclosing Despatch No. 39, 14th August, 1865, from the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, upon the Crown Lands of the Colony. Printed at the Daily Chronicle Office, Victoria, V.I.
8p.Q.

Apparently issued in 1865.

22. Kingcome, John.

Station regulations and Port Orders for the Squadron in the Pacific. 1863. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1863.
3p.l.[2]73p.O.

Interleaved with blank pages at irregular intervals.

Rear-Admiral John Kingcome was Commander-in-Chief on the Pacific Station, 1863–1864.

23. Mallandaine, Edward.

First Victoria Directory, Second Issue, and British Columbia Guide . . . including a large portion of the Mainland of British Columbia . . . 1868. By Edwd. Mallandaine, Architect. Victoria, V.I., Published by E. Mallandaine . . . April MDCCCLXVIII.
82,[2]p.O.

Printed cover reads: Higgins & Long, Printers, Victoria, B.C.

24. Mallandaine, Edward.

First Victoria Directory, third issue, and British Columbia Guide . . . including a large portion of the Mainland of British Columbia . . . 1869. By Edwd. Mallandaine, Architect. Victoria, V.I., Published by E. Mallandaine . . . June MDCCCLXIX.
79,[1]p.O.

Printed cover reads: British Colonist Print, Victoria, B.C.

The first issue of the *First Victoria Directory* appeared in March, 1860. Though published by Mallandaine in Victoria, it was actually printed by the Commercial Printing Establishment, San Francisco.

25. Palmer, Henry Spencer, 1838–1893.

British Columbia. Williams Lake and Cariboo. Report on portions of the Williams Lake and Cariboo Districts, and on the Fraser River, from Fort Alexander to Fort George. By Lieutenant H. Spencer Palmer, Royal Engineers. Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster, British Columbia 1863.

[2],25p.3 maps, tables, fold. diagrs.O.

Printed cover.

26. Palmer, Henry Spencer, 1838–1893.

Report of a Journey of Survey, from Victoria to Fort Alexander, via North Bentinck Arm. By Lieutenant H. Spencer Palmer, Royal Engineers. Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster, British Columbia. 1863.

2 p.l.[1],30,[3]p.2 maps, tables,O.

Printed cover.

27. Park, Joseph.

A Practical View of The Mining Laws of British Columbia by Joseph Park, of the Middle Temple, Esq., barrister-at-law. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1864.

xii,64,lxv–lxxp.S.

An exposition of the mining laws of the Colony intended for the use of miners.

28. Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company.

Prospectus and report, with Articles of Association of the Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company, "Limited" . . . Printed at the British Colonist Office, Government Street, Victoria, V.I. [1865].

14p.O.

Printed cover.
Date supplied from press notices in the *Colonist.*

29. Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company.

Memorandum of Association of the Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company Limited. N.p.n.pub.[1865].

12p.O.

No title-page.

30. Sparshott, Edward C.

A Military Manual of Infantry Drill: including the Manual and Platoon Exercises. Designed for the use of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Volunteer Forces of Vancouver Island

and British Columbia. Compiled by 1st Lieut. E. C. Sparshott, Royal Marines, (Lt. Infantry.) Printed for the Compiler, 1861.
viii,103p.D.

Dedicated to Sir James Douglas, and inscribed "R.M. Camp, San Juan Island, August, 1861."

No place of publication is given, but it is surmised that the book was printed at New Westminster.

31. Tiger Engine Company, no. 2.

Constitution and by-laws of the Tiger Engine Company no. 2, of Victoria, V.I. Victoria, V.I. Printed for the Company. 1861.
20,[1]p.T.

Printed cover.

The constitution of one of the early volunteer fire companies.

32. Vancouver Club.

By-laws of the Vancouver Club. Victoria, V.I.: Printed by Harries & Co., British Colonist Office 1864.
13p.D.

Printed cover.

This club was in Victoria, and must not be confused with the Vancouver Club in Vancouver, B.C.

33. Victoria Chamber of Commerce.

Progress of British Commerce under Free Trade showing the effects of the Free Trade Policy recently inaugurated in England as indicated by its practical results . . . Published for Distribution, by order of the Victoria, V.I., Chamber of Commerce. Printed at the Vancouver Times Office, Victoria, V.I. 1865.
16p.D.

Printed cover.

34. Victoria Chamber of Commerce.

Reply of the Victoria, V.I. Chamber of Commerce to His Excellency Frederick Seymour, Governor of British Columbia, forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. October 1st, 1866. [Victoria] Daily Colonist and Chronicle Print.

cover-title, 47p. tables, O.

35. Victoria Jockey Club.

Rules and regulations of the Victoria, V.I., Jockey Club. Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1861.
7p.S.

Printed cover.

Cover-title used.

36. Victoria Typographical Union.

Constitution and by-laws of the Victoria Typographical Union, including the scale of prices and list of members. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1863.
30,[1]p.T.

Printed cover.

37. Waddington, Alfred Penderill, 1800?–1872.

The Fraser Mines Vindicated, or, The History of Four Months by Alfred Waddington. Price, Fifty Cents . . . Victoria, Printed by P. De Garro, Wharf Street, 1858.
cover-title,49,[1]p.O.

An exceedingly valuable contemporary account of Vancouver Island and the gold-rush to the Mainland by one of the few middle-aged, experienced, and well-educated men who arrived with the great immigration of 1858.

38. Waddington, Alfred Penderill, 1800?–1872.

Overland Communication by land and water through British North America. June, 1867. Victoria, V.I., Higgins, Long & Co., Printers. 1867.
cover-title, 22p.O.

Signed Alfred Waddington and dated June 7, 1867. The earliest of the pamphlets by Waddington which advocate the construction of a transcontinental railway.

The following additional title is known to have been published, but no copy has yet come to light:—

39. Waddington, Alfred Penderill, 1800?–1872.

The Necessity for Reform. Victoria, 1859.

Bancroft evidently saw this pamphlet, for he states that it was "merely a tirade against the restricted franchise, and the petty infelicities of the day." (*History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, p. 769.) There is no copy in the Bancroft Library, at the University of California.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by CHARLES F. BANFIELD, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1937.

525-937-8224

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ERRATA.

Page 15, line 25. William Evans brought the first transcontinental *passenger* train to *Port Moody*, not the first train to Coal Harbour, as stated.

Page 61, line 37. For *1927* read *1827*.

Page 67, line 13. For *on* read *in*.

Page 92, line 37. The *Kaslo* was a large passenger and freight steamer, not a tug, as stated.

Page 124, line 19. For *1858* read *1859*.

Page 124, line 20. For *Chestleham* read *Cheltenham*.

Page 129, line 29. For *was* read *has*.

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