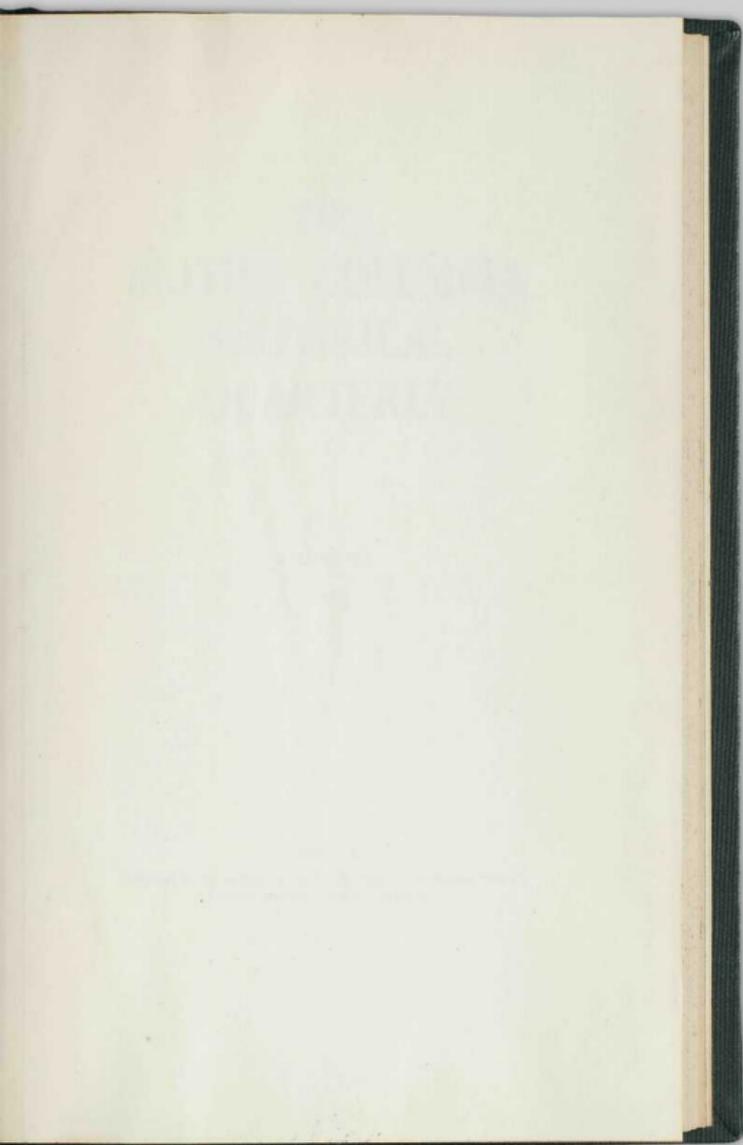
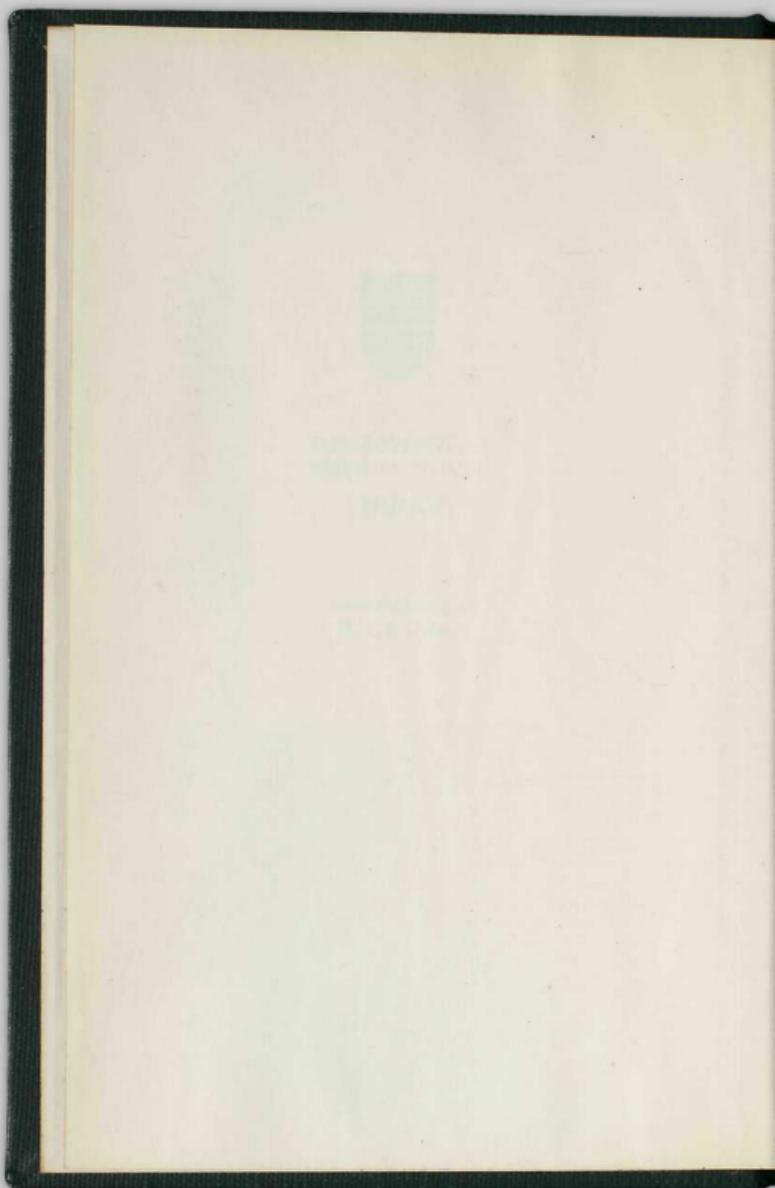




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THE
BRITISH COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY

VOLUME VII.

1943

VICTORIA, B.C.

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THE
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JANUARY, 1943

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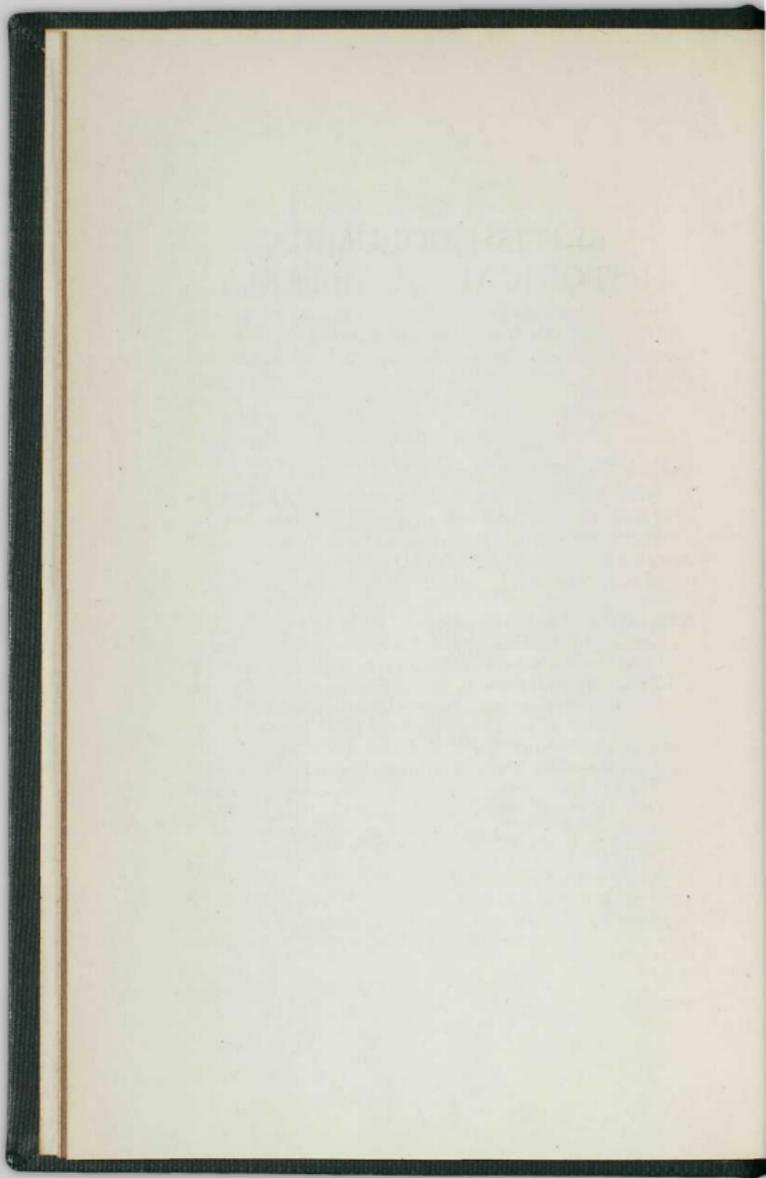
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"Any country worthy of a future
should be interested in its past."

VOL. VII. VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY, 1943. No. 1

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THE CAREER OF H.M.C.S. "RAINBOW."

"Now the gallant Rainbow she rows upon the sea,
Five hundred gallant seamen to bear her company."
—Anonymous Ballad.

With the creation of a Canadian naval service in 1910, a need for training-ships at once arose. To meet this need the Canadian Government bought from the British Admiralty the obsolescent cruisers H.M.S. *Niobe* and H.M.S. *Rainbow*. An old warship makes an admirable training-vessel, and on these two ships officers and men were to be trained for the five cruisers and six destroyers which it was intended to build. The *Niobe* was to be stationed on the east coast and the much smaller *Rainbow* at Esquimalt. For the latter, a light cruiser of the *Apollo* class, the Government paid £50,000. A ship of the Royal Navy often has many predecessors of the same name, and on the *Rainbow's* hand steering-wheel were inscribed the names and dates of actions in which earlier *Rainbows* had taken part: "Spanish Armada 1588—Cadiz 1596—Brest 1599—Lowestoft 1665—North Foreland 1666—Lagos Bay 1759—Frigate Hancock 1777—Frigate Hebe 1777."

The *Rainbow* was commissioned as a ship of the Royal Canadian Navy at Portsmouth on August 4, 1910, and was manned by a nucleus crew supplied by the Royal Navy and the Royal Fleet Reserve. The Royal Naval personnel were entered on loan for a period of two years, while the Fleet Reservists were enrolled in the Royal Canadian Navy under special service engagements of from two to five years. On August 8 the *Rainbow*, which was in charge of Commander J. D. D. Stewart, received her sailing orders—the first instructions ever given to a warship by the Canadian naval authorities.¹ She left Portsmouth on August 20 for Esquimalt, sailing around South America by way of the Strait of Magellan, a distance of about 15,000 nautical miles. At the equator "Father Neptune" came aboard

(1) Naval Service Records, Ottawa (hereafter cited as "N.S.R."), Folder No. 2-5-2. The account of the *Rainbow's* cruise to Esquimalt is based, except where otherwise indicated, on material contained in this folder and in the cruiser's Log.

wearing a crown of gilded papier-mâché, attended by his courtiers and his bears, and performed his judicial duties in the time-honoured way.

Near Callao the German cruiser *Bremen* was seen carrying out heavy-gun firing practice at a moored target, and at the end of the cruise Commander Stewart reported on what had been observed of this practice firing. The Admiralty knew very little, at this time, about the German Navy's methods of gunnery practice.² Naval Headquarters in Ottawa immediately asked Commander Stewart for further particulars; but these he was unable to supply. On the morning of November 7, 1910, the *Rainbow* arrived at Esquimalt, which was to be her home thenceforth. Among the ships in port when she arrived were two—H.M.S. *Shearwater* and the Grand Trunk Pacific steamer *Prince George*—with whom she was to be closely associated four years later. Having saluted the country with twenty-one guns, the *Rainbow* dressed ship and prepared to receive distinguished visitors.³

"History was made at Esquimalt yesterday," wrote a reporter for the *Victoria Colonist* of the following day. "H.M.C.S. *Rainbow* came; and a new navy was born. Canada's blue ensign flies for the first time on the Dominion's own fighting ship in the Pacific—the ocean of the future where some of the world's greatest problems will have to be worked out. Esquimalt began its recrudescence, the revival of its former glories."⁴ The *Victoria Times* reported that "nothing but the most favorable comment was heard on the trim little cruiser." The same newspaper stated in an editorial that:—

We are pleased to welcome His Majesty's Canadian ship *Rainbow* to our port to-day. We are told in ancient literature that the first rainbow was set in the sky as a promise of things to come. So may it be with His Majesty's ship. She is a training craft only, but she is the first fruits on this coast of the Canadian naval policy, the necessary forerunner of the larger vessels which will add dignity to our name and prestige to our actions.⁵

(2) See confidential report by the British naval attaché in Berlin, in Gooch and Temperley, *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, VI., London, 1930, pp. 506-510.

(3) *Victoria Daily Times*, Victoria, B.C., November 7, 1910.

(4) *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Victoria, B.C., November 8, 1910.

(5) *Times*, Victoria, November 7, 1910.

According to the *Colonist*:—

The event was one calculated to awaken thought in the minds of all who endeavored to grasp its true significance. The *Rainbow* is not a fighting ship, but she is manned by fighting men, and her mission is to train men so as to make them fit to defend our country from invasion, protect our commerce on the seas and maintain the dignity of the Empire everywhere. Her coming is a proof that Canada has accepted a new responsibility in the discharge of which new burdens will have to be assumed. On this Western Frontier of Empire it is all important that there shall be a naval establishment that will count for something in an hour of stress.⁶

Early in the following month the *Rainbow* visited Vancouver, where the mayor and citizens extended a warm welcome. Soon after her arrival on the coast the cruiser was placed on training duty and recruits were sought and obtained on shore, twenty-three joining up during the ship's first visit to Vancouver.⁷ On March 13, 1911, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Premier of British Columbia presented the ship with a set of plate, the gift of the Province. During the next year and a half the *Rainbow* made cruises up the coast, calling at various ports where she was in great request for ceremonies of all sorts. During some of these cruises, training was combined with fishery patrol work, which chiefly consisted in seeing that American fishermen did not fish inside the 3-mile limit.

Meanwhile the policy of developing an effective Dominion navy was allowed to lapse. The Borden Government, which came to power in 1911, was unwilling to proceed with Laurier's policy, of which it disapproved, and unable to carry out its own. In the summer of 1912 many of the borrowed Royal Naval ratings returned to Britain and were not replaced; nor did more than a few Canadian officers or men come forward to join a service which seemed to be rooted precariously in stony ground. The following table,⁸ which gives the number of cadets who entered the navy, the number of Royal Canadian Naval officers and ratings on the strength, and the naval expenditures, in each of four years, tells the story:—

(6) *Colonist*, Victoria, November 8, 1910.

(7) Letter of Proceedings, December 2, 1910. N.S.R., 2-5-1.

(8) Based on statistics contained in a digest by the Assistant Naval Secretary. N.S.R., 1001-5-1.

Year.	Number of Cadets entering the R.C.N.	Number of R.C.N. Officers and Ratings.	Naval Expenditure.
1910-11	28	704	\$1,790,017
1911-12	10	695	1,233,456
1912-13	9	592	1,085,660
1913-14	4	330	597,566

Accordingly, during the two years immediately preceding the first Great War, the *Rainbow* lay at Esquimalt with a shrunken complement, engaged in harbour training, except when an occasional short cruise was undertaken for the sake of her engines.

On July 7, 1911, a Convention had been signed by Russia, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain, which prohibited pelagic sealing in the Pacific north of a certain line. The purpose of this agreement was to prevent the indiscriminate slaughter which was inevitable if the seals were hunted at sea. Before as well as after 1911 British warships had kept an eye on the seal-fisheries, and for several years prior to the first Great War this work had been done by the sloops *Algerine* and *Shearwater*. During the summer of 1914 these vessels were performing duties on the Mexican coast: the Canadian Government had therefore decided to send the *Rainbow* on sealing patrol, and on July 9 she was ordered to prepare for a three-months' cruise. Her extremely slender crew was strengthened by a detachment from England, another from the *Niobe*, and by volunteers from Vancouver and Victoria. She was dry-docked for cleaning and replenished with stores and fuel.

In May, 1914, the steamer *Komagata Maru* reached Canada, carrying nearly 400 passengers, natives of India who were would-be immigrants. When they found their entry barred by certain Dominion regulations the Indians refused to leave Vancouver harbour, and staying on and on their food supplies ran low. On July 18, 175 local police and other officials tried to board the *Komagata Maru*, so as to take the Indians off by force and put them aboard the *Empress of India* for passage to Hong Kong. A storm of missiles which included lumps of coal greeted

the police, who thereupon steamed away without having used their firearms.⁹

By this time the *Rainbow* was in a condition to intervene. The Naval Service Act contained no provision for naval aid to the civil power; nevertheless, on July 19 the *Rainbow's* commander was instructed to ask the authorities in Vancouver whether or not they wanted his assistance, and the next day he reported that: "Rainbow can be ready to leave for Vancouver ten o'clock tonight . . . immigration agent Vancouver and crown law officers very anxious for Rainbow. . . ."¹⁰ The cruiser was ordered to proceed to Vancouver and to render all possible assistance, while the militia authorities were instructed to co-operate with her in every way.¹¹ She left Esquimalt that night taking a detachment of artillery with her, and reached Vancouver next morning. Meanwhile the Indians had laid hands on the Japanese captain of the *Komagata Maru* in an attempt to seize his vessel. The warship's presence had the desired effect, however, without the use of violence: the Indians agreed to leave, and were given a large consignment of food, a pilot was supplied from the *Rainbow*, and on July 23 the *Komagata Maru* sailed for Hong Kong. The cruiser saw her safely off the premises, accompanying her out through the Strait of Juan de Fuca as far as the open sea, and then returned to Esquimalt.

In the summer of 1914, when tension developed into crisis, and crisis into war, the Admiralty's problem off the west coast of North America was a threefold one. First of all there was the coast of British Columbia to protect. The greater part of it was unrewarding to a raider. It offered several inviting objectives, however, of which Vancouver and Nanaimo were difficult to get at; while Victoria, Esquimalt, and Prince Rupert were more or less exposed. In the second place, shipping had to be guarded. The coastwise trade received some protection from the configuration of that extraordinary seaboard, and the

(9) For a full account see Robie L. Reid, "The Inside Story of the *Komagata Maru*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 1-23.

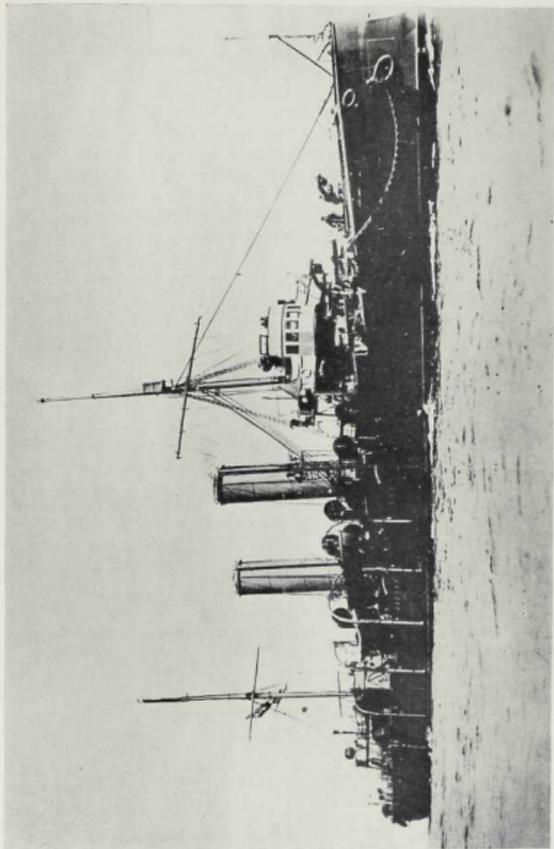
(10) Hose to Hdq., July 20, 1914. N.S.R., 1048-3-9 (2).

(11) Henry Borden (ed.), *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs*, Toronto, 1938, I, p. 449.

fishing-boats were unlikely to invite a serious attack. The Strait of Juan de Fuca with its approaches, however, formed a focal area where the ships on two important ocean routes converged. The routes were those from Vancouver to the Orient and from Vancouver to Great Britain. The ships on the former run were mainly fast liners, and were well protected by the immense size of the ocean on which they sailed, except in the terminal waters. The ships sailing for Great Britain, carrying for the most part grain, lumber, and canned salmon, took their cargoes southward down the coast and around by the Strait of Magellan, or passed them by rail across the Isthmus of Panama. This traffic lane was a tempting one for commerce-raiders, because, running along the coast as it did, merchantmen using it would be easy to find, while the raider operating along it could remain close to possible sources of fuel and of information. Moreover, in addition to receiving the trade to and from Vancouver, this route was fed by the principal Pacific ports of the United States. On the other hand, it was easy for a merchant ship on this run to hug the coast. By doing this, should a hostile cruiser appear anywhere north of Mexico, the merchantman might have a good chance to take refuge inside the territorial waters of an exceedingly powerful neutral.

On August 4, 1914, the naval force at the disposal of the Admiralty in those waters consisted of three units. This number was soon and unexpectedly increased to five, when, a few hours after the war began, the Canadian Government acquired two submarines. Although not immediately ready to act effectively at sea, the submarines afforded considerable protection to both coast and trade from Cape Flattery inward, by the deterrent effect of their presence. Two little Royal Navy sloops, the *Algerine* and the *Shearwater*, had also for some years been stationed on the coast, with their base at Esquimalt. The *Algerine* was a seasoned veteran, having taken, in the year 1900, a prominent and dangerous part in the action off the Taku Forts in China,¹² and the *Shearwater* was a relic of the once proud Pacific Squadron. Their functions were to visit various ports

(12) See Sir Roger Keyes, *Adventures Ashore and Afloat*, London, 1939, pp. 210-227; Major F. V. Longstaff, *Esquimalt Naval Base*, Victoria, B.C., 1941, pp. 164-166.



H.M.C.S. *Rainbow*.

Courtesy Canadian Geographical Journal.



Courtesy Canadian Geographical Journal.

Commander (now Rear-Admiral) Walter Hose, R.C.N., C.B.E.
Commander of H.M.C.S. *Rainbow*, 1911-17.

in North and South America, being available to assist British subjects in times of unrest or revolution, and to discharge Great Britain's responsibility in connection with the sealing patrol. These sloops were useful for police work, but they would have been quite helpless against a cruiser. On the eve of the war they were on the west coast of Mexico, safeguarding British subjects and other foreigners during the civil war between Huerta and Carranza. When Britain declared war on Germany the *Algerine* and *Shearwater* sailed for Esquimalt, and during the voyage they were themselves in need of protection, a fact which constituted the Admiralty's third responsibility. The remaining naval unit in the area, and the only one theoretically capable of taking the offensive, was H.M.C.S. *Rainbow*.

The German squadron in the Pacific consisted of two powerful armoured cruisers, and of three modern-type light cruisers, the *Emden*, *Nürnberg*, and *Leipzig*, besides several smaller vessels.¹³ The squadron, which was commanded by Admiral Graf von Spee, was based on Tsingtau, and had no bases or dépôts whatever in the eastern Pacific. When the war began the squadron was at Ponape, in the Carolines, and von Spee had a wide choice of objectives. His purposes were, of course, to damage Allied trade, warships, and other interests, on the largest possible scale, and eventually to take as many of his ships as he could safely back to Germany. His two most evident anxieties were the probable entry of Japan into the war and the very powerful Australian battle-cruiser *Australia*. On the morning of August 13 von Spee made the following entry in his diary:—

If we were to proceed toward the coast of America, we should have both [coaling ports and agents] at our disposal, and the Japanese fleet could not follow us thither without causing great concern in the United States and so influencing that country in our favour.¹⁴

There were no enemy bases there, and the continent was composed of neutral states; consequently von Spee thought that on that coast it would be comparatively easy for him to get coal and to communicate with Germany. He evidently meant the coast of South America, and, in the event, it was there that he

(13) This paragraph is based almost entirely on the German Official Naval History, *Der Krieg zur See, 1914-1918: Der Kreuzerrieg in den ausländischen Gewässern* [by Vice-Admiral E. Raeder], I, Berlin, 1922.

(14) *Kreuzerrieg*, I, p. 80 (translation).

took his squadron, having first detached the *Emden* to the Indian Ocean where she began the most distinguished career of any German raider.

The civil war in Mexico had some time before resulted in the formation of an international naval force, under American command, to protect foreigners near the coast. S.M.S. *Nürnberg* represented the German Navy until she was relieved on July 7, at Mazatlan, by S.M.S. *Leipzig*, commanded by Captain Haun. On her arrival at Mazatlan the *Leipzig* found, among other warships, the Japanese armoured cruiser *Idzumo* and H.M.S. *Algerine*, and while they were in port together friendly relations were established between the German cruiser and the British sloop. The *Shearwater* at that time was stationed at Ensenada. At the end of July the American, German, and British warships had co-operated in evacuating the Chinese from Mazatlan and embarking Europeans and Americans, because the Carranzists were about to storm the town. On July 31 the Canadian collier *Cetriana* arrived at Mazatlan to coal the *Leipzig*.¹⁵ During the night of August 1 the *Leipzig's* guns were cleared for action while she and the *Cetriana* made ready for sea. In order to keep the collier as ignorant as possible about current events in the field of international relations, the Germans took charge of her wireless set.¹⁶

On August 1 the Admiralty asked the Canadian Government that the *Rainbow* might be kept available for the protection of trade on the west coast of North America, where a German cruiser was reported to be.¹⁷ Had it not been for the Government's earlier decision to send her out on sealing patrol, the *Rainbow* could not have intervened in connection with the *Komagata Maru*, nor would she have been fit for sea when war came.

(15) The *Cetriana* was owned in Vancouver, her master was a Royal Naval Reservist, and she had been chartered in the spring by the *Nürnberg's* commander, to carry coal and other supplies to him from San Francisco. After the Germans had chartered her, according to the British consul in San Francisco, the *Cetriana* had engaged a fresh crew consisting mainly of Germans and Mexicans. (Consul-General, San Francisco, to Naval Service Hdq., Ottawa, September 12, 1914. N.S.R., 1048-10-2.)

(16) This paragraph is based on the account in *Kreuzerkrieg*, I, chapter V.

(17) Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor-General's Secretary, n.d. Copy in N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

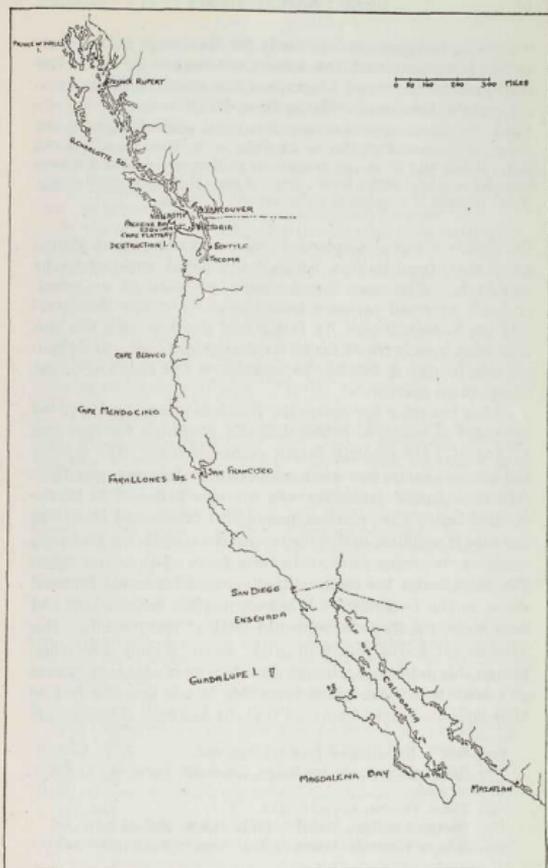


Chart illustrating movements of H.M.C.S. *Rainbow* and S.M.S. *Leipzig*,
August and September, 1914.

As it was, however, she was ready for sea though not for war, and in accordance with the Admiralty's request Naval Service Headquarters in Ottawa telegraphed this order the same day to her captain, Commander Walter Hose, R.C.N.:—

Secret. Prepare for active service trade protection grain ships going South. German cruiser NURNBURG or LEPSIG is on West Coast America. Stop. Obtain all information available as to Merchant ships sailing from Canadian or United States Ports. Stop. Telegraph demands for Ordnance Stores required to complete to fullest capacity. Urgent.

NAVAL.¹⁸

The *Rainbow* was also ordered to meet at Vancouver an ammunition train from Halifax, which it was hoped would arrive by August 6.¹⁹ The same day the press got wind of a German cruiser's supposed presence near the coast. "The *Rainbow*," said the *Victoria Times*, "a faster boat and mounting two six-inch guns, is more than a match for the German boat. If Britain engages in war it will be the business of the *Rainbow* to get this German boat."²⁰

After receiving her orders the *Rainbow* was alongside at the Dockyard or anchored in Royal Roads, preparing for war, and on August 2 she reported herself ready for sea.²¹ The railway and express companies were not organized for war, and their refusal to handle explosives was a tangle that had to be unravelled before the promised ammunition train could start. In any case it could not arrive for several days, while the European crisis was becoming more acute every hour. The cruiser therefore had to meet her needs as best she could from old Imperial stores in the Dockyard.²² When all possible preparations had been made, the *Rainbow* remained weak at many points. Her wireless set had a maximum night range of only 200 miles, though this defect her wireless operators were able to overcome at a later date. An almost incredible fact is that she had no high-explosive ammunition: all that she had been able to obtain

(18) Hdq. to Hose, August 1, 1914. Copy *ibid*.

(19) Hdq. to Commander-in-Charge, Esquimalt Dockyard, August 1, 1914. Copy *ibid*.

(20) *Times*, Victoria, August 1, 1914.

(21) Dockyard to Hdq., August 2, 1914. N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

(22) Hdq. to Admiralty, August 3, 1914. Copy in N.S.R., 1046-1-48 (1).

was old-fashioned shell filled with gunpowder.²³ She had no collier and no dependable coaling-station south of Esquimalt. Less than half the full complement was on board, and more than a third of these were Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reservists, many of whom knew nothing of the sea or of warships. There was little likelihood, however, that the enemy would learn of the *Rainbow's* deficiencies in shells and men, and the German official history—which refers to her as "the Canadian training-ship 'Rainbow'"—gives no indication that they did so.

In the afternoon of August 2 Commander Hose received the following message direct from the Admiralty:—

LEIPZIG reported left Mazatlan, Mexico, 10 a.m. 30th July. RAINBOW should proceed south at once in order to get in touch with her and generally guard trade routes north of the equator.²⁴

As Hose did not know whether or not the Canadian Navy had come under the Admiralty's orders, he repeated the above message to Ottawa with a request for instructions, and ordered the fires lit under four boilers. Shortly afterwards he wired to Ottawa:—

With reference to Admiralty telegram submitted RAINBOW may remain in the vicinity Cape Flattery until more accurate information is received LEIPZIG, observing that in event of LEIPZIG appearing Cape Flattery with RAINBOW twelve hundred miles distant and receiving no communications, Pacific cable, Pachena W[ireless], T[elegraph]. Station, and ships entering straits at mercy of LEIPZIG with opportunity to coal from prizes. Vessels working up the West Coast of America could easily be warned to adhere closely to territorial waters as far as possible. Enquiry being made LEIPZIG through our Consul.²⁵

Headquarters did not approve his suggestion, and at midnight, August 2-3, this signal arrived from Ottawa:—

You are to proceed to sea forthwith to guard trade routes North of Equator, keeping in touch with Pachena until war has been declared obtain information from North Bound Steamers. Have arranged for 500 tons coal at San Diego. United States does not prohibit belligerents from coaling in her ports. Will arrange for credits at San Diego and San Francisco. No further news of Leipzig.²⁶

The Admiralty knew that the *Leipzig* was, or had very recently been, in Mexican waters, and thought it possible that

(23) Copy of diary in the possession of Commander E. Haines, M.B.E., R.C.N. Commander Haines was the *Rainbow's* gunnery officer.

(24) *Ibid.*

(25) Hose to Hdq., August 2, 1914. N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

(26) Hdq. to Hose, August 3, 1914. Copy *ibid.*

the *Nürnberg* might also be cruising somewhere near that coast. Lloyd's thought that both the German cruisers were operating on the west coast of North America, and warned shipping accordingly.²⁷ It goes without saying that rumours grew thick and fast along the coast, flourishing in the fertile soil of uncertainty. For the most part these rumours either consisted of, or had as their least common denominator, the reported presence and doings of the *Leipzig* and the *Nürnberg*. Though the *Leipzig* was actually near the North American coast, the *Nürnberg* was not; yet the story of her presence with the *Leipzig* is still repeated as a fact, as is the rumour which was current in those days that one or both of these cruisers operated in the coastal waters of British Columbia.

A reasonably precise statistical picture of the *Rainbow* is afforded by the following figures:—

Launched	1891.
Displacement	3,600 tons.
Length	300 feet.
Beam	43½ feet.
Draught	17½ feet.
Horse-power (designed)	9,000.
Designed speed	19.75 knots.
Armament	{ 2 6-inch, 6 4.7-inch, and 4 12-pounder guns,
	{ 2 14-inch torpedo tubes.
Full complement	about 300.

Twenty-three years old, she was obsolescent, and much inferior to either the *Leipzig* or the *Nürnberg* in speed and type of armament, though she was slightly larger than either of them. On account of her age her maximum speed was only about 17 knots. Some features of the other warships which appear prominently in the story are given in the table below.

	Displacement (Tons).	Main Armament.	Designed Speed (Knots).	Laid Down.
<i>Leipzig</i>	3,250	10 4.1-in.	23	1904
<i>Nürnberg</i>	3,450	10 4.1-in.	23.5	1905
<i>Newcastle</i>	4,800	2 6-in., 10 4-in.	25	1909
<i>Idzumo</i>	9,800	4 8-in., 14 6-in.	20.75	1898
<i>Algérie</i>	1,050	4 4-in.	13	1894
<i>Shearwater</i>	980	4 4-in.	13¼	1899

(27) *Times*, Victoria, August 5, 1914.

At 1 a.m. on August 3, the *Rainbow* put to sea from Esquimalt, and, according to a well-informed witness, "but few of those who saw her depart on that eventful occasion expected to see her return."²⁸ Yet if any protection at all were to be given to the two helpless sloops and to shipping off the coast, the *Rainbow* had to be sent out since nothing else was available. She rounded Cape Flattery and steamed southward, proceeding slowly so as to keep in touch with the Pachena wireless station. With the same end in view, at 4 a.m. on August 4 she altered course to the northward, having reached a point a little to the southward of Destruction Island, 45 nautical miles down the coast from Flattery.²⁹

The same day the *Rainbow* was informed that war had been declared against the German Empire,³⁰ and at this time she became the first ship of the Royal Canadian Navy ever to be at sea as a belligerent. On this day too, an Order in Council placed the cruiser at the disposal of the Admiralty for operational purposes.³¹ Since the early hours of August 3 all hands had been engaged in preparing the ship for action, exercising action stations, and carrying out firing practice in order to calibrate the guns. At 5.30 p.m. on August 4 a southward course was set, the objective being San Diego; but three hours later a signal was received to the effect that the inestimable high-explosive shell had reached Vancouver, and the course was altered accordingly.³² Off Race Rocks at 6 a.m. on August 5 the following message from Naval Headquarters reached the *Rainbow*:—

Received from Admiralty. Begins—"NURNBERG" and "LEIPZIG" reported August 4th off Magdalena Bay steering North. Ends. Do your utmost to protect Algerine and Shearwater, steering north from San Diego. Remember Nelson and the British Navy. All Canada is watching.³³ The cruiser therefore turned about once more and proceeded down the coast at 15 knots, with no high-explosive shell. Since

(28) George Phillips, "Canada's Naval Part in the War." The author was superintendent of the Esquimalt Dockyard. MS. lent by Mrs. Phillips.

(29) The *Rainbow's* movements throughout are based on her Log.

(30) Hose to Hdq., August 4, 1914. N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

(31) P.C. 2049, August 4, 1914.

(32) Diary in possession of Commander Haines.

(33) Hdq. to Hose, August 5, 1914. Copy in N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

the two submarines which had been bought in Seattle arrived at Esquimalt that morning, the waters which the *Rainbow* was leaving would thenceforth enjoy the protection which their presence afforded. At 6 a.m. on August 6 the cruiser was abreast of Cape Blanco, and she arrived off San Francisco twenty-four hours later.

A curse which lies heavily on those responsible for the operations of warships since the age of sails is the relentless need of fuel. Let the bunkers or tanks be emptied and the propellers cease to turn, while a reduced store of fuel means a shorter radius of action. Commander Hose therefore decided to put in for the purpose of filling up with coal. He also wished to obtain the latest information from the British Consul-General. At 9.30 a.m. on August 7 the *Rainbow* anchored in San Francisco harbour. Only an hour and twenty minutes later the German freighter *Alexandria* of the Hamburg-Amerika Line, said to be carrying a valuable cargo, was sighted off the Heads, inward bound. She had been requisitioned by the *Leipzig* a few days before and ordered to discharge her cargo at San Francisco. After taking in coal and some lubricating-oil, she was to go to a rendezvous with the *Leipzig*.³⁴ A richly-laden enemy ship which was about to become an auxiliary to a hostile cruiser would have been no ordinary prize.

The *Rainbow* did not experience much better luck in San Francisco than she had met with outside.

On arrival in Port was boarded by Consul-General who informed us that 500 tons coal were in readiness. Made arrangements to go alongside when informed by Naval & Customs authorities that in accordance with the President's Neutrality proclamation we could only take in sufficient coal to enable us to reach the nearest British Port. As we already had sufficient it meant we could not coal at all, but on the plea that we had not a safe margin we were permitted to take 50 tons. The Consul-General could give no news of "Algerine" and "Shearwater" and stated that last news of "Leipzig" was that she coaled at La Paz two days previously. All through that day various conflicting reports were received regarding the two German cruisers.³⁵

The Consul-General's information before the *Rainbow* left was that both the German cruisers had been seen near San Diego

(34) *Kreuzerkrieg*, I, chapter V.

(35) Extract of Letter of Proceedings, August 2-17, 1914, in possession of Commander Haines.

steering north.³⁶ Four former naval ratings joined the ship here, and at 1.15 a.m. on August 8 she weighed and with all lights extinguished sailed out of the bay.

Instructions had been sent to Commander Hose from Ottawa early on the same day.

Your actions unfettered considered expedient however you should proceed at your utmost speed north immediately, order will be given ALGERINE, SHEARWATER wait Flattery.

The cruiser had sailed, however, before this signal arrived. She steered northward so as to keep between the enemy who was thought to be very near San Francisco, and the little sloops, and also because a store-ship was expected from Esquimalt, which was to meet the *Rainbow* near the Farallones Islands. The morning watch was spent in tearing out inflammable woodwork and throwing it overboard. Flotsam from a warship, doubtless the *Rainbow's* woodwork, which was reported to have been found shortly afterwards near the Golden Gate, caused some anxiety.³⁷ During the 8th and 9th the *Rainbow* cruised at low speed in the neighbourhood of the Farallones, whose wireless station kept reporting her position *en clair*. By the morning of August 10 the *Rainbow's* supply of coal was running low. No German cruiser, nor British sloop, nor store-ship had been sighted. It seemed probable that the sloops must have got well to the northward by this time, and at 10 a.m. the cruiser altered course for Esquimalt.³⁸

The *Rainbow* was operating alone on a very dangerous mission. In order to reduce to some extent the risks which were being run by her complement, the S.S. *Prince George* was hurriedly fitted up as a hospital-ship, and sent out from Esquimalt on August 11 to meet the *Rainbow* and accompany her. The *Prince George*, a fast coastal passenger liner owned by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, had three funnels,³⁹ a cruiser stern, and a general appearance not unlike that of a warship. On the 12th, about 8 o'clock in the morning, a vessel which appeared to be a

(36) Hose to Hdq., August 7, 1914. N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

(37) Hdq. to Admiralty, August 11, 1914. Copy *ibid.*; *Times*, Victoria, August 12, 1914.

(38) Extract of Letter of Proceedings, August 2-17, in possession of Commander Haines.

(39) The *Leipzig* and *Nürnberg* each had three funnels.

warship was sighted by the *Rainbow's* lookouts. The cruiser immediately altered course about fourteen points, and put on full speed while all hands went to action stations. A few minutes later the stranger was identified as a merchant ship which turned out to be the *Prince George*. The latter carried an order that Hose should return to Esquimalt, and both vessels accordingly proceeded towards Cape Flattery. Early next morning about 20 miles from Esquimalt they found the *Shearwater* at last: she had no wireless set, and her first question was whether or not war had been declared. Shortly after 6 a.m. Esquimalt was reached.

The *Shearwater's* commander was unable to supply any news of the *Algerine*, and expressed great anxiety regarding her. Headquarters reported that she had been off Cape Mendocino on August 11, and Hose now obtained permission to go down the coast as far as Cape Blanco in order to find and protect her.⁴⁰ The *Rainbow* was coaled as quickly as possible and a consignment of high-explosive shell was taken aboard; but the delight of the gunners was short-lived since there were no fuses. Twenty of the volunteers on board who had experienced as much of the seafaring life as they could endure were replaced from shore. At 5.30 that evening the cruiser set out once more, at full speed, to look for the *Algerine*, which was sighted at 3 o'clock the next afternoon. The little vessel had been struggling northward against headwinds. Having run short of fuel she had stopped a passing collier, and was engaged in getting coal across in her cutters. As the *Rainbow* approached, the *Algerine* signalled: "I am damned glad to see you."⁴¹ When the sloop was ready to proceed the *Rainbow* took station astern, and late in the afternoon of August 15 they reached Esquimalt. The most pressing naval responsibility in those waters had now been discharged. Before the *Rainbow* went to sea again she had received fuses for her high-explosive shells.

On August 11, 12, and 13, the *Leipzig* and *Nürnberg* were reported to be off San Francisco.⁴² It was soon rumoured that

(40) Signals in N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

(41) Diary in possession of Commander Haines.

(42) The *Leipzig* was, in fact, close to San Francisco on the 11th and 12th. See *infra*.

they were capturing ships in the approaches to the Golden Gate, and the stories which travelled up and down the coast paralysed the movements of British shipping from Vancouver to Panama.⁴³ On August 14 the two cruisers were reported to be headed for the north at full speed. "Should they continue directly up the coast," wrote the editor of the *Victoria Times*, "they will get all the fighting they want. The *Rainbow* and the two smaller vessels will be ready for them."⁴⁴ Shortly after midnight, on the morning of the 17th the *Leipzig* herself sailed boldly into San Francisco harbour in order to coal, and her commanding officer, Captain Haun, received a group of newspaper-men on board. His fighting spirit flamed as brightly as did that of the *Times*' editor. "We shall engage the enemy," he told the San Francisco reporters, "whenever and wherever we meet him. The number or size of our antagonists will make no difference to us. The traditions of the German navy shall be upheld." The *Leipzig*'s captain landed, called on the mayor, presented the local zoo with a couple of Japanese bear cubs, and put to sea again at midnight.⁴⁵ Meanwhile the *Rainbow* at Esquimalt had been preparing to go to sea once more. Although Japan had not yet declared war on Germany, the powerful Japanese cruiser *Idzumo*, which had represented her country in the international naval force in Mexican waters, was still on the west coast, and it was reported that her commander intended to shadow the *Leipzig*. The *Victoria Times* offered words of sympathy: "Unhappy cruiser Leipzig! For the next six days she is going to be stalked wherever she may go by a warship big enough to swallow her with one bite."⁴⁶

From August 4 to August 23, when Japan entered the war, the warships at the Admiralty's disposal on the Pacific Coast of North America were incapable of destroying, bottling up, or driving away, both or even either of the German cruisers, a fact which was emphasized by the widely advertised entry of the *Leipzig* into San Francisco. The waters in question clearly required more protection. The Admiralty accordingly ordered

(43) [British Official History] C. Ernest Fayle, *Seaborne Trade*, I, London and New York, 1920, p. 163.

(44) *Times*, Victoria, August 14, 1914.

(45) *Colonist*, Victoria, August 18, 1914.

(46) *Times*, Victoria, August 18, 1914.

the Admiral commanding on the China Station to send one of his light cruisers, and on August 18 H.M.S. *Newcastle* left Yokohama for Esquimalt.⁴⁷ The *Newcastle* was a light cruiser of the *Bristol* class⁴⁸—she was a newer ship than either of the Germans and was faster and more powerfully armed. The same day Commander Hose asked for permission to take the *Rainbow* to San Francisco in order to find and engage the *Leipzig*. The Admiralty approved the suggestion and the following order was sent to the *Rainbow* at sea:—

Proceed and engage or drive off LEIPZIG from trade route; do not follow after her. . . . You should cruise principally off San Francisco.⁴⁹

These instructions, of course, were based on the idea that the *Leipzig* might be molesting shipping in the approaches to San Francisco. The same day, however, the order was countermanded, because both the German cruisers were reported to be off San Francisco, and the *Rainbow* returned to Esquimalt to await the arrival of the *Newcastle*.

The most exposed town on the British Columbia coast was Prince Rupert, which had no local protection whatever. The war had consequently brought a feeling of uneasiness to many of the citizens, and the mayor had arrived in Victoria a few days after hostilities began, hoping to obtain some defences for the town.⁵⁰ Rumours that one or both of the Germans were on their way northward had been current for some time, and on August 19 a cruiser with three funnels—the *Leipzig* and the *Nürnberg* each had three funnels—was reported to be in the vicinity of Prince Rupert.⁵¹ Before dawn next day the *Rainbow* set out for the northern port, which she reached on August 21, and where inquiries elicited further evidence that a strange cruiser had been seen. Two days after his arrival Commander Hose telegraphed to Ottawa:—

(47) Fayle, *Seaborne Trade*, I, pp. 154 and 164.

(48) She came to protect waters which Canada had undertaken to defend, and there was irony in the fact that she belonged to the *Bristol* class. The Canadian naval programme of 1910 had included four *Bristol* class cruisers, of which two were to have been stationed on the Pacific Coast.

(49) Hdq. to Hose, August 18, 1914 (two signals). Copies in N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

(50) *Colonist*, Victoria, August 11, 1914.

(51) Senior Naval Officer, Esquimalt, to Hdq., August 19, 1914. N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (1).

Strong suspicions Nurnberg or Leipzig has coaled from U.S. Steamship Delhi in vicinity of Prince of Wales Island on Aug. 19th or Aug. 20th.⁵²

The carrying of coal to Prince Rupert by water in British ships was immediately stopped. The suspicions were never confirmed, and whatever the cause of anxiety may have been, it was not a German cruiser.

A similar rumour had germinated during the Spanish-American War. In July, 1898, the Admiralty sent the following message to the Commander-in-Chief at Esquimalt:—

The American Consul, Vancouver, has reported that a Spanish privateer of five guns is in the waters near Queen Charlotte Sound, apparent[ly] on look out for vessels going to and from Klondyke and is suspected of endeavouring to obtain a British pilot.

Warships of the Pacific Squadron at Esquimalt went north to look for the Spaniard, but found nothing. In this case the anxiety was lest a belligerent warship might compromise British neutrality.⁵³

The *Rainbow* remained in the north until August 30 when she left for Esquimalt. When Japan had declared war on August 23, the Japanese armoured cruiser *Idzumo* had been at San Francisco. Two days later, firing a salute as she came in, the *Idzumo* dropped anchor in Esquimalt. The *Newcastle* reached Esquimalt on the 30th, and the Canadian warships, together with the *Idzumo*, came under the orders of her commander, Captain F. A. Powlett. On September 2 the *Rainbow* arrived at Esquimalt. During the month of August she had steamed more than 4,300 miles.

On September 3 the *Newcastle* left Esquimalt to look for the *Leipzig*.⁵⁴ Captain Powlett's first idea had been to take the *Rainbow* with him; but after that ship's return from the north she needed a few days in dockyard hands, and was therefore left behind to guard the ends of the routes leading to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The *Idzumo* was detailed to watch the approaches to San Francisco. The *Nürnberg* had been at Honolulu on September 1, a fact which rendered it unlikely that she would appear

(52) Hose to Hdq., August 23, 1914. N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (2).

(53) Admiralty to Commander-in-Chief, July 17, 1898. "Records of North Pacific Naval Station," Dominion Archives MS. Room.

(54) The proceedings of the *Newcastle* described in this paragraph are based on Fayle, *Seaborne Trade*, I., pp. 229-230.

off North America. There were numerous stories which pointed untrustworthy fingers at the whereabouts of the *Leipzig*, and some of these, as so often happens in time of war, seemed to rest on first-hand evidence, as when a tanker arrived in Seattle on August 21 and reported that she had been stopped by the *Leipzig* 150 miles north of San Francisco.⁵⁵ Since August 18, however, no certain news of her whereabouts had been received, and the disturbance to trade which she had caused was rapidly subsiding. The *Newcastle* carried out a thorough search along the coast down to and including the Gulf of California, and on her way she established a series of improvised lookout and intelligence stations on shore which assured her receiving immediate information should the *Leipzig* return to her former hunting-grounds. Captain Powlett then concluded that the *Leipzig* had gone too far south to be followed, and he therefore returned to Esquimalt. There was a bare possibility that if the other parts of the Pacific got too hot for them, the German Pacific Squadron might come to the North American coast, where, in addition to causing havoc among shipping, they might even attack Vancouver or the coal-mines at Nanaimo. With this in mind Captain Powlett suggested measures of shore defence at these points, and made arrangements for mines to be laid in suitable areas should the need arise.

On September 30 the *Newcastle* set out on a second reconnaissance of the coast as far south as the Gulf of California, leaving the *Idzumo* and the *Rainbow* behind on guard as on the previous occasion. While the *Newcastle* was on her two cruises, the *Rainbow* had watched her part of the trade routes, keeping a lookout for supply ships from United States ports, and engaging from time to time in gun and torpedo-firing practice.

The actual operations of the German cruisers, details of which are now known to us, remain to be described.⁵⁶ The *Nürnberg* left Mazatlan on July 7, called at Honolulu, and joined von Spee on August 6 at Ponape. She later revisited Honolulu, and rejoined her squadron on September 6. The same day she was detached to destroy the Canada-Australia cable and cable-

(55) *Colonist*, Victoria, August 22, 1914.

(56) *Kreuzerkrieg*, vol. I, dispels all but a few remnants of the fog which formerly hid most of the movements of the *Leipzig* and *Nürnberg* during August and September, 1914.

station at Fanning Island. On September 7 she landed a party there which cut the cable and destroyed the essential installations on shore. She then returned to von Spee once more. It is almost certain that after the outbreak of war the *Nürnberg* was never less than about 2,500 miles from the coast of British Columbia. She strongly influenced the movements of the *Rainbow* and other allied warships; but she did so *in absentia*.

The *Leipzig* was at Magdalena Bay, when, on August 5, she received the news that Great Britain had declared war. Her mobilization orders instructed her to join von Spee in the western Pacific; but before he did this Captain Haun wanted to make sure of his coal-supply. The problem of fuel almost stultified all the German surface raiders, and it seems to have been unusually difficult on the west coast of North America.

German warships very seldom visited the north-west coast of America, and it had always been thought that these waters would not be of much importance to Germany in time of war. Accordingly the Naval Staff had made little preparation for furnishing coal and provisions to warships in this area.⁵⁷

Of such organization as there was, San Francisco was the principal centre. Captain Haun therefore telegraphed to that port, asking that arrangements be made to send coal and lubricating-oil to him at sea. Early on August 5 the *Leipzig* left Magdalena Bay for San Francisco, following a circuitous route. On the night of August 6 she heard the press radio service at San Diego reporting that the British naval force on the west coast consisted of the *Rainbow*, *Algerine*, and *Shearwater*, and two submarines bought from Chile. Captain Haun hoped that after coaling he would be able to do some local commerce-raiding before joining von Spee, and for that purpose the most likely hunting-grounds in those waters were considered to be the areas off Vancouver, Seattle and Tacoma, San Francisco, and Panama.

Captain Haun naturally weighed the advisability of winning an immediate military success by attacking the *Algerine* and *Shearwater* on their way to Esquimalt, by capturing one of the Canadian Pacific liners which could be fitted as an auxiliary cruiser, or by attacking the Canadian training-ship *Rainbow*. Considering the importance of commerce-raiding, however, these enterprises would scarcely have been justified; for even a successful action with the *Rainbow*, which was an older ship but which had mounted a heavier

(57) *Kreuzerriegel*, I., p. 349 (translation).

armament, might have resulted in such serious damage to the *Leipzig* as would have brought her career to a premature end.⁵⁸

On August 11, in misty weather and apparently in the forenoon, the *Leipzig* reached the approaches to the Golden Gate, and next day, near the Farallones Islands, the German consul came on board. He told Captain Haun that Japan would probably enter the war and that the presence of the *Rainbow* north of San Francisco had been reported. The consul said that the American officials were unfriendly in the matter of facilities for coaling, and also that he had not been able so far to obtain either money or credit with which to pay for coal.

When the German Consul met the *Leipzig*, he was not even sure that the United States authorities would permit her to coal once, in spite of the fact that no objection had been made to supplying the *Rainbow*. Such a refusal would have made it necessary to lay the *Leipzig* up before she had struck a single blow. As Captain Haun and his crew could not bear to think of such a thing, he determined to remain at sea for as long as he could, to try to hold up colliers and other merchant ships off the Golden Gate, and then to steam northward and engage the *Rainbow*. He therefore told the consul that he would return to San Francisco on the night of August 16-17 and enter the harbour, unless he should have been advised not to do so.

The *Leipzig* cruised in territorial waters on August 12, proceeding as far northward as Cape Mendocino. She then made for the Farallones Islands, keeping from twenty to thirty miles from the coast. The *Rainbow* was not sighted, and all the merchant-ships that came along were American. These the *Leipzig* did not interfere with in any way, so as not to wound American susceptibilities.⁵⁹

At the appointed time the *Leipzig* returned to San Francisco. She entered the harbour just after midnight, paying a visit which has already been described, and twenty-four hours later she left after taking aboard 500 tons of coal.

(58) *Ibid.*, p. 347.

(59) *Ibid.*, p. 354. In 1917 the Admiralty published a chart which showed the *Leipzig's* track running north as far as Cape Flattery. A British official chart published immediately after the war, however, shows her as "Cruising off S. Francisco Aug. 11th-17th." (See Corbett, *Naval Operations*, I. (Maps), no. 14.) There seems to be no reason for doubting the accuracy of the German official history on this point. It is true that none of von Spee's ships got home; nevertheless the *Leipzig* had opportunities of reporting her movements to the German consul at several places, including San Francisco, and no doubt she did so. Four of her officers, moreover, survived the battle of the Falkland Islands.

When she had cleared the harbour the *Leipzig* steamed at high speed towards the Farallones Islands, without lights and ready for action; but no enemy ships were seen. After August 18 she proceeded outside the trade routes at seven knots, steaming on only four boilers while the others were cleaned. On August 22 she passed Guadelupe. Because future supplies of coal were so uncertain, it was impossible for her to raid commerce, especially as British ships were still being kept in port, while the searching of neutral vessels would merely have advertised the *Leipzig's* whereabouts.⁶⁰

The cruiser continued her way down the coast. She left the Gulf of California on September 9, well supplied with coal, and proceeded on her southward journey, making her first captures as she went.⁶¹

During the opening weeks of the war Admiral von Spee's squadron had been crossing the Pacific in a leisurely fashion, far to the southward.⁶² In the words of Admiral Tirpitz:—

The entry of Japan into the war wrecked the plan of a war by our cruiser squadron against enemy trade and against the British war vessels in those seas, leaving our ships with nothing to do but to attempt to break through and reach home.⁶³

Von Spee was able to remain undetected because of the vast size of the Pacific, and because the strength of his squadron forced his enemies to concentrate. The *Leipzig* joined him on October 14 at Easter Island. His squadron arrived at last off the coast of South America, where, on November 1, it engaged and almost completely destroyed a British squadron off Cape Coronel⁶⁴—a battle in which the *Leipzig* took part and in which the *Nürnberg* sank the already seriously damaged H.M.S. *Monmouth*. The arrival of von Spee off the South American coast had not for long remained a secret, and the Admiralty tried to

(60) *Ibid.*, p. 357.

(61) The *Leipzig's* movements, September 11–21, are described in a personal account by the master of a captured British merchant ship. See [British Official History] Archibald Hurd, *The Merchant Navy*, I., London, 1921, pp. 180–184.

(62) This brief account of the operations of von Spee and his opponents is based on *Kreuzerkrieg*, vol. I.; Sir Julian Corbett, *History of the Great War—Naval Operations*, revised edition, vol. I., London, 1938; and A. W. Jose, *The Royal Australian Navy (The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918, vol. IX.)*, Sydney, 1928.

(63) Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz, *My Memoirs*, London, n.d. [1919], II., p. 351.

(64) Four midshipmen of the Royal Canadian Navy, serving in H.M.S. *Good Hope*, lost their lives at Coronel.

bar his path wherever he might go. It was possible that he might elect to sail northward, in order to go through the recently opened Panama Canal or to the west coast of North America. To deal with such a move on his part a British-Japanese squadron was formed off the Mexican coast, whence it proceeded to the Galapagos Islands. This concentration proved to have been unnecessary, however, for after Coronel von Spee moved southward. After rounding South America, he ran headlong into a decisively stronger British force on December 8 at the Falkland Islands, where all his ships save one were sunk. The *Nürnberg* met her end at the hands of H.M.S. *Kent*, after an epic chase during which the *Kent's* stokers, in order to squeeze out a little more speed, burned up practically all the woodwork in the ship. The *Leipzig* was sunk by the *Cornwall* and the *Glasgow*, only eighteen of her officers and men being saved. The very fast *Dresden* alone escaped, to remain at large in South American waters until, on March 14, 1915, she too was found and destroyed.

It seems evident that at the outbreak of the war, Captain Haun's intention had been to obtain coal in order to join von Spee, seizing or sinking any British merchant ship which he might meet *en route*. He probably wanted to take a collier with him when he should start to cross the Pacific and, apart from this consideration, the need to fill his own bunkers prolonged his stay on the coast. The only ports available to him were neutral ones in which he could not stay for more than twenty-four hours, and to enter which would tend to defeat his purpose as a raider. When he did, in fact, enter San Francisco, the news spread far and wide, and British merchant ships in the neighbourhood went into hiding or postponed their sailings. Moreover, his presence in port might have brought up the *Rainbow*, to force an action under circumstances which could have been very unfavourable for him. To remain at sea, on the other hand, meant burning his precious coal. Operations by the *Leipzig* anywhere on that coast were severely hampered by her orders to join von Spee, and by the fact that the nearest German base was thousands of miles away.

Did Captain Haun desire to engage the *Rainbow*? On the information available, it seems highly probable that he considered his principal obligations to be, in the order of priority, to join

von Spee, to damage commerce, and to engage enemy warships. Of these duties, the two last as well as the first, in order of precedence, may have been assigned to him by von Spee. If not, they were prescribed for his case by any orthodox treatises on naval doctrine with which he may have been familiar. Captain Haun did not know about the *Rainbow's* obsolete shells; but he did know that serious injury to the *Leipzig*, situated as she was, would probably have deprived his country of a fine cruiser for the duration of the war. It is suggested that Captain Haun would have been very pleased to see the *Rainbow*, and that had he done so he would have attacked at once; but that only during August 13 and 14 did he feel free to search for her.

During her operations between August 4 and September 10, the *Leipzig* failed to lay hands upon a single merchant vessel or warship, or to alarm by her visible presence any Canadian community. Turning to the other side of the ledger, some anxiety was caused among the coastal population of British Columbia—banks in Vancouver and Victoria, for example, transferred some of their cash and securities to inland or neutral cities.⁶⁵ A serious effect on British shipping was also produced:—

. . . In view of the frequent reports received as to the supposed movements of these ships [*Leipzig* and *Nürnberg*], owners were generally unwilling to risk their vessels until the situation should be cleared up. Chartering was suspended at all ports on the coast, and most tramp steamers remained in port, while the liner services were curtailed and irregular . . . [but] within two or three weeks of the *Leipzig's* departure from San Francisco trade had become brisk all along the coast.⁶⁶

Most important of all, the attention of three Allied cruisers, of which two were considerably more powerful than the *Leipzig* herself, was wholly occupied until the German cruiser was known to have removed herself from the area. It is quite safe to say that during the first six weeks of the war, from the point of view of the German Government, the *Leipzig* was a paying concern. The dividend would probably have been smaller, however, had it been known on shore that she was operating alone.

(65) *Report of the Commissioner concerning Purchase of Submarines* [Davidson Commission], Ottawa, 1917, p. 11.

(66) *Payle, Seaborne Trade*, I., pp. 162 and 179.

After Coronel the *Rainbow* co-operated for a time with the British-Japanese squadron which had been formed in order to meet von Spee should he turn northward, and to which reference has already been made. She could not keep up with the other ships, and was frequently used as a wireless link between them and Esquimalt. At a time when it was thought likely that von Spee would turn northward, Commander Hose sent the following signal to the Director of the Naval Service:—

Submit that Admiralty may be asked to arrange with Senior Officer of Allied Squadron . . . that Canadian ship *Rainbow* shall if possible be in company with squadron when engaged with enemy.⁶⁷

He received in reply a refusal, with reasons for the same, one of them being that "if the *Rainbow* were lost, immediately there would be much criticism on account of her age in being sent to engage modern vessels."⁶⁸ Among the squadron whose lot her commander wished to share was the battle-cruiser *Australia*.

After the German squadron had entered the Atlantic the threat to the Pacific coast of North America was greatly diminished, and with the destruction of the *Dresden* it ceased altogether as far as German cruisers were concerned. The only danger thereafter, which was present until the entry of the United States into the war in April, 1917, lay in the possibility that German agents might send out merchantmen lying in neutral harbours, armed as commerce raiders. This threat, though it never actually materialized on that coast, was a real one none the less. German sympathizers were at work at various neutral ports, and attempts were probably made to send out raiders. The *Rainbow* was well adapted to the work of intercepting armed merchant ships. She was less vulnerable than a liner, faster than any except the swiftest of them, and very adequately armed. The nature of this problem and some of the means used to deal with it, are clearly illustrated by the case of the S.S. *Saxonia*.

On August 1, 1914, the Hamburg-Amerika liner *Saxonia* was at Tacoma taking aboard 1,000 tons of hay for Manila. On orders from her company she unloaded the hay and went to Seattle where she tied up. Late in October the naval authorities at Esquimalt learned that the *Saxonia* would probably be trans-

(67) Hose to Admiral Kingsmill, November 9, 1914. N.S.R., 1047-19-3 (2).

(68) Kingsmill to Hose, November 10, 1914. Copy *ibid*.

ferred to American registry, and that she had been measured for the Panama Canal, which had been opened for traffic during the summer. The British Vice-Consul at Tacoma made inquiries and arranged to have the ship kept under observation. She did not leave, and in March, 1915, Esquimalt was warned by the postmaster at Victoria that she would probably try to do so on the night of March 16, and that guns were awaiting her at Haiti and gun-mountings in New York. Ottawa was notified, and spread a wide net by passing the warning on to the Admiralty, St. John's, Newfoundland, the Embassy in Washington, and the Vice-Consul at Tacoma. Naval measures were also taken to block the exit of the *Saxonia* through the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The Vice-Consul went to Seattle on March 16, and after dark he patrolled the entrance to the port in a motor-launch until 1 a.m. He then entered the harbour and circumspectly investigated the *Saxonia* at close quarters. She had no steam up, and the Vice-Consul decided that she would not sail that night, and that she would never be able to raise steam without its being observed by his agents in a nearby shipyard. It was reported on several subsequent occasions that she was about to sail. In the end the United States authorities seized the *Saxonia*; but not before her faithful crew had put her engines out of commission by damaging the cylinder-heads and by throwing overboard various indispensable parts.⁶⁹

Another part of the *Rainbow's* task during the rest of her commission was to assist in preventing German shipping, open or disguised, from using the coastal waters. By the end of October she had two hundred and fifty-one officers and men on board. Of this total, eight officers and forty-five ratings belonged to the Royal Navy, and five officers and a hundred and thirty-nine ratings to the Royal Canadian Navy, while two officers and fifty-two men were Naval Volunteers.⁷⁰ On December 18 the *Rainbow* left Esquimalt to superintend the dismantling of certain guns which had been temporarily placed at Seymour Narrows to prevent an enemy from entering the Strait of Georgia by the northern route. The following spring she did useful reconnaissance work off Mexico. In February, 1916, she set out once more

(69) Telegrams and letters in N.S.R., 1048-10-25.

(70) Hose to Hdq., October 31, 1914. N.S.R., 1-1-19.

for a similar patrol of Mexican and Central American waters, her freedom of movement being greatly enlarged by the presence of a collier. During this cruise the *Oregon*, a vessel on the American register, was intercepted on April 18 near La Paz. A boarding-party was sent over to her, and after a search it was decided to send her to Esquimalt with a prize crew on board. On May 2 the Mexican-registered *Leonor*, owned by a German firm, was also seized. This schooner had taken part in coaling the *Leipzig* in the Gulf of California. These prizes were both taken on the ground that they were actually German ships whose neutral registry was a disguise for activities which were in the interest of the enemy. They had to be towed a good part of the way home, and as a result of the delay provisions ran short. The *Rainbow* therefore pushed on ahead of her collier and prizes, and on May 21 she reached Esquimalt. From August 8 to December 14, 1916, the *Rainbow* was on a third cruise of the same kind, during which she went as far south as Panama.⁷¹

Early in 1917 the submarine war was entering its most critical phase, and both the Canadian Government and the Admiralty were working against great difficulties to create an adequate fleet of anti-submarine patrol-vessels off the east coast of Canada. The most serious problem was to find enough trained men, and the Canadian Government suggested that as the *Rainbow* was rapidly approaching the time when she would have to be extensively refitted, it might be better to pay her off and transfer her crew to the patrols. The Admiralty concurred.⁷² The Japanese Admiralty had long since assumed responsibility for the whole of the North Pacific except for the Canadian coastal waters, and the small remaining possibilities of danger were cleared away on April 6, 1917, when the United States entered the war. The *Rainbow* performed her last war service in the training of gunners for the patrol-vessels, and was paid off on May 8. She reverted to the disposal of the Canadian service on June 30, 1917, and was recommissioned as a depôt ship at Esquimalt. She was placed

(71) Extracts of Letters of Proceedings in possession of Commander Haines.

(72) See G. N. Tucker, "The Organizing of the East Coast Patrols, 1914-1918," in the *Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, Toronto, 1941, p. 35.

out of commission in 1920, and sold for \$67,777 to a firm in Seattle, to be broken up.

What would have happened, during those opening weeks of the war, had the *Rainbow* met the *Leipzig*? Captain Haun would almost certainly have attacked. The *Rainbow* was older and slower than the German cruiser, and less effectively manned. The type of main armament which she mounted, consisting of guns of two calibres, was less efficient than that of the *Leipzig*, because a mixed armament makes spotting more difficult. The *Rainbow's* 6-inch guns were probably inferior in range to the *Leipzig's* much smaller weapons.⁷³ German gunnery, too, at this time, was the best in the world. Even with these great disadvantages, however, the *Rainbow* would probably have had a very uneven chance of disabling or even destroying her opponent, had all else been equal which it was not. The fact that during the critical period she had only gunpowder-filled shells on board made the *Rainbow* nearly helpless, and had she encountered the *Leipzig* she would almost certainly have been sunk, unless she could have taken refuge quickly inside the 3-mile limit. Her only other chance would have lain in a good opportunity to use her torpedoes—a windfall of fortune almost too improbable to be considered.

The *Rainbow* performed useful services during the war. She afforded a considerable measure of protection to the coast of British Columbia and the moral effect of her presence there was very valuable, especially during the first three weeks. After the arrival of the *Idzumo* and *Newcastle*, she played a useful if secondary part. The *Rainbow* was unable to afford much protection to trade; the *Leipzig* searched for merchant ships as freely as her coal-supply and her orders permitted, and temporarily succeeded in clearing the nearby waters of British ships.

At the same time, the presence of the *Rainbow* was even more effective in putting a stop to German trade. The few enemy steamers on the coast cut short their voyage at the nearest port, sending on their cargoes under the American flag, and numerous sailing vessels of large size were held up in Californian and Mexican harbours.⁷⁴

The *Rainbow's* services throughout were more restricted and much less valuable than would have been the case had she been

(73) Corbett, *Naval Operations*, I, pp. 426-427.

(74) Fayle, *Seaborne Trade*, I, pp. 162-163.

newer, and consequently faster and more powerful. If she had succeeded in disabling the *Leipzig*, it is obvious that von Spee's squadron would have been seriously weakened. The young Canadian naval service would have benefited immeasurably, and in a host of ways, had the *Rainbow* been able to clothe herself in a mantle of glory as Australia's *Sydney* did; but this, humanly speaking, she could not hope to achieve. She had been acquired purely as a training-ship and not in order to fight. Obsolescent vessels are very useful in time of war, but only for duties which take account of their limitations. Because of the *Rainbow's* outmoded design and defective ammunition, moreover, her officers and men had to be sent out expecting to face almost hopeless odds. They had to be placed in a very unfair moral position as well. Uninformed opinion on shore concerning the *Rainbow* as a ship alternated illogically between ridicule and a tendency to regard her merely as a cruiser and therefore a match for any other cruiser. Her complement did all that could have been done with the instrument at their disposal, and cheerfully faced unequal danger with little prospect of earning the fame which crowns unqualified success. They served their country well.

GILBERT NORMAN TUCKER.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVAL SERVICE,
OTTAWA.

JOHN HALL: PIONEER PRESBYTERIAN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The beginnings of Presbyterianism in British Columbia date back to 1861. In the spring of that year an Irish Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. John Hall, arrived in Victoria to plant the blue banner of his faith in what was soon to become Western Canada. He was the first Presbyterian minister west of Manitoba.

At that time Vancouver Island and British Columbia, on the mainland, were still separate Crown Colonies. The first Presbyterian minister to be established on the mainland—the British Columbia of those days—was the Rev. Robert Jamieson, who arrived in New Westminster on March 12, 1862,¹ nearly a year after John Hall arrived in Victoria. But although Hall's work was confined almost entirely to Vancouver Island, he, as we shall see, had visited many points on the mainland in the interests of Presbyterianism before Jamieson reached New Westminster. Jamieson came west under the auspices of the Canada Presbyterian Church. Hall was sent out by the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Four countries have associations with John Hall: Ireland, where he was born, and where he died; British Columbia, where he was the pioneer Presbyterian minister; Hawaii, where he spent a happy summer; and New Zealand, where he laboured for nearly twenty years. His life falls into clearly marked divi-

(1) Dr. William Gregg, in his *Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada* (2nd edition, Toronto, 1893), gives the date of Mr. Jamieson's arrival in Victoria as July 16, 1862: "On the 10th December, 1861, he was designated as a missionary to British Columbia. On the 16th of July, 1862, he arrived at Victoria, in Vancouver's Island . . ." (p. 174). Dr. J. A. Logan gives the date of his arrival in New Westminster as March 12, 1862, and there can be no reasonable doubt that this date is correct. See E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, II, p. 645; III, pp. 186-190; *British Columbian*, New Westminster, March 20, 1862; *St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, A Historical Sketch*, New Westminster, 1922, p. 3; Alexander Dunn, *Presbyterianism in British Columbia*, New Westminster, 1913, p. 24. Strange to say, Dr. Dunn has forgotten to say about the Rev. John Hall.

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sions, which correspond with his movements from one country to another. His first thirty-five years were spent in Ireland. Then came four years on Vancouver Island, followed by four months in Hawaii, and four years in New Zealand. After these missionary experiences he returned to his native land, where he remained for twenty-two years. At the end of this period he sailed again for New Zealand, this time staying there fourteen years. In 1905 he visited British Columbia on his way back to Ireland, where he died in 1907. Such in outline is the story to be told in more detail. We shall dwell at disproportionate length on the four years' ministry on Vancouver Island, because we are most interested in this period, covering, as it does, the beginnings of Presbyterianism in Western Canada.

We turn, then, to John Hall's early years, which were spent in Ireland. Few facts regarding his parentage, his boyhood, education, or first ministry have come down to us.² He was born at Drumague House, Bailieborough, County Cavan, on November 6, 1826. He was the son of Thomas Hall and Agnes Parr; the eldest in their family of seven boys and two girls. Thomas Hall had a large farm, on which all the children were brought up. The Halls attended the First Bailieborough Presbyterian Church. The baptismal register was accidentally burned, but the fly-leaf of an old Bible preserves the vital statistics of the Hall family.³ The subject of this sketch was distantly related to his more famous namesake, Dr. John Hall, for many years minister of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City. The name Hall is widely spread. Ireland and Virginia are both rich in memories of the family, which came originally from Westmorland in England, whence branches left for the north of Ireland.⁴

After the usual life of a boy on the farm and attendance at the local public school, John was sent to live with his uncle, the

(2) Statements and dates in this account were furnished by Rev. S. Lewis, of Athy, County Kildare, Ireland. In a letter dated September 24, 1935, he writes: "You can, at any rate, rely on them as correct, because the data, as far as our own Church is concerned, are taken from official records, and the others are well authenticated."

(3) Photostat copies in Provincial Archives and in Archives of the United Church Conference.

(4) Letter from Dr. Thomas C. Hall, Professor Emeritus, Göttingen University, Germany, dated November 26, 1935.

Rev. John Parr, of Corlea, County Monaghan, who was minister of the church there. Here he received a good grounding in Greek and Latin, and here, no doubt, his thoughts were turned to the ministry. He entered the Belfast Academical Institution in 1844 and received the general certificate in 1847. This was equivalent to a degree in Arts. In the same year (1847) he entered the theological classes. There was no Theological College in those days, but there was a full staff of theological professors. Arts and Theology covered six years. After due preparation he was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Ballieborough on the last Thursday of May, 1851. He was then in his twenty-fifth year. His mother had died on July 26, 1848.

After working for a short time on the Belfast mission the young minister was invited to supply the newly erected congregation of Athy, County Kildare. Young Hall arrived there on December 28, 1851. He must have won the hearts of the Scottish colonists who made up the congregation, for on March 27, 1852, he received a call to become their minister; and on September 30 was ordained by the Dublin Presbytery. Writing from Athy in September, 1935, the Rev. S. Lewis tells us that Hall did splendid work in organizing the congregation and in building a new church at a cost of £1,076. On March 21, 1854, the ladies of the congregation presented him with a pulpit gown and a purse of ten sovereigns. Of this sum he allocated £5 to the purchase of books for a congregational library and £5 towards a stove for the church. (The church proper had not been built then, but this would refer to the room which they had rented for services.) Such an act of generosity was characteristic of the man. The ten years spent at Athy seem to have been happy, busy, and successful years. On January 16, 1861, Hall resigned his pastoral charge. In a sketch of Athy congregation, published in 1886, it is recorded that when he announced his intention of resigning, and leaving for British Columbia, there were few dry eyes in the congregation.

The fact of his resignation reveals to us that for some time the young minister had been thinking of offering himself for work abroad. The Dublin Presbytery on February 6, 1861, designated him as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland

to British Columbia.⁵ From the late Dr. John A. Logan's correspondence, quoted in his *History of Presbyterianism in British Columbia*,⁶ we learn that this appointment followed the direction to "the Standing Committee and Convener of the Home Mission Board (Rev. William McClure, Londonderry), 10th October, 1860, to look out for a suitable minister to proceed to this colony, to whom the Mission will guarantee a salary of £200 annually for three years." Later, on December 12, 1860, "after hearing a statement from the Secretary respecting the importance of sending a missionary to this new colony, it was agreed that Mr. Hall be appointed on the foregoing terms, salary to commence from the day on which Mr. Hall takes ship on his departure." On February 13, 1861, the Secretary was able to report to the Board that the Rev. John Hall, Athy, had been accepted as a missionary to the new colony and that he was to leave immediately for the field of his labours, passage and outfit to be paid.

It is but natural that we should wonder how the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland came to interest itself in British Columbia. How did it come about that in Ireland was heard the far cry, "Come over and help us"? And how did it happen that John Hall was chosen by the Assembly as their apostle to the Far West? Questions such as these inevitably suggest themselves. To them there is both a general and a particular answer.

The general answer is found in the fact that in the year 1841 the Irish General Assembly decided to co-operate with the Church of Scotland in procuring funds, and sending ministers to supply the Presbyterians of the British colonies with the ordinances of religion. In 1842 it was reported that £200 had been raised. The following year the General Assembly recommended that collections be made in all their congregations, and forwarded to the Colonial Scheme of the Free Church of Scotland. In 1844 came appeals from Nova Scotia and New Zealand for ministers and licentiates to emigrate thither. The Irish Assembly, in 1846, organized a Colonial Mission of its own, and by 1849 six ministers and licentiates of the Irish Church had come to different

(5) Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Belfast, July 2, 1861. Certified copy sent by W. J. Lowe, Clerk of the Assembly.

(6) Manuscript. Copy in possession of the writer.

parts of Canada. These particulars are taken from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. They were sent by the Rev. S. Lewis, of Athy, who, in a letter dated November 4, 1935, made this comment: "With ministers going to Canada from time to time it is quite easy to understand how Mr. Hall would come to think of going to British Columbia as a missionary. . . . Besides, pioneer work would seem to have been his choice, perhaps his lot, through his life."

But from Hall's nephew, Henry G. Hall, we learn that John had a brother, James, who became a civil engineer, and who came to Vancouver Island and the mainland before John followed as a missionary.⁷ It is quite likely that this brother had an influence on John's decision to come to Victoria.

Unfortunately we have little information about the journey from Ireland. He must have travelled by way of Panama—the fast mail route of the time—as he arrived in Victoria just two months after his appointment.⁸ The last stage of the long journey, that from San Francisco to Victoria, was made in the steamer *Cortes*, which arrived on Sunday, April 14, 1861.⁹ The passenger list printed in the *Colonist* the next day includes the names "J. Hall, John Hall . . ." It is possible that the "J. Hall" mentioned was James Hall, the brother of John. James may have gone to San Francisco to meet his brother.

Before coming to the personal work of John Hall in British Columbia, we should indicate briefly what had been attempted by other denominations before Presbyterianism was established.

(7) Letter from Henry G. Hall, dated "Drumague Ho. Bailieboro, Nov. 8th, 1935."

(8) Local tradition in Ireland apparently has it that he travelled by way of Cape Horn, for a quotation from an Irish newspaper (neither the name nor date of which is given) sent by Rev. S. Lewis reads in part: "Mr. Hall came in a little vessel owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. He sailed round Cape Horn, and was nearly wrecked by a terrific storm in the Strait of Magellan." But the annual Hudson's Bay supply ship of the year, the *Princess Royal*, arrived in Victoria in January, 1861, before John Hall left Ireland. Furthermore, one wonders how the vessel could be nearly wrecked by a storm in the Strait of Magellan when she was making the passage round the Horn!

(9) *British Colonist*, Victoria, April 15, 1861.

It is rightly conceded that the Roman Catholic Church preceded the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches in this Province. In the case of the Congregational Church it is known that the establishment of a mission on our Pacific Coast was under consideration more than a century ago. In 1829 a Congregational minister, the Rev. Jonathan Smith Green, visited various points along the coast. Nothing permanent came of this; but the date, 1829, represents the year of the first visit of a Protestant minister to the Pacific Northwest. By 1859 all the denominations named above had established work on Vancouver Island—all but one, the Presbyterian Church.

It is on record that when John Hall arrived in Victoria he was struck with the beauty of the place. His first experiences there have been described by Dr. Logan:—

Mr. Hall's coming to Victoria was indeed a great event, but in fact it was most common-place. The people there had not asked for him. They had not even heard of his appointment. No message had been sent that a missionary was on the way, bringing to the people of this new land the bread of life, and so his advent was unexpected, unannounced. Apparently there was no one to whom he could go—a stranger in a strange land.

He took a look over the town and strayed into the Bank of British North America. Going up to the accountant (a Mr. Watson) he asked, "Are you a Presbyterian?"

He said, "No."

"Do you know any Presbyterians here?"

Anxious to find some one of that faith he put the same question to a sturdy-looking man standing nearby—"Do you know any Presbyterians here?" It was Alexander Wilson who had just been here two years, and who was always a warm friend of the minister and missionary of every Gospel sect. "Yes," he said, as if proud of the distinction, "I am one." "Well, I am the Rev. John Hall, from Ireland."

If Mr. Wilson was disappointed that the newcomer was not from Scotland he did not show it. They grasped hands, and if the welcome lacked in formality, it was not wanting in cordiality.¹⁰

That afternoon Mr. Hall's credentials were duly examined, arrangements were made for services on the coming Sabbath, and the rest of the week was spent in interviewing those of the Presbyterian persuasion. The following notice was inserted in the *Colonist* for Saturday, April 20, 1861:—

(10) *History of Presbyterianism in British Columbia* (manuscript).

Divine Service will be held (D.V.) in Moore's Hall to-morrow (Sabbath) afternoon, at 3 o'clock, when the Rev. John Hall, of the Irish Presbyterian Church, will preach.¹¹

This first Presbyterian service in Victoria is described in Dr. Logan's *History*:—

About thirty people attended that first service. It was not an auspicious beginning. The surroundings were not calculated to foster the worshipful spirit, but the hearts of that little band were touched, as never before perhaps, as they sang again the old songs of Zion and listened to the earnest tones of one who had come so far to tell the "old, old story."

Moore's Hall was in the building occupied by Moore's Drug Store, and adjoined the premises of the Bank of British North America on Yates Street, just below Government Street.

We need not be surprised that the new missionary determined to explore the mainland before settling down on the Island. He had come to seek out and to minister to Presbyterians. This missionary journey took him, first of all, to the islands at the mouth of the Fraser River. From there he proceeded to New Westminster, and after holding services there he visited points as far in the Interior as Lytton.

A persistent tradition has crystallized into accepted fact that the first Presbyterian service on the lower mainland "was held in the home of Hugh McRoberts on Sea Island, in May, 1861, by Rev. John Hall." This statement is taken from page six of the *Historical Sketch of Richmond Presbyterian Church, Marpole, B.C., 1861-1925*, issued in June, 1925. Details of the life of Hugh McRoberts are given by the late Thomas Kidd in his *History of Richmond Municipality*.¹² McRoberts was an Irishman, born in County Down. At an early age he emigrated to Australia. In 1856 he came to California and from there he joined in the rush to Victoria in 1858. In the early sixties he was employed building trails for the Government from Spuzzum to Boston Bar and from New Westminster to Musqueam Ranch, at the mouth of the North Arm. In 1861-62 McRoberts dyked, cultivated, and harvested a field of wheat, and planted fruit-trees for an orchard on Sea Island. That piece of land became part of the farm of Thomas Laing, but the old McRoberts home was torn down about 1930. A photograph of this house is included in the

(11) An almost identical notice is found in the *Daily Press*, Victoria, April 19, 1861.

(12) Vancouver, 1927, pp. 100-101.

Historical Sketch of the Richmond Church. Kidd refers to the fact that in the early years of settlement religious services were held in private homes by ministers of various denominations. He is in error, however, in referring to the McRoberts home as "The Cathedral." This name was reserved for the house built by Fitzgerald and Samuel McCleery on the bank of the river about 2 miles below Sea Island bridge. Kidd mentions several well-known ministers who conducted these "cottage services," but does not include the name of John Hall. There is doubt also as to whether the McRoberts home was built at the time the first Presbyterian service is supposed to have been held there.

In the diary of Rev. Edward White,¹³ under date of Tuesday, July 30, 1861, there is a reference to a Mr. McRoberts having come from Yale in search of land. We cannot be sure that this was Hugh McRoberts, but the suggestion forces itself on the mind. White at that time was minister of the Methodist Church in New Westminster. In the absence of sufficient evidence we are tempted to think that the tradition referred to has reference to a later date, or only to a visit in June, 1861.

The first anniversary service of the Methodist Church in Victoria took place on Sunday, June 9, 1861. The Rev. John Hall preached at the morning service, Rev. Edward White, of New Westminster, in the afternoon, and Rev. B. C. Lippincott, of Olympia, in the evening. It was after this Victoria service that Hall set out on his journey to the mainland. The following Sunday he preached in the Wesleyan Church, New Westminster, and after services there left for points in the Interior. He returned to New Westminster on July 20, preached on Sunday, the 21st, and that same week left for Victoria.

The *British Columbian* for June 20, 1861, has this to say about Hall's visit to New Westminster:—

The Rev. J. Hall, of the Irish Presbyterian Church, arrived here last week, and preached on Sabbath, morning and evening, to large and delighted congregations in the Wesleyan Church. An address from the resident Presbyterians, welcoming him to this Colony, was presented to the Rev. gentleman on Friday last. He left on Wednesday by the *Str. Douglas* for Port Douglas, en route to Cayoosh, Lytton, Hope, and Yale.¹⁴

(13) Manuscript. Transcript in the possession of the writer.

(14) For this and the following quotation from the *British Columbian* I am indebted to His Honour Judge Howay.

In a later issue of the same paper is found the following:—

The Rev. J. Hall, of the Irish Presbyterian Church, who has been making a tour of the upper country, returned to this city on Saturday last. He appears highly pleased with the country, and speaks in warm terms of the kind reception accorded him in the different towns he visited; in all of which he had the satisfaction of addressing large and attentive audiences. The Rev. gentleman preached to a very large congregation on Sabbath evening in the Wesleyan Church here, and with general acceptance. He leaves for Vancouver Island by next steamer.¹⁵

Due allowance must be made for newspaper interviews. Dr. Logan had a very different story to tell of the results of this journey:—

All we know is that he returned disheartened and discouraged, with the feeling that there was no immediate future for the Presbyterian Church on the coast. He even suggested the idea of leaving and proceeding on to New Zealand, a mission field which for years had occupied his thoughts. But his friends were able to show that the needs of his present field demanded his presence and his ministry, and finally, to the cultivation of that field he decided to bend all his energies.

There is no necessary contradiction between the different reports of the same journey. They represent two different moods. Hall was a man of great enthusiasms; punctuated now and again with periods of depression. There was a congregation to be organized and a church to be built in Victoria. As these objectives took shape the mood of despondency gave way to one of enthusiasm, which inspired effort and enlisted co-operation. Hall had already had experience in organizing a congregation and superintending the building of a church. This had been his work in Athy, in Ireland. Now he was to repeat the experience in Victoria. Later, he was to be an organizer and church-builder in New Zealand.

Before the congregation was organized and found a permanent place of worship it had a number of temporary meeting-places. First of these was Moore's Hall. As we have seen, it was here that the first Presbyterian service in British Columbia was held on Sunday, April 21, 1861. Following this, services were held in the Court Room, permission being granted by the Magistrate, A. F. Pemberton. Still later, Smith's Hall was the place of worship. This was over offices on Government Street, and adjoining the old Post Office building. Here, on February 3,

(15) *British Columbian*, New Westminster, July 25, 1861.

1862, the first Presbyterian congregation in the Province was organized, less than a year after Hall's arrival in Victoria. At this meeting there were fourteen men present: the Hon. David Cameron, Chief Justice of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, Rev. John Hall, John Wright, Robert Carter, John Bastedo, George H. Sanders, Joseph Kilgour, Thomas Mann, Alexander Wilson, John Martin, Charles Cochrane, George Reid, Simon Anderson, and Alexander Loury. Every member of this little band has long since crossed the Great Divide. We do not doubt that these were men of vision, and that as they deliberated in Smith's Hall that night they were conscious that they were at the beginning of great things as yet hidden from them. It was the beginning of organized Presbyterianism in Canada west of Manitoba. In a more limited sense it was the beginning of the first Presbyterian congregation, which to-day carries the name of First United Church, Victoria. The foundations were well and truly laid that night. We of to-day, who see what great things have grown from such humble beginnings, may well reflect in the words of William Carey, "What God hath wrought!"; or, in the words of Alexander Wilson to J. G. Brown, "Man, Broon, wha' wad ever hae thought it?"¹⁶

Alexander Wilson was the last survivor of that pioneer band. He was the first of the Presbyterians to welcome John Hall to this new land, and his photograph to-day graces the walls of First United Church, Victoria. Well might he marvel as he looked back at that first organization meeting in 1862. After the purpose of the meeting had been stated the first thing to do was to elect a chairman, and this honour was unanimously bestowed on Chief Justice Cameron. After discussion there was passed the following resolution "which brought Presbyterianism in visibility in B.C." It was

moved by Alex. Loury, and seconded by Alex. Wilson, that this meeting do organize itself into a congregation to be called the First Presbyterian Church of Vancouver Island, and that the Rev. John Hall be requested to act in the meantime as our minister.

Now that the congregation was formed it became imperative to secure a site for the church building it was proposed to erect.

(16) Part of this, and the succeeding two paragraphs, are summarized from an address by J. G. Brown, of Victoria, delivered on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of First United Church, Victoria, February 3, 1927.

A committee of management was appointed, and on September 8, 1862, it was decided to purchase the property on the corner of Pandora Avenue and Blanshard Street, at a cost of \$1,100. That same evening Chief Justice Cameron, John Wright, and John Martin were appointed trustees. Another meeting was held on December 3, 1862. Messrs. Sanders and Wright, two of the committee, had already prepared plans and specifications. These were adopted, and instructions given to call for tenders. As a result it was decided to proceed with the erection of the church on the site secured, the church to cost \$3,120, not including school-room and vestry. The actual work of construction began in March, 1863. The corner-stone was laid with due ceremony on April 9 by Chief Justice Cameron, who was presented with a silver trowel as a souvenir of the occasion. The trowel bore the inscription, "Presented to the Hon. Chief Justice Cameron on his laying the corner-stone of the First Presbyterian Church of Vancouver Island, 1863." The *Colonist* for April 10 devoted half a column to the event. This gives some indication of the importance with which the ceremony was regarded at the time.

By November, 1863, the building was completed and the church was formally opened for divine service on Sunday, November 15. At the dedication services Rev. John Hall was assisted by Rev. James Nimmo, of Nanaimo, missionary of the Church of Scotland. At the forenoon service Mr. Nimmo preached the dedication sermon, taking for his text a portion of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple:—

The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers: let him not leave us, nor forsake us: that he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways and to keep his commandments, and his statutes, and his judgments, which he commanded our fathers. (1 Kings 8:57-58.)

At the evening service Dr. Ephraim Evans preached from the words of St. Paul, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ." The formal opening of the church was a proud moment for John Hall and the occasion of great rejoicing for the happy band of Presbyterians whom he had gathered around him.

In all these events we have few glimpses of the minister himself. He was not the man to enjoy the limelight. During these months of superintending the building of the new church we know that he was constant in his labours. He had the gift of communicating the enthusiasm of the moment, and in his own

genial way he did much to guide the committee of management, and to secure, and assist others in securing, the funds necessary for the undertaking.

Although there were few ladies present at the organization meeting in Smith's Hall in 1862, they later played an important part. At the annual congregational meeting in February, 1927, J. G. Brown told of their efforts in 1863 to raise funds for the new church. Speaking of a tea which they held in September, 1863, he said:—

Now, to we moderns a tea meeting would seem a tame sort of thing, and not likely to produce very tangible results for the building fund, but it must be remembered that Victoria at that time was a very small place, there being practically no building outside of the section bounded by Humboldt Street on the south, Wharf and Store streets on the west, Discovery Street on the north, and Quadra Street on the east. Of course in James Bay there were the old Parliament Buildings some of which are still in use, and a few scattered houses, and the same prevailed in other portions named, but the city proper was confined to those boundaries. There were no movies, and very few entertainments of any kind. The tea meetings of the churches were red-letter events for many more than members and adherents of the congregation concerned. The ladies in those days could not be small-minded in any way. They charged a dollar for admission, but they gave value for it. The tea was really a banquet at which all in attendance sat down at 6 p.m., and enjoyed a splendid dinner, followed by speeches, songs, instrumental selections, and an anthem or two by the choir. The church halls and school rooms were too small so these events were held in the Philharmonic Hall, long since torn down, and replaced by a substantial brick building known as Devonshire House on Fort Street, between Douglas and Blanshard streets. The first tea meeting cleared for the ladies the sum of \$647.50. The only other big event of the year in the congregation was the Sunday School picnic.¹⁷

In those days church seats were rented. A whole seat on the side of the church, accommodating four persons, cost \$25 per annum. The price of half of the centre seats (accommodating six persons), was \$30. A single seat cost \$6.

The bell for the church was presented to the congregation by Messrs. Sanders and Wright, the architects. It was procured by a Mr. Bell, of the firm of Faulkner & Co., San Francisco, who contributed \$50 towards the cost of the building.

Work was started on the new school-room and vestry in February, 1864. This had been provided for in the original plans.

(17) J. G. Brown, address delivered February 3, 1927.

The Sunday School began with two teachers and seven pupils. A silk banner, suitably inscribed, is to be seen in the school-room of First United Church, Victoria, commemorating the beginning of the school.

The church built in 1863 served the growing needs of the congregation for half a century. It was vacated in 1913, when the new church on Quadra Street was completed. The congregation was received into the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1882, and on June 10, 1925, entered the United Church of Canada.

We need not pursue further the story of the congregation. We are concerned with John Hall's work in British Columbia, and this seems to be the natural place to sum up the character of the man and the extent of his work. A. H. Anderson, who knew him during his ministry at Westport, New Zealand, described him as "a very able man. He was of average height, and wore a pointed beard." That was in the nineties. We have a photograph, taken during his Westport ministry; also one of him as he appeared to those who knew him in Victoria in the early sixties. The face is kindly and pensive. The eyes suggest a hidden fire that could lead to great enthusiasm for any work once undertaken. Hall was married before he came to Canada, but we have no details of life in the manse. We are told that he was a good mixer, that he had the gift of making himself at home with miners in their camps or with the wealthy in their homes. He had his share of Irish wit and was a welcome visitor wherever he went. He seems to have had average gifts as a preacher. In the diary of Rev. Edward White, under date July 21, 1861, we have this reference: "Mr. Hall preached for me this P.M.—a very good sermon." The Gospel he preached in the early sixties was constantly declared—risen by the fall, redemption through the blood of Christ, and regeneration through the Holy Spirit—and seemed as effective then as are the more sophisticated themes of to-day.

Unpracticed he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched than to rise.

After the congregation had been organized and the building of the church completed, Hall felt that his work on Vancouver Island was done. His thoughts had long been turned to New

Zealand and he felt an inner call to proceed thither. An article in the *Colonist* suggests that he was under orders from the Mission Board in Ireland, that he had completed the work he was sent to do, and hence was ready for new ventures in establishing Presbyterianism elsewhere. Be that as it may, in 1864 he announced his intention of severing his connection with the congregation in Victoria. An item in the *Colonist* of the time reads:—

The congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of this city have decided to ask the Rev. Dr. Ormiston, M.A., the celebrated Canadian divine, to become their pastor, in place of the Rev. John Hall, who has given notice of his intention of resigning his charge.¹⁸

Again quoting Dr. Logan:—

The congregation at Victoria did not permit Mr. Hall to leave without giving him many tokens of their affection and regard. Among these was a gold watch suitably inscribed, and a purse of £100. He was their first pastor and had been with them over four years during the period of perilous and pioneer life, cheering men in the moments of their disappointment, rejoicing with them in their days of prosperity, ever leading them in the pathway of righteousness and peace, laying carefully and firmly the foundation on which future generations were to build.¹⁹

Hall's successor in First Presbyterian Church was not Dr. Ormiston, as was at first intended, but the Rev. Thomas Somerville, of Glasgow, Scotland.

After the strenuous years on Vancouver Island, Hall enjoyed a few months in the Sandwich Islands, now known as the Hawaiian Islands. He arrived at Honolulu in the brig *Domitila* on April 17, 1865.²⁰ There is a reference to his arrival, and stay in the islands, in *The Friend* (Honolulu), for May, 1865:—

Rev. John Hall.—By a late vessel from Victoria, this gentleman came passenger. He represents the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. About four years ago he was sent out to establish a Presbyterian church at Victoria. Having accomplished his mission, he is pro-

(18) *British Colonist*, Victoria, March 4, 1864.

(19) *History of Presbyterianism in British Columbia*. Manuscript.

(20) Miss Bernice Judd, of Honolulu, kindly supplied the following quotations from the Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* referring to the Rev. John Hall:—

April 22, 1865, p. 2: "Arrivals—April 17—Brig *Domitila*, [Captain] Webb, 15 days from Victoria."

"Passengers—From Victoria—per *Domitila*—April 17— . . . Rev. J. Hall."

ceeding on the same errand to New Zealand. During his sojourn on the islands he intends visiting different localities so far as his limited time will permit. He sailed in the steamer for Hawaii last Monday. He preached an interesting discourse at the Bethel Sabbath morning, April 23rd.

A letter to the *Colonist*, written on board the barque *Tyra*, and dated September 19, 1865, tells of his stay in the Sandwich Islands and that he hoped to reach Sydney in about two days. A later letter, dated at Auckland, October 26, 1865, describes conditions as he found them on his arrival in New Zealand.²¹

Hall had arrived in Auckland under instructions from the Home Mission Board to minister to the people of Waikato West. After a few months there, and at Wanganui, he proceeded to Hokitika, on the west coast of South Island, about 100 miles south of Westport. Here, as in Victoria, he organized a congregation amidst all the excitement of a gold boom. Like Paul, he established the church and then moved on to new fields. During the months he was at Hokitika he won the hearts of the people, and they desired him to remain as their first minister, but he felt that his mission was to establish new congregations in new fields. In this he was successful. In less than a year the church at Hokitika was erected at a cost of £700. This cost did not include the spire, which was added later. Before the church was opened the builder was already organizing a congregation elsewhere. He continued as supply minister wherever there was most need, among other places at St. John's Church, Wellington.

Early in 1869 he left New Zealand for the Home Land. We find him at a meeting on June 9, 1869, of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The adoption of the report on the Colonial Mission was seconded by "the Rev. John Hall, one of the ministers sent out by the Colonial Mission, and lately returned from New Zealand and Vancouver's Island." Once again, after an absence of eight years, he was home in Ireland.

The years spent in New Zealand had been unsettled years. He had had no abiding place. It had not been his intention to settle there. He had a mission to perform, and when this was done his hope was to return to his native land and stay there.

(21) For details of Hall's New Zealand ministry I am indebted to Rev. S. W. Webber, Westport, New Zealand.

But he was to discover that New Zealand meant more to him than ever he knew so long as he remained in that country.

From 1869 to 1872 he appears to have been content with occasional supply. From then on his time was divided between two ministries—Magherafelt, County Londonderry, 1872-76; and Waterford, where he remained for fifteen years (1876-91). His father, Thomas Hall, died on January 11, 1875. In 1891, Portlaw was included in the Waterford charge.

The reason for his resignation in 1891 is not far to seek. New Zealand was calling, and the call was not to be denied. Although in his sixty-fifth year he still felt young, and was full of vigour. At a time when most men would have been thinking of settling down comfortably, he was planning new enterprises in the Master's vineyard.

So it comes about that the next mention we have of John Hall tells of his induction to the charge of Westport, in New Zealand, which took place on November 6, 1892, about a year after he left Ireland for the second time.

During his second stay in New Zealand Hall's ministry was almost wholly confined to Westport. This is the centre of a coal-mining district in Buller County, towards the north end of South Island.²² In the souvenir booklet of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Westport, Jubilee Celebrations (1879-1929), there is a photograph of John Hall, and this paragraph about his ministry there:—

Mr. Burnett was followed by Rev. John Hall, who had already done valuable pioneer work on the West Coast. Mr. Hall supplied for a time and receiving a hearty call was inducted to the pastorate of Westport on 6th November,

(22) A word regarding the history of the Westport congregation may be of interest. In 1879 the growing number of Presbyterians in the district made representations to the Assembly of the Northern Church, with the result that Rev. David Bruce, of Auckland, visited Westport, and held the first Presbyterian service there in the Masonic Hall on November 16, 1879. Within three weeks the Rev. J. M. Fraser arrived. He was succeeded in 1881 by P. R. Munro, a divinity student, who on completion of his studies was ordained in Westport in 1883. During the two years of his student supply a church was built in Palmerston Street, and this served the needs of the congregation for twenty-nine years, until 1910, when a new church was opened. Rev. H. P. Burnett followed Mr. Munro, and remained in charge from 1886 until 1891. The following year Rev. John Hall was inducted, and he remained till 1903.

1892. He exercised a useful ministry in Westport till he resigned in 1903, and has left an excellent impression which remains to this day. He took a keen interest in work among the young and acted for some years as Sunday School examiner for the Presbytery.

At the time of his resignation Hall was in his seventy-eighth year. We can readily understand how age, and growing infirmity, caused him to resign. The years spent in Westport seem to have been among the happiest in his life. The older residents of the city still speak of him in terms of warm appreciation.

Between the time of his resignation and his departure from New Zealand more than a year elapsed. "The evening embers were turning from red to grey." More and more he thought of the Home Land, and desired to be again with his own people. In 1905, on his way home to Ireland, he visited British Columbia. Dr. J. T. McNeill simply states that "he returned to visit the transformed scenes of his early mission."²³ The late Dr. Logan gives a more intimate picture:—

In June, 1905, it was my privilege to meet Mr. Hall, and to have him preach for me at Eburne, a place he had visited in 1861. He was an old man, eighty years of age, keen, alert, mellowed with years, returning to the Old Land to spend in well-earned rest the evening of his life.²⁴

The picture that Goldsmith draws in *The Deserted Village* comes unbidden to the mind:—

In all my wanderings round this world of care,
 In all my griefs—and God has given my share—
 I still had hopes, my latest hours to crown,
 Amidst these humble bowers to lay me down;
 To husband out life's taper at the close,
 And keep the flame from wasting by repose:
 I still had hopes, for pride attends us still,
 Amidst the swains to show my book-learned skill,

(23) *The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925*, Toronto, 1925, p. 103. Dr. McNeill gives the date of John Hall's death as 1911, but the inscription on his tombstone is quite clear in a photograph in the possession of the writer:—

In
 Memory
 of
 REV. JOHN HALL
 Missionary
 To Vancouver Island and New Zealand
 Died 7th Octr. 1907
 aged 81.

(24) *History of Presbyterianism in British Columbia*. Manuscript.

Around my fire an evening group to draw,
And tell of all I felt, and all I saw;
And, as the hare whom hounds and horns pursue,
Pants to the place from whence at first she flew,
I still had hopes, my long vexation past,
Here to return—and die at home at last.

Among the memories that were cherished during the last few years in Ireland were pictures of Vancouver Island, the Rocky Mountains, and the Canadian prairies. Hall would arrive home in July, 1905. That summer he went to stay with his sister in Corwillis, near Bailieborough. In this house he had been brought up, and here he spent the closing years of his long and useful life. From time to time he conducted services in Corglass, Corlea, Glassleek, and Trinity Church, Bailieborough. He passed away peacefully in the old home on October 7, 1907, and was buried in Corglass (First Bailieborough Presbyterian) churchyard. He was 81 years of age when he died.

J. C. GOODFELLOW.

PRINCETON, B.C.

EARLY TRAILS AND ROADS IN THE LOWER FRASER VALLEY.

Early settlement in New Westminster District, as elsewhere, was altogether governed by the means of access to the land. The first pre-emptions and purchases were invariably of lands which had some means of access at the time. First, and most important, was that provided by nature: the Fraser River, with its sloughs and tributaries, and the Nicomekl and Serpentine rivers, and Oliver Slough, affording ingress from Mud Bay. Next in order came the trails that were in existence when settlement commenced.

The first trail appearing on any map is one shown from Fort Langley to Hope in A. C. Anderson's well-known *Hand-book and Map to the Gold Region*, published in San Francisco in May, 1858. Strangely enough, in spite of his great familiarity with early travel routes, Anderson does not seem to have had a personal knowledge of this trail, as he sketches it close to the river—a location which the mouths of streams and overflowed land plainly made impracticable. Indeed, without other evidence its existence might be doubted; but in August, 1861, the Royal Engineers prepared a map which also shows the trail. The portion from Fort Langley to the vicinity of Abbotsford is there correctly shown, being placed well south of the river, on the higher ground. From that point the trail passed along Vedder Mountain to Chilliwack and beyond. One of the few contemporary references to this trail appears in the *Puget Sound Herald* of April 16, 1858, which, in speaking of the Whatcom Trail, states that the latter was expected to reach Sumas Prairie. "At this point the road intersects with the Hudson Bay Company's Brigade road leading to Fort Hope . . ."¹ Apparently it was along this trail that Lieutenant C. W. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilson, R.E., of the British Boundary Commission, "marched back to Fort Langley" a few months later.²

(1) Cited in R. L. Reid, "The Whatcom Trails to the Fraser River Mines," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVIII. (1927), p. 202. See also *Victoria Gazette*, September 14, 1858.

(2) Charles M. Watson, *The Life of Major-General Sir Charles Wilson*, London, 1909, p. 25.

A number of trails from the south met this Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail in the vicinity of Sumas Lake. The Californian miners of 1858, being determined to reach the Fraser River mines through American territory, planned and built trails from Whatcom (now Bellingham) to Hope and also constructed one from Semiahmoo (Blaine) to Fort Langley. The Royal Engineers' map of 1861 shows the Whatcom Trail from the Nootsack River to the mouth of the Sumas. It crossed the International Boundary about one-half mile east of the present Huntingdon townsite, on the west bank of the Sumas River. A branch of this trail from Whatcom crossed the boundary near the southwest corner of the Huntingdon townsite. It joined the main Whatcom Trail at Sumas Lake, and being on high land was probably used when the prairie was flooded. Portions of this trail were in passable condition as late as 1890, when the writer walked over them for about a mile. It seems remarkable that it survived for more than a generation, as it had never come into general use.

Still another trail crossed the boundary-line at boundary monument No. 32, but as it merely led from Sumas River to some lakes or ponds, which at the time the writer made the subdivisions of that quarter-section were a resort for wild ducks, it was probably only an Indian trail.

The De Lacy trail from Whatcom to Hope crossed the boundary-line east of Vedder Mountain, a location chosen probably in order to avoid the high water of Fraser River.³

On July 25, 1858, the public was notified that a trail was to be built from Semiahmoo to Fort Langley, and that a party was being sent to select the line. Persons who wished to tender for the construction of the trail were invited to accompany the surveyors.⁴ Semiahmoo was booming at that time; town lots were being sold, even in Victoria, and it proclaimed itself as the future metropolis of Puget Sound, and the entrepôt to the mines. The route chosen was from the mouth of Campbell Creek (known locally as Campbell River), following the general course of the creek for about 4 miles, and thence in a northeasterly direction

(3) See R. L. Reid, *op. cit.* The exact points at which these trails crossed the boundary are recorded in Marcus Baker, *Survey of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, 1857-1861* (United States Geological Survey, Bulletin 174), Washington, 1900, p. 37.

(4) *Victoria Gazette*, July 29, 1858.

across country to Fort Langley, a distance of about 12 miles. The writer has seen parts of this trail, both along Campbell Creek and towards Fort Langley.

The first settlement trail, as distinct from these Hudson's Bay Company and miners' trails, was built in 1861 by James Kennedy, who had taken up a pre-emption on the bank of the Fraser near the present Annieville. This trail followed the western base of the hill overlooking the Delta flats to Oliver Slough, Mud Bay: almost the present line of the Great Northern Railway. Kennedy extended the trail up the Fraser to the wharf at Brownsville, opposite the city of New Westminster, and for some distance beyond that point. He was proud of the fact that when the Fraser River was frozen in the winter of 1861-62, beef cattle from the United States were landed at the Oliver Slough, at one end of his trail, and driven over it to New Westminster, thereby relieving a serious meat shortage.⁵

Although it never became a factor of importance in either travel or settlement, it should be noted that the Boundary Commission, for purposes of its own, built a trail along the 49th parallel from Semiahmoo Bay to a point near Vedder Mountain, thence to the Chilliwack River, and on into the mountains. Its route followed the parallel as closely as possible. A link was constructed between this trail and the Fraser, ending at Miller's Landing, Sumas, which was the Commission's main supply depot. Goods were taken up the river to the landing by steamer, and thence taken inland to the camps along the boundary-line.

There was a great outcry for a trail from New Westminster to Langley, perhaps because it would connect there with the Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail. Late in 1859, or early in 1860, a futile attempt was made, commencing at a point about 5 miles above New Westminster, on the opposite side of the river; but the trail really began nowhere and ended "up a tree." Apparently it was built on the high land at a distance of about a mile from the river and extended about 5 miles. It was never used, but it is shown on the Royal Engineers' map of 1861, already referred to.

The next trail constructed is known to history as the "Telegraph Trail." After the failure of the 1858 Atlantic cable it seemed to many persons that such a project was impracticable,

(5) *British Columbian*, New Westminster, January 23, 1862.

and plans were made to construct an overland telegraph-line connecting the existing network in the United States with that of Europe. The route chosen was by way of British Columbia, Alaska, and Siberia, with a short cable across Bering Strait. The portion through British Columbia was to be constructed by the Collins Overland Telegraph Company (later the Western Union Extension). A trail was built along the line, both to facilitate the transportation of supplies and for purposes of maintenance. As shown by an old plan in the files of the Surveyor-General, in Victoria,⁶ the line of this telegraph trail entered British Columbia at the present site of the Peace Arch; thence it ran over the hill behind White Rock to the Mud Bay flats, which it crossed, swinging to the westward to connect, near the Oliver Slough, with the Kennedy trail, which it followed to New Westminster. This part of the line was completed early in 1865; and the first dispatch to travel over the wire carried the news of the assassination of President Lincoln, on April 14, 1865.⁷ From New Westminster the telegraph trail was continued to a point a short distance south of Fort Langley, where it connected with the Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail, which it followed to Hope. The portion of this trail through the present Municipality of Langley is now a public highway, but is still known as the Telegraph Trail. Other municipalities seem to have ignored it.⁸

Heretofore we have dealt with trails only, but we now approach the first road scheme, and the first road-building, in the Fraser Valley. The Crown Colony of British Columbia had become the Province of British Columbia, and, in keeping with the expanded horizons of the time, the Provincial Government thought in terms of roads for the settlement of the Lower Fraser. In the office of the Surveyor-General there is preserved a "Plan of Route Adopted by the Government between New Westminster

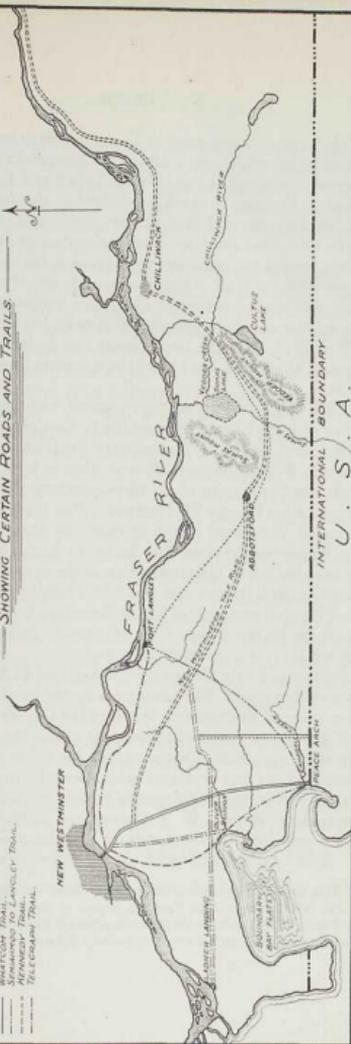
(6) Plan 3. This plan is not completely accurate, as a line drawn due north on it from the Peace Arch site strikes the Fraser River about 1½ miles east of the Coast meridian, whereas in actual fact such a line should correspond with the line of the meridian which runs due north from the Peace Arch.

(7) The news actually reached New Westminster on April 18, 1865.

(8) The Collins Overland Telegraph had actually been constructed as far as Fort Stager, on the Skeena River, when news arrived of the successful completion of the Atlantic cable in 1866. Work on the Collins line was abandoned forthwith.

PLAN OF PART OF NEW WESTMINSTER DISTRICT
SHOWING CERTAIN ROADS AND TRAILS

- SHAWANAGO ROAD
- VILLAGE ROAD
- ROAD TO THE AMERICAN & PROCELAN ROAD
- ROAD TO THE BRASSING ROAD
- ROAD TO THE WATSON ROAD
- WATSON TRAIL, WATSON TRAIL
- KENNEDY TRAIL
- TELEGRAPH TRAIL



INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
 U. S. A.

and Yale." It shows a road to be built from the bank of the Fraser at Brownsville, just south of the present Pattullo Bridge; thence southward on the line between Lots 2 and 4, Group 2, and produced to the foot of the hill; following the foot of the hill until it met the telegraph trail at Port Mann, and along this trail to Hope. One short deviation from the route was made at Sumas Mountain, where the proposed road crossed the toe a short distance north of the trail, which it rejoined east of the mountain. No road was ever constructed along this proposed route. The plan is neither dated nor signed, but it must have been prepared in 1872 or 1873, after the Government had decided on the township system of surveys, but before the township lines had actually been run.⁹

In 1872 the Government began actual building by the construction of a road from Brownsville to Semiahmoo Bay. This road, the first in New Westminster District, commenced at Brownsville Wharf; thence followed what is now known as the Old Yale Road to a point about three-quarters of a mile west of the present King George VI. Highway. Veering southeastwards, it descended Woodward's Hill, crossed the flats on what later became known as the Mud Bay Road, to Elgin, and continued thence over the hill to the intersection of the present Stayte Road with the Campbell River Road, and after crossing Campbell River followed the trail constructed by the Boundary Commission along the shore to Blaine. This road has mostly fallen into disuse, though legally it is still a public highway.

The citizens of New Westminster subscribed \$1,227.50 towards the cost of this road. The route was located by George Turner, the former Royal Engineer, on behalf of the Government, assisted by L. F. Bonson on behalf of the citizens of the city. Bonson was subsequently appointed superintendent for the district and had supervision of the first contracts, which were let in four sections: to Charles McDonough, afterwards a prominent New Westminster merchant; Messrs. W. J. Brewer and William Woodward, farmers; and John Kirkland, later a prominent resident of the Delta. The total amount paid out on the four contracts was

(9) This plan has a wealth of information about the district, and is evidently that referred to in John Fannin's *Report of Exploration, New Westminster District* (in *Lands and Works Department, Reports of Explorations* . . . , Victoria, 1873, pp. 3-9). See *Sessional Papers, 1873-74*.

\$5,537.¹⁰ When these contracts were completed there remained 8 miles to be built in order to reach Semiahmoo (Blaine). This portion was also let in several sections, as follows: William Thompson, \$2,375; W. J. Brewer, \$4,750; William Litster, \$1,200. William H. Ladner, well-known resident of the Delta, had supervision of the contract.¹¹

Having built the Semiahmoo Road, running north and south, the Government next determined upon a road running east and west. In 1874 the first two stretches of a proposed road from Ladner's Landing (the Ladner of to-day) to Hope were placed under contract. The first section—13 miles and 13 chains—from Ladner to the Semiahmoo Road, was let to John Kirkland for \$11,750. For 9 miles from Ladner this section was across tide-flats, in the delta of the Fraser River, which were covered with salt water at high tide. This portion was constructed on somewhat novel lines. Two wide ditches or canals were dug and the excavated earth piled between them, thus forming a dyke. The top was then levelled off and corduroy laid to form a road. The canals were used to drain the land, and also by the settlers for the transportation of supplies in canoes. The writer has a vivid recollection of the desolate condition of this part of the delta flats in the late seventies, when as a boy he walked from Point Roberts to Ladner's Landing in order to catch the steamer *Enterprise*, which then plied between Victoria and New Westminster. This part of the road was an experimental effort to combine a road, dyke, and drainage system for the low-lying lands, and proved successful beyond expectation, though it suffered considerable damage from the storms during the first winter after it was constructed.

The next part of Kirkland's contract was on high land, and extended to the junction with the Semiahmoo Road, near the top of Woodward's Hill.¹²

From the Semiahmoo Road to Langley Prairie, a distance of almost 7 miles, the contract was let to A. J. McLellan ("Big

(10) *Report of the Commissioner of Lands and Works, 1873*, p. 12 (in *Sessional Papers, 1873-74*).

(11) *Report of the Commissioner of Lands and Works, 1874*, p. 320 (in *Sessional Papers, 1875*).

(12) This stretch of the road, once well known as the Kirkland Road, is now officially part of the McLellan Road, construction of which is noted in the next paragraph.

McLellan") for \$11,300. This portion of the road was all on high land, with the exception of a short distance where it crossed the upper flats of the Serpentine River.

About the same time another road, known for many years as the Yale Road, and now a portion of the Pacific Highway, was constructed, beginning from the Semiahmoo Road, about three-quarters of a mile west of the present King George VI. Highway, and extending to Langley Prairie and on to Murray's Corner (Murrayville); thence it followed the height of land to Abbotsford, and over the toe of Sumas Mountain, and directly across Sumas Prairie to Vedder Mountain, near the present Bellrose, and then through Chilliwack and Rosedale to Hope. This was the main highway to Hope for many years, until the draining of Sumas Lake and the building of a new road along the base of Sumas Mountain and across the (New) Vedder River to Chilliwack.

Another lateral road constructed at this time was the Scott Road, running due north and south from Brownsville to the McLellan or Kirkland Road, which was built by "Colonel" J. T. Scott, a well-known pioneer of the Province. It seems strange that at a time when the Provincial Treasury was not by any means overflowing, such roads as this and the Yale Road should have been undertaken, both necessitating heavy and expensive work through dense forest, and one of them through that remarkable tract known as the Green Timber. Moreover, as a glance at the map will show, these two roads formed the third side of triangles, and in view of the small traffic and scattered population of the time their construction is almost an enigma. Perhaps the solution lies in the near approach of the election of 1875. It thus will appear that the Semiahmoo Road, towards the cost of which the people of New Westminster had made a substantial contribution, practically fell into the discard, except for the trickle of traffic to and from Semiahmoo itself. Another similar, if minor, example is the Hall's Prairie Road, which was built south from the McLellan Road to Semiahmoo, where it met the Semiahmoo Road. It may be that the purpose was to stimulate settlement by affording an approach to land theretofore inaccessible. Evidently they did not fill a long-felt want, for the Government discontinued the building of lateral roads after those mentioned had been constructed.

W. N. DRAPER.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

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Rev. John C. Goodfellow, of Princeton, is Secretary of the Similkameen Historical Association, Secretary of the Historical Committee of the British Columbia Conference of the United Church, and was in 1942 President of the British Columbia Historical Association. He has for years been an assiduous collector of data relating to the history of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches in this Province.

William N. Draper, B.C.L.S., has lived in British Columbia since 1877, and is one of the pioneer surveyors of the Province. He has known the Fraser Valley intimately for half a century, and has personally explored the routes of all the roads and trails about which he writes in this issue.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday, October 20. Mrs. Curtis Sampson, President of the Section, presided, and introduced the speaker of the evening, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb. Dr. Lamb was privileged to write the introduction to the first volume of the *Letters of John McLoughlin*, which was published recently by the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society. This first volume covers the years 1825 to 1838, and Dr. Lamb spoke on the life and work of McLoughlin during that period. He dealt chiefly with four topics: McLoughlin's early life, the story of which could now be told with some certainty and in some detail; the interesting rôle played by McLoughlin in the unofficial negotiations which preceded the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821; McLoughlin's trading policies, after he was placed in charge of the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rockies; and, finally, McLoughlin the man, who became more interesting the more we learned about his life and personality. McLoughlin's later letters are voluminous, and it is expected that another two volumes will be required to print his correspondence from 1839 to 1846.

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The central theme of the later books will be the mounting quarrel between McLoughlin and his immediate superior, Sir George Simpson, which led ultimately to McLoughlin's retirement from the service of the Company.

A second meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Thursday, November 5, when Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, spoke on *The Story of Similkameen*. The history of the region, Mr. Goodfellow explained, was a drama in five acts. First came the time of the Indians, which is still remembered by many of the old natives in the valley. Next came the age of the fur-traders, which commenced with the visit of Alexander Ross, of Astor's Pacific Fur Company, in 1813. The stage was set for the third act in the fall of 1859, when a sergeant attached to the United States Boundary Commission discovered gold in the Similkameen River. The discovery was actually made just south of the 49th parallel, but it led to a rush to diggings on the British side of the line in 1860. The fourth act began in 1888, when a hunter and his son stumbled upon an outcropping of what later became known as the Sunset copper mine. Copper Mountain was developed in due course and became one of the basic industries of the region. Finally, in 1909, came the Great Northern Railway; and in 1915 the Kettle Valley Railway was completed through to the Coast. Meanwhile coal had been discovered in the Tulameen Valley, and the mines there continue to be of the first importance at the present day. Mr. Goodfellow told the whole story wittily and well, and his address was much enjoyed by the large audience in attendance.

The Section is taking a leading part in the preparations for the celebrations which are to mark the centenary of the founding of Fort Victoria, in March, 1943. Owing to the war the programme will be on a modest scale, but the anniversary will not be permitted to slip by unnoticed. Efforts have been made to persuade the Postmaster-General to authorize a special stamp, but the Section has learned with regret that this will not be practicable, owing to the war. A brochure on the history of Victoria's hundred years is in preparation, and Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, has announced his department will co-operate by placing suitable markers on a series of local historic sites.

The April number of this *Quarterly* is being planned as a special centenary issue, and an interesting table of contents is already assured.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in Hotel Grosvenor on Thursday, November 19, with the retiring President, Dr. M. Y. Williams, in the chair. Reports upon the activities of the Section during the year were presented and adopted. It was particularly gratifying to learn that, in spite of the continual calls upon the time and attention of the members, the paid-up membership of the Section still exceeded 150. A special vote of thanks to Mr. E. G. Baynes was passed, in recognition of his kindness in permitting the Section to meet in the Grosvenor Hotel.

The Council decided this year that the officers for 1942-43 should be elected by ballot, and in order that all members might participate the ballot-

papers were sent out by mail. The scrutineers reported that the result of the election was as follows:—

Honorary President.....	Dr. Robie L. Reid.
Past President.....	Dr. M. Y. Williams.
President.....	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Vice-President.....	Miss Helen Boutillier.
Honorary Secretary.....	Miss Jean Coots.
Honorary Treasurer.....	Mr. G. B. White.
Members of the Council—	
Mr. E. G. Baynes.....	Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop.
Mr. F. H. Johnson.....	Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.
Mr. D. A. McGregor.....	Mr. A. De B. McPhillips.
Miss Eleanor Mercer.....	Dr. W. N. Sage.
Dr. Sylvia Thrupp.....	Mr. K. A. Waites.

Miss Thelma Nevard was re-elected Honorary Treasurer on the original ballot, but for reasons of health she was compelled to tender her resignation. This the Section accepted with regret. Mr. G. B. White was subsequently elected to the office of Treasurer.

The speaker of the evening was Mr. E. S. Robinson, Librarian of the Vancouver Public Library, who spoke on *Alaska and the Alaska Highway*. Mr. Robinson recently made an extended, if rapid, tour of Alaska at the request of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and with the co-operation of the United States Army. He commented first upon our surprising ignorance of the character of the country, its people, and its problems. Within Alaska Mr. Robinson did most of his travelling by air, and for many hundreds of miles his plane followed the route of the new Alaska Highway. The speaker's anecdotes and adventures were both informative and amusing, and the impression he gave of Alaska was vivid and arresting.

GRADUATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In common with many other organizations, the Society is this year studying some of the problems which will face the world at the conclusion of the present war. The first meeting of the season was held on October 22, at the home of the Honorary President, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Wallace Crescent. The speaker was Mr. Robert T. McKenzie, of the Department of University Extension, who spoke on *Reconstruction in a Revolutionary World*. His address constituted an introductory survey to the whole field of study planned for the year. His presentation was interesting and provocative, and was followed by one of the lively discussions which are characteristic of the Society.

A second meeting was held on November 26, at the home of Mrs. A. H. Mercer, Hudson Avenue. Mr. W. E. Reed, of John Oliver High School, spoke on *The Will and the Way*. Have we, he asked, discovered with any certainty the way to the kind of new world we envisage and desire, and, assuming that we have, have we any real determination to follow it, regard-

less of the sacrifices and uncomfortable readjustments which it is certain to involve? Mr. Reed presented no ready-made conclusions, but pointed out some of the hard facts and hazards which we are too prone to neglect, and, by so doing, may easily wreck our hopes for a better future.

SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS.

The third annual report of the Society was presented recently, and it is apparent that, in spite of the fact that some of the most active members are busy with war work, the year has been both active and interesting. It was considered that the time had come to organize the Society somewhat more formally, and a constitution and by-laws were therefore prepared and adopted. His Honour W. C. Woodward, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, gratified the Society by consenting to become its Honorary Patron. The members were encouraged further when Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, of Princeton, who has for years taken an active interest in Indian arts and crafts, accepted the office of Honorary President.

The branch of the Society at Oliver has been very active during the year. Its committee now includes three Indian members, and its energetic Honorary Secretary, Mrs. Albert Miller, has organized monthly meetings during the winter months, at which addresses on Indian art and social topics are being delivered by experts in the field.

It is hoped that a branch may soon be formed in Vancouver. A preliminary committee has been organized, under the chairmanship of the well-known artist, Mrs. Mildred Valley Thornton, who for fifteen years has specialized in the painting of portraits of Indian Chiefs.

In October the Society prepared a memorandum on "Suggestions on Art Development in the Indian Schools of British Columbia," which, with the consent of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was sent to all the Indian Schools in the Province. Unfortunately the response to date has been small; but difficulties arising from the war are in great part responsible for this.

Articles on the work of the Society, or on topics in which it is specially interested, have appeared in a number of periodicals, including *The Beaver* (Winnipeg), the *B.C. Teacher* (Vancouver), *Maritime Art* (Halifax), and the unpretentious but interesting little quarterly, *Wampum*, published in Muncey, Ontario.

Lastly, but perhaps most interesting of all, word has just been received from England that a portion of the collection of British Columbia Indian designs sent abroad last year have been loaned to the Royal College of Arts for the use of its students in weaving designs. It will be recalled that this collection was sent originally to the Art, Colour, and Design Section of the Manchester Cotton Board. Mr. Cleveland Bell, Director of the Section, planned to hold an exhibition of the designs for the Textile and Fabric Trade, but the project has had to be postponed until after the war. Mr. Bell was greatly impressed with the Indian designs, which opened up to him "a whole new range of art."

Persons interested in the work of the Society are invited to communicate with the Honorary Secretary, who may be addressed in care of the Provincial Museum, Victoria.

CORRECTION.

The Editor regrets that a mistake was made in printing the note regarding Mr. Stephen E. Raymer, J.P., in the "Notes and Comments" in the October number of the *Quarterly*. It was there stated in error that Mr. Raymer was Consul for Yugoslavia in Vancouver in 1914, whereas it should have been stated that he held that position after the creation of the new kingdom, following the Great War.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

British Columbia and the United States: The North Pacific Slope from Fur Trade to Aviation. (The Relations of Canada and the United States.) By F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus. Edited by H. F. Angus. Toronto: The Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. xv., 408. \$3.50.

This is the most useful study of the history of British Columbia that has appeared since the publication of the standard two-volume work by Judge Howay and the late E. O. S. Scholefield in 1914. It does not supersede the latter, for it is not a general history; but it supplements it at many points, brings it up to date in others, and will prove almost as indispensable as a ready reference.

The series to which the volume belongs is devoted to the study of Canadian-American relations, past and present, and in explanation of the "pattern" of the book the editor explains that "space was freely accorded to those parts of the story which seemed to throw most light on this topic, while other parts were sharply abridged." This means that political developments are treated sketchily, if at all, with the exception of the boundary disputes and the annexationist movement. On the other hand, the economic history of the Province is dealt with more fully than in any other single work. Indeed, the book is essentially a study of the century-long predatory assault upon the virgin resources first of Old Oregon, and then, after the boundary settlement of 1846, of the area now comprising British Columbia and the Yukon Territory. American citizens and American capital were invariably in the forefront of this exploitation, and they have continued to be key factors in the economic life of the Province to the present day.

The natural resources dealt with include fur, gold, the base metals, fish, and lumber, with the emphasis placed heavily on the first three. The economic development of the region began with the maritime fur trade. Though the British were first on the scene, the Americans soon gained the mastery, and it so continued until 1825, by which date ruthless hunting had all but exterminated the trade's mainstay, the sea-otter. It seems a pity that this interesting episode should be dismissed in a dozen pages, particularly as they are contributed by so noted an authority as Judge Howay. True, the maritime fur trade is a closed chapter; but the traders it attracted to the Coast turned their attention to beaver skins when sea-otter were no longer obtainable, and were a factor in the trade of the region for much longer than is generally supposed. Judge Howay also contributes the four long chapters devoted to the overland fur trade in Old Oregon. In a sense he tells little that is new. Histories of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the fur trade in the western United States are readily available; but, to this reviewer's knowledge, this is the first occasion upon which the interrelations between the two have been dealt with adequately and in proper perspective

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in a single narrative. The result is illuminating, and reveals how much has been lost by considering either side of the story, as it were, in a vacuum.

Two chapters are devoted to gold. When the California rush began to wane, the search for further deposits was extended northward. The result was a whole series of discoveries and rushes, great and small, extending from the Fraser River excitement of 1858 to the Klondike rush forty years later. The three most important of these rushes (the Fraser River, Cariboo, and the Klondike) all took place in British territory. American citizens swarmed in upon each occasion, and presently swarmed out again, when the surface placers—the only ones which could be worked profitably by individual miners—ceased to promise abundant yields. The Fraser River rush is described by Judge Howay, who very properly places the emphasis upon the problems presented by the sudden influx of Americans into unorganized and virtually unoccupied British territory. The way in which law and order were maintained, with the result that a veritable extension of California failed to develop the undesirable characteristics of the original, is most interesting. Dr. Sage describes the Klondike rush, and shows how an analogous situation was handled under more modern conditions.

Dr. Sage also contributes the chapter on base-metal mining in the Kootenay and Boundary country. The area was in great part explored and exploited by Americans from the "Inland Empire," centring on Spokane. Most of the capital first employed was also American, as British and Canadian interests did not invest heavily until a relatively late date. On the other hand, the number of United States citizens actually employed in the region seems to have remained surprisingly—even inexplicably—small. Thus Gosnell notes that of the 819 employees of the Le Roi mine at Rossland in 1901, only 194 were Americans, while 53 per cent., or well over 400, were British subjects.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is the review of "Railway Building in British Columbia, 1871-1915," by Dr. Sage. It is a most useful analysis, describing as it does the growth of the entire railway network within the Province. One can quarrel only with one minor point. In dealing with American influence on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, this reviewer feels that the emphasis should have been placed on the Northern Pacific, rather than upon Hill and the Great Northern. It is surely significant that whenever the Northern Pacific managed to get its chaotic finances in some sort of order and resume construction, the Canadian Pacific, as if by magic, at once came to the fore; and it can hardly be a coincidence that only two years elapsed between the completion of the Northern Pacific in 1883 and of the Canadian Pacific in 1885.

As already noted, politics play only a minor rôle in the volume. Professor Angus deals in three concise but adequate chapters with the Oregon, San Juan, and Alaska boundary questions, while Dr. Sage writes at length upon "British Columbia in the Balance—Annexation or Confederation." Mr. Willard Ireland's discovery of the original annexation petition, and his careful analysis of the attached signatures, has, to this reviewer's mind,

disposed of the annexation bogey once and for all; but the point is a matter of opinion. The movement was certainly much more important in the United States than it was in British Columbia. Locally, at least, it was only one of several anti-confederation forces, and seems to have been less influential than the pension anxieties of the official members of the Council, or the feeble policy of the Governor.

Judge Howay and Dr. Sage between them tell the story of the age of exploitation. Professor Angus deals more briefly with the dawn of the age of co-operation and conservation which we trust is to follow. His chapter on the fur-seal forms an excellent introduction, for it illustrates both the marked improvement in the relations between Canada and the United States that has occurred since the turn of the century, and the necessity for agreements between the countries if certain resources which they enjoy in common are to become perpetual instead of wasting assets. Mr. Angus brings the volume to a close with a thirty-page chapter entitled "The Age of the Good Neighbours," which deals with the highlights of the last thirty years. It is a brilliant and illuminating outline, enlivened with a dash of wit and humour, and could be expanded with profit into a whole volume. When Mr. Angus is relieved of his present war duties it is to be hoped that he will bear this possibility in mind.

A few corrections should be made in future printings. The Seven Oaks affair occurred in 1816, not 1815 (p. 44); the Snake River expeditions did not end in 1834, as implied on page 63; it is now known quite definitely that Dr. McLoughlin did not personally assume any of the debts of the American settlers in Oregon (p. 112); *Oreville* should be *Oroville* on page 258; *Provincial Secretary* should read *Colonial Secretary* on page 266; there is an inconsistency in two statements regarding the number of miners at Wild Horse Creek (pp. 266, 330); and the smelter at Revelstoke was built with English, not American, capital (p. 283).

It is much to be regretted that the book has been issued without an index. The "analytical table of contents" given instead is at best a poor substitute. This is the first volume of the Canadian-American Relations Series to suffer from this affliction, and it is to be hoped that an index can be added in subsequent editions.

W. KAYE LAMB.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Book of Small. By Emily Carr. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. viii., 245. \$2.50.

Readers of this journal are not interested, primarily, in the style of Miss Emily Carr's books (though they undoubtedly have style), but in their value for the historian. *Klee Wyck* has been reviewed in these pages, and now, a year later, it is followed by *The Book of Small*. In this collection of sketches, Miss Carr suggests how the City of Victoria looked and behaved in the 1880's, how one family managed its life there and then, and especially how that place and that life were viewed by a pair of keen eyes owned by

a child nicknamed Small. "Keen" is an inadequate, even redundant, word as applied to those eyes: no one will deny that they were relentlessly realistic. But at the same time they looked abroad with a child-artist's passion—a passion of distaste and affection intermingled. It isn't usual that a fusion of this sort gets transferred into the cold print of history. When the transference occurs, a discerning reader can always recognize, even in a historical "document," the authentic hall-mark of what is known as "style."

Obviously, *The Book of Small* does not pretend to give full-length portraits either of a family or of a town. The brief sketches of which it is composed turn a spot-light here and there upon various aspects of the two. It is astonishing, by the way, how little the observer misses. But the value of her writing does not lie in its bulk or even in its unquestionable veracity. Any history book done by a sane and competent human being can tell what looks like the whole bald "truth." In *The Book of Small*, however, you get not only "facts" but also what John Keats would call the "feel" of the facts. And this "feel" is precisely what every intelligent reader wants to get and every intelligent historian would give his eye-teeth to convey.

In other words, *The Book of Small* is a priceless primary source for the local historian. Such a writer will be able to supplement Miss Carr's outlines with any amount of addition, but he had better consult her book before he takes a shot at the "feel" of his whole picture. The matter is not unimportant, since Victoria has a history which is literally unique. Its founders and their immediate descendants tried to mark off a corner of earth that should be forever England. They had no roots in Canada, often they had seen nothing of Canada, they had only the mildest kind of interest in things Canadian. Indeed, Victoria children of the third generation have been known to refuse any label but "English." Such is the continuity upon which Miss Carr directs her beam. And the 1880's were the days when Victoria's Anglicism was in full bloom, already overripe.

There need be no great regret that the Early Victorians (in our local sense) made their brave and romantically impossible venture. Miss Carr throws much light on what happens when the flowers of Eden are transplanted into an alien soil. She suggests the impact of new country upon pioneers, the close pressure of strange sea and stranger forest, the pull of a far-off home, the insistent presence of alien races. Out of all these pressures and tensions was generated the unexampled air which still gathers about Victoria like a fading perfume.

If a book can convey a sense of that uniqueness, it has every right to be called a first-rate "primary source." And *The Book of Small* does convey it.

G. G. SEDGEWICK.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee. First Series, 1825-38. Edited by E. E. Rich. With an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. Toronto: The Champlain Society; London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941. Pp. exxxviii., 374. Portrait, map.

The City of Vancouver on the Columbia River was, historically speaking, founded in January, 1825, not as a city but as a trading-post of the Hudson's Bay Company, and later the headquarters of the extensive business of that Company in the entire Pacific Northwest. The site was selected personally by John McLoughlin, the newly appointed Chief Factor of the Columbia District, who became one of the leading figures in the early history of the Oregon Country, so-called. After retiring from this position twenty years later he became an American citizen residing in Oregon City, where he died in 1857.

The writer of this review had occasion some years ago to inquire of the Hudson's Bay Company in London for any journals kept at Fort Vancouver, and was informed that no such journals were in existence. It is very gratifying to learn now that the Company did possess, and has now furnished for publication in this and succeeding volumes a series of letters (perhaps more correctly styled reports) from Chief Factor McLoughlin as to events at Fort Vancouver and in the District. We are assured that these volumes will reproduce the whole of Dr. McLoughlin's official correspondence now in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company without excision or alteration. His letters may be likened to an irregularly kept journal, but exceeding in exactness and minuteness of detail and in lucidity of exposition the most carefully kept journal. They were written in duplicate: one copy being sent by the spring or fall express, and the other by vessel direct to London. The unique situation of Dr. McLoughlin, a man who had from boyhood breathed the atmosphere of the fur trade, and had the superintendency of the Company's affairs in Old Oregon, and yet subject to the orders of the London Committee, who however well-intentioned had no practical experience of the country, the natives, or the trade, resulted in a wealth of detail to enable his superiors to envisage the problems confronting him and the reasons for the action taken or proposed.

Though the correspondence shows that this situation irked McLoughlin, we, interested in the history of Old Oregon, may well be thankful for the resultant pictures presented in it: of the opposition to the Russians, the Boston ships, and the St. Louis trappers and traders, the Snake River expeditions, and the advent of the first missionaries and settlers. The latter, with the undetermined boundary-line, greatly increased the good Doctor's perplexities, for the fur trade and settlement never did cohere, and they certainly would not in Old Oregon, where the new-comers were keen, shrewd, land-hungry Americans.

In these letters we catch the first glimpse of disagreement between McLoughlin and Governor Simpson. Strong men were they both; and each was firm in his view that his was the best way to beat off the Boston vessels which threatened to drain into their holds all the land furs along the coast.

McLoughlin felt strongly that the best means was to place trading-posts along the coast so as to offer a twelve-months-in-the-year opposition to the American ships. Simpson, on the other hand, put his faith in trading-vessels which could dog the itinerant Boston ships, and moving from place to place could oppose them wherever they attempted to trade. The London Committee sided with Simpson. Both disputants had the same end in view: the good of the Company; the dispute was merely regarding the best way of accomplishing that end. Here was "the little rift within the lute." To this were added differences over his policy in dealing with Wyeth; but all these were official; it remained for the murder of McLoughlin's son and Simpson's actions in investigating the crime to change the official into personal differences and worse; but that is another story, which the next volume of these letters will deal with.

This volume shows the wide reach of the Company's activities: its fur trade stretching from northern California to Alaska; its agriculture, its lumbering, its fisheries, all carried on under ante-pioneer conditions; its brigades and expresses, the first regular transcontinental transport service; its annual ship from England, carrying out trading goods and returning with furs; its importation of cattle and sheep into Old Oregon; its coasting vessels, flitting along from fort to fort; its ships taking lumber and salted salmon to Hawaii and stretching to the southward to Mexico and Chile; and its steamer *Beaver*, despite McLoughlin's forebodings, aiding in the trade and poking her nose into every port that offered any trade. It is a perfect mine for the monographist, and doubtless will yield scores of papers and articles.

The letters are followed by nearly as many pages of Appendix A, entitled "Supplementary Documents," which are equally interesting. This appendix includes four reports by James Douglas in which, amongst other matters, he discusses the Indian slave trade; throws some light on the Rev. Herbert Beaver and on the Methodist and other missionaries; sketches the growth of agriculture on the Willamette and Cowlitz rivers; deals with the importation of cattle and sheep from California; the explorations of La Framboise in the Sacramento River country; the effects of the still-persisting Boston vessels on the trade, especially along the Alaskan coast; outlines some of the troubles with the Company's ships, including a mutiny on the *Nereide*; the lumber trade with Hawaii and the possibility of dealing in hides and tallow with the Spaniards; the Indian troubles; the disaster at the Dalles in 1838; and the selection of the site of Fort Victoria, making a conspectus of the Company's activities, interests, and dreams. Included in this appendix are Peter Skene Ogden's reports on the Snake River expedition of 1825 and on the Stikine trouble with the Russians; Æmilius Simpson's account of the selection and founding of Fort Nass (Simpson), and other tap-root material.

Appendix B continues the biographical sketches that have been a most valuable portion of the preceding volumes of the series. Compiled from the Company's records, these sketches are authoritative and will be of the greatest utility to research students. Every series should have a supple-

mentary volume, and the suggestion is made, seriously, that such a volume should bring together all these short biographies. Of particular interest are those of Thomas McKay, a stepson of McLoughlin, well known by many of the pioneer settlers in Oregon; and John Work (or Wark), who is buried in Victoria.

The preface by the editor, E. E. Rich, is brief and explanatory only. The notes leave much to be desired; they are too short and scrappy; many matters are left unexplained: for example, the presence on the Pacific slope of Iroquois, an eastern tribe of Indians; the "Coquilt" Indians; and the identification of Sebassa.

Like its predecessors in the series the book contains a lengthy introduction, 120 pages, and in writing it Dr. Lamb has performed a fine and scholarly piece of work. He has interpreted the facts and material in the letters and documents in narrative form; but more than this, he has shown us a full-sized picture of the man—Dr. McLoughlin—whose memory is revered in Oregon. It is the first attempt—a very successful one—to piece together, down to 1838, a real life of Dr. McLoughlin from his earliest days. Incidentally, Dr. Lamb has unwoven the tangled threads of McLoughlin's prominent part in the negotiations for the union of 1821. From many sources he has gathered, here a little and there a little, the basic facts and combined them to produce a picture that shows us at once the man, the unique and difficult position he occupied, his humanity, his wide grasp of all things that concerned the vast region under his superintendency, his intimate acquaintance with the qualities and abilities of the men under him, and the problems he faced in the trade in all its branches.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON.

Building the Canadian Nation. By George W. Brown. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1942. Pp. x., 478. Ill. \$2.25.

The writing of a high school text-book is a special skill which few Canadian historians have acquired, either from lack of inclination or opportunity. Professor Brown, of the University of Toronto, has made his debut with an admirable example, which profited from a preview by twenty teachers who agreed to use portions of the book for experimental purposes. His book, written in a simple and direct fashion, spans the years from Columbus and Cartier to Churchill and the Canadian-American Defence Board. It strikes a nice balance between political, social, and economic history, and has the best collection of maps and illustrations that I have seen in a text-book. Among them are some ingenious maps showing the various stages of exploration, illustrations from recent motion pictures such as *Northwest Passage*, and Arctic projection maps which would delight the hearts of Stefansson and the late General Mitchell. Miss Mary Campbell has furnished for each chapter reading lists that should help any high school library to build up a fine collection. A feature of this text that will please both East and West Coasts is its proper emphasis upon historical developments from sea to sea, that clears the author of any suspicion of being "Toronto-centric"—as has

occasionally happened in the past. It is to be hoped that *Building the Canadian Nation* will receive the nation-wide use which the pains that author and publishers have taken justify.

F. H. SOWARD.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

SHORTER NOTICES.

Legends of Stanley Park. By B. A. McKelvie. N.p., n.d. [Vancouver: copyright 1941. Pp. 40.] 25 cents.

In a brief foreword to this modest but attractive booklet the author points out that the beauty-spot we know to-day as Stanley Park was highly regarded by the Indians, long before the white man appeared upon the scene. The five legends which follow enable us to glimpse something of what it meant to the Indian folk. They relate to Lost Lagoon and other well-known spots, including Siwash Rock, about which Mr. McKelvie offers a new story, quite different from that told by Pauline Johnson.

A Check List of Washington Imprints 1853-1876 (American Imprints Inventory, No. 44). Edited by Geraldine Beard. Foreword by Charles W. Smith. Seattle: The Washington Historical Records Survey [Work Projects Administration], 1942. (Mimeographed.) Pp. 89.

This useful and carefully prepared check-list includes some 200 items known to have been printed, and an additional eighteen titles that may have been printed, in the territory now comprising the State of Washington before 1877. The list is known to be incomplete, but work upon it had to be suspended because of the war, and the alternatives offered, in Mr. Smith's words, were "immediate publication or indefinite postponement." All interested in Pacific Northwest bibliography will be glad that publication was decided upon.

Official documents far outnumber the other titles recorded, especially in the earlier years. Thus in the period to 1871, out of a total of 160 items, 115 were issued by some official agency. Of the rest, nineteen were issued by the Freemasons, and as many more by the Baptists and other religious denominations. The number of books and pamphlets published by individuals was thus very small—smaller, it would appear, than the number published in British Columbia during the same years. The first of any importance was a sixteen-page booklet entitled *Puget Sound: its past, present and future*, by Elwood Evans, which was printed at Olympia in 1869. This was followed in 1870 by Evans's famous pamphlet, *The Re-Annexation of British Columbia to the United States Right, Proper and Desirable*. The Provincial Archives had the good fortune to acquire a copy of this rare item not long ago. *Washington Territory west of the Cascade Mountains*, by Ezra Meeker, was published the same year.

The excellent general index, and the special indexes of printers, presses, publishers, and places of publication, are features which will be appreciated by all who have occasion to consult the check-list.

Historical Units of Agencies of the First World War. By Elizabeth B. Drewry. (*Bulletin of the National Archives, No. 4.*) Washington, D.C., 1942. Pp. 31.

The important part that records are playing in the war effort of the United States may be gauged by the fact that the National Archives in Washington is now dealing with inquiries at the staggering rate of 250,000 per annum. Department after department is discovering that, in more ways than one, this war is simply taking up where the last war left off. In the words of this *Bulletin*, "There seems reason to believe that as the historians of the future regard the two world wars they may look upon the first as a prelude to the second and may be able to trace a continuous flow of ideas and policies from one to the other."

Most of the United States Government departments and agencies concerned in the last war learned from experience, as the struggle proceeded, that an accurate record of their activities was of great practical value. Many of them appointed historians or archivists of one kind or another, and most of them planned, when peace returned, to print an official history of their war activities. Almost without exception these projects were killed by the war weariness and demands for retrenchment and economy which were characteristic of the years following the armistice. The Department of State offers a sad example of what occurred. An "Office of the Historian of the War" was created October 1, 1918; a qualified incumbent was appointed and instructed "to prepare a documentary history of the war now raging." A comprehensive work in twenty volumes was planned; five volumes were completed in manuscript; two of these actually went to the printer. Then the economy axe was wielded and printing preparations ceased. In 1924 the Historian himself died. Some of the documents he collected have since appeared in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, but the text proper remains in manuscript.

One or two departments fared better, notably the Navy. True, the projected full-scale official history was never written; but the nucleus of a records department survived, and by degrees grew into the existing Office of Naval Records and Library. The work of preserving and sorting documents which this office accomplished through the years is now proving of great value. The volumes of papers issued under the editorship of its distinguished head, Captain Dudley W. Knox, are models of their kind.

Miss Drewry's summary of the whole story is important and timely, for it shows how essential it is that Governments should recognize not only the desirability but the necessity of providing for the proper handling of their records at the present time.

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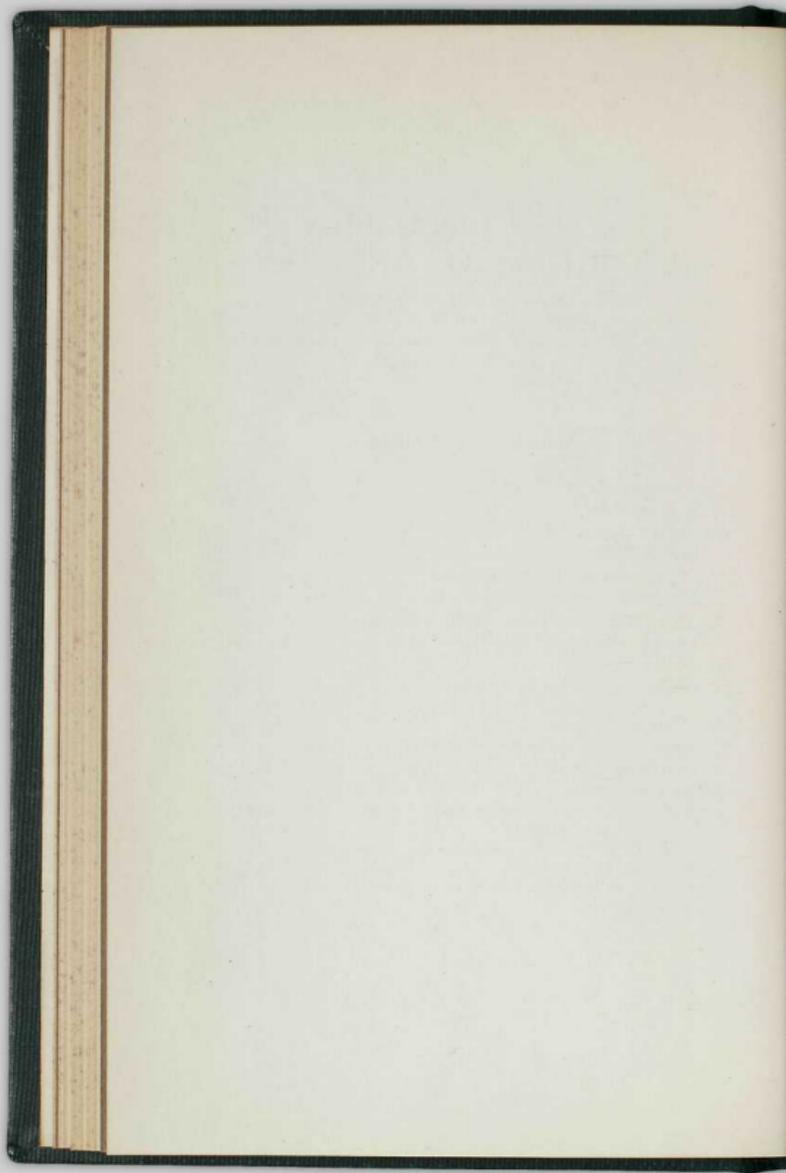
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should be interested in its past."

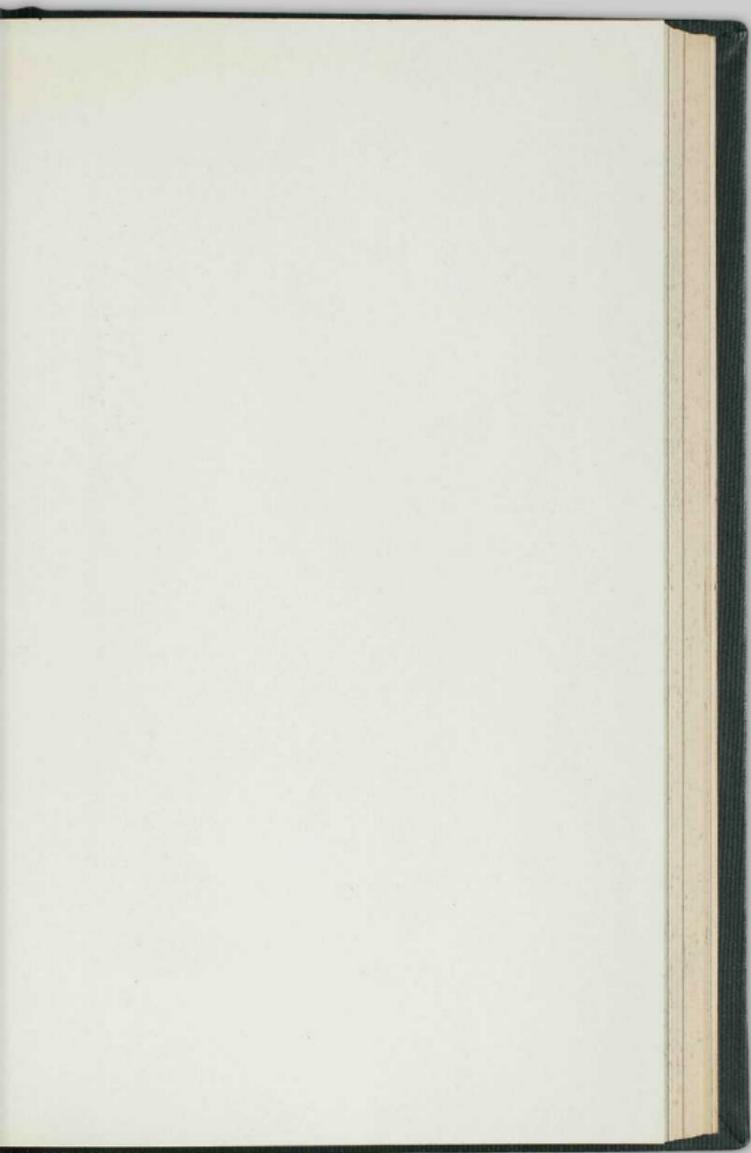
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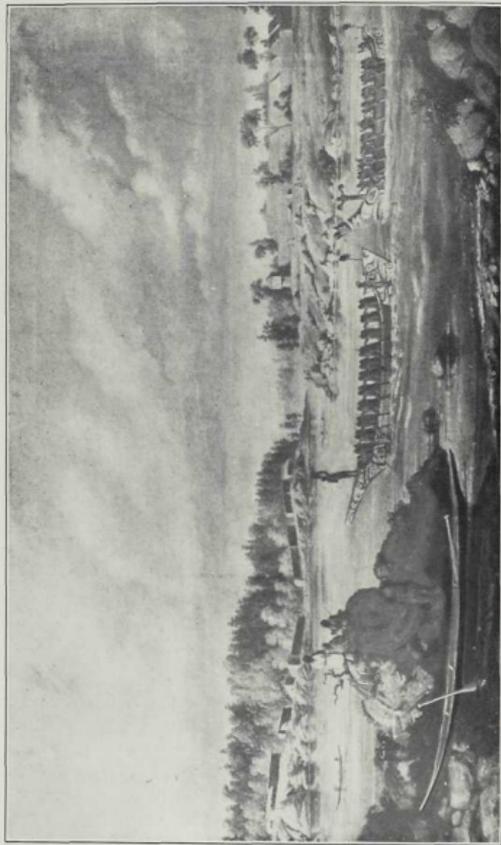
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Fort Victoria in 1847.

From the painting by Paul Kane, who arrived at the fort on April 9, 1847. This is the earliest known view of Fort Victoria.

THE FOUNDING OF FORT VICTORIA.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—A special word of thanks is due Mr. J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, who not only granted permission to print the excerpts from documents in the Company's Archives that are included in this article, but also contrived, in spite of war-time difficulties, to have several of these copied from the originals expressly for the use of the writer.

I.

The founding of Fort Victoria in 1843 marked the climax of a controversy—one might almost say a series of controversies—that had lasted for nearly twenty years. The point at issue was the best location for the principal depot of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific Coast. Chief Factor John McLoughlin, who was placed in charge of the Company's operations west of the Rocky Mountains in 1824-25, early became a staunch supporter of the claims of Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. Governor Simpson, who travelled westward with McLoughlin, felt from the first that the main depot should be farther north. As the years slipped by, circumstances seemed to favour first one point of view and then the other; but in the end the consensus of opinion turned decisively against McLoughlin.

Two considerations remained paramount throughout the controversy. First came the trading requirements of the Company. In 1825 its activities were limited to a chain of posts in the valley of the Columbia, and in the interior of what is now British Columbia, all of which received their supplies and shipped their furs by way of the Columbia River. The second consideration was the boundary question. Until 1846 the whole area from California to Alaska was in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. A joint-occupation agreement had been arrived at in 1818 and this was renewed for an indefinite period in 1827; but uncertainty about the boundary was nevertheless a continual source of anxiety to the Hudson's Bay Company. Sooner or later the line would be determined; and it was most desirable that the main depot should be located in territory which would ultimately become British.

At first both considerations bolstered McLoughlin's point of view. When Fort Vancouver was completed, in 1825, no one could deny that it was admirably situated to meet the trading needs of the moment. At that time, moreover, informed circles were of opinion that the boundary-line would follow the Columbia River; and with this in mind Fort Vancouver had been built on the Columbia's north bank. The post was thus situated in territory which it was presumed would become British. This being so, McLoughlin felt that it should become the main depot, at least until such time as some change in conditions made it unsuitable for the purpose.

But Governor Simpson was not convinced. For one thing, he hoped that the Company would be able to develop an extensive trade on the Northwest Coast, and Fort Vancouver would not be a convenient depot for this purpose. For another, he felt that it would be prudent to place the district headquarters at a greater distance from the prospective boundary-line. All things considered, the mouth of the Fraser River seemed to him to be the most promising location, particularly as he was confident that the river itself would provide a travel route to the interior comparable to that furnished by the Columbia. By Simpson's order Fort Vancouver was therefore planned as an ordinary trading-post, and built upon a site suitable only for this limited purpose.

Needless to say, when Simpson reached this decision he knew nothing about the canyon of the Fraser. Simon Fraser had descended the river in 1808, and had described in his journal the narrow chasms and swirling waters that made it an impossible route for the transport of supplies and furs; but little was known about his experiences until a later date. A party sent off by Simpson, late in 1824, had had time to explore only the lower reaches of the river. In 1828, however, when travelling westward on his second tour of inspection, Simpson himself investigated the canyon. A few months later he confessed to the Governor and Committee in London that he would "consider the passage down, to be certain Death, in nine attempts out of Ten."¹ The plan to establish a depot at the mouth of the Fraser was at

(1) Rich, E. E. (ed.), *The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1825-38*, Toronto and London, 1941, p. lix. (Simpson's 1829 Report, March, 1829.)

once abandoned, and, to McLoughlin's immense satisfaction, Simpson agreed that Fort Vancouver should become the headquarters of the district. The post was subsequently moved nearer to the river, where shipments of freight and furs could be handled more easily, and rebuilt upon a much larger scale.

At this point the depot controversy seemed to have ended; but circumstances soon led to its revival. In the spring of 1829 the annual supply ship *William and Ann*, inward bound from London, was wrecked on the bar at the mouth of the Columbia River. A year later the *Isabella* met a similar fate. The Governor and Committee had long been aware of the existence of the bar, but these events brought its dangers very forcibly to their attention. Then in 1830 a fever epidemic broke out in the lower valley of the Columbia, and in the course of two seasons it decimated the Indian population. Deaths amongst the whites were astonishingly few, but McLoughlin's men were laid up by the score and the Company's programme of expansion was brought to a standstill.

By the spring of 1834 the Governor and Committee had come to the conclusion that some change in the depot arrangements was necessary. In March they wrote to Governor Simpson:—
The unhealthy state of [Fort] Vancouver for several years past, and the distance at which it is situated from the Sea, render it by no means so well adapted for the sole depot of the West side of the Mountains, now that the Trade is extended to the Coast: we therefore think it advisable that a Depot should be situated on the shores of Puget Sound, where there are many places highly favorable for a Seaside Depot . . .²
Simpson subsequently instructed McLoughlin to explore Puget Sound and examine the various sites available. This McLoughlin endeavoured to do in 1835, but sickness at Fort Vancouver forced him to return before he had completed the survey. He reported to London in September that he had visited Fort Nisqually and the head of the Sound, but that neither place could offer one of the essential requirements for a depot—an extensive tract of land suitable for tillage.³

(2) Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 5, 1834. This and all subsequent quotations from documents in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company are printed by permission of the Governor and Committee.

(3) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, September 30, 1835. *Letters of John McLoughlin*, pp. 138-39.

McLoughlin's report crossed a dispatch from the Governor and Committee in which the latter dealt with the depot question at some length. The topic was introduced as follows:—

We have again to draw your attention to the object of removing your Principal Depot from the Columbia River to the Coast, say to Whidby's Island, Pugets Sound, or some other eligible situation, easy of access, as we consider the danger of crossing the Columbia Bar too great a risk to be run by the Annual Ships from and to England, with the Outfits and returns.⁴ Doubtless with McLoughlin's susceptibilities on the subject in mind they hastened to add that "Fort Vancouver must of course always be kept up as a large establishment," and that it "must always be maintained as a Depot" for the interior posts and trapping expeditions. But McLoughlin knew full well that the supremacy of Fort Vancouver was threatened; and in his reply he entered a strong plea for permission to carry on as before, basing his request upon a sincere conviction that the existing arrangement was "the most economical and efficient" that could be made.⁵

His principal arguments were three in number, and to them he clung tenaciously through the years that followed. In the first place, as the Columbia River was admittedly still the only practicable route to the interior, the supplies for and furs from the numerous posts would have to continue to cross the Columbia bar, regardless of where the principal depot was situated. Secondly, McLoughlin insisted that the bar itself was not nearly as dangerous as it was reputed to be, and charged that the loss of both the *William and Ann* and the *Isabella* had been due to the negligence of their captains. Finally, he pointed out that a new depot on Whidbey Island, or thereabouts, would prove costly to the Company, since it could not take the place of the near-by posts at Fort Langley and Fort Nisqually, as the Governor and Committee evidently supposed. Fort Langley was maintained largely because of the salmon trade, which could not be transferred elsewhere, while it was certain that the Indians who frequented Fort Nisqually would not go instead to the proposed new depot.⁶

(4) Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 8, 1835. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

(5) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 15, 1836. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

In spite of his strong prejudice in favour of Fort Vancouver it is only just to McLoughlin to say that he seized every opportunity to secure information about possible sites for a new depot. In November, 1836, Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson, returning from Fort Simpson in the steamer *Beaver*, visited Port Townsend, Port Discovery, and Whidbey Island, but could report favourably on none of them.⁷ In the light of later events it is interesting to find that it was apparently McLoughlin himself who first directed that the search should be extended to Vancouver Island. On December 8, 1836, he wrote to Chief Trader John Work, who was then in charge of Fort Simpson:—

The Captain of the steamer [Captain W. H. McNeill] should also be directed to examine on his way to Nisqually next summer the south end of Vancouver's Island for the purpose of selecting a convenient situation for an Establishment on a large scale, possessing all the requisites for farming rearing of Cattle together with a good harbour and abundance of timber, in short containing every advantage which is desirable such a situation should furnish.⁸

In accordance with these instructions Captain McNeill, in the *Beaver*, spent some days in the early summer of 1837 exploring the southern end of Vancouver Island. It is clear that he was favourably impressed, but McLoughlin devoted only a few lines to the subject in his autumn dispatch to the Governor and Committee. He stated that McNeill had "found an excellent harbour, of easy access with good anchorage, surrounded by a plain of several miles in extent, of an excellent Soil"; but added cautiously that it "would require to be more particularly examined before we could rely on it."⁹ If McNeill submitted a written report it has been lost, and it is therefore fortunate that James Douglas returned to the subject of this survey and dealt with it at greater length in a letter to Governor Simpson. This reads in part as follows:—

The survey strictly speaking commenced at Newitti¹⁰ near the north end of the Island and proceeded through Johnstones Straits and the Gulf of

(7) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 18, 1836 (postscript to dispatch dated November 15). *Ibid.*, p. 165.

(8) H.B.C. Archives, B.223/b/15, fo. 62.

(9) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 31, 1837. *Letters of John McLoughlin*, p. 214.

(10) Meaning the region about the present Port Hardy. Fort Rupert was built there by the Company in 1849.

Georgia to Pt. Gonzalo. . . .¹¹ On reaching the South end of the Island, a decided improvement was observed in the appearance of the Country. Three good harbours of easy access, were found west of Point Gonzalo, at two of which, Captain McNeill passed a few days. The land around these harbours is covered with wood to the extent of half a mile, interiorly, where the forest is replaced by a more open and beautifully diversified Country presenting a succession of plains with groves of Oaks and pine trees, for a distance of 15 or 20 miles. The most Easterly of the harbours 10 miles West of Point Gonzalo is said to be the best on the Coast and possesses the important advantage, over the other, of a more abundant supply of fresh water furnished by a stream 20 Yards wide, which after contributing to fertilize the open Country, flows into it. The plains are said to be fertile and covered with luxuriant vegetation; but judging from a sample of soil brought here, I think it rather light and certainly not the best quality, admitting even this disadvantage, I am persuaded that no part of this sterile & Rock bound Coast will be found better adapted for the site of the proposed Depot or to combine, in a higher degree, the desired requisites, of a secure harbour accessible to shipping at every season, of good pasture, and, to a certain extent, of improvable tillage land.¹²

There is no doubt that the three harbours examined by McNeill were Victoria, Esquimalt, and Sooke; and of these it was Victoria Harbour, the "most Easterly" of the three, that he and Douglas described with such approval.¹³

It is clear that the Governor and Committee intended that the new depot should be built as soon as a satisfactory site for it had been found. Thus in February, 1837, they informed Governor Simpson that the post was to be named Fort Adelaide,¹⁴ in honour of Queen Adelaide, consort of the reigning monarch, William IV.—a step they would scarcely have taken if the building of the post had not been in immediate prospect. Again, in October, 1838, Douglas remarked that he was awaiting—and by this he obviously meant that he was expecting—"instructions,

(11) The present Cadboro (Ten Mile) Point, not Point Gonzales.

(12) Douglas to Simpson, March 18, 1838. *Letters of John McLoughlin*, pp. 286-87.

(13) It is interesting to note that in a dispatch dated November 15, 1837, when they were still unaware of McNeill's survey, the Governor and Committee suggested to Douglas that the southern end of Vancouver Island should be examined. (H.B.C. Archives, A.6/24.) When the report of McNeill's explorations was received, they complimented him on finding so promising a site. (Governor and Committee to Douglas, October 31, 1838; H.B.C. Archives, A.6/25.)

(14) Governor and Committee to Simpson, February 15, 1837. (H.B.C. Archives, D.5/4.)

with the necessary reinforcements of officers and men, to carry into effect your wishes, with respect, to the proposed establishment on Vancouver's Island."¹⁵ But by that time the Governor and Committee had adopted a policy of delay. Why they did so we do not yet know; but it is possibly significant that John McLoughlin arrived in London in the autumn of 1838 to confer with officials of the Company. McLoughlin, whose opposition to the construction of a new depot was well known, may well have asked that the final decision as to a site should be postponed until his return to the Pacific Coast; and in view of his long service in the region it would be a difficult request to refuse.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that McLoughlin paid his first and only visit to Vancouver Island almost immediately after his return to Fort Vancouver, in the autumn of 1839. He was accompanied by John Work and Captain McNeill. The party proceeded first to Fort Nisqually and from there sailed in the *Beaver* for Fort Langley, where they arrived early in December. McLoughlin described their subsequent movements as follows, in a report to Simpson:—

. . . On the 10th [December] left Fort Langley. On the 12th reached the plain on the South end of Vancouver's Island which Captain McNeill examined in 1837 and reported as a fine place for an Establishment. It is a very fine harbour, accessible at all seasons, but it is not a place suitable to our purpose; on the 14th arrived at Nisqually . . .¹⁶

Thus briefly did McLoughlin dismiss McNeill's discovery, and the possible site of a depot that might rival his beloved Fort Vancouver. He made no further reference to the matter in his report to Simpson, and did not so much as mention it in his dispatches to the Governor and Committee.

As it turned out, McLoughlin's attitude had little influence upon the course of events. Simpson was planning a third inspection trip to the Pacific Coast, and the Governor and Committee decided to place the whole matter in his hands. The same month that McLoughlin visited Vancouver Island a dispatch left London instructing him not to make any decision as to the location of

(15) Douglas to the Governor and Committee, October 18, 1838. *Letters of John McLoughlin*, p. 267.

(16) McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1840. (H.B.C. Archives, B.223/b/26.)

the new post until Simpson's arrival¹⁷—an order that had the effect of postponing any further action until 1841.

In the interval, however, a new complication appeared on the horizon. It had long been McLoughlin's ambition to build a chain of trading-posts that would extend along the coast all the way from Puget Sound to the far north. By 1834 he had completed Fort Nisqually, Fort Langley, Fort McLoughlin, and Fort Simpson. At that time the Russian American Company controlled Alaska; but the agreement arrived at between that Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1839, while McLoughlin was in London, made it possible for the latter to extend its operations to Russian territory. In the summer of 1840 James Douglas went to Alaska, and there took over Fort Stikine and built Fort Taku.

As he returned southward, Douglas carefully considered the Company's trading requirements on the whole Northwest Coast. He concluded that one more post was needed—a fort that would be frequented by the Indians dwelling in the region of Queen Charlotte Sound and the northern half of Vancouver Island. This area was then served by the *Beaver* and other trading vessels, but Douglas felt that a fort would be both cheaper and safer. On the question of its location he reported to McLoughlin as follows:—

The place which I consider, in all respects most suitable for this purpose, is the neighbourhood of Newweté, near the north end of Vancouver's Island, where there are several good harbours accessible to Shipping at every season, and which is almost directly in the centre of the Native Population . . .¹⁸

McLoughlin, who infinitely preferred trading-posts to trading-ships, and who regarded the steamer *Beaver* in particular as an unnecessary and costly extravagance, welcomed this recommendation and endorsed it heartily in his fall dispatch to the Governor and Committee.¹⁹ To complete the chain of forts on the coast by building a post at the northern end of Vancouver Island

(17) Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 31, 1839. (H.B.C. Archives, A.6/25.)

(18) Douglas to McLoughlin, October 1, 1840. (H.B.C. Archives, B.223/b/28.)

(19) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 20, 1840. (H.B.C. Archives, B.223/b/28.)



Fort Victoria.

From the *Illustrated London News*, August 26, 1848. This was probably the first view of the fort to appear in print. The original sketch was evidently made before the end of 1847, as the unsharped stockade, which enclosed the building here shown outside the walls, was completed at that time. The steamer is the famous *Beaver*.

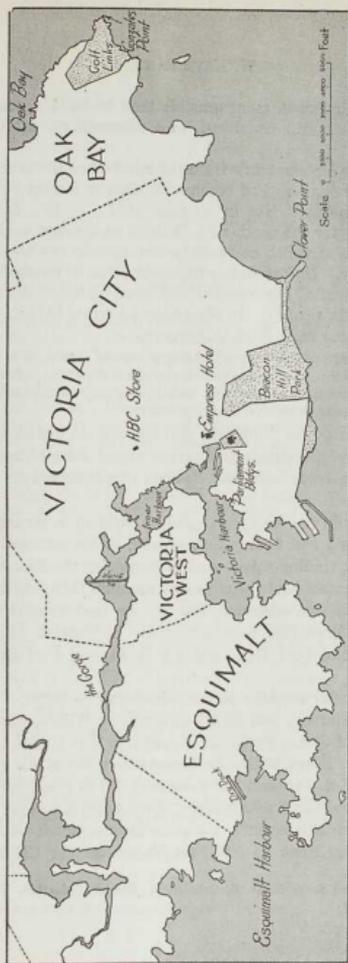


Part of the map prepared by James Douglas in 1842.

Esquimalt Harbour is shown as "Ivchoymalth" and Victoria Harbour as "Camosook." The black square shows the site upon which Douglas proposed that the fort should be built. Fort Victoria was constructed very near this spot in 1843.

A digitized copy of this map was forwarded to London by John McLoughlin, and is now in the Hudson's Bay Archives. It is here reproduced from the photograph in the Provincial Archives.

Courtesy, Hudson's Bay Company.



Courtesy, Hudson's Bay Company.

Sketch map of Victoria and vicinity in 1943.

The various features on Douglas's 1842 map may be readily identified by comparing it with this modern sketch.

seemed to him much more sensible than to build a new depot, which he was still convinced was unnecessary, at its other extremity.

Such was McLoughlin's frame of mind when Governor Simpson—who in January had become Sir George Simpson—arrived at Fort Vancouver late in August, 1841. A few days later Simpson left for the north with Douglas on a seven weeks' tour, in the course of which he visited every post on the coast except Fort Langley. Unfortunately the conclusions he reached regarding the conduct of the coastal trade were diametrically opposed to McLoughlin's policy. In November he wrote to the Governor and Committee from Fort Vancouver:—

The trade of the coast cannot with any hope of making it a profitable business afford the maintenance of so many establishments as are now occupied for its protection, together with the shipping required for its transport, nor does it appear to me that such is necessary . . .²⁰

The thing to do, in Simpson's opinion, was to abandon all the forts north of the Strait of Georgia except Fort Simpson, and carry on the trade with the *Beaver*, supplemented by sailing-vessels.

McLoughlin did not accept defeat without a struggle. He produced facts and figures that proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that trading-ships—and in particular the *Beaver*—were much more expensive to acquire and maintain than trading-posts. But Simpson was adamant, and by the first months of 1842 McLoughlin knew that he would receive instructions to abandon Fort Taku and Fort McLoughlin in 1843, and Fort Stikine in 1844.

On the depot question McLoughlin fared no better. At Fort Vancouver Simpson had found Commodore Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition that circled the globe in 1838-42. From Wilkes he learned that one of his sloops of war, the U.S.S. *Peacock*, had been pounded to pieces on the bar of the Columbia six weeks before. Even when it was not dangerous the bar was frequently a serious inconvenience, as Simpson himself found when he left Fort Vancouver for California in

(20) Quoted from E. O. S. Scholefield, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, I., p. 417.

December. On March 1, 1842, he wrote to the Governor and Committee from Honolulu:—

A three weeks detention inside Cape Disappointment, watching a favorable opportunity for crossing the very dangerous Bar off the entrance of the Columbia river, recalled my attention very forcibly to the importance of a depot being formed for such portion of the Company's business, as is more immediately connected with the Foreign Trade and Shipping department, on some eligible part of the coast instead of continuing Fort Vancouver as the great centre of the business of the west side of the Continent, and exposing many lives and the whole of the valuable imports and exports of the Country to a danger which is becoming more alarming every successive year.

In measure as the natural resources and sources of commerce of the Northern Pacific and its shores and interior country develop themselves, in like measure does it become apparent that we cannot avail ourselves of them advantageously, while entirely dependent on Fort Vancouver as the principal depot; as independent of the dangers of the Bar, the time lost in watching opportunities either to get out or in (frequently from a month to six weeks, while three weeks more are often consumed after crossing the Bar, in getting from Cape Disappointment up to Fort Vancouver) renders it impossible to calculate with any degree of certainty on the quantum of work that ought to be performed by the Shipping, deranging the best laid plans, burdening the different branches of the business with very heavy Shipping charges and depriving us of the means of embarking in other branches of Commerce, which might be carried on with great advantage, had we a depot eligibly situated on the Coast.

Regarding the site for the new depot, Simpson had this to say:—

The Southern end of Vancouver's Island forming the Northern side of the Straits of de Fuca, appears to me the best situation for such an establishment as required. From the very superficial examination that has been made, it is ascertained there are several good harbours in that neighbourhood no place however has as yet been found combining all the advantages required, the most important of which are, a safe and accessible harbour, well situated for defence, with Water power for Grist and Saw Mills, abundance of Timber for home consumption and Exportation and the adjacent Country well adapted for tillage and pasture Farms on an extensive scale. I had not an opportunity of landing on the southern end of the Island, but from the distant view we had of it in passing between Puget's Sound and the Gulf of Georgia and the report of C F McLoughlin and others who have been there, we have every reason to believe there will be no difficulty in finding an eligible situation in that quarter for the establishment in question.²¹

He went on to point out that there was a good prospect that both the salmon and whale fisheries would develop on a large scale

(21) Quoted from the transcript in the Provincial Archives.

in the region, and that a post on the Strait of Juan de Fuca would be well situated to benefit from this trade.

It is evident, too, that political considerations weighed heavily with Simpson when he was deciding the depot question. Some years later he recalled that "The first idea of forming an establishment at the Southern end of Vancouver's Island was suggested by the danger that seemed to present itself from having the whole of our valuable property warehoused at one depot."²² The proximity of Fort Vancouver to the Willamette Valley, in which there was already an American settlement of some size, worried him, and both then and later he was apprehensive lest the post should be attacked and plundered of its heavy stock of supplies. Moreover, even as early as 1842 Simpson had come to the conclusion that, when the boundary was finally determined, the line would follow the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The Americans, he was convinced, would insist upon having a harbour on the Northwest Coast, and to grant this it would be necessary to give them Puget Sound. Much as the British Government might regret this necessity, Simpson foresaw that it would yield for the sake of peace.²³ In that event a post on the southern end of Vancouver Island would be of the utmost strategic and political importance, as it would bolster strongly the British claim to the whole of the island.

McLoughlin assigned to James Douglas the task of re-examining Vancouver Island and of selecting a site for the new fort. Douglas carried out the mission with characteristic thoroughness and submitted a detailed report, dated July 12, 1842. As the text of this report is readily available,²⁴ only the first three paragraphs, in which Douglas summarized his findings, need be quoted here:—

According to your instructions I embarked with a party of 6 men, in the Schooner *Cadboro*, at Fort Nisqually and proceeded with her, to the South

(22) Simpson to McLoughlin, Ogden, and Douglas, June 16, 1845. (H.B.C. Archives, D.4/32.)

(23) See Simpson to the Governor and Committee, March 1, 1842; transcript in the Provincial Archives.

(24) See, for example *The Beaver*, Outfit 273, March, 1943, pp. 4-7, where the report is printed in full. The map that accompanied Douglas's report was forwarded to London by McLoughlin. The portion showing the vicinity of Victoria is reproduced in the accompanying illustration.

end of "Vancouver's Island," visited the most promising points of that coast, and after a careful survey of its several Forts and harbours, I made choice of a site for the proposed new Establishment in the Port of Camosack which appears to me decidedly the most advantageous situation, for the purpose, within the Straits of De Fuca.

As a harbour it is equally safe and accessible and abundance of timber grows near it for home consumption and exportation. There being no fresh water stream of sufficient power, flour or saw Mills may be erected on the canal of Camosack, at a point where the channel is contracted to a breadth of 47 feet, by two narrow ridges of granite projecting from either bank, into the canal, through which the tide rushes out and in with a degree of force and velocity capable of driving the most powerful machinery, if guided and applied by mechanical skill.

In the several important points just stated, the position of Camosack can claim no superiority over some other excellent harbours on the south coast of Vancouver's Island, but the latter are, generally speaking, surrounded by rocks and forests, which it will require ages to level and adapt extensively to the purposes of agriculture, whereas at Camosack there is a range of plains nearly 6 miles square containing a great extent of valuable tillage and pasture land equally well adapted for the plough or for feeding stock. It was this advantage and distinguishing feature of Camosack, which no other part of the coast possesses, combined with the water privilege on the canal, the security of the harbour and abundance of timber around it, which led me to chase [choose] a site for the establishment at that place, in preference to all others met with on the Island.

The "Port of Camosack" was, of course, the present Victoria Harbour and Victoria Arm, and the word *Camosack* itself a variant of the Indian name usually rendered in English as *Camosun*. It is interesting to note that the determining factor in favour of Camosack was its suitability for agriculture. Its chief deficiency was the inadequate supply of fresh water, which Douglas felt would "probably be found scanty enough for the Establishment in very dry seasons . . ." The report concludes:—

The situation is not faultless or so completely suited to our purposes as it might be, but I despair of any better, being found on this coast, as I am confident that there is no other sea port north of the Columbia where so many advantages will be found combined.²⁵

Douglas was probably still on Vancouver Island when the Council of the Northern Department assembled at Norway House, perused Simpson's reports, and on June 28, 1842, passed the following resolutions:—

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

That in accordance with the 23rd paragraph of Governor Sir George Simpson's dispatch to the Governor and Committee, dated Fort Vancouver 25th November 1841, Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps for abandoning the posts of Fort McLoughlin and Takoo in Summer 1843, and the Posts of Stikine in Summer 1844; and fitting the "Beaver" Steamer to secure the trade usually collected at these abandoned Establishments.

It being considered in many points of view expedient to form a depot at the Southern end of Vancouver's Island, it is resolved that an eligible site for such a Depot be selected, and that measures be adopted for forming this Establishment with the least possible delay.²⁶

2.

Douglas can have had no conception of the important part the new establishment was to play in his own career, and it is therefore interesting to find that he returned from his visit to Vancouver Island thoroughly enamoured of the "Port of Camosack." Writing to his friend James Hargrave in February, 1843, he described it in glowing terms:—

The place itself appears a perfect "Eden," in the midst of the dreary wilderness of the North west coast, and so different is its general aspect, from the wooded, rugged regions around, that one might be pardoned for supposing it had dropped from the clouds into its present position. . . .

The growth of indigenous vegetation is more luxuriant, than in any other place, I have seen in America, indicating a rich productive soil. Though the survey I made was somewhat laborious, not being so light and active of foot as in my younger days, I was nevertheless delighted in ranging over fields knee deep in clover, tall grasses and ferns reaching above our heads, at these unequivocal proofs of fertility. Not a musquitoe that plague of plagues did we feel, nor meet with molestation from the natives.²⁷

He informed Hargrave further that he was soon to leave for the Northwest Coast to superintend the abandoning of Fort Taku and Fort McLoughlin, and the construction of the new post.

Douglas left Fort Vancouver on March 1, with a party of fifteen men, and on the 9th arrived at Fort Nisqually, at the southern end of Puget Sound. The next day he wrote a private letter to Simpson, in which may be seen the last flicker of the

(26) Formal authority to abandon the posts and build the new fort on Vancouver Island was given to McLoughlin by the Governor and Committee in a dispatch dated December 21, 1842. This probably reached Fort Vancouver by the supply ship *Diamond*, which arrived on June 30, 1843; but by that time, as we shall see, work on the new post had already commenced.

(27) G. P. de T. Glazebrook (ed.), *The Hargrave Correspondence*, Toronto, 1938, pp. 420-21.

depot controversy. Despite Simpson's known opinions and instructions, McLoughlin still felt that a small fort was all that was required; and it is evident that it was upon his own responsibility that Douglas ordered the building of a larger post. To Simpson Douglas wrote:—

I am at a loss on what scale to build the new Establishment, I thought it was designed to serve as a general Depot for our Pacific trade, and to become a rendezvous for the shipping: but it seems I am mistaken, as the Doctor thinks that a quadrangle of 70 yards will answer every purpose of its erection. I am however of opinion that it should be made larger; as whatever may be our present views, I am confident that the place from its situation and accessibility, will eventually become a centre of operation, either to ourselves or to others who may be attracted thither, by the valuable timber and exhaustless fisheries of that inland sea. I would therefore propose to make the stores roomy and substantial, and the Fort on a plan of at least 300 feet square, so that when it is up we may not be put to the expense and derangement of incessant changes and extensions.²⁸

Leaving Nisqually in the *Beaver* on March 13, Douglas arrived off Clover Point, Vancouver Island, about 4 p.m. on the 14th. He appears to have remained on board until the next morning, from which point his activities are recorded in a small pocket diary now in the Provincial Archives:—

Wednesday 15th March. Went out this morning with a boat and examined the wood of the north shore of the harbour; it is not good being generally short, crooked and almost unserviceable. On the south shore, the wood is of a better quality and I think I will have no difficulty in getting enough for our purpose. Small wood for picketing [i.e., for the stockade] is scarce, particularly cedar which answers better than any other kind for that purpose from its lightness and greater durability under ground. We will probably have to bring such as we require from a distance.

I am at a loss where to place the Fort, as there are two positions possessing advantages of nearly equal importance, though of different kinds.

No. 1 has a good view of the harbour, is upon clear ground, and only 50 yds. from the beach, on the other hand vessels drawing 14 feet cannot come within 130 feet of the shore, we will therefore either have to boat cargo off and on at a great destruction of boats, and considerable loss of time or be put to the expense of forming a jetty at a great amount of labour.

No. 2 on the other hand will allow of vessels lying with their sides grazing the rocks, which form a natural wharf, whereon cargo may be conveniently landed from the ships yard, and in that respect would be exceedingly advantageous but on the other hand, an intervening point inter-

(28) Douglas to Simpson, Private, March 10, 1843. (H.B.C. Archives, D.5/8.)

cepts the view so that the mouth of the Port cannot be seen from it, an objection of much weight in the case of vessels entering and leaving Port, another disadvantage is that the shore is there covered by thick woods to the breadth of 200 yards so that we must either place the Fort at that distance from the landing place, or clear away the thickets which would detain us very much, in our building operations. I will think more on this subject before determining the point. The weather rather cloudy, but dry, and beautifully clear in the afternoon.

Thursday 16. The weather clear and warm. The gooseberry bushes growing in the woods beginning to bud.

Put 6 men to dig a well and 6 others to square building timber. Spoke to the Samose [Songish] today and informed them of our intention of building in this place which appeared to please them very much. and they immediately offered their services in procuring pickets for the establishment, an offer which I gladly accepted and promised to pay them a Blanket (2½) for every forty pickets of 22 feet by 36 inches which they bring. I also lent them 3 large axes, 1 half sqre head Do. and 10 half round head axes, to be returned hereafter, when they have finished the job.

. . . 5 Men squared 1½ pce of 40 feet, & 1 pce of 32 feet today. 6 men digging the well. . . .

Friday 17th. Clear warm weather. Frost last night. The 5 squares [squarers?] finished ½ pces of 40 feet and 1 of 32 feet. . . .

Six men digging the well.

Saturday 18th. Men employed as yesterday. The well is now about 11 feet deep.²⁹

A parallel narrative is in existence, which, although it is not concerned directly with the founding of Victoria, has an interest of its own. Douglas was accompanied from Nisqually by a Catholic missionary, Father J. S. Z. Bolduc, who has left this description of his arrival at Camosun:—

[On the 14th March] we bore away for the southern point of Vancouver's Island, whither we arrived about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. At first, only two canoes were perceived; but, after a discharge of cannon, we saw natives issuing from their haunts and surrounding the steamboat. Next morning the pirogues (Indian boats) came from every side. I went on shore with the commander of the expedition [Douglas] and the captain of the vessel [McNeill]; having received unequivocal proofs of good-will of

(29) Quoted from the original in the Provincial Archives. On the 17th Douglas described in detail "a luminous streak in the heavens" which appeared that evening and was again visible, when darkness fell, on succeeding days. Dr. W. N. Sage believes this to have been the great comet of 1843 (see *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, pp. 121-122); but see also James C. Agnew, "The Okanagan Arc," in *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1935, pp. 119-121.

the Indians, I visited their village situated six miles from the port, at the extremity of the bay.

Like the surrounding tribes, this one possessed a little fortress, formed by stakes enclosing about 150 square feet. . . .

My arrival being noised abroad, several neighboring nations came hither in crowds. Saturday, the 18th, was employed in constructing a kind of repository, whereon to celebrate mass the ensuing morn. Mr. Douglas gave me several of his men to aid the work. Branches of fir-trees formed the sides of this rustic chapel; and the awning of the boat, its canopy. Early Sunday morning, more than twelve hundred savages, belonging to the three great tribes, Kawitskins [Cowichans], Klalams [Clallams], and Isanisks [Sanetch], were assembled in this modest sanctuary. Our commander neglected nothing that could render the ceremony imposing; he gave me liberty to choose on board, all that could service for its decoration. He assisted at the mass with some Canadians, and two Catholic ladies. It was in the midst of this numerous assembly, that, for the first time, the sacred mysteries were celebrated; may the blood of the Spotless Lamb, fertilize this barren land, and cause it to produce an abundant harvest.³⁰

The identity of the "two Catholic ladies" has not been established.

Father Bolduc remained at Camosun only until March 24, when he left by canoe. Douglas tarried somewhat longer, but the exact length of his stay is not known. Nor is it certain that, when he sailed on to Fort Taku and Fort McLoughlin, men were left behind to continue work on the new fort. It now seems more likely that Douglas's purpose on this first visit was merely to decide upon the precise site for the new post, and become familiar with local conditions, in order that work might proceed without delay when he returned from the north with the men from the two abandoned forts.³¹ Be that as it may, Douglas and the *Beaver* carried out their northern mission and arrived back at Camosun on June 3. Six days later Douglas left for Fort Vancouver, leaving Chief Trader Charles Ross, who had previously been stationed at Fort McLoughlin, in charge of the construction of the new post. Roderick Finlayson was second

(30) Father P. J. De Smet, *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*, New York, 1847, pp. 56-58. Bolduc's narrative is dated February 15, 1844.

(31) We know from Ross's letter of January 10, 1844, that work on the well was not resumed until Douglas returned. As we shall see, the supply of fresh water was a matter of importance, and one would think that if any men had remained at the fort site, they would have continued this work.

in command; and Ross tells us that the men numbered "little short of forty hands."³²

It is frequently asserted that Fort Victoria was originally known as Fort Camosun, but no available contemporary document bears out the statement. The name Camosun, or Camosack, is invariably applied to Victoria Harbour, or, occasionally, to the neighbourhood; never to the fort itself. The post was first known locally as Fort Albert; but when it was so named, or by whom, does not appear. On the other hand, the distinction in significance between the names Camosun (which in this instance is spelled *Camosum*) and Fort Albert is shown clearly by an entry in the log of the schooner *Cadboro*, under date August 6, 1843. This reads:—

. . . Made all possible sail . . . and run for *Camosun* . . . at 11.30 A.M. arrived safe and Moor'd abreast of Fort "Albert" . . .

A later entry, which refers to the "Harbour of 'Camosun,'" makes the distinction still more clear. The transcript of the log of the *Cadboro* in the Provincial Archives covers the period from July 1 to November 4, 1843. Throughout those months the *Cadboro* was acting as a tender to the new post; references both to it and to Camosun are therefore numerous, and it is noteworthy that not one of them is inconsistent with the distinction made above.³³

Officially the post was never known by any other name than Fort Victoria. William IV. having died in 1837, the original intention of naming it Fort Adelaide, after his Queen, was dropped, and it was christened instead in honour of the new reigning monarch. A resolution passed by the Council of the Northern Department at Fort Garry on June 10, 1843, is interesting both in this connection, and because it shows the wisdom of Douglas's decision to build the post upon a generous scale:—

Resolved: That the new Establishment to be formed on the Straits de Fuca to be named Fort Victoria be erected on a scale sufficiently extensive to answer the purposes of the Depot; the square of the Fort to be not less

(32) Ross to Simpson, January 10, 1844. See *infra*, foot-note 36.

(33) I am aware that this interpretation runs counter to the statement made by Governor Charles A. Sale in a letter dated April 7, 1927, which is printed in Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, p. 123.

than 150 yards; the buildings to be substantial and erected as far apart as the grounds may admit with a view to guarding against fire.³⁴

The text of this resolution presumably reached McLoughlin by the fall Express, which arrived at Fort Vancouver on November 17, 1843. In any event, the post is referred to as Fort Victoria in a dispatch to the Governor and Committee written by McLoughlin the next day.

The most complete description of the original plan of Fort Victoria at present available is contained in a private letter from Douglas to Sir George Simpson, written in November, 1843, the text of which the Hudson's Bay Company has kindly released. The passage reads:—

We arrived and began operations at Vancouvers Island in the beginning of June, and after things were fairly started I returned by instructions to this place, leaving Mr. Ross in charge. In planning the Fort, I had in view the probability of its being converted into a Depot for the coasting trade and consequently began on a respectable scale, as to size. It is in form a quadrangle of 330 x 300 feet intended to contain 8 buildings of 60 feet each, disposed in the following order say 2 in the rear facing the harbour and 3 on each side standing at right angles with the former leaving the front entirely open. The outhouses and workshops, are to be thrown in the rear of the main buildings and in the unoccupied angles, so as not to disturb the symmetry of the principal square. So much for the plan now for the progress made in carrying it out. On the 21st September when we last heard from Ross the Pickets and defences were finished, and two of the buildings completed so far as to be habitable, and they were engaged in hauling out the logs of a third building.

The climate of the place is pleasant, and I believe perfectly healthy. It is rather a singular fact that no rain fell there between the 10th of June and 8th Septr., though we had heavy showers, both at this place [Fort Vancouver] and Nisqually. The great and only inconvenience of the situation is that which I mentioned in my survey report, as likely to be felt, until such time as wells are dug, the scarcity of fresh water in the months of August and September. They were at times badly off for water last summer, and had to cart it from a distance of 1½ miles in consequence of the failure of the stream which supplies the Fort. There is a numerous Indian population about the place, who have so far been quiet and civil, though they had many opportunities of displaying an unfriendly disposition if they had been evil disposed.

The summer returns from June to September amount to 300 Beaver and Otter, with a few small furs, and probably the trade will increase, when the Cape Flattery Indians and the people inhabiting the west coast of Vancouvers Island begin to frequent the establishment. There has of course

(34) E. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, Ottawa, 1915, II., p. 862.

been no time to attempt any thing in the way of farming, and the resources of the country in fish, are only known as yet through the supply procured in trade from the Natives, which was abundant after the arrival of the salmon in July; other kinds of fish were not regularly brought in; a proof of their being, either, less sought after or not so easily caught.³⁵

A second letter from Charles Ross to Simpson, dated Fort Victoria, January 10, 1844, gives a few additional details:—

Our progress in regard to the Establishment is as follows—a Quadrangle of 330 by 300 ft. surrounded with Stocccades, eighteen feet high—one octangular Bastion of three stories erected—also, two men's houses, and one Store each measuring 60 by 30 ft. with 17 ft. Posts & Pavillon roofs. These have been thoroughly completed, and an Officers' & main house of 60 by 40 ft. are rapidly advancing to the same end. The farming is as yet little more than in embryo—there being only about five acres under cultivation, and about the same quantity prepared for the Plough.³⁶

Trade had continued quiet, and Ross reported that he had "as yet collected little beyond 400 skins—Beaver & Land Otter."

Little more than five months after this letter was written, Ross, whose health had frequently been a cause for anxiety, died after a brief illness, and was succeeded as officer in charge by Roderick Finlayson.

3.

At this point, strictly speaking, the story of the founding of Victoria should end; but a few notes relating to later events, and to the ultimate fate of the fort buildings, may be of interest.

The year 1843, in which Fort Victoria was built, is known in the history of Oregon as the year of the "great immigration" and of Champoe. The arrival of a thousand American citizens in a single season, and the establishment of a provisional government, made it more than ever clear that the days of British influence in the valley of the Columbia were numbered. The future of Fort Vancouver became increasingly uncertain, and the Hudson's Bay Company attached more and more importance to Fort Victoria. In the autumn of 1844 the Governor and Committee instructed Captain Mott, of the annual supply ship *Vancouver*, to proceed direct to Fort Victoria instead of to the Columbia; and, although the formal transfer of the Company's

(35) Douglas to Simpson, Private, November 16, 1843. (H.B.C. Archives, D.5/9.)

(36) Charles Ross to Sir George Simpson, January 10, 1844. (H.B.C. Archives, D.5/10.) This letter is printed complete elsewhere in this number of the *Quarterly*; see pp. 113-117.

district headquarters was delayed somewhat longer, this event was unmistakable evidence that the position of primacy was already passing from the Columbia to Vancouver Island.

One journal of the old fort has survived and is now in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. It covers the period from May 9, 1846, to May 28, 1850;³⁷ and when the text becomes available it will throw a flood of light upon the development of the post during four eventful years. Meanwhile notes in the possession of the writer, made from this journal many years ago, reveal that Fort Victoria soon grew beyond the original dimensions set by James Douglas. At least two buildings were erected outside the walls, one of which was a powder magazine. In 1847 the stockade was partly rebuilt and at the same time extended to the north, in order that the whole establishment might once more be enclosed. The work was completed on Christmas Day, 1847. Such details as are available indicate that the fort enclosure was enlarged to measure 300 by approximately 465 feet, or about half as big again as the original area. A new bastion was constructed at the north-east corner, and upon its completion the old bastion to the south-west was rebuilt as well.

The stockade and bastions seem to have been kept in repair as fortifications for a good many years; but the serious need for them passed quickly. Soon after Ross's death a clash with the natives occurred, but owing to Finlayson's courage and forbearance it only served to enhance the prestige of the fort.³⁸ By 1850 both the Company and private individuals were erecting buildings at considerable distances from the stockade. In 1851 James Douglas himself completed a large residence on property adjacent to what later became the site of the Parliament Buildings. The following year Douglas's son-in-law, Dr. J. S. Helmcken, built a more modest dwelling next door. The gold-rush of 1858, which in a few months caused Victoria to grow into a town with a population of several thousands, completed the transformation. The pickets and bastions that had been a practical necessity only a few years before had become an anachronism.

(37) H.B.C. Archives, B.226/a/1.

(38) Finlayson's own account of the incident is printed in A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, London, n.d., pp. 731-32.

An agitation was soon afoot urging the removal of the fort, and in particular of the north-eastern bastion, which stood on Government Street, the main thoroughfare of the new town. Popular feeling seems to have been well expressed in a letter printed in the *Victoria Gazette* in December, 1858, that poured scorn and ridicule upon the now superfluous fortification:—

It cannot be used to fire a salute without endangering the lives of pedestrians, as well as smashing the windows in neighboring houses, as was the case the last time a salute was fired off, and for which window-smashing a bill has been presented to the Government for payment—so remove the concern.³⁹

But the bastion survived this blast and held its ground for another two years. By that time the Hudson's Bay Company had built a new brick store and warehouse on Wharf Street and had decided to sell part, at least, of the old fort property. In preparation for this sale a portion of the fort was demolished, as recorded in the newspapers of the time:—

The old picket fence [i.e., stockade] that has so long surrounded the fort yard, is fast disappearing. Piece after piece it is taken down, sawed up, and piled away for firewood. Yesterday afternoon workmen commenced removing the old bastion at the corner of View and Government streets, and before to-day's sun glids the western horizon, the wood comprising it will no doubt have shared the ignoble fate of the unfortunate pickets. Alas! poor bastion. Thy removal should be enough to break the heart of every Hudson Bay man in the country.⁴⁰

Late in 1864 a second sale caused another orgy of destruction, and the last remnants of the fort disappeared. Its passing was thus chronicled in the press:—

Bit by bit all traces of the Hudson Bay Company's old fort are being obliterated. The work of demolition of the remaining fort buildings has been going on gloriously during the last few days. Yesterday evening the last of the number, an old log house, adjoining the Globe Hotel, formerly used as a kitchen, was brought to the ground.⁴¹

So passed old Fort Victoria, after a relatively brief life that scarcely equalled in length the controversy that had preceded its construction.

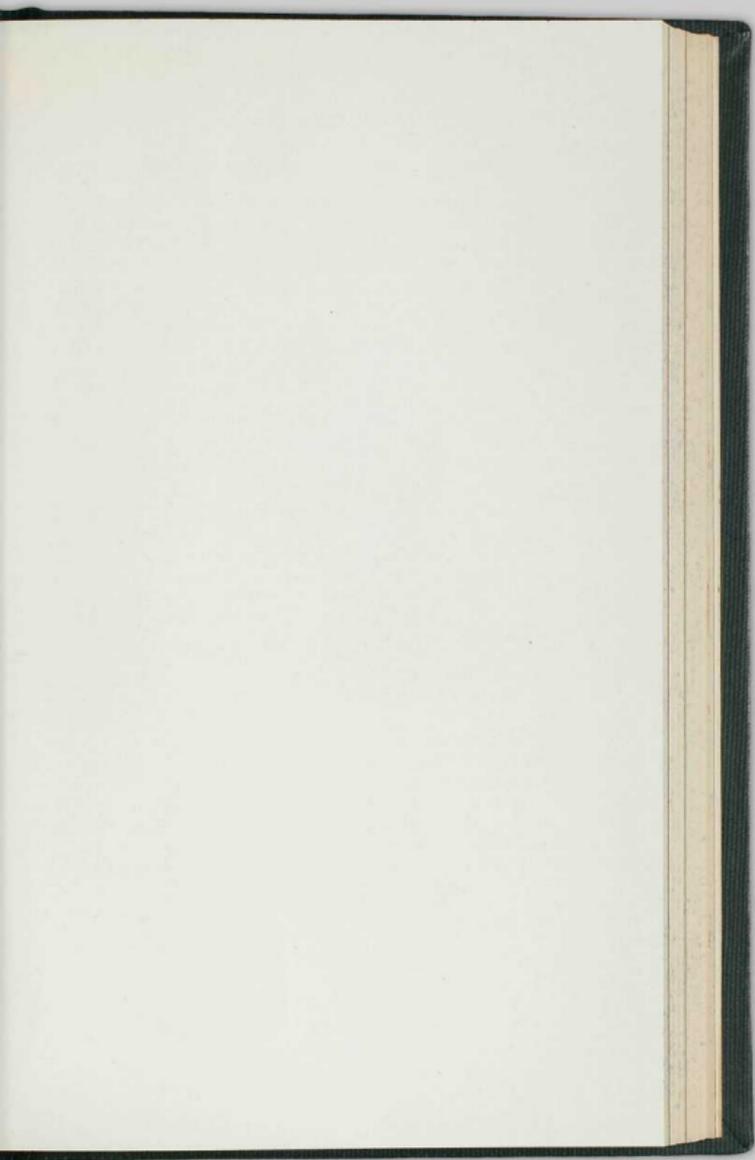
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VANCOUVER, B.C.

(39) *Victoria Gazette*, December 9, 1858.

(40) *Victoria Colonist*, December 15, 1860.

(41) *Ibid.*, November 25, 1864.





Sir James Douglas, K.C.B.

A hitherto unpublished portrait, reproduced from the original tin-type
in the Provincial Archives.

SIR JAMES DOUGLAS: A NEW PORTRAIT.

Through the kindness of the family, the *Quarterly* is enabled to present in this, the centennial year of Victoria, a reproduction of a hitherto unpublished tin-type of the Capital City's founder, Sir James Douglas, K.C.B. The original was presented to the Provincial Archives by Mrs. J. E. W. Oland, granddaughter of Sir James.

The photograph is undated, but obviously it was taken within a few years of his death, and before the still later picture that shows Sir James with sunken cheeks. It is also apparent that this new likeness of the "great governor" was made after the photograph that is so familiarly known, and which was so extensively retouched as almost to destroy the indices of personality for the sake of a more pleasing picture.

The tin-type presents a picture of a tired, sad, and dignified old face, but one that is filled with character. The firm, sensitive mouth, and square determined chin; the rather bulbous nose, the heavy-lidded eyes, and broad high forehead defy the loosening facial muscles and reveal a man of courage, decision, and intellect. The mouth is the most interesting feature, for it indicates at the same time decision and sentiment; but it betrays very little humour.

A study of the "new" photograph, and of personal letters and official correspondence of his day, lifts the veil a little and gives a glimpse of the man, rather than the stern and somewhat pompous governor portrayed by those familiar with him only in his public capacity.

The business abilities and general character of James Douglas were analysed by one of the shrewdest of his contemporaries, Governor George Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose business it was to estimate the worth of his associates in the service. Writing long before Douglas attained to the position, either with the Company or the Crown, that he eventually occupied, Simpson had this comment to make about the young clerk:—

A stout powerful active man of good conduct and respectable abilities;—tolerably well Educated, expresses himself clearly on paper, understands our Counting House business and is an excellent Trader.—Well qualified for

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any Service requiring bodily exertion firmness of mind and the exercise of Sound judgement, but furiously violent when roused.—Has every reason to look forward to early promotion and is a likely man to fill a place at our Council board in course of time.¹

This appreciation was penned about 1833, when Douglas was 30; and time justified Governor Simpson's evaluation of the clerk at Fort Vancouver. He did fill a very important place at the Company's council board, and became the dominant figure in the affairs of the concern West of the Rockies.

Apart from Simpson's appreciation of him, James Douglas may be said to have fashioned his life and conduct upon the Bible and copy-book precepts. He was a slave to duty, and as long as he was a subordinate to Dr. John McLoughlin, on the Columbia, he gave implicit obedience to his superior. Writing to an associate he reprimanded him for his lack of courtesy to the doctor: "You have got to learn at this hour," he declared, "that obedience is the very first and most important of our duties."²

But once he was placed in command at Fort Vancouver, although only temporarily, due to the absence of McLoughlin in Europe, James Douglas was ready to strike out along lines that, it would appear, McLoughlin did not favour. Writing to Governor Simpson on March 18, 1838, he commented:—

In consequence of Chief Factor McLoughlin being here I have not hitherto taken a leading part in the management of affairs; but upon his departure I shall carry into effect, such, of the several objects recommended in your dispatch, as could not be attempted at an earlier period.³

It was from this time that Douglas really blossomed. Upon the return of McLoughlin to Fort Vancouver, and his own appointment in 1840 to a Chief Factorship, he took a larger part in the affairs of the Company. He became a confidant of Simpson and a diplomatic representative of the Company on the Pacific. He was no longer restricted to the status of an inferior who must give blind obedience to his immediate superior.

A man of deep religious principles, and—for his day—of wide denominational tolerance, he supported every church that sought to spread Christianity in the western wilds, while his generosity

(1) Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company*, Toronto, 1936, p. 200.

(2) Douglas to A. C. Anderson, April 20, 1841; quoted in W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, p. 111.

(3) E. E. Rich (ed.), *The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1825-38*, Toronto, 1941, p. 269.

to the poor and distressed was gracious and generous. It is interesting to look into the personal account-book that he kept. An entry for January 2, 1836, was: "To goods to poor 0.19.10"; and another: "Cash to Jason Lee (U.S. Missionary) 5.0.0." On June 10 of the next year: "To Orphans Fund, 3.0.0" and "to Catholic Church, 2.0.0"—and so on throughout the years. One item in 1849 is of more than passing interest: "To goods to ransom a slave 14/."⁴

This payment of ransom money to free an Indian slave shows that James Douglas did not swerve from the social and religious programme that he set himself to attain when he was made Chief Factor. It is written in the same account-book:—

The Moral renovation of the place;
Abolition of slavery within our limits;
Lay down a principle and act upon it with confidence;
The building of a church of Christ in this place.

Slavery was an ancient institution among the Indian tribes of the Northwest, and it took a courageous man to fight against a custom that was one of the pillars of the whole social system of the savages.

In 1840, following his elevation to the Chief Factorship, Douglas was sent to Sitka to settle the details of a trading agreement with the Russians, and he did his best to dissuade them from selling liquor to the Indians. His habits of industry and orderliness were shocked, for he found Sitka "crowded with men living in idleness."⁵ To him, idleness was a cardinal sin. He jotted down at the same time another observation based upon a copy-book maxim:—

Honesty is found in all cases the best policy, but in our dealings with our Russian neighbors it will be found so from the first day to the last of our intercourse.

Personal note-books, scrap-books, and diaries left by Douglas show that he was interested in the details of a multiplicity of matters and things apart from those directly concerned with the fur trade. Nature in its various phases enthralled him, and convulsions of Nature, such as cyclones and earthquakes, tidal waves and unusual rainfalls, fascinated him. He was particu-

(4) James Douglas, *Personal Account Book*, MS., in Provincial Archives.

(5) James Douglas, *Notes from Establishment of Servants and Trading Trips*, MS., in Provincial Archives. Cited hereafter as *Notes*.

larly fond of astronomy, while a deep reader of science generally. Occasionally he clipped out a humorous anecdote from some periodical and carefully pasted it in a scrap-book, betraying his own lack of spontaneous humour by labelling it "Amusing." Occasionally a sense of the ludicrous appealed to him. Chief Trader James Murray Yale was lacking in stature, so much so that he was known as "Little Yale." He was sensitive upon the subject, and avoided standing beside Douglas when he could, as the towering height of the Chief Factor made his own lack of inches the more apparent. Douglas knew this, and took a quiet delight in teasing Yale by moving with him whenever Yale sought to lessen the contrast.⁶

Among the things that interested Douglas was baldness. When he discovered that the Indians of the Northwest Coast used a certain root for medicinal purposes, he gravely recorded: "It prevents baldness and produces a new growth of hair."⁷ Dr. J. S. Helmcken, in his delightful story of his meal in Fort Victoria in 1851, tells how Douglas questioned Dr. Alfred Benson about the cause of baldness. It may be that he feared that he would lose his hair with advancing age, but if so it was a needless worry, for he kept his locks until the end.

Religious and theological topics claimed his closest attention, while political speeches and history made up much of his reading.

He was constantly seeking a more intimate knowledge of the ways and customs of the Indians, and when he discovered that there was a belief among the Northwest Coast natives in the existence of a Supreme Being whom they called *Yealth*, and that he had a son named *Yealth Yay*, Douglas found time amid his many other duties of the day to set it down in detail.⁸

He went to California to treat with the Spaniards there, following his trip to Sitka in 1840, and his sense of propriety was shocked:—

I hear from the most unexceptional authority that the ladies of California are not in general very refined or delicate in their conversation, using gross expressions and indulging in broad remarks, which would make modest women blush.⁹

(6) Reminiscence of the late Jason Allard, told to the writer.

(7) Douglas, *Notes*.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.*

In his own home and circle women were treated with every possible respect, and with the utmost regard for the strict conventions of the period.

Such, then, was Chief Factor James Douglas at the time that he founded Fort Victoria in 1843: austere, just, and meticulous in all things; an accomplished business-man and shrewd diplomat, deeply religious and tolerant. He lived behind a mask and it became part of him. It was necessary in order to impress the natives and overawe the rougher element among the Company's servants that he maintain "face" at all times. He remembered that the old adage was "familiarity breeds contempt," so he maintained a grand aloofness, even among his associates. He was dignified and courteous to all, but he made a confidant of no one. As a result, it was the mask and not the man himself that was presented to the public gaze. He was pictured by writers of his time as being cold, righteous, but unfeeling.

Could a man devoid of finer feelings pen the account of the Cowlitz epidemic of 1830, ten years after the event, upon learning the details of that dreadful occurrence?

Every village presented a scene harrowing in the extreme to the feelings; the canoes were drawn up upon the beach, the nets extended on the willow boughs to dry, the very dogs appeared as ever watchful, but there was not heard the cheerful sound of the human voice; the green woods, the music of the birds, the busy humming of the insect tribes, the bright summer sky, spoke of life and happiness, while the abode of man was silent as the grave.

. . . Oh, God! wonderful and mysterious are Thy ways.¹⁰

Douglas was devoted to learning in all its branches, and was particularly keen to see opportunities afforded to the young for scholastic training. He busied himself with the affairs of the circulating library that had its headquarters at Fort Vancouver, and provided outposts with solid reading matter. In 1844 he was trying to establish a school on the Columbia where the children from distant establishments could be boarded.¹¹

When the Rev. Robert Staines and his wife arrived at Fort Victoria in 1849 it was not long until Douglas was praising the work that Mrs. Staines was doing as a teacher. Three years later the Chief Factor and Governor found time to busy himself

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Douglas to James Murray Yale; letter in the possession of James Grant, Saanich.

with the text-book supply for the fort school. "Baileys School is doing wonders—books are scarce, will you get 36 spelling Books for that promising institution if procurable anywhere," he wrote to Dr. W. F. Tolmie, at Nisqually.¹²

It was within his own domestic circle, however, that the real character of Douglas was more generously revealed. He was devoted to his wife and children, but even within his own home he could not altogether free himself from the mask he wore before the world. His tender regard for the sweet little girl whom he married at Fort St. James in 1828, when he was an obscure clerk, remained undiminished by time and advances in fame and fortune.

Mrs. Douglas is now leaving for Nesqually with James and baby to try the effect of a change of air [he wrote to Tolmie in 1854]. I am afraid they will put you to much trouble, which I will not forget.

Have the goodness to supply them with anything they may want at Nesqually on my account, as I regret no expense for their good.¹³

James Douglas directed the affairs of his household with the same painstaking regard to detail that he displayed in his private affairs and in public business. It is interesting, as throwing a sidelight on the life and character of this very busy man, to scan the pages of an old scrap-book and order-book now in the Provincial Archives. It discloses that he ordered the clothing for his entire family, and gave careful directions as to the manner in which the various garments should be fashioned. Picture him in 1855, at a time when he was Governor of Vancouver's Island, Lieutenant-Governor of Queen Charlotte Islands, and directing the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in the West, sitting down to write to England for white and coloured muslins, yards—40 of them—of black merino, and bolts of linings for dresses. It was a miscellaneous order indeed, for it contained such items as "56 Gall. Brandy in two quarter casks," "4 doz. old Brown Windsor soap," "4 doz. Eau de Cologne," four pairs of boots and shoes for himself, "1 Gentleman's neat silk hat measure round outside of hat 23¾ inches," books and magazines, "a few scent Bottles and other little presents for young ladies," and, finally,

(12) "Report of the Provincial Archives Department . . . of British Columbia . . . 1913," in *British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1914*, Victoria, 1914, p. V 93.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. V 104.

"1 pair Colts Revolver Pistols—Colts patent no other wanted because inferior."¹⁴

He supplemented the order by further instructions in respect to clothing for himself:—

The Clothing I wish to have stout and good, and as well made as can be expected, particularly the Trowsers, upon which I am rather hard, and pray give the Tailors a caution to sew the buttons on well. We poor Colonists are victimised, in many ways, but chiefly in the articles of clothing and shoes, which cost one a little fortune in the course of the year.

Again, the following year, he made a somewhat similar complaint:—

Whether it be from mistakes in the measures sent home, or from inattention of the Tradesmen, you employ, I am unable to say, but it is certain that my clothes seldom fit so well as could be wished; a remark which especially applies to trowsers and hats, and I have experienced all the tortures which uneasy shoes can inflict.¹⁵

He was particularly fussy about his clothes, and wished to be correctly attired for every occasion. Hence it was that immediately upon his return from an expedition against the Cowichans in 1856 he wrote to London:—

I wish you would send me a good serviceable sword, with a strong belt of which I felt the want in my late journey.¹⁶

He had probably felt himself to be improperly dressed for the military part that he had played, and took steps to prevent a recurrence of such an error.

In one of his letters ordering clothes from London his Scottish thrift induced him to pen: "Clothes to be made with deep seams for letting out if required."

But James Douglas was not penurious by any means. In sending his daughter and niece to California "to see the lions of the Great City" of San Francisco in the summer of 1854, he wrote to Douglas Peyton, of that place:—

I have to beg your kind offices in behalf of my dear little ones, and shall take it a particular favour if Mrs Peyton will receive them under her care. . . . Expense is of course no object. . . . I have to request Mrs Peyton's acceptance of a Sea Otter skin.¹⁷

(14) Quoted from the original scrap- and order-book, in the Provincial Archives.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) *Ibid.*

And even in those days sea-otter skins were worth real money!

His acts of kindness extended from lowly Indians to the highest dignitaries who visited Victoria. Hearing of a fire that burned the home of a friend, he wrote:—

In expressing deep regret for the misfortune which has resulted in such loss and suffering to yourself and family, permit me to use the privilege of an old friend in presenting, under these calamitous circumstances, the enclosed token of my sympathy and regard.¹⁸

The "token" was a cheque for \$200.

His youngest daughter, Martha, later to become Mrs. Dennis Harris, was the favourite of his old age. From the faded pages of a journal that he had her start on January 1, 1866,¹⁹ his affection for the child is evidenced throughout. When she missed a word or omitted an entry for a day, the neat, unmistakable handwriting of Sir James makes good the deficiency. From these daily notes in the childish scrawl of Martha and the precise calligraphy of her father, a glimpse may be obtained of the daily life of the old governor in retirement. "Drove into the country with mamma in the phaeton with Papa riding," is typical of many an entry. Martha usually accompanied Sir James to church, and he often took her to the theatre; she rambled with him through Beacon Hill's groves, and many were the picnic parties that were made up to go out to his farm at Metchosin.

It is pleasing to contemplate the grave old Sir James stealing to Martha's room on her birthday morning in 1866, in order that he might be the first to compliment her: "An early visit from my own dear Papa, who kissed me fondly and wished me many happy returns of the day; he then gave me a beautiful gold pin set with a ruby," Martha wrote.

She grew up too quickly for old Sir James, and for her own good he sent her to England to complete her education. The pain of that separation of several years has been splendidly portrayed in an earlier article in this *Quarterly* entitled "Letters to Martha."²⁰

(18) Douglas to Mrs. A. F. Pemberton, November 25, 1863.

(19) The original diary is in the possession of the writer.

(20) See W. Kaye Lamb, "Letters to Martha," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 33-44.

In one of his scores of letters to Martha he wrote on his birthday, August 15, 1872:—

Dear little Dolly came in with a rush to wish me many happy returns of the day, leaving in my hand a shilling, as a birthday gift, and went off like a shot, for fear I should return it to her.

The late Mrs. Edith L. Higgins, the "Dolly" referred to, supplemented his letter, shortly before her death:—

I had been given a shilling by my father [Dr. J. S. Helmcken], and I saw grandpa walking up and down on the front verandah, smoking. I ran through the gate from our place and put the shilling in his hand, saying: "Now, Grandpa, that's for you to spend on yourself in any way you like," and before he could recover from his astonishment, I ran away.

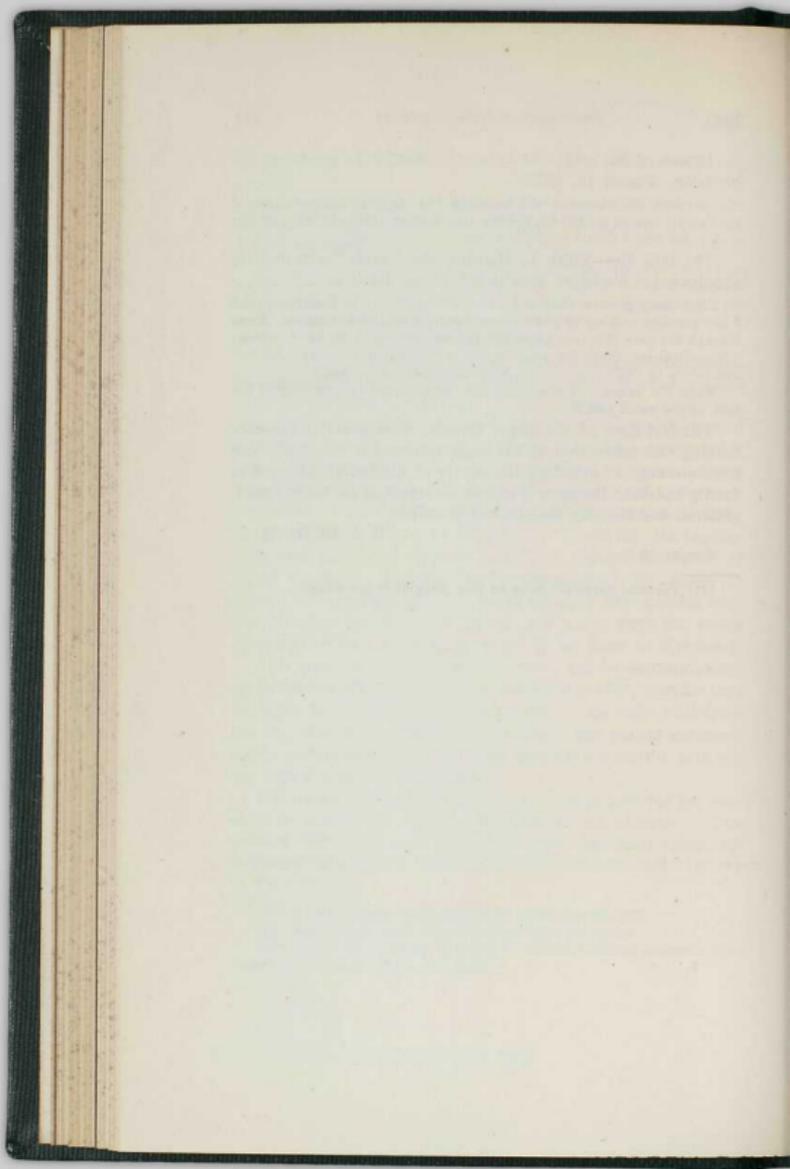
When Sir James died five years later, they found that shilling in the back of his watch case.²¹

The last days of Sir James Douglas were spent in superintending the cultivation of his large estates; in unostentatious benevolences; in directing the affairs of his household; and in fondly watching the growth and development of his many grandchildren and the city that he had founded.

B. A. MCKELVIE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(21) Personal narrative given by Mrs. Higgins to the writer.



FIVE LETTERS OF CHARLES ROSS, 1842-44.

Charles Ross was aptly described recently as "Victoria's forgotten man." Although he was the first officer in charge of Fort Victoria, his period of office was so short, and the name of his successor, Roderick Finlayson, has become so well known, that Ross has been overlooked. Fortunately there would appear to be a considerable number of papers relating to his career in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the war is over, and research in the Company's Archives can be resumed, it should therefore be possible to do him belated justice and prepare an adequate account of his life. Meanwhile the five letters and biographical notes here presented will at least give Ross a place in the Victoria centenary number of this *Quarterly*.

Only eight letters from Ross are known to be in existence, outside the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. Four, addressed to James Hargrave, were included in the collection of Hargrave's correspondence acquired some years ago by the Champlain Society. These were printed in 1938.¹ The remaining four letters, together with a fifth from the Hudson's Bay Archives, are printed below.

Thanks to a memorandum sent to the Ross family by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1924, it is possible to give a brief outline of Charles Ross's career. He was a native of Kingcraig, Invernesshire, but the date of his birth is not known. He joined the Company's service in 1818, and on October 6 of that year was mentioned as arriving in a boat at Norway House from York Factory. In 1818-19 he served as clerk at Norway House, and in 1822-23 was clerk at Lac la Pluie.

In 1824 Ross was transferred to New Caledonia, where he served as a clerk at various posts for the next eight years. In 1825-27 he was in charge of Babine Post. The trade thereabouts declined, and Chief Factor William Connolly charged Ross with mismanagement. A minute dated July 25, 1827, records that as

(1) See G. P. de T. Glazebrook (ed.), *The Hargrave Correspondence*, Toronto, 1928, pp. 63-64; 91-93; 361-362; 414-415.

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a result Ross "was ordered out to the depot for the purpose of instituting an enquiry into his conduct. He was, however, exonerated later." His name cleared, Ross returned to take charge of Bears Lake Post. In 1828 he moved to Fort George, and in 1829-31 was at Fort Connolly.

April of 1832 found him at Fort McLeod, where he wrote to James Hargrave:—

If you take a peep at the front piece of this Epistle, you will see that I am no longer at Connolly's Lake—To my great delight I quitted that dreary solitude in October last, and came down to Stuarts Lake [Fort St. James] the Emporium of these parts. Here I passed the greater portion of the Winter in the enjoyment of more cheerfulness, and contentment, than I had known for many years. . . .

I left Stuarts Lake about a month ago, and came here to relieve my friend [John] Tod, who goes out on account of ill Health. . . .
. . . I expect to remove to the Athabasca District in the Autumn . . .²

Ross was duly transferred to Athabaska and there remained until 1838, when he was sent to the Northwest Coast and stationed at Fort McLoughlin.³ This post was abandoned in 1843 and Ross, who had just received his commission as Chief Trader, was placed in charge of Fort Victoria, which was under construction at the time. He arrived at Victoria on June 3, 1843, and died just a year later, on June 27, 1844, apparently of appendicitis.

His letters show that Ross was a man of some education. R. E. Gosnell, who was able to obtain some information about the family from a grand-niece, wrote as follows:—

Walter Ross, his brother, was a physician who settled in British Guiana and there amassed a considerable fortune. He died in 1832. One of his legatees was Charles, to whom he bequeathed £500. John, another brother, was a clergyman, in all probability a Presbyterian, who lived and whose family survived him in Edinburgh. He became a chaplain on a sixty-ton sailing frigate, the *Planet*, bound for Caraccas on some adventurous scheme, which proved to be a disastrous one financially. On this voyage John visited his brother, Dr. Walter, in British Honduras. He was lost at sea . . .
A sister was married to a Mr. Young, who from 1820 to 1862 was editor and proprietor of *The London Sun* . . .⁴

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

(3) The memorandum from the Company states that Ross returned to New Caledonia and served as a clerk at Frasers Lake in 1839-40; but from Ross's own letters and other evidence it is clear that he remained at Fort McLoughlin.

(4) *Victoria Daily Times*, April 29, 1922.

One of the letters here printed was addressed to another sister, Elizabeth (Mrs. Joseph Macdonald), and this letter makes mention of a third sister, Kate.

In 1822, when stationed at Lac la Pluie, Charles Ross married Isabella Melville (or Merilia). She is said to have been of Spanish descent on the male side.⁵ At the time of her death it was stated that she was a native of Michillimackinac Island, Lake Superior. She survived her husband for more than forty years, and died in St. Ann's Convent, Victoria, on April 23, 1885, aged 78 years.⁶

The couple had five sons and four daughters. One grandson, Francis Ross, still lives on Eberts Street, Victoria, not far from Ross Bay, which was named after Charles Ross, and Fowl Bay, which was so named by his grandmother, Isabella Ross.

W.K.L.

1. CHARLES ROSS TO SIR GEORGE SIMPSON.

The original of this letter is in the possession of the Ross family. It is printed from a transcript in the Provincial Archives.

Fort McLoughlin October 1st. 1842

Sir George Simpson Knt.
Governor in Chief H.H.B.Coy.
Northern Department.

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that in July last I was duly favored with your communication, dated Fort Vancouver 1st. Novr 1841—enclosing a List of Words and Phrases to be translated into the language of those Indian tribes, to which I have access. This task is now executed, so far as I am able, in the manner you were pleased to specify; and I should be happy to find that the performance proved satisfactory. I have certainly bestowed upon it all the pains which my knowledge of the subject would permit. But this being very limited, and that of the person who serves here as interpreter nearly equally so—will I trust be my apology for all inaccuracies, as well as for the scantiness of information I am able to impart.

The languages into which the "Words & Phrases" have been translated, are those spoken by the Billbillah [Bella Bella] & Bellwhoola [Bella Coola] tribes. But, as I have already taken the liberty to intimate, my acquaintance with either of these dialects is so slight that I do not feel competent to offer any further remarks upon their respec-

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Victoria Daily Colonist*, April 24, 1885.

tive characteristics, than what will appear in the Document herewith transmitted.

The Geographical position of the Billillah & Bellwhoola tribes, lies within the parallels of 51 & 53° North Latitude, and 128° West Longitude. The latter inhabit the mainland on and adjoining the outlets of Salmon River, being that by which Sir A. McKenzie fell upon the sea in his expedition across the continent in "Ninty three," and the former occupy the adjacent Islands, which fill a portion of the sea of 120 miles in length, and the same extent in breadth.

Accurate information on any point can rarely be obtained from the Indians of this quarter, for they are ever ready to believe that our enquiries are directed by improper motives. Owing to this, they view with much distrust all questions relative to their numbers. On this subject, therefore, I can procure no estimate from themselves, than can at all be depended upon—they exaggerate too much. But, taking the aggregate of their villages, and reckoning the average number of occupants in two or three houses I am of opinion that the Billillahs may amount to about 1500, and the Bellwhoolahs to 650 individuals of every age and sex. It might be supposed that the abundance, as well as the facility of supply, which the sea affords to both these tribes, ought to render the population much denser than it really is, and this would no doubt be the case—were it not for the lax state of morals which obtains among them—permitting not only frequent divorce, but also, the still more unnatural practice of Infanticide, both before & after birth.

Having now nothing further to add on these topics, I beg leave to conclude—

And have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obt [words obliterated]

Charles Ross Clk. H.B.Coy.

Fort McLoughlin

Sir George Simpson, Knt.

2. CHARLES ROSS TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH (MRS. JOSEPH MACDONALD).

The late R. E. Gosnell saw the original of this letter in Ottawa, in 1922. It was then in the possession of Mrs. William Beattie, a granddaughter of Mrs. Macdonald. With Mrs. Beattie's assistance Mr. Gosnell prepared a transcript, and this was printed in the *Victoria Daily Times* for April 29, 1922. In the accompanying notes Mr. Gosnell thus described the original: "It is really the remnants of a letter which, suffering from fire and careless handling, are patched together, very yellow and extremely fragile. Some portions of the letter are lost altogether, and I could only surmise the contents from parts left and Mrs. Beattie's remembrance of the original as it was. She found it in the false bottom of an old trunk and preserved it as best she could." It will be noticed that the letter breaks off abruptly. Mr. Gosnell was of the opinion that "a great many pages" were missing. The postscript has been preserved as it was added at the top of the first page.

The letter was addressed to "Mrs. Joseph Macdonald, Guelph Town." Notations on the original show that it was received in October, 1844, eighteen months after it was written (and, incidentally, four months after Charles Ross's death), and answered on March 28, 1845.

The text which follows is quoted from the *Times*, but in reprinting notes have been revised or added, square brackets have been substituted for parentheses, and one or two obvious typographical errors have been corrected.

Fort McLoughlin,
N. Wst. Coast of America,
April 24th, 1843.

My Dear Elspat,

A merciful providence enables me to say that I am still in the land of the living—and I had the rare happiness of receiving your affectionate and loving letter of 27th of Sept., '41, on the 14th inst., and you see agreeably to your desire I lose no time in addressing you these lines in return though I am afraid this letter will be equally as long [on the way] as your own. It will, however, cross the Rocky Mountains in the Fall, and through the . . . east side of Canada . . . it will reach you much earlier than if I were to defer writing until next Spring which would be the regular period of communication between us and you. The distance that divides us, my Dear Eppy, is, indeed, great, and this has, hitherto, been one main reason in my backwardness in writing to you—another was—that I preferred remaining in blissful ignorance in regard to you, rather than run the risk of being told that ruthless fate had left me alone of my father's house! But thank God there are two of us, and I am truly happy to find by your excellent letter that affairs appear . . . [the next few words are indistinct but evidently are to the effect "to be prosperous"] . . . beyond what my fears would permit me to hope. On this head, however, being ignorant of my probable fate you were not so communicative as you otherwise would. It is nevertheless a great satisfaction to learn that you manage [?] in the enjoyment of health and [were] without any serious complaint when you wrote. Your next letter will acquaint me with all you left untold in your last—that is everything relating to yourself, your husband, your sons and your farm. Meanwhile, I shall flatter myself in the belief that you are now quite comfortable, and relieved from every care, save those that are inseparable from human lot.

You say you are anxious, and it is but natural, to learn somewhat of my own history for so many years back . . . [words here obliterated] . . . I have as yet said nothing about my wife, whence you will probably infer that I am rather ashamed of her—in this, however, you would be wrong. She is not, indeed exactly fitted to shine at the head of a nobleman's table, but she suits the sphere [in which] she has to move much better than any such toy—in short, she is a native of the country,¹ and as to beauty quite as comely as her husband!

(1) Not meaning the Northwest Coast; Ross met and married his wife when stationed in Rainy Lake District.

From remarks I have made in preceding parts of my letter you will no doubt have gathered that there is a very painful part of it to come—and this, it grieves me to tell you, is the case. Shortly after you heard from me last, through our excellent friend, Mr. Urquhart, finding myself in delicate health and thinking that a visit to our native land might do me good, I, for the purpose, obtained a twelve months' leave of absence and got safe to London in October, '35. There, as you may suppose, I met with a warm and affectionate welcome from poor dear Kate²—who was so rejoiced to see me, that she would hardly suffer me to go as far as Edinburgh to see our poor brother's children.³ Thither, I, however, went, and had the pleasure of finding our nephews and niece in excellent health—nearly men and woman grown and almost as clever and talented as their unfortunate father—but the poor mother, alas! was quite helpless in body and mind. From Edinburgh I returned again to London—[I did] not visit—the North,⁴ as I could find nothing there but painful recollections. I left finally on my return to this country in June, '36—and had every reason to be pleased with the results of my trip. This, however, was not to last long—my very next letter from home announced that our poor dear sister had ceased to exist. I left . . . [here a portion of the letter is gone, but apparently from the remnant left referred to his sister's family] . . .

[The next page begins abruptly with a description of the locality in which Fort McLoughlin was situated.] . . . possess or wandering through the morasses and swamps in quest of game. Business generally takes up but a small portion of his [the trader's] time and is almost wholly confined to receiving such furs as the natives may bring in and giving goods in return. By way of recreation and change we are frequently shifted from one fort to another. I was for many years a sojourner at various establishments on the east side of the mountains but for the last five I have been a resident at this place. The situation is a very comfortable one—only the native [Indians] are very numerous and we require to be on our guard against them—but we are in the hands of Him, whose eye neither slumbers nor sleeps, and at [is?] present here as well as in the peopled city. The fort is situated on the shores of the North Pacific—the country around us is extremely wild and rugged and instead of frost . . . [some words obliterated here] . . . we have almost constant rains for two-thirds of the year.

I must now tell you, in answer to your enquiry whether, that I am not only married but I believe I have a larger family than your own. This however, is a circumstance which, I believe, I should not be proud of—for I now think, it had been much wiser, if I had kept my freedom a little longer, of which you will be the better judge, when I tell you I married so far back as '22! The consequence is that I am blessed with a family of nine children, that is, five boys and four girls—whose

(2) Sister of Charles Ross.

(3) The children of the Rev. John Ross, who had been lost at sea.

(4) Presumably meaning Invernesshire, where Charles Ross was born.

names and respective ages are as follows: John, 20; Walter, 16; Elspat (Elizabeth), 14; Charles, 12; Catharine, 10; Alex., 8; Francis, 6; Mary, 3, and Flora, 1. Now, my dear Eppy, that is a list for you which I dare say will astonish you—but this is now not important. True, this numerous progeny is for the present rather an encumbrance, but the time may come when they will be no longer so. Meanwhile my chief regret is their growing wild around me without proper education or example, and my means I am sorry to say, are as yet too slender to enable me to send them where they can get either.⁵ The whole are with myself here, nor do I see the least possibility of respectably disposing of any of them so long as we remain in this unchristian wild. This leads me to say that it is by no means improbable, but I may some of these days, take up my last resting place alongside of you. But to do this comfortably would, I fear, require a longer purse than I am yet possessed of. Would a few hundred (meaning pounds, of course) do? Tell me all about it in your next letter and whether my sons and daughters joined to your own, might not be able to fit in and make it go . . . [the next line is too indistinct to decipher, but he evidently wishes to quit the place, and he then comments upon] . . . the long and dreary space since you and I parted and no doubt many events have occurred to us both, but to neither of us, I believe has the major portion of these events been productive of much joy—my own undoubtedly have presented nothing that would give you much pleasure in the hearing or me in the telling. Than our way of life in this dreary wilderness nothing can be more dark and insipid. The posts we occupy, though many, are far between, and seldom have any intercourse with each other, oftener than once a year and then for the most part is for the purpose of exchanging cargoes of merchandise for cargoes of furs. There is no society—that is the person in charge must divert himself the best way he can with his own thoughts. The few books he may possess . . . [Here the letter breaks off abruptly.]

P.S.—I would perhaps send down my two eldest boys, John and Walter if I thought they could prepare a place for the rest of us to follow by and by. Tell me what you think of such a plan, and what funds would be required to set it agoing—say, to buy and stock 200 acres.—CHR.

3. CHARLES ROSS TO DONALD ROSS.

Like James Hargrave, a portion of whose inward correspondence was published by the Champlain Society in 1938, Donald Ross received innumerable letters from his colleagues in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Many of these letters, including the following communication from Charles Ross, have been acquired by the Provincial Archives. So far as we know, Donald and Charles Ross were not related.

(5) As will be seen, as soon as Ross received word that he had been made a Chief Trader he at once sent three of his children to England to be educated.

The original letter is endorsed: "Private. Charles Ross. Columbia 10 Jany, 1844. Ansd. 9 July"

Private

Fort Victoria, Vancouver's Island,
January 10th 1844

My dear Sir

You may be sure you would be the very last I would forget—nor did I—but it seems my Letter, whatever it was worth, was too late for last years express. But I suppose it would have crossed in the fall, & will reach you by & bye. I am now you see moving in a *more respectable state of society* than heretofore, where I have more intercourse with the world, and can now promise you greater punctuality, than while at Fort McLoughlin—because I have it more in my power. This being premised, allow me to say that it gives me very great pleasure to learn that yourself & family continue to enjoy the comforts of Norway House without any serious draw back. And whether there or elsewhere I most sincerely wish you no worse fortune. You talk of coming this way to pitch your last tabernacle and, without joke, I think you might do much worse—providing you bring "Old Jack River" along with you; for I must say the Country, in our vicinity at least, is rather droughty.⁶ This is its greatest draw back, for, in every other respect, there is, I do believe, not a finer within the length & breadth of Ruperts Land and all its dependencies! On the abandonment of Fort McLoughlin & the rest of it, I need not dwell further, than to observe that all was managed very quietly. The greater part of the Indians of Millbank were absent at their fisheries when the event took place—and thus no doubt, we escaped a good deal of annoyance from them. We landed at this famous spot early in June, when Mr. Douglas who had the conduct of the Expedition hitherto, started for Vancouver, leaving myself & Mr. R. Finlayson with a body of 40 men to carry on operations at this place. Here then we have ever since been hard at it—fortifying—building—*farming* &ca &ca. Unaccustomed, as I may say I am, to most of these things, and just emerging from comparative solitude & obscurity—I dare say you will think the burden, thus imposed, is quite enough for me, and, indeed, so it is. Finlayson & myself are however doing the best we can, and I am happy to say things have gone on hitherto without much let or hindrance, save from the annoyance occasionally given us by the Natives—who have been about us in great numbers, ever since our arrival, and, though not quite so rough & surly in their manners, as their northern neighbors,—it was a great relief to us when we got the Stoccades placed between ourselves and them. The Fort is a quadrangle of 330 by 300 ft. The Buildings are, *for the present*, to be eight in number, exclusive of Bastions—and their dimensions—60 by 40 & 30 ft. with 17 ft. Posts & Pavilion roofs. Of these edifices we have already thoroughly completed three, and two more (Main, and Officers' House) are up, but as yet unprovided with

(6) The season of 1843 was exceptionally dry on Vancouver Island.

covering or inside work. An octangular Bastion of 3 Stories is also built. In the farming line we have not as yet done much, but there are about ten acres broken up & prepared for the plough. The soil appears excellent, being composed of decayed vegetable mould with a strong clayey bottom: it is however a good deal encumbered with stones & a rank growth of fern. The landscape is beautiful & strongly reminds one of some of the noble domains at home—water alone being wanting to complete the picture. The climate is perhaps *too fine*, of which you may judge, when I tell you that from June to Novr. we had scarcely any thing else, than bright sunny days! Yet we were by no means oppressed by the heat, for the close vicinity of the sea, & the cooling breezes blowing thence, made it very bearable. At present we have occasional showers & slight frosts—but nothing like what might be called bad weather for the time of year. Such, my dear Sir, is Camósun, alias Fort Albert, alias Fort Victoria. And whether the description is tempting enough to induce you to come and *take the charge* of it, or pitch your tent in the neighborhood, it is, in either case, equally at your service.

The Steamer [*Beaver*] & [schooner] "Cadboro" have been off & on with us all summer and furnished us with all the news from either hemisphere. But the most interesting to myself, & that upon which you are pleased to congratulate me (many kind thanks) was my promotion in the service. My Commission [as a Chief Trader] came out by the Chartered Ship, "*Diamond*"—an auspicious name, and I hope it will make my fortune! Be this, however as it, may, on the strength of it (the commission I mean, not the Diamond) I did perhaps a very foolish thing—I sent *three* of my children to England to be educated—viz—Walter, Elizabeth & Charles. They left us in September—perhaps never more to return to us. But the Lord reigneth & his will be done!

Immense numbers of whalers have been upon the Coast this last Summer, some say so many as 300 sail! One or two of them called in at Neweté to look for Beaver, and it is said have done us a good deal of injury. The Steamer, as well as the Cadboro are at present gone in that direction.

As I keep no copy of my Letters, I remember not what I wrote you in my last, about the shocking occurrence at Stikine;? but whatever it was I do not believe it will much edify you, beyond what you already know—because I myself was then & indeed am now not much enlightened on the subject. The current version, however, is—that excessive tyranny & oppression, especially while under the influence of l—r led to the horrid catastrophe that followed. Poor John undoubtedly had his faults of which *undue* advantage was taken by the miscreants he had to deal with—to destroy him! His poor father is still in a sad state about it and leaves no stone unturned in his endeavors to clear

(7) The murder of John McLoughlin, Jr., at Fort Stikine, on April 21, 1842.

the memory of his son. Meanwhile I believe he has had little satisfaction from home—and the murderers still remain in limbo. We for our share, have got five of them here, under watch and ward, which adds not a little to our other embarrassments.

I must leave you to your other correspondents for the Columbia news—and I dare say you will thank me for so doing, as you must now be quite tired of me.

My wife unites wh. me in warm respects to Mrs Ross and trusting this may find you all in the enjoyment of your usual health—

I remain, my dear Sir,
always yours most truly
Charles Ross

Donald Ross Esquire

4. CHARLES ROSS TO DR. W. F. TOLMIE.

The original of this letter is in the Provincial Archives. In 1844 Dr. Tolmie was in charge of Fort Nisqually.

Private

Fort Victoria January 11th 1844

My dear Tolmie

We are in momentary expectation of the arrival of the Indian, Snaadum, according to appointment, to convey some of our people whose times are out,—as likewise, our a/cs. & Letters to your place for transmission to [Fort] Vancouver. Hence you may see these are busy times with us, as I dare say is the case with yourself. I must not however pass over the opportunity thus about to offer without acknowledging your kind favors per Steamer, as well as by Madam Finlay. I heartily say amen to your hope that, whatever our religious differences, our social intercourse may not be affected thereby.⁸ I am no fiery zealot, not I trust a Pharisee—but I am of the religion of my fathers, & there intend to stick. If reason were given us for an *infallible* guide, I might have my doubts, but as matters stand, I think my own creed, at least quite as good as any *new fangled doctrine* attempted to be foisted in its place!! We never can arrive at *certainty* by any one system whatever *without Revelation*. Of this we have had many proofs. Why then act, like the Dog in the fable—let go the *substance* for the Shadow? But I am no logician and would be sorry to stake my Salvation on my skill in that science!— So a truce with what may be sheer nonsense after all—only it is well meant. Nothing has occurred with us of late, in the least worth transmitting to you. What remains of my family enjoys tolerable health—but as to myself I am but so so. My ailments I believe to be occasioned by the old complaint—coldness & irregularity of the Bowels. Pray can you do any thing for me? Exercise I know is one of your favorite prescriptions, as I proved at Van-

(8) Theological discussions are met with frequently in the letters and private diaries of the fur-traders. See, for example, the well-known letters from John Tod, in the Ermatinger Papers.

cover. But of that God Wot I have enough here—so my dear friend that wont do—you must propose some thing else—such as early rising—temperance &c. You see I have got the whole catalogue by heart—but what benefits it “so long as Mordicai the Jew sitteth at the Kings Gate”! We had rather a merry Xmas & New Year, and I tried hard to dance my complaint “down the wind.” But ale would not do—I rather made things worse. The Steamer & Cadboro being still with us, we had a splendid dinner on the 25th which went off with great eclat, as well as some of Scarboroughs Rockets⁹ to the bargain. On the 28th the vessels left for the North, having been detained hitherto, while a cargo of [word obliterated in original] was being brought us from Langley.

Our Buildings are advancing apace. We have now six a-foot, but only four, including Bastion, are thoroughly completed—the rest still want coverings & inside work.

Our farm is as yet only breaking the shell. There are however about 5 Acres *under wheat* (sown in Decr. & likely to come to nothing) and more is being broke up & prepared for the plough. Trade is quite dead—Provisions & every thing else. This reminds me of the charming Xmas gift you made us. It was well thought of, and helped us on famously with our fête—many kind thanks for it—and once more for the very entertaining Letter that accompanied it. Both afforded a rich treat. Reciprocating the compts. of the season and wishing you many happy returns, I always am my dear Tolmie most truly yours

Charles Ross

NB. The “fair haired chief” will perhaps write you himself—if not he is doing well and is a very *fine* young fellow. A nephew of mine has written me about the aerial Steam Carriage you speak of—and says not the least doubt is entertained of its practicability. What an age we live in!

5. CHARLES ROSS TO SIR GEORGE SIMPSON.

The following letter is printed by kind permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company. The original is in the Archives of the Company, in London. A note indicates that it was received on June 9, 1844.

Fort Victoria 10th Jany. 1844

Sir George Simpson

Dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your various favors, both by the *Diamond* as well as by the “Express.” And for both my grateful thanks are due—especially for that by the

(9) James Allan Scarborough was at this time captain of the *Cadboro*. Rockets from the schooner were evidently used to celebrate the occasion.

Diamond,¹⁰ which was "long looked for come at last." I am well aware how much I owe to your kindly endeavors in procuring me this step in the service, and I hope no conduct of mine shall ever make you regret having thus exerted yourself in my behalf.

Having had no opportunity of addressing you by the usual course, I was induced in April last, to answer your communications the preceding season by writing via New Archangel &c. and in so doing I fear I was much to blame, but I chose it rather than you should think I was in the least inattentive to what my obligations to you require.¹¹ Shortly after this event poor old Fort McLoughlin was abandoned. In spite of every precaution to the contrary, the Indians soon got it among them that this was to happen, and, accordingly, collected about us in great numbers. Observing us, however, busy with our ordinary occupations—planting Potatoes—breaking up new ground &c. they began to disperse by degrees, and finally betook themselves to their fisheries—so that when the Steamer returned from the North few remained except the families of the absent men. Thus we got off with the utmost possible harmony. On the 3d of June we landed here, and on the 9th Mr. Douglas left for the Columbia. Since when Mr. Finlayson and myself have been left to shift for ourselves, the best we may. The sudden transition from the comparative seclusion of Fort McLoughlin to the stirring scenes of this place, has been sufficiently trying to myself. In fact I never before was in such a turmoil in my life. For what with Building—fortifying—Shipping—farming—Indians &c. there is quite enough to do. Yet I am happy to say that in all these respects, our proceedings hitherto have met with no unfavorable check. Our progress in regard to the Establishment is as follows—a Quadrangle of 330 by 300 ft. surrounded with Stocccades, eighteen feet high—one octangular Bastion of three stories erected—also, two men's houses, and one Store each measuring 60 by 30 ft. with 17 ft. Posts & Pavilion roofs. These have been thoroughly completed, and an Officers' & main house of 60 by 40 ft. are also rapidly advancing to the same end. The farming is as yet little more than in embryo—there being only about five acres under cultivation, and about the same quantity prepared for the Plough. Our force on first commencing here was little short of forty hands, but it was subsequently considerably reduced, owing to five of the number being re-committed to prison for their share in the melancholy transaction at Stikine,¹² and two more being required to keep watch over them. Numerous herds of the natives (except for a short time while absent at their fisheries) have

(10) The *Diamond*, a chartered vessel, was the annual supply ship from London in 1843. She brought Ross letters from London telling him that he had been appointed a Chief Trader.

(11) Simpson left the Northwest Coast in the spring of 1842 and travelled to London via Siberia: hence the difficulty of communicating with him.

(12) Again the reference is to the murder of John McLoughlin, Jr., on April 21, 1842.

been about us up to the present moment. So far however, they have not *particularly* annoyed us, beyond now & then shewing their dexterity at light fingered work. The unreflecting imprudence of our people was, more than once, on the eve of involving us in serious quarrels with them, but all this was in the end amicably adjusted; and now, that we have got ourselves surrounded with stoccades, we are proportionately respected. They are much more effeminate in appearance than their northern neighbors, and luxuriate, much more than these do, in filth & poverty. The R.C. Priests, Baldue [*sic*] & Demers, having been among them some time previous to our arrival—Psalm singing and Prayers were for some time the order of the day. Latterly, however, these gave way to their own less orthodox habits, and at present seem entirely forgot. The reverend gentlemen, above alluded to, were for some time located on Whitby's Island—but so little respect was ultimately shewn, either to their persons or property, that they were glad to beat a precipitate retreat to the Columbia. I am sorry to say that the trade here does not seem to augur any thing very propitious. We have as yet collected little beyond 400 skins—Beaver & Land Otter. Mr. Yale complains that we are injuring his trade at Fort Langley, and I believe with justice; nor can it be otherwise, close neighbors as we are, and friendly as the intercourse is, between his Indians and those of this place. Nisqually also, is much in the same predicament—so that beyond what we may get from the Cape Flattery Indians, I believe it cannot be said, that we are likely to make any very material addition, to what was previously procured in this quarter.

Nothing can be finer than the Climate and scenery of this place. The former, especially, surpasses any thing I ever before experienced—for from the month of June up to the present moment, we have scarcely yet had four & twenty hours of consecutive wet weather. Yet, notwithstanding the many bright sunny days we had during the Summer, the heat was at no time oppressive, being almost invariably tempered by refreshing Sea breezes. Bating the drought (which may not always be so excessive as this last season) the country seems well adapted for agricultural purposes. With the exception of a slight sprinkling of Oak, and occasional clumps of Pine—it is quite open to the Plough; the only other obstacles being a dense growth of fern, and stones in great size & number. The ground is every here & there lined with slightly rocky eminences which merely intersect it into natural fields, the hollows between being almost in every instance, the best adapted for cultivation. The soil appears to be composed of decayed vegetable mould of about 1½ ft. thickness—over a bed of clay, of as yet, unascertained depth. I cannot say that the country is well timbered. It is, however, sufficiently so for our present purposes. Very little is to be found on or near the site of the Establishment—and almost all the Building materials hitherto employed had to be rafted from the left shore of the "Camosun Arm." Water, however, is the great desideration. Mr. Douglas, on his way north in the spring, got a well com-

menced, which was again resumed on his return in June, and sunk to the depth of upwards of thirty feet—all hard clay—at this point a quantity of Water collected in it, which was thought to be the real "Simon Pure"—Subsequently, however, it unfortunately proved to be no such thing. For not only it, but, also, every other reservoir then known in the vicinity, dried up in course of the Summer—and things began to look rather alarming, until we found a supply about 2 miles distant, which I am in hopes will be a never failing resource, until such time at least, as the urgent avocations, we have at present in hand, will permit us to finish the Well already commenced. With regard to Water power for machinery, I know of none within several miles, except a strong Tide way (confined within a narrow compass down the Cambsun Channel)¹³ which, I believe, there is little doubt, a little skill & labor can render available to every requisite purpose.

I shall now take the liberty of saying a few words about my personal affairs. On the Strength of my Commission, joined to my little previous earnings, I have ventured to send three of my children to England for their education. And perhaps, Sir, you may happen to see them, which would give me very great pleasure. The honorable Coy's late Secy.¹⁴ was, up to his lamented death, the person who settled my money matters at home—and I fear that his loss will, consequently be much felt by my youngsters on their first arrival. But having appointed the Son my attorney, conjointly with the father, things may go on perhaps better than I at present anticipate. I have allotted £100 per ann. for the maintenance of my children—in which I am perhaps, much below the mark, and in that case, may I entreat you, sir, to order on my account such further supplies as their necessities may require. I have about £500 invested in the funds, which I would not wish to be touched—but on the contrary, that all expences, if possible, were defrayed from such monies as may accrue to me from time to time in the fur trade.

My nephew, Mr. Walter Ross, at Mr. Gillon's 44 Parliamt. St. Westmr. is entrusted with the care of my children—and I mention this in the hope that you, sir, will not decline the trouble of seeing him. Trusting that yourself and Lady Simpson & family are in the enjoyment of perfect health

I remain, Dear Sir,
With the greatest esteem
and respect, your
most faithful & obt.
hum. servt. Chas. Ross

P. S. If I might speak of Dr. Barclay in a postscript I would say that I heartily rejoice at his appointment.¹⁵ I have known him since 1814. He was then an intimate friend of my brother's and I have ever heard

(13) The spot now known as "the Gorge," on Victoria Arm.

(14) William Smith, who died in January, 1843.

(15) The reference is to Dr. Archibald Barclay, who in February, 1843, succeeded William Smith as Secretary to the Governor and Committee.

him spoken of as a very clever & talented man. I am, however, not speaking of him as to character, but merely expressing my pleasure at his good fortune! C. Ross

6. SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO CHARLES ROSS.

This is Simpson's reply to the letter from Charles Ross just quoted. Ross never received it, as it was written only a week before his death. The text here given is taken from a transcript in the Provincial Archives that was secured from the Ross family. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

Private

Red River Settlement
20 June 1844.

My dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your valued communications of 13 April 1843 & 10 Jan. 1844. Owing to my absence from England, the former did not reach me till April last, & the latter came to hand a few days ago by the Columbia Express to this place.— By the tone of those letters I am exceedingly happy to find that you were in better health and spirits than when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Fort McLoughlin, when I was exceedingly anxious about you, and was really glad when information reached me that you had got over the nervous state in which I was sorry to see you when we last parted.—

I am quite surprised to notice by your letter of April 1843 that you express regret at removing from Fort McLoughlin, which proves that "habit is second nature," as it was decidedly the most dismal, gloomy place I was ever in, & surrounded by the most cut-throat looking rascals I think I ever met with. You have now got to a very Elysium in point of climate & scenery, if I may judge from the reports I have of the Southern end of Vancouvers Island. It is quite evident from the progres you have made in building & agriculture, & among the natives, that you have not been idle. If you can but get water in sufficient quantity, I think Fort Victoria is likely to become a place of much resort to strangers, especially so if American whalers continue to frequent the Northern Pacific; & that a profitable business may be made by the sale of provisions & supplies to those vessels.— I was not prepared to find the natives so peaceably & well-disposed, as from the reports we had of them, there was every reason to apprehend they would have been both formidable & troublesome. Sea Otters were some time ago represented as numerous outside the Island about Nootka & other parts; but as you do not speak of any important trade in that article, I presume they have been very much thinned out since then.— When at Newetee & among the Quakiolths [Kwakiutls] in Johnstons Straits, we understood the few sea otters that were brought to us, were hunted outside the island, & at no great distance from the Entrance of the Straits of De Fuca. Your information, however, must

be much better than any we could have collected in the short time we had to communicate with the natives, of whose language we had a very imperfect knowledge.

Considering the state of your finances, you must really be a very bold man to send 3 children to England for the benefit of education and I much fear they will cost you far more than you seemed to count upon or can afford. The cost of maintenance & education will of course, depend entirely on the description of school at which they may be placed: but if at all respectable, they will most unquestionably cost you much more than £100 pr. annm: indeed, I know very few gentlemen who have sent their children to England, whose education has not cost at least double the allowance which you have authorised your friend to lay out, the ordinary charge I think being little short of £70-£80 pr. annm, for board, education & clothing. I think you would have done much better by sending them to Red River School, which is really by no means contemptible & when they would have cost you but £30 pr annm, covering all charges.— I hope to be in England in the course of the Autumn, & shall make a point of seeing your nephew Mr. Walter Ross, & if the allowance you have made be insufficient, I shall take care that increased means be afforded.— Mr. Smith's son (W. G. Smith) now Assistant Secretary, continues to transact any agency business, usually managed by his late father.— He is highly respectable in every sense of the word, & from his regular, steady, business habits, will I am sure do justice to any matters entrusted to his care. You need not, therefore, be anxious in reference to any authority with which you may have invested him over your funds.

I met your friend Mr. Young¹⁶ once or twice when last in London; he is a very active enterprising man & his paper has an extended circulation so that I presume he is doing well: & your old acquaintance Mr. Barclay (who since he has become Secretary has dropped the Doctor) gives great satisfaction at the H. B. House. Your friend George Bain I see occasionally, he is still a Bachelor & I believe doing very well.— I shall be glad to hear from you by every opportunity & it will afford me much pleasure to be useful to you meantime.

Believe me

My dear Sir

Very truly Yours

Geo. Simpson.

Charles Ross, Esqre
Fort Victoria.

(16) Ross's brother-in-law; editor and proprietor of the London Star.

THE DIARY OF ROBERT MELROSE.

The only remarkable thing about Robert Melrose seems to have been his diary. He was born in Scotland, probably in 1828. In 1852, at the age of 24, he was engaged as a labourer by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was about to establish several large farms in the vicinity of Fort Victoria. He and his wife made the voyage from London to Vancouver Island in the barque *Norman Morison*, in company with more than fifty fellow-workmen, many of whom had wives and families. The vessel arrived in January, 1853, and Melrose was assigned to the Craigflower Farm, near the head of Victoria Arm. The rest of his life was spent on the farm or in the vicinity of Craigflower. He died in the Jubilee Hospital, Victoria, after a long illness, on July 28, 1898, in his seventy-first year. A daughter, Ellen, later Mrs. Douglas, was born at Craigflower on May 19, 1854. She died as recently as May 26, 1936, a few days after her eighty-second birthday.

The diary indicates that Melrose was a man of some education, and certain entries suggest that drink may well have been the reason for his failure to get on in the world. The original manuscript is elaborately lettered and decorated, in clever imitation of the printed almanacs which were fashionable at the time. The usual astronomical data and calculations, tables, ecclesiastical and historical anniversaries, poems, etc., are all included. These have been omitted in printing, and only the contemporary entries relating to local events have been retained.

At first sight the contents of the diary may seem trivial, but a careful reading will show that it throws much light upon the history of Vancouver Island in the fifties. To begin with, it is one of the very few chronologies known to us, and it is the only one that covers the years 1853-57 in detail. In the second place, it contains a great deal of information about shipping movements. The harbour life of Victoria and Esquimalt was far more active in early days than is generally realized. The supply ships and coastal trading vessels of the Hudson's Bay Company were constantly on the move; ships of the Royal Navy came and went; the demand for lumber and piles in San Francisco kept

a small fleet employed, sailing from Sooke and Victoria; little trading schooners flitted about, hawking wares and their services, and venturing as far afield as Honolulu. Finally came the start of regular coastal services, notably the mail route between Olympia and Victoria. All these developments can be traced in the Melrose diary, if one takes the trouble to tabulate the entries.

Then again, the diary throws light upon the living and working conditions of the time. The discontent, punishments, and desertions that characterized life at Craigflower are nowhere so clearly and starkly recorded as in Melrose's brief notes. Similarly, it gives us a record of the banquets, horse-races, 24th of May celebrations, and lectures on philosophical, religious, and scientific subjects that helped to make up the pleasanter side of life.

The preoccupation of the writer with food and drink is another point of significance. We know from his correspondence that Governor Douglas was frequently worried about the food supply on Vancouver Island. More than once a vessel had to be sent off in haste to Nisqually to bring cattle and supplies from the farms and storehouses there to relieve a local shortage. This state of affairs continued for several years, until the acreage under cultivation became sufficiently great to assure an ample supply of grain and other necessities.

The numerous references in the diary to drunkenness are amusing in their way, owing to Melrose's habit of noting whether the persons concerned were one-quarter, half, three-quarters, or wholly drunk; but the liquor traffic was anything but amusing to Douglas. By the spring of 1853 it was clear that restrictions of some kind were essential. On March 29, Douglas asked the Legislative Council to license liquor vendors, as he believed that this would be "the best means of restraining the abuse and excessive importation of spirituous liquors into this Colony." The Council agreed and licence fees of £100 (wholesale) and £125 (retail) were imposed. Douglas reported to London that this measure had been "fiercely opposed by the whole body of publicans and other blood suckers, who are preying upon the vitals of the Colony, exhausting its wealth and making a return of poisonous drinks, ruinous to the morals of the people, and the

prolific source of poverty and crime."¹ Six months later he was able to state that there was "now only one licensed ale house at this place and that conducted in a very orderly manner. The consumption of spirits is greatly reduced, and the scandalous scenes of drunkenness [*sic*] and excess which were the disgrace of Victoria, before the passage of the License act, are now never seen."² But if the supply had decreased, the demand had not. Less than two months later Melrose stated, in a special footnote in his diary, that "it would almost take a line of packet ships, running regular between here, and San Francisco to supply this Island with grog, so great a thirst prevails amongst its inhabitants."

Experience in the Provincial Archives, where the original manuscript is a prized exhibit, has shown that almost every one seeking information about life on Vancouver Island in the fifties finds something of interest and significance in the Melrose diary. For that reason it seems worth printing in the *Quarterly*.

No attempt has been made to identify every person, place, event, or vessel mentioned in the text, but the more important amongst them have been dealt with briefly in the footnotes.

W. K. L.

(1) Douglas to Barclay, April 8, 1853.

(2) *Ibid*, November 4, 1853.

ROYAL EMIGRANT'S ALMANACK
 concerning
 FIVE YEARS SERVITUDE
 under the
 HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
 on
 VANCOUVER'S ISLAND

Printed & Published by R. Melrose.
 Front Street, Maple Point, Vancouver Id.

PREFACE.

The design and nature of this Almanack, is to take an accurate account of all the proceedings, and remarkable events, which may occur during our five years service under the Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver's Island; as it was my intention to take up the detail from January 1853, that being the month of our arrival here; but I feel myself obliged to commence the description from the month of August 1852; the time we embarked, and sailed away from our native soil, where I shall be able to insert all the principal occurrences which happened during our voyage from Great Britain, to Vancouver's Island.

It is my intention further to pursue the course upon which I have undertaken, carefully noting down every transaction, either in regard to marriages, births, or deaths, agricultural improvements, house building, and all the shipping, either at Fort Victoria, or Esquimalt harbour, as far as I am able to know of their arrival, or departure.

1852

AUGUST

- We. 11 Shipped on board the "Steam Boat Trident," at Granton Pier,¹ sailed 6 o'clock evening.
 Th. 12 Rough sea, All the passengers mostly sick.
 Fr. 13 Arrived at London, evening. Slept all night on board.
 Sa. 14 Shipped on board "Norman Morrison,"² East India Docks, London.
 S. 15 Tugged down the Thames, to anchorage, at Gravesend.
 Tu. 17 Weighed anchor, and sailed down to anchorage at the Lower Hope.

(1) Granton, a port on the Firth of Forth, a few miles north of Edinburgh.

(2) The correct spelling is *Norman Morison*.

1852—Continued.

AUGUST

- We. 18 Mrs. Anderson³ gave birth to a female child.
 Fr. 20 Sailed out of the Thames.
 S. 22 Pilot left us at the Isle of Wight.
 Mo. 23 Passed the Lizzard Point.
 We. 25 Entered the Bay of Biscay.
 Mo. 30 Passed the Bay of Biscay.

SEPTEMBER

- Mo. 6 No breezes at all, heavy swelling sea's.
 We. 22 Thunder storm with high winds, Top-sails close reefed.
 Th. 30 Crossed the Line 22°56' West Longitude.

OCTOBER

- Mo. 4 Jonathon Simpson's child died, & buried. Funeral service performed.
 S. 10 Very squally with showers.
 Mo. 18 High winds and rain.
 We. 20 Strong breeze, opposite the La Plata [River].
 Th. 21 James Whyte's girl died.
 Fr. 22 do. do. d. buried. 37°25' South Latitude, 49° West Longitude.
 Mo. 25 Strong gales.
 Fr. 29 Thunder, lightning, and rain.
 Sa. 30 Great numbers of Whales seen during the last two or three days.
 S. 31 Went close by the Falkland Islands, charming breeze.

NOVEMBER

- Mo. 1 Heavy rolling sea.
 Th. 4 Scarcely ever dark at night, 64° S. Lat. Off Cape Horn.
 S. 7 Hurricane with drift and snow, saw an iceberg evening.
 Mo. 8 Showers of snow.
 Th. 11 Hurricane lasted from the 7th with a sea rolling mountains high.
 Fr. 12 1 Albatross caught measurement, 10 feet 2 in. from tip to tip, 3½ feet from bill to tail. Spoke a ship bound for Callao.
 Sa. 13 1 Buffon,⁴ 3 snow Pigeons caught.
 Mo. 15 High winds and heavy sea, lasted from Sabbath morning.

(3) Most of the persons mentioned throughout the diary were fellow passengers in the *Norman Morison*. For a complete list of the passengers see A. N. Mouat, "Notes on the *Norman Morison*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III. (1939), pp. 213-14.

(4) Meaning, presumably, a Buffon's skua. The species found on the coast of Chile is known as *Stercorarius chilensis*.

1852—Continued.

NOVEMBER

- We. 17 7 Albatross's caught, 42°30' S. Lat. 79°20' W. Long.⁵
 Fr. 19 Great numbers of Cape Pigeons caught during the last month.
 S. 21 High winds with rain.
 Sa. 27 Crossed the Tropic of Capricorn.

DECEMBER

- S. 5 Mrs. Anderson's child baptized, after Captain Wishart, & ship Norman Morison.⁶ 12° S. Lat.
 Mo. 6 11°37' South Latitude, 91°30' West Longitude.
 Fr. 10 Mrs. Cheeseman gave birth to a female child, 3°35' S. Lat. 104° W. Long.
 S. 12 Crossed the Line, 108° West Longitude.
 Tu. 14 One Porpoise caught, 6 feet, 6 inches long.
 We. 15 One Bonito, and one Albacore, caught.
 We. 22 16°58' North Latitude, 119° West Longitude.
 Sa. 25 Christmas kept, Grog for all hands, Riot with Mate & Seamen, 20°53' N. Lat. 124°30' W. Long.
 S. 26 John Grout an Englishman died, aged 35.
 Mo. 27 do. do. Buried 12 o'clock noon. Funeral service performed. 22°43' N. Lat. 126° W. Long.
 Tu. 28 do. do.'s Clothing &c. sold by public auction on board. Crossed the Tropic of Cancer.
 Fr. 31 Grog for all hands. 29°3' North Latitude 131° West Longitude.

JANUARY

1853

- Sa. 1 Grog for all hands.
 Mo. 3 Strong breeze, sailing under Close reefed Top-sails.
 Tu. 4 Main Royal blown out of the Ropes, morning. Top-sails reefed.
 We. 5 Heavy rain.
 Fr. 7 Hurricane of wind. Sailing under Close reefed Top-sails.
 S. 9 Very Rainy, Brisk gale, Sailing under Close reefed Top-sails.
 Mo. 10 Espied Cape Flattery, and Vancouvers Island, Nearly struck against the rocks evening.
 Tu. 11 Dodging about the mouth of the Sound, with Close reefed Top-sails Nearly struck morning.
 We. 12 Wet day, Driven out to sea, Sighted Vancouvers Island, evening.
 Th. 13 Strong gale, Driven out to sea again with Close reefed Top-sails.

(5) The *Norman Morison* has now rounded Cape Horn, and is sailing northward on a course roughly parallel to the coast of South America.

(6) The child was christened Eliza Norman Morison Wishart Anderson. She died in Victoria in 1936, a few days before her 76th birthday.

1853—Continued.

JANUARY

- Fr. 14 Came to the mouth of the Sound Evening, All hands on Deck, to guard against the rocks.
 Sa. 15 Fine day, Sailed up the Sound very slow.
 S. 16 Cast Anchor in the Royal Bay [i.e., in Royal Roads], Saw the Indians in their canoe's first time.
 Mo. 17 English People went ashore, with Mr. McKenzie, Weir, & Stewart, at Fort Victoria.⁷
 Tu. 18 Scotch do. also do.
 Fr. 21 Norman Morrison came into Harbour.
 Sa. 22 Went up and saw our new abode.⁸
 Mo. 24 Carpenters, & Blacksmiths, all removed up to the farm. Shipwreck lost our Stern going home.⁹
 Sa. 29 Wet Day.
 S. 30 Attended the English Chapel in the Fort.¹⁰

FEBRUARY

- We. 2 James Downie & James Whyte removed to the farm. Shipwreck in the Rapids going home.¹¹
 Th. 3 Hard frost.
 Tu. 8 George Greenwood & Isabella Russel married.
 We. 9 Holiday kept here.
 Sa. 12 Holiday given all the men practising ball shooting.
 Tu. 15 The "Brig Vancouver"¹² sailed for the Sandwich Islands.
 Sa. 19 Mrs. Stewart gave birth to a male child.
 Tu. 22 Brig "Mary Dare"¹³ arrived from Nisqually with fresh Beef and Cows.

MARCH

- Tu. 1 Mr. McKenzie's Steam Engine taken up to the Farm.
 Fr. 4 Temporay [sic] Smith's-shop erected.

(7) Kenneth McKenzie had been engaged as a Bailiff on behalf of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, to take charge of one of their farms in the neighbourhood of Victoria. Upon his arrival he was assigned to the tract of land which soon became famous as the Craigflower Farm. James Stewart and Robert Weir had been engaged as Land Stewards by McKenzie.

(8) That is, Craigflower, to which Melrose was also assigned.

(9) At this time travel between Victoria and Craigflower was by water, up and down Victoria Arm.

(10) The Rev. Robert J. Staines, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, had been at Victoria since March, 1849.

(11) I.e., in the reversible falls now known as the Gorge.

(12) The *Vancouver* was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. She was the first vessel to make the voyage from England direct to Victoria, where she arrived in 1845. She was later wrecked, as noted in the diary.

(13) Owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. The farms at Nisqually were one of the chief sources of supplies for Victoria at this time.

1853—Continued.

MARCH

- Tu. 8 "Norman Morrison" ran aground at the entrance of the Harbour. "Steam Boat Beaver" sailed [for] Coal-Mines.¹⁴
 Th. 10 The Brig "Williams" visited Port.¹⁵
 S. 13 Thomas Abernethy & Christeena Bell proclaimed for marriage.
 Tu. 15 Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from Coal-Mines.
 We. 16 Barque "Norman Morrison" sailed out of Harbour.
 Th. 17 Mr. McKenzie's Store House finished.
 S. 20 Barque "Norman Morrison" sailed for England.
 Mo. 21 Scough-load of Provisions taken up to the farm.
 Tu. 22 Wet day.
 We. 23 Brig "Recovery"¹⁶ sailed as a gaurd-ship [*sic*] to the Coal-Mines.¹⁷ Steam Boat "Beaver" tugged her up.
 Fr. 25 Holiday given.
 Sa. 26 James Douglas Esqre. proclaimed Governor of Queen Charlotte's Island.¹⁸
 S. 27 John Crittle & Herriot Whyte proclaimed for marriage. Likewise William Guthrie & Helen Fisher.
 Tu. 29 Scough-load of provisions taken up to the farm.
 We. 30 Rain & Snow.
 Th. 31 One Dwelling House finished.¹⁹

APRIL

- Fr. 1 Mr. McKenzie, Wife & Family removed to the Farm.
 Mo. 4 Brig "Mary Dare" arrived with fresh meat and Potatoes.
 Tu. 5 Schooner "Mary Taylor"²⁰ arrived in Port.
 Th. 7 Mr. McKenzie's Steam Engine set agoing.
 Fr. 8 Thomas Abernethy and Christeena Bell married.
 Sa. 9 Saw Mill started.
 S. 10 Brig "Mary Dare" sailed for San Francisco.
 Mo. 11 Schooner "Mary Taylor" sailed out of Port.
 Th. 14 William Guthrie and Helen Fisher married.
 Fr. 15 John Crittle and Herriot Whyte, married.
 S. 17 Schooner "Honolulu" arrived in Port.²¹

(14) Mining operations were being carried on at both Fort Rupert and Nanaimo in 1853; this reference is probably to Fort Rupert.

(15) The *William*, as she is usually called, loaded 121 tons of coal at Nanaimo in March, 1853.

(16) Owned by the Hudson's Bay Company.

(17) Fort Rupert is meant.

(18) Actually Lieutenant-Governor. Gold had been discovered in the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1850-51, a small rush followed in 1852, and it was deemed advisable to give Douglas formal authority in the area.

(19) Presumably this and the other buildings the completion of which is noted in the diary were in the Craigflower Farm neighbourhood.

(20) This little 60-foot schooner was the first pilot boat on the famous Columbia River bar, in 1849. She had just been replaced there, and was starting a new career as a general trader.

(21) Also referred to as the *Honolulu Packet*; a 92-ton British schooner.

1853—Continued.

APRIL

- Mo. 18 H.M. Steam Frigate "Virago," 6 Guns, arrived in Esquimalt Harbour.
 Tu. 19 John Bell stricken work.²²
 We. 20 "Mary Taylor" arrived in Harbour.
 Th. 21 Carpenters stricken work. Wet morning.
 Fr. 22 Schooner "Mary Taylor" sailed.
 S. 24 Steam Boat "Beaver," and Brig "Cadboro,"²³ arrived from Coal Mines.
 Mo. 25 Schooner "Honolulu" sailed out of Port.
 We. 27 H.M.'s Steam Frigate "Virago," sailed for the Coal Mines [Nanaimo], & Queen Charlotte's Island.
 Th. 28 John Bell imprisoned for thirty days. Wet day.
 Sa. 30 Brig "Vancouver" arrived from Sandwich Islands.

MAY

- Tu. 3 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed on a trading expedition.
 Th. 5 Garden seeds sown.
 S. 8 Mrs. Deans gave birth to a female child.
 Tu. 10 Commenced to plough a piece of ground for potatoes.
 Th. 12 One bullock killed.
 Sa. 14 One dwelling house finished. One dwelling house finished. [sic]
 Mo. 16 William Veitch, James Liddle, James Wilson, & the Author, all removed to the farm.
 Tu. 17 All the potatoes planted in the Garden. Brig "Vancouver" sailed for Fraser's River.
 Th. 19 Horses & Cows brought up to the farm. John Russel removed to the Fort.
 Sa. 21 Mrs. Barr gave birth to a female child.
 Tu. 24 Victoria races celebrated on Beacon Hill. Holiday given.
 We. 25 James Wilson, and the Author got a clock each.
 Th. 26 Brig "Rose" taking in a cargo of timber in Harbour.²⁴
 Fr. 27 John Bell liberated. James Downie stricken work.
 Sa. 28 One Bullock killed and divided.
 S. 29 James Stewart, and George Deans's children baptized, English Chapel.
 Mo. 30 H.M.'s Steam Frigate "Virago" arrived from Queen Charlotte's Island.
 Tu. 31 Field potatoes all planted.

(22) The case of John Bell illustrates the punishment meted out to recalcitrant employees of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. See the entries dated April 28, May 27, June 7, and June 20, 1853.

(23) The famous little vessel, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been on the Pacific Coast since 1827.

(24) The *Rose*, a German vessel of 200 tons, was loading piles, which were in great demand in San Francisco.

1853—Continued.

JUNE

- We. 1 James Downie started to work. Dinner given by the Governor to the Officers of the Frigate on Beacon Hill.
- Th. 2 Well sunk 27 feet deep plentiful supply. Brig "Mary Dare" arrived from San Francisco.
- Fr. 3 William McNeill, and Mary MacCauly married. One Sow pigged.
- Sa. 4 Two Deers divided among the people.
- S. 5 Attended Prayers on board the Steam Frigate "Virago."
- Mo. 6 One dwelling house finished. One Sow pigged.
- Tu. 7 James Tait removed to the farm. John Bell started to work.
- We. 8 Discovered Lime-stone. Steam Frigate "Virago" sailed for Port Simpson.
- Th. 9 Four Cows brought up to the farm. Slight showers.
- Fr. 10 Brig "Vancouver" arrived from Fraser's River.
- Sa. 11 Edward Shooter drowned by the upsetting of a Canoe.
- Tu. 14 7 Cows brought up to the farm.
- We. 15 Commenced to make Bricks.
- Th. 16 W. Veitch, J. Wilson, A. Hume, J. Liddle, J. Tait, & the Author got a Cow each.
- Fr. 17 James Downie got a Cow.
- Sa. 18 One Bullock killed and divided. Brig "Vancouver" sailed for San Francisco.
- S. 19 Edward Shooter's body found by an Indian.
- Mo. 20 John Bell made his escape to America. Showers.
- Tu. 21 Edward Shooter buried. Brig "Rose" sailed for San Francisco.
- We. 22 Shed put over the Saw Mill.
- Th. 23 Brig "Cadboro" sailed along with the Governor.
- Fr. 24 John Russel, and Peter Bartleman stricken work.
- Sa. 25 H.M.'s Frigate "Trincomalee" of 26 guns arrived in Esquimalt Harbour.
- Mo. 27 William & John Weir absconded to Soack [Sooke]. John Russel & Peter Bartleman tried.
- Tu. 28 John Russel started to work.
- We. 29 8 Indians started to work. Peter Bartleman started to work.
- Th. 30 One dwelling house finished. Brig "Cadboro" arrived along with the Governor.

JULY

- Fr. 1 James Stewart removed to the farm. Wilson & the Author got a gun each.
- Sa. 2 Four Lambs killed and divided.
- S. 3 One of Neptune's sons, belonging to the "Trincomalee," got himself hurt by falling from a tree, after drinking a bottle of Grog on the top of it.

1853—Continued.

JULY

- Mo. 4 First Lime Kiln burnt off. 3 more Indians started to work.
 Tu. 5 Crane broke. 2 more Indians started to work.
 We. 6 Crane mended. One Bull gotten for the Cows.
 Th. 7 Licences for selling grog granted 120£ per Annum.²⁵
 Sa. 9 One Sheep killed.
 Mo. 11 3 more Indians started to work. One little pig got its leg broke.
 Tu. 12 6 Marines belonging to the Frigate "Trincomalee" started to work here.
 We. 13 The Marines dropped work.
 Th. 14 Attempt made to make [take?] Robert Weir a farmer at Fort Victoria.²⁶
 Sa. 16 Schooner "Honolulu" arrived from San Francisco.
 S. 17 Visited the Frigate "Trincomalee." Fine dinner on board of her.
 Mo. 18 Mrs. Veitch gave birth to a female child. One bullock killed and divided. 2^d Lime kiln burnt off.
 We. 20 R. Anderson got a cow. Dinner given by the Governor to the Officers of the Frigate "Trincomalee."
 Th. 21 Brig "Vancouver" arrived from San Francisco with flour.
 Fr. 22 Fresh Salmon served out. Schooner "Honolulu" sailed out of Port.
 Mo. 25 6 Marines, & 6 Seamen belonging to the Frigate "Trincomalee" started to work here.
 Tu. 26 Flour brought up. Smiths shop erected. "Trincomalee" men threw a bridge here.
 We. 27 James Downie's Cow shot by an Indian. "Trincomalee" men dropped work.
 Th. 28 Skirmishing party sent after the Indian that shot the cow, but could not find him.
 Fr. 29 Thomas Abernethy, and Christeena Bell escaped to America.
 Sa. 30 Lime kiln burnt off.
 S. 31 Prayer meeting started here by two Officers belonging to the "Trincomalee" Frigate.

AUGUST

- Mo. 1 H.M. Steam Frigate "Virago" arrived from Port Simpson. Brig "Vancouver" sailed for P. Simpson.
 Tu. 2 Brig "Cadboro" sailed.
 We. 3 All the Indians dropped work.
 Th. 4 Years pay due, Accounts made up.

(25) This licence fee had been imposed in March. See introduction.

(26) Presumably this refers to a forcible attempt to bring Weir back to Craigflower, from which he had absconded (see entry dated June 27, *supra*).

1853—Continued.

AUGUST

- Fr. 5 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from England.²⁷
 Sa. 6 One sheep killed. One sow pigged. Oatmeal and Rice sttoped.
 S. 7 Mrs. Montgomery gave birth to a female child. Brig "Cadboro" arrived.
 Mo. 8 Robert Anderson stricken work. Refreshing showers.
 Tu. 9 George Deans stricken work. More Indians started to work.
 We. 10 One calf died of hunger. H.M. Steam Frigate "Virago" sailed for San Francisco & the South.
 H.M. Frigate "Trincomalee" sailed for Queen Charlotte's Island and Sitka.
 Robert Anderson, and George Deans, commenced to work to Captain Cowper.
 Sa. 13 One Bullock killed and divided.
 Mo. 15 One Indian died, that was working with Mr. McKenzie here.
 Tu. 16 James Whyte got a room for himself. Robert Weir removed to Soack.
 We. 17 Showers.
 Th. 18 Screw Steamer "Otter," and Brig "Mary Dare" sailed for the Coal-Mines [Nanaimo].²⁸
 Fr. 19 Heavy Rain.
 Sa. 20 One sheep killed.
 S. 21 9 of the Companys men escaped to America, from Fort Victoria.
 Mo. 22 Brig "Cadboro" sailed.
 Tu. 23 Brick kiln burnt off. All the Indians dropped work.
 We. 24 Joseph Montgomery dropped work. No Pork served out.
 Th. 25 Commenced to plaster the houses with Lime.
 Sa. 27 Four Lambs killed and divided.
 S. 28 American Steam Frigate "Active"²⁹ arrived in Port.
 Tu. 30 Screw Steamer "Otter" and Brig "Mary Dare" arrived from Coal Mines [Nanaimo].
 We. 31 American Steam Frigate "Active" sailed out of Port.

SEPTEMBER

- Th. 1 Joseph Montgomery commenced to sink wells for his own hand.

(27) The *Otter*, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, was only less well-known than the famous *Beaver*. She was a craft of 144 tons, with a length of 122 feet.

(28) Douglas accompanied this expedition, in order to inspect the new coal-mines at Nanaimo. It is possibly significant that the desertions noted on August 21 took place during his absence.

(29) A United States revenue cutter and surveying vessel. She was the first vessel to use Active Pass, which is named after her.

1853—Continued.

SEPTEMBER

- Sa. 3 Andrew Hume $\frac{3}{4}$ Drunk, James Whyte, & James Liddle $\frac{1}{2}$ Drunk.
Brig "Cadboro" sailed as a guardship to the Coal Mines, Screw Steamer "Otter" tugged her up.
- Mo. 5 More Indians started to work. Smeeked [smoked?] Salmon served out.
- Tu. 6 James Tait and Wife absconded to Soack. One Bull got for the Cows. J. Wilson and the Author, $\frac{3}{4}$ Drunk.
- We. 7 R. Anderson, G. Deans, & J. Montgomery imprisoned for one month. Robert, & Will. Weir apprehended.
Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived with the Crew of the Brig "Vancouver."³⁰
- Th. 8 Andrew Hume, & Duncan Lidgate got a house each.
- Fr. 9 Each Family got a stew-pan, and girdle [griddle].
- Sa. 10 Three Sheep killed and divided.
- Mo. 12 Brig "Mary Dare" sailed for San Francisco.
- Tu. 13 John Hall, Engineer, removed from his house here. Blankets served out to each Family. 1 pair.
- We. 14 James Wilson, & the Author's Vent put up. Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed on her trading expedition.
- Sa. 17 One Lamb killed. Pork served out. Screw Steamer "Otter," & Brig, "Recovery," arrived from C[oa]l. Mines.
The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ Drunk. James Wilson $\frac{1}{2}$ Drunk. Letters arrived from Britain.
- Tu. 20 James Stewart's Vent put up.
- We. 21 Andrew Hume, & Duncan Lidgate's Vent put up. Brig "Recovery" sailed for the Sandwich Islands.
- Fr. 23 John Hall, & James Whyte's vent put up. Wet day. Flour brought up.
- Sa. 24 Potatoes served out. James Wilson whole Drunk. James Liddle $\frac{3}{4}$ d. The Author $\frac{1}{4}$ Drunk.
- Mo. 26 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed for Port Simpson.
- Tu. 27 Peter Bartleman stricken work. William Veitch, and James Liddle's, Vent put up.
- We. 28 Another Saw-table erected. One Calf died. Peter Bartleman removed with his house to the Fort.
- Th. 29 Peter Bartleman started to work.
- Fr. 30 American Steam Frigate "Active" visited Port, an express sent from Dungeness, for her assistance [sic], against the Indians.³¹

(30) The *Vancouver* had been wrecked shortly before this on Rose Spit, Queen Charlotte Islands.

(31) Serious trouble with the Indians was being experienced by the American settlements at this time.

1853—Continued.

OCTOBER

- Sa. 1 Three Sheep killed and divided.
 We. 5 H.M. Frigate "Trincomalee" arrived from Sitka and Queen Charlotte's Island. Showers. R. Anderson, G. Deans, & J. Montgomery liberated from Prison. All the Indians dropped work.
 Th. 6 William, and John Weir imprisoned for one month. James Wilson whole drunk.
 Fr. 7 One Sheep killed.
 Sa. 8 Three Sheep killed and divided.
 S. 9 Showers.
 Tu. 11 Flour Mill erected. Wet day.
 We. 12 Commenced to Plough piece of land for wheat. More Indians started to work.
 Th. 13 Showers. American Steam Frigate "Active" arrived from Dungeness.
 Fr. 14 American Steam Frigate "Active" sailed out of Port.
 Sa. 15 Three Sheep killed and divided. All the Indians dropped work.
 S. 16 Wet day.
 Mo. 17 Wet day. 12 Seamen belonging to the Frigate "Trincomalee" started to work here.
 Tu. 18 Splendid Theatre on board the Frigate "Trincomalee." Mrs. Irvine gave birth to a female child.
 We. 19 The Seamen belonging to the "Trincomalee" Frigate dropped work.
 Sa. 22 Three Sheep killed and divided. Commenced to make flour.
 S. 23 Mrs. Veitch's child baptized on board the "Trincomalee" Frigate. Wet night.
 Tu. 25 Frigate "Trincomalee" sailed for San Francisco. Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Port Simpson.
 We. 26 Saw Mill going all night.
 Fr. 28 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed for Coal Mines. Showery Weather.
 Sa. 29 Four Sheep killed, three divided. Doctor's Wife gave birth to a male child.³² High wind & Rain.
 S. 30 Mrs. Montgomery's child baptized.
 Mo. 31 Mrs. Tait gave birth to a female child. More Indians started work.

NOVEMBER

- Tu. 1 Wheat Sown. Saw Mill Shed slabbed all round. No Pork served out.

(32) The first child of Dr. J. S. Helmcken and his wife, Cecilia, daughter of James Douglas. The baby lived only three months. See entry dated January 22, 1854.

1853—Continued.

NOVEMBER

- We. 2 Jack Humphrey dropped work. Pump of Engine broke.
Frosty.
- Th. 3 Fresh Herring served out. Pump of Engine mended. Grinding wheat all night.
- Fr. 4 William, and John Weir, liberated from Prison. Quarters Pay due, and settled.
- Sa. 5 Peter Bartleman, taken Money for his Rations.³³ Thom Bates dropped work. Sleet and Snow.
- S. 6 Wet day.
- Mo. 7 James Wilson, and the Author taken Money for their Rations. Brig "Mary Dare" arrived from S[an]. Francis[co].
- Tu. 8 Grinding wheat all night. Rain.
- We. 9 2 Vice's, 1 Anvil, 2 Hand Saws, Cargo of Iron, received from S[an]. Francisco. Prayer Meeting started. Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from C[oa]. Mines. Potato.
- Th. 10 John Instant $\frac{1}{2}$ Drunk. Rain.
- Fr. 11 John Russel $\frac{3}{4}$ Drunk. Rain.
- Sa. 12 Three Sheep killed and divided. Rain.
- S. 13 Rain.
- Mo. 14 American Barque "Swallow"³⁴ arrived in Port. Rain.
- Tu. 15 Smiths Shop shingled. Rain.
- We. 16 Pork served out. Rain.
- Th. 17 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Nisqually. J. Instant whole Drk. J. Stewart $\frac{1}{2}$ Drk. Barque "Swallow" sailed. Johnstone Engineer's House burnt down. Rain.
- Fr. 18 J. Instant whole Dk. J. Russel $\frac{1}{2}$ Dk.
- Sa. 19 John Instant whole Drunk. Letters arrived from Britain. Rain.
- S. 20 Mrs. Greenwood gave birth to a female child. Rain.
- Mo. 21 Schooner "Honolulu" arrived in Port. Rain.
- Tu. 22 Frost.
- We. 23 Frost and Snow.
- Th. 24 Schooner "Honolulu" sailed out of Port. Rain.
- Fr. 25 Earthquake felt at Fort Victoria. Rain.
- Sa. 26 Rain.
- S. 27 Rain.
- Mo. 28 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with Fresh Beef and Live Stock. Mail came in. Snow.
- Tu. 29 Potatoe House put up. John Goudy's Wife died. Rain.
- We. 30 J. Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ Dk. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ Dk. Fresh beef served out. Indians dropped work. Flour came up.

(33) That is, he accepted a money allowance in place of rations supplied by the Company.

(34) Not identified.

1853—Continued.

DECEMBER

- Th. 1 W. Veitch $\frac{1}{2}$ Dk. J. Whyte $\frac{1}{2}$ Dk. The Author whole Dk. Rain.
- Fr. 2 James Wilson whole Dk. Fresh beef served out. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed [for] C[oal]. Mines. Rain.
- Sa. 3 Rain.
- S. 4 Rain.
- Mo. 5 Monthly Ration Pay due, and settled. More Indians started to work. Rain.
- We. 7 Mr. McKenzie got the Brig "Vancouver's" Boat.
- Th. 8 Rain.
- Fr. 9 Rain.
- Sa. 10 Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from her trading expedition.
- S. 11 Frosty morning, Wet night.
- Mo. 12 Rain.
- We. 14 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Coal Mines.
- Th. 15 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Bellview Island³⁵ with Sheep. Mail came in.
- Fr. 16 Brig "Mary Dare" sailed for England. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed for Bellview Island.
- Sa. 17 Steam Boat "Beaver," and Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Bellview Island.
- Mo. 19 Cooking Galley, and Hen-House put up. Three French Canadians started to square wood.
- Tu. 20 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed to rescue the Crew of the Ship "Lord Western."³⁶ Flour came up.
- We. 21 Prayer Meeting dissolved. Frosty weather.
- Th. 22 Enoch Morris started to work. Frost and Snow.
- Fr. 23 Five Sheep killed and divided. Schooner "Honolulu" arrived in Port. Theatrical Play and Ball, held at F[ort]. Victoria by the H. B. C.'s Clerks and Officers.
- S. 25 Wet day. Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived with Captain, and remaining part of the Crew of the "L[ord]. W[estern]."
- Mo. 26 Holiday given. Mail came in. Schooner "Honolulu" sailed out of Port.
- Tu. 27 Grinding wheat all night. Rain.
- Fr. 30 Monthly Ration Pay Settled, not due or 2d. January. Grinding wheat all night.
- Sa. 31 One Dwelling-house finished.

(The concluding part of the Diary will appear in the July issue of the *Quarterly*.)

(35) Bellevue Island, i.e., San Juan Island. The first serious American claim to the island was made in the fall of 1853, and the matter is dealt with at length in Douglas's letters of the time.

(36) This 530-ton British vessel sailed from Sooke with a cargo of salmon and lumber for San Francisco, but was wrecked on the coast of Vancouver Island. She is sometimes referred to (as in Lewis & Dryden, *Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*) as the *Lord Weston*.

CELEBRATION OF THE VICTORIA CENTENARY.

Early in the year a Civic Centenary Celebration Committee was formed in Victoria, under the chairmanship of Alderman D. D. McTavish, to plan the city's observance of its hundredth anniversary. Various interested bodies were invited to name members to act on the Committee, and the British Columbia Historical Association was represented by its President, Mr. B. A. McKelvie, and by Mrs. Curtis Sampson and Mrs. M. R. Cree, Past Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Victoria Section.

Owing to the war the celebration was planned on a modest scale, but at the same time care was taken to see that the occasion received as much attention as was consistent with the times. It was decided that the celebration should commence in March, and a series of most interesting and successful functions were held during the month.

On Sunday, March 7, a "Thanksgiving Service in Commemoration of the Centenary" was held in Christ Church Cathedral. Those in attendance included Colonel the Hon. W. C. Woodward, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia; Mayor Andrew McGavin, of Victoria; and Mayor J. W. Cornett, of Vancouver. A special order of service was printed for the occasion and the sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of British Columbia, who paid tribute to the city's pioneers: "Believing in the dignity and greatness of the future, they laid foundations large and worthy; nor was their vision limited to things material." Christ Church Cathedral traces its origin back to the old Victoria District Church, the first church building erected in the city; and even before its construction the Rev. Robert Staines conducted services in Fort Victoria, as chaplain for the Hudson's Bay Company.

On Sunday, March 14, the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of James Douglas off the southern end of Vancouver Island, the British Columbia Historical Association sponsored a motor cavalcade through the streets of Victoria, in the course of which a series of six plaques, marking as many historic sites, were unveiled by pioneers of the city. The first ceremony took place at the foot of Fort Street, where a plaque will henceforth draw attention to the existence of the old mooring-rings that are now the only surviving bit of Fort Victoria. Mr. B. A. McKelvie addressed the crowd of interested spectators, and deplored the fact that the old oak-tree near the mooring-rings, upon which Douglas had nailed his original proclamation, taking possession of the neighbourhood for the Hudson's Bay Company, had been cut down. Mr. Francis Ross, grandson of Chief Trader Charles Ross, the first officer placed in charge of Fort Victoria, then unveiled the plaque.

The next spot visited was an old brick building that once housed Macdonald & Co. at the foot of Yates Street. This private banking firm issued

the first paper money circulated in what is now British Columbia. The plaque commemorating the bank was unveiled by Mr. W. H. Bone, one of Victoria's best known and most respected citizens.

The cavalcade then proceeded to a spot near the Central Junior High School, where a plaque had been placed to mark the site of the first school building erected in Victoria. Mr. F. C. Green, Surveyor-General of British Columbia, told the story of the school, and the plaque was unveiled by Mrs. T. H. Laundry, daughter of the late Bishop Cridge.

The fourth stop was made at the Windsor Hotel, at the corner of Government and Courtney streets. This building, known originally as the Victoria Hotel, was the first brick structure erected in Victoria. The plaque recording this fact was unveiled by Mr. Frank Partridge, who came to the city as a child, travelling by way of Cape Horn.

Helmcken House, residence of one of the Province's most interesting and distinguished pioneers, Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, was next visited, and a plaque was there unveiled by Miss Josephine Crease, daughter of Sir H. P. P. Crease, first Attorney-General of British Columbia.

The sixth and last ceremony took place on Superior Street, where the old Legislative Hall, the only one of the original Parliament Buildings now standing, was likewise marked with a plaque. Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, whose department arranged for the erection of the plaques, recalled the old "bird cages," and at the conclusion of his remarks the flag concealing the inscription was drawn aside by Mr. Walter Chambers. Mr. Chambers, it is interesting to note, arrived in Victoria in 1858, a year before the historic "bird cages" were built.

Guests who took part in the cavalcade included Mayor Andrew McGavin, Alderman D. D. McTavish, and Alderman Archie Wills. Greetings from pioneers in the Interior of the Province were brought by Lieut. Louis LeBourdais, M.L.A. for Cariboo, and Dr. F. W. Green, M.L.A., of Cranbrook.

The old-timers who unveiled the plaques rode in the royal maroon phaeton that was used by the King and Queen when visiting Victoria in 1939. Mrs. Ross Palmer, of Comox, owner of the car, acted as chauffeur, dressed in a maroon uniform that matched the car's colour. At the conclusion of the programme the pioneers were entertained at tea in Helmcken House by Miss Madge Wolfenden, Acting Provincial Archivist.

On Monday, March 15, the Sir James and Lady Douglas Chapter of the I.O.D.E. held a centennial luncheon in the Empress Hotel. Mrs. A. S. Christie, Regent of the Chapter, presided, and introduced the guests and speakers. Two items on the programme were of outstanding interest, the first of these being the presentation by the Provincial Government to the City of Victoria of a striking oil painting of Sir James Douglas. The portrait is the work of Robert Southwell, the well-known artist. The presentation was made by Hon. John Hart, Premier of British Columbia, and the picture was accepted on behalf of the city by Mayor Andrew McGavin. Following this Mr. B. A. McKelvie delivered an address in which he made an eloquent plea that justice should be done the memory of Chief Trader Charles Ross, whom he described as "the forgotten man in a for-

gotten grave." "Nothing," he felt, "could be more fitting in this centennial year than that a memorial stone be erected in the Quadra Street Pioneer Cemetery, where the remains of the man who first controlled the destiny of the fort lie in an unmarked grave." Mr. McKelvie outlined Ross's life and work, and described the construction and early days of Fort Victoria.

In the course of the proceedings Premier Hart announced a gift of \$10,000 to the city's Centennial Celebration Fund; and it is to be hoped that plans for its expenditure will include the erection of a fitting monument to Charles Ross.

Others present who contributed to the programme included Mrs. Sidney Bowden, who moved the vote of thanks to the speakers; Mrs. W. H. Wilson, who contributed vocal selections; Mr. F. G. Mulliner, representing the Victoria School Board; Mrs. Hilda Cruikshank, Chief Factor of Post No. 3, Native Daughters of British Columbia; Mr. L. Westendale, Chief Factor, Post No. 1, Native Sons; and Alderman D. D. McTavish, great grandson of Sir James Douglas, and Chairman of the Civic Centenary Committee. Mrs. Bertha Parsons, Secretary of the Sir James and Lady Douglas Chapter, was convener of the affair, and supervised the seating of the 400 guests.

On Tuesday, March 16, a "Fort Victoria Centenary Dinner" was held in the Empress Hotel by the Vancouver Island Philatelic Society. A most interesting souvenir menu and programme was designed for the occasion by Dr. J. A. Pearce, President of the Society. The illustrations include facsimiles of an early letter addressed to Fort Victoria, and of the now celebrated "V for Victory" stamp of 1865. Miss Madge Wolfenden, Acting Provincial Archivist, gave an illustrated address entitled "An Album of Victoria's Early Years," in the course of which many of the early sketches, prints, and photographs relating to Fort Victoria were shown to the members. This was followed by a second address on "The Postal History of Fort Victoria," by Mr. Gerald E. Wellburn. Mr. Wellburn has a remarkable knowledge of the philatelic history of British Columbia, and a selection from the many letters, documents, stamps, Western Express envelopes, and Colonial covers in his private collection was on exhibition.

Thanks to the efforts of the Philatelic Society a special centenary cancellation was used by the post-office in Victoria during the fortnight commencing on March 15. The design included an outline of Vancouver Island and a drawing of one of the old bastions of the fort. It is much to be regretted that, owing to the war, the Post Office Department was unable to issue a special postage-stamp, as this would have directed wide attention to the centenary throughout the Dominion.

On Friday, March 19, a Civic Luncheon was held in the Empress Hotel, to honour "Victoria's Pioneer Residents of 1871 or Earlier." No less than 170 pioneers attended, and other invited guests brought the number present to 215. Alderman D. D. McTavish presided. Grace was said by the Rt. Rev. J. C. Cody, Bishop of Victoria. Greetings were sent to the pioneers by Col. the Hon. W. C. Woodward, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Hon. H. G. T. Perry, Minister of Education, addressed the assembled pioneers

in the absence of Hon. Herbert Anscob, concluding his remarks with a much appreciated quotation:—

Make all the new friends that you can—but keep the old;
For one is silver—but the other gold.

Mayor Andrew McGavin expressed the good wishes of the city. A blessing was pronounced by Rev. Hugh A. McLeod, President of the Victoria Ministerial Association. The programme concluded with an entertainment given by a group of students from Victoria High School, which featured old-fashioned costumes, songs, and dances. Mrs. W. Fitzherbert Bullen, granddaughter of Sir James Douglas, moved a vote of thanks, on behalf of the pioneers present, to the Mayor and Aldermen and the Civic Centenary Celebration Committee for the delightfully arranged luncheon. Auld Lang Syne was sung before the gathering dispersed.

A Civic Centenary Ball will be held in May. Other events are planned for later in the year, including a service at the grave of Sir James Douglas on August 2, the anniversary of his death in 1877.

The centenary received extended notice in the Press and on the air. Station CJVI, Victoria, sponsored a variety of broadcasts, and no less than eight programmes were offered by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation through station CBR, Vancouver. These ranged from fifteen-minute talks to a half-hour historical drama. Several of the broadcasts, including the drama, were carried by a nation-wide network.

The *Victoria Daily Colonist* and *Victoria Daily Times* both printed elaborate centenary supplements, and almost as much space and attention were devoted to the occasion by the *Vancouver Daily Province* and the *Vancouver Sun*. The number and variety of the articles and photographs printed by the four papers were remarkable, and the supplements will be most useful in future for reference purposes.

An example of the widespread recognition accorded the centenary is found in the February issue of the *British Columbia Electric Home Service News*, and the *B.C.E.R. Employees Magazine* for March, both of which include illustrated articles on early days in Victoria.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PACIFIC STATION RECORDS.

The correspondence relating to the establishment of the naval base at Esquimalt, printed in the *Quarterly* for October, 1942, brings to mind the question of the Pacific Station Records and their value to local and general history. The introduction brings out important points, but "Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Coast," on page 279, seems to give a wrong impression. The Pacific Station, in the days of the Naval Commander-in-Chief, was a blue-water affair. An old standing order, for instance, provided for repairs to Captain Cook's monument by ships visiting the Sandwich Islands. The sloop *Condor*, leaving on the Island voyage, went down with all hands off the west coast of Vancouver Island. Her sister ship, the *Shearwater*, after patrolling the Bering Sea in 1902, left Esquimalt for Honolulu, Fanning Island, Christmas, Tahiti, Pitcairn, and Easter Islands. As coal was running short she made about 600 miles under sail alone before reaching the coast of Chile.

The last flagship was the cruiser *Grafton*. The Commander-in-Chief, Rear-Admiral A. K. Bickford, and the Flag Captain, Colin Keppel, were relieved by Commodore J. E. C. Goodrich in 1903. Some of the *Grafton's* officers have had interesting records, but a few of these were cut short. Clive Phillipps-Wolley, who came as a Midshipman from the old *Warspite*, went down as Lieutenant with the *Hague* in September, 1914; the Signal Midshipman, now Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert, became Flag Lieutenant to Lord Jellicoe; Lieutenant Loxley went down as Captain of H.M.S. *Formidable* on New Year's Day, 1915; the Torpedo Lieutenant, now Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, has been First Sea Lord of the Admiralty since the beginning of the present war.

The *Grafton* left for England in 1904, taking with her many of the naval stores; her departure from Esquimalt was impressive, but marked the beginning of the end of the old state of affairs. The Commodore's pennant was transferred to the cruiser *Bonaventure*, but not for long; she left for China early in the following year, the Commodore returned to England, and the Pacific Station became a thing of the past. Commander (now Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas) Hunt, H.M.S. *Shearwater*, was appointed Senior Naval Officer on the West Coast of North America. "Senior Naval Officer" was later changed to "Commander in Charge for Station Duties," a senior officer being present in the survey ship *Egeria*. In 1908 the sloop *Algerine* arrived from China and the length of the station was extended, "North America" being changed to "America." In 1914 the *Algerine* was commanded by a Captain, as Senior Naval Officer on the West Coast of America.

When the staff of the Dockyard left for England the late George Phillips resigned from the Admiralty Works Department and remained at Esquimalt as Admiralty Agent until the arrival of H.M.C.S. *Rainbow* in

1910, when the shore establishment and his own services were taken over by Canada. The building demolished in 1939, after eighty-four years of service, was used as an office by the Naval Stores Officer and then by the Admiralty Agent. The north half was used by the Commander-in-Chief when ashore, then by the Commodore, and the Senior Naval Officer. Old Station Records were kept in one of the cupboards; current Records, bound by the King's Printer in Victoria, accompanied the Flag; they were not, however, taken on board the *Shearwater*, the size of the ship's office being, approximately, 5½ by 9 feet.

These Pacific Station Records contain important information on various matters, such as the Bering Sea controversy and the San Juan affair, on questions of local interest, and on the Pacific generally. Had it not been for the efforts of the Provincial Archivist they would, apparently, have been removed from Canada. Many of the volumes are now in Ottawa, but it is hoped that recent developments will draw attention to the fact that they should really be in British Columbia. In England the present tendency is towards decentralization, as it has been found that national records are often most useful in the neighbourhood to which they belong. And, in Canada, distances are so very much greater.

It might be added that distances in the Pacific are greater still. The Canadian Navy had a promising start in 1910, but during the boom, and after the war, the problems of the Pacific did not receive sufficient attention. If the original programme had been completed Canada might have had two cruisers of the *Newcastle* class on the Pacific coast in 1914; as events turned out the presence of the Japanese cruiser *Idzumo* was distinctly comforting—and Japan's services in the Pacific were rewarded by a League of Nations mandate.

Since drafting this note I have seen *Modern Naval Strategy*, by Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon and Francis E. McMutrie, whose predictions as to the East Indian islands have proved remarkably correct; they foretold the result of the lack of early and powerful fortifications at Guam, tracing the blame to the mandate given Japan for the Pacific Islands. The authors attribute importance to a well-informed public opinion on the changing aspects of naval war; absence of this, they consider, even affected the battle of Jutland. May we not then conclude that, while the old system of "showing the flag" throughout the Pacific could not be continued, its abandonment left a gap which only a well-informed public opinion could replace? And in this respect, perhaps, the Pacific Station Records may contribute their share to the solution of the problems of the future.

R. P. BISHOP.

VICTORIA, B.C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Library, Victoria, on Friday, January 8. The meeting was held jointly with the Victoria Section, which transacted its business during the first part of the evening, and there was an excellent attendance. The retiring President, Rev. John Goodfellow, delivered an address on *John Hall: Pioneer Presbyterian in British Columbia*. Members will recall that this paper was printed in the January number of the *Quarterly*.

As usual, the election of the Council had been conducted by mail, and the result of the ballot was announced to the members. After the adjournment of the general meeting the new Council met and selected the officers for the new year. The Executive for 1943 is as follows:—

Honorary President	- - - -	Hon. H. G. T. Perry.
President	- - - -	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Past President	- - - -	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.
1st Vice-President	- - - -	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
2nd Vice-President	- - - -	Mrs. Curtis Sampson.
Honorary Treasurer	- - - -	Miss Madge Wolfenden.
Honorary Secretary	- - - -	Major H. T. Nation.

Members of the Council:—

Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Miss Helen Boutilier.
Mrs. M. R. Cree.	Judge F. W. Howay.
Dr. Robie L. Reid.	Dr. T. A. Rickard.

Dr. W. N. Sage.

In addition to the above, the Provincial Archivist, the Editor of the *Quarterly*, and the chairmen of the Victoria and Vancouver sections are ex-officio members of the Council.

At the date of the annual meeting the paid-up membership was 410, and it was expected that a number of members in arrears would still renew their subscriptions.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The annual meeting was held in the Provincial Library, on Friday, January 8, and was followed, as noted above, by the annual meeting of the Provincial body. Mrs. Curtis Sampson, retiring Chairman of the Section, presided. The Secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree, read her report, which chronicled the activities of the society and indicated that the Section had once again had a most active and interesting year. Miss Wolfenden, the Treasurer, presented a report which showed that finances were in a satisfactory state. Other reports presented included that of Miss Alma Russell, Convener of the Neurology Committee, who noted that at least 174 persons who had resided in Victoria for fifty years or more had died in 1942. Short biographies of several of these were included in the report.

Mrs. Sampson had chosen for the subject of her presidential address, *Victoria's Hundred Years*. Placing the emphasis on the social life of the city, she conjured up a vivid and delightful panorama of events, including

balls at Government House, 24th of May celebrations, regattas at the Gorge, incidents connected with early schools and churches, visits of royalty, and glimpses of the naval and military life of the city. Particularly interesting was her account of the reaction of the city to the news of defeat and victory during the Boer War and the Great War of 1914-18.

The new Executive is composed as follows:—

Chairman	- - - - -	The Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson.
Past Chairman	- - - - -	Mrs. Curtis Sampson.
Vice-Chairman	- - - - -	Mr. F. C. Green.
Honorary Treasurer	- - - - -	Miss Madge Wolfenden.
Honorary Secretary	- - - - -	Mrs. M. R. Cree.

Members of the Council:—

Miss Muriel Galt.	Mr. John Goldie.
Mr. B. A. McKelvie.	Mr. W. E. McMullen.
Major H. T. Nation.	Mr. T. W. S. Parsons.

Dr. J. A. Pearce.

A meeting of the Section was held on Monday, February 22, when Dr. T. A. Rickard gave an interesting address on *Mining in the Early Days of the Kootenay*. Dr. Rickard described the Kootenay as one of the most beautiful districts in the world, and noted some of the features that lie within the area, which is approximately 240 miles long and 130 miles wide. Its history extends as far back as 1807, when David Thompson built a trading-post on Lake Windermere. The history of mining, of which Dr. Rickard gave a detailed account, commenced with the discovery of the celebrated Bluebell vein, on the shores of Kootenay Lake. One of the most spectacular developments had been the growth of the Trail smelter, which, in 1938, processed no less than 600,000 tons of ore. Among those responsible for the successful exploitation of the region were William A. Carlisle and W. Fleet Robertson, former Provincial Mineralogists, to whom the speaker paid a warm tribute.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson, Chairman of the Section, presided, and Mr. F. C. Green, Surveyor-General for British Columbia, moved the vote of thanks to the speaker. Dr. Rickard's paper will be printed in an early issue of the *Canadian Mining Journal*.

Members of the Section took an exceedingly active part in planning the celebration of the centenary of Victoria, and particulars of the various functions held in March are given elsewhere in this issue.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The first meeting in the New Year was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday, February 23. Mr. A. G. Harvey presided. The speaker of the evening was Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, who described the *Early Medical History of British Columbia*. The story commenced with William Anderson, who arrived with Captain Cook in H.M.S. *Resolution*, and was the first qualified surgeon known to have visited what is now British Columbia, and concluded with Dr. J. S. Helmcken, who arrived in Victoria in 1850. Chief amongst

the intervening figures were Archibald Menzies, who came with Captain Vancouver; Dr. John McLoughlin, of the Hudson's Bay Company; and Dr. Meredith Gairdner and Dr. W. F. Tolmie, also in the service of the Great Company, whose careers contrasted sharply with one another. Dr. Lamb emphasized the remarkable variety of abilities and interests that was characteristic of these men, pointing out, for example, that in addition to being a qualified physician and a capable surgeon, Dr. Tolmie was a fur-trader of note, a naturalist, an ethnologist, a mountaineer, a farmer, an educator, and a politician.

Early Days in Vancouver were the "marching orders" followed by Major J. S. Matthews, Vancouver City Archivist, in his illustrated address before members of the Section on Tuesday, March 23. In speaking of the founding of the City Archives, Major Matthews paid tribute to the late John Hosie, former Provincial Archivist, for the assistance he rendered and the encouragement he gave to the undertaking.

The slides were arranged to give the audience an idea of life in the pioneer community that has since grown into Canada's third city. Many of the views were of the area lying between Hastings Street and the harbour, and Carrall and Granville streets. Colonial and railway officials whose names are perpetuated in the city's streets were described, and the story of the naming of Burrard Inlet, the Burrard Bridge, and Burrard Street was particularly timely, as the title had so recently passed to a younger member of the family. Major Matthews told of the securing of the city's charter, and of the problems confronting the City Fathers, particularly after the great fire of June, 1886: of a light-fingered jail inmate who had cached blankets in the woods, but was able to produce them to relieve those who had lost all their property; of the city hall "raised in five minutes"; of the church service held on the first Sunday after the fire in a store on Cordova Street, with kags for pews. Unintentional humour, understood only by a war-time audience, came with the picture of an early street-car, which appeared to be as crowded as those now carrying defence workers.

Miss Jean Coots, Secretary of the Section, reported upon her visit to Victoria to attend a number of the functions held to celebrate the city's 100th anniversary.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Bruce A. McKelvie, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, is widely known as a journalist and historian. His books include *Early History of the Province of British Columbia*, *Pelts and Powder*, *Huldowget*, etc.

W. Kaye Lamb, formerly Provincial Librarian and Archivist, has been Librarian of the University of British Columbia since 1940.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Trans-Mississippi West: A Guide to its Periodical Literature (1811-1935). By Oscar Osburn Winther. Bloomington, Indiana: The Indiana University Bookstore, 1942. Pp. 263. \$1.50.

Our historical roads, like our highways, are becoming well lighted and marked by guide-posts. This volume, which is No. 3 in the Social Science Series of Indiana University Publications, "is designed," says the preface, "to serve teachers, students, and investigators in the field of western history" by furnishing a short-cut "obviating the tedious task of combing tables of contents of the professional periodicals included in this compilation." To all time-pressed workers in that field the utility of such a guide is manifest and they will gladly welcome its advent. There are others, with minds not so well regulated and regimented, who care not a fig for the time occupied in "combing tables of contents," for, occasionally, they find, like Saul, something more worth while than the object of their present search.

This guide enumerates 3,501 items, but beyond merely indicating their classification as articles, bibliographical material, official documents, letters, etc., it gives no indication of their worth or importance. The subject-headings do not include the Hudson's Bay Company: that Great Company, dovetailed as it is into the story of the West—the ruler of Old Oregon for nearly twenty-five years—is relegated to a subheading, a distinction it shares with the North West Company.

The periodicals indexed include, besides the wider-ranging, all the historical publications regularly issued west of the Mississippi, except the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. The essential unity of the history of the whole region makes such an omission unforgivable. How a student can prepare a complete and comprehensive paper or thesis on the "Fur Trade," "Indians," "Mining," "Cattle," or "Oregon," not to mention "Canada," or "British Columbia" (to quote some of the headings), without consulting this *Quarterly*, passes understanding. The resultant product must be something parochial or, perhaps, national, but cannot reach higher.

Leaving these omissions aside, the volume seems reasonably complete, apt to its purpose, and so arranged that its contents are easily accessible. An author index, of some twenty-three pages, affords yet another key. Amongst the names therein are some that are familiar to the readers of this *Quarterly*: Dr. W. N. Sage, Dr. Robie L. Reid, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, and Dr. T. C. Elliott.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

Greenland. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1942. Pp. 338. Ill. \$4.50.

Lucus a non lucendo. It has been said that Greenland was so named because there was nothing green there, and that the poet's reference to its "icy mountains" was more nearly correct. Now we learn, from Mr. Ste-

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fansson, that the largest island in the world was named *Grönland* by Erik the Red because he wished to make it attractive to his friends in Iceland.

The baleful light of a world-wide war has illuminated the earth so completely as to enlarge our knowledge of geography. The names of remote places are now familiar to us and we know where to look for them on the map. Interest in Greenland was awakened when on April 10, 1941, the region was formally taken under the protection of the United States, with the consent of the Danish minister at Washington, because at that time Denmark was in the hands of the enemy. Greenland is useful for meteorological stations to predict the weather on the Atlantic. It is also valuable on account of its production of cryolite, an ore of aluminium, of which a large deposit is exploited at Ivigtut, on the southwestern coast. Mining began there about a century ago, says our author, and it has yielded more than \$15,000,000 in taxes to the Danish government.

Greenland is as large as the combined twenty-six American states east of the Mississippi River. The fact that it was an island was determined by Peary in 1900, before he reached the North Pole. About 85 per cent. of Greenland is bound in snow and ice, but the remaining 15 per cent. of the country gives 110,000 square miles of prairie land, a treeless tract of grasses, sedges, and small bushes.

The first chapter of the book is devoted to geographic preliminaries; the second, to prehistoric discoveries. Here the author is much at home owing to his researches into the voyages of Pitheas and the early history of Iceland, as is indicated by two of his recent books, *Ultima Thule* and *Iceland*. He makes the interesting statement that Asiatic man has not been in Greenland for more than 2,500 years and it appears certain that the forefathers of the Eskimo did not reach the American continent much before 1000 B.C. Next Mr. Stefansson discusses the discovery of Greenland by the Greeks in 325 B.C. This is a fascinating question, even though the answer be inconclusive, for there is no evidence even to suggest that the enterprising explorer from Massilia, namely, Pitheas, did more than catch a glimpse of the ice-pack on the eastern coast of Greenland.

Equally inconclusive was the discovery of Greenland by the Irish. It is recorded that an Irish saint named Brendan in about 570 crossed the Atlantic in a curragh, or skin-boat, and likewise obtained a view of the ice-floes in his approach to Greenland. However, we can hardly concede that this was a discovery of Greenland, but it seems that the mythical and saintly traveller did reach Iceland and saw a volcanic eruption of Mount Hekla. Other evidence proves that the Irish landed and settled in Iceland about 795, and when the Norsemen came thither in 850 they found Christian Irish people had preceded them.

Then we come to the real discovery of Greenland, for it was an Icelander named Gunnbjorn that reported he had seen some skerries, or small islands, in the west, and land beyond them. The date is about 900. As a matter of fact, Greenland could be seen from the Icelandic mountain-tops. Gunnbjorn's story prompted further exploration. A red-haired young man named Erik left Norway in 950, and in 951 he sailed westward from Iceland in

search of the new land. Erik the Red took his wife and children with him, together with sundry friends, making a party of about thirty in a ship 80 feet long. He skirted the southeastern coast of Greenland and rounded Cape Farewell to land on the beach of what is now Julianshaab. He explored the vicinity and returned to Iceland in 954. His description of Greenland, which he so named, was attractive; in consequence, during the following year he started with twenty-five ships, of which fourteen survived the voyage and brought about 350 men and women to the colony on the southwestern coast. Thus Greenland, which is part of North America, was discovered by Americans, for Iceland is part of the western hemisphere.

The author devotes his sixth chapter to the discovery of America by the Greenlanders. This is a fascinating story, and it is well told. As is generally known, Leif, a son of Erik the Red, sailed in the year 1000 to Norway and on his return voyage he lost his way in the fog; in consequence he passed Cape Farewell and reached a land where wine-berries and self-sown wheat were found. He named the country Vinland or Wine Land. This name has proved misleading, for berries that yield a palatable juice are not necessarily grapes. Leif reached Greenland safely, returning north-eastward.

Next we come to the Karlsefni expedition, which is told in a celebrated saga. Stefansson thinks, with good reason, that the Norsemen reached Baffin Island and then Labrador—and possibly New England or the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

After immigration during 150 years, the settlements in southern Greenland had a total population of 9,000. Greenland became a republic, and adopted Christianity in about 1020. Sixteen churches were built. In 1261 the country was joined to Norway. Religious fervor decreased after a while by reason of a slow descent to Eskimo heathenism.

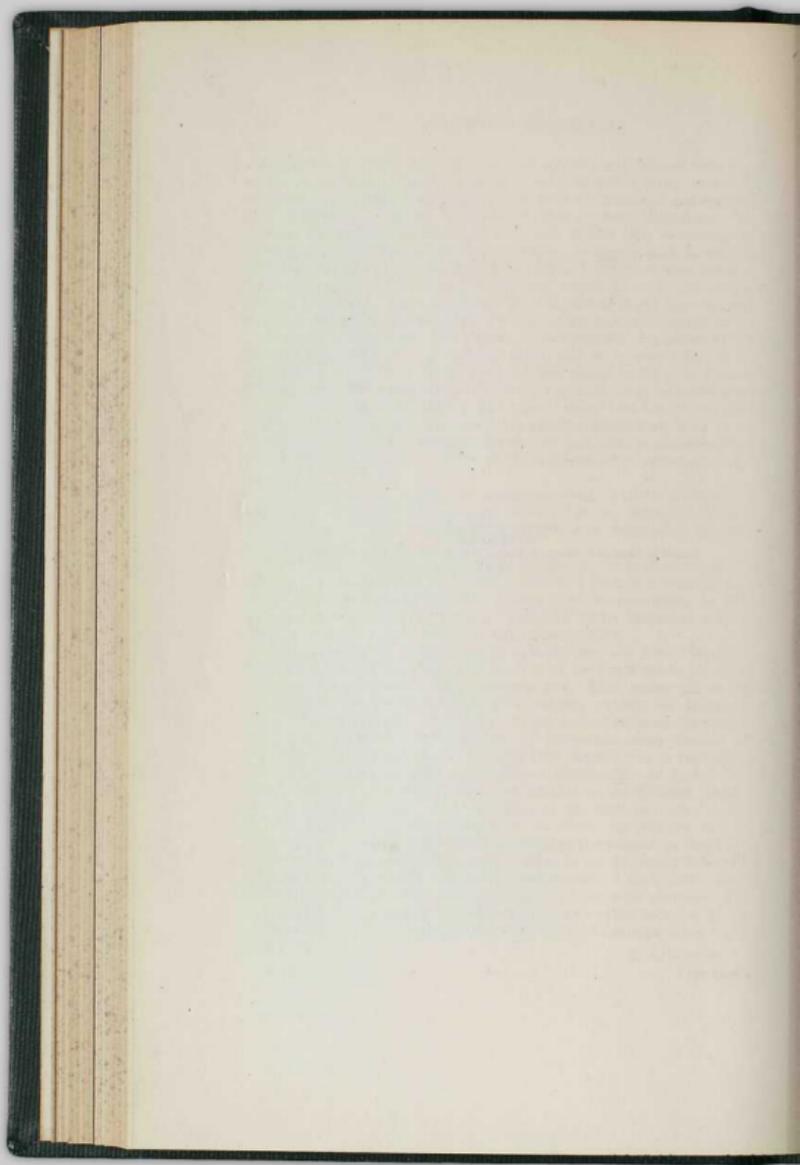
A chapter is given to the sagas of Erik the Red and Einar Soklason. They are interesting as sources of historic facts, for sagas can be historical documents of importance. Such are these two. Then comes one of the most perplexing events in the story of Greenland; namely, the disappearance of the Norse colony. In Chapter X, our author discusses the subject with his usual acumen. In about 1420 the Greenland colony was cut off from Europe and it was extinct when, in 1721, Hans Egede, a Norwegian missionary, reached the sites of the former settlements. At first it was believed that the Norsemen had been exterminated by the Eskimos. Others suggested that the plague was the cause of the calamity. Our author suggests that the complete isolation of the Norse settlers led to race mingling with the Eskimos and eventual complete assimilation, so that when seen centuries later the survivors were found to be predominantly Eskimoid.

Greenland in the Middle Ages and the resettlement of the country (after Egede's exploration in 1721) form the subjects of two more chapters. The book is full of interest, for, like Mr. Stefansson's other books, it is the combined product of scholarly research and intimate knowledge of the Arctic lands.

T. A. RICKARD.

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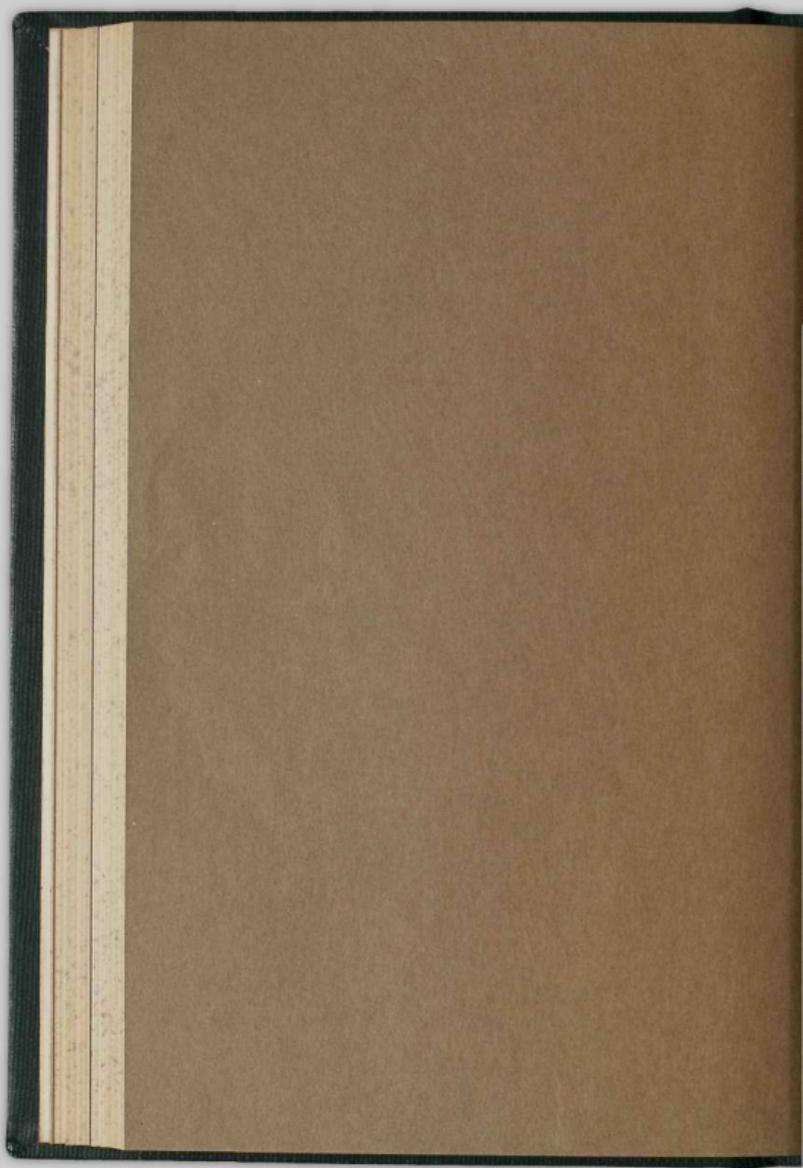
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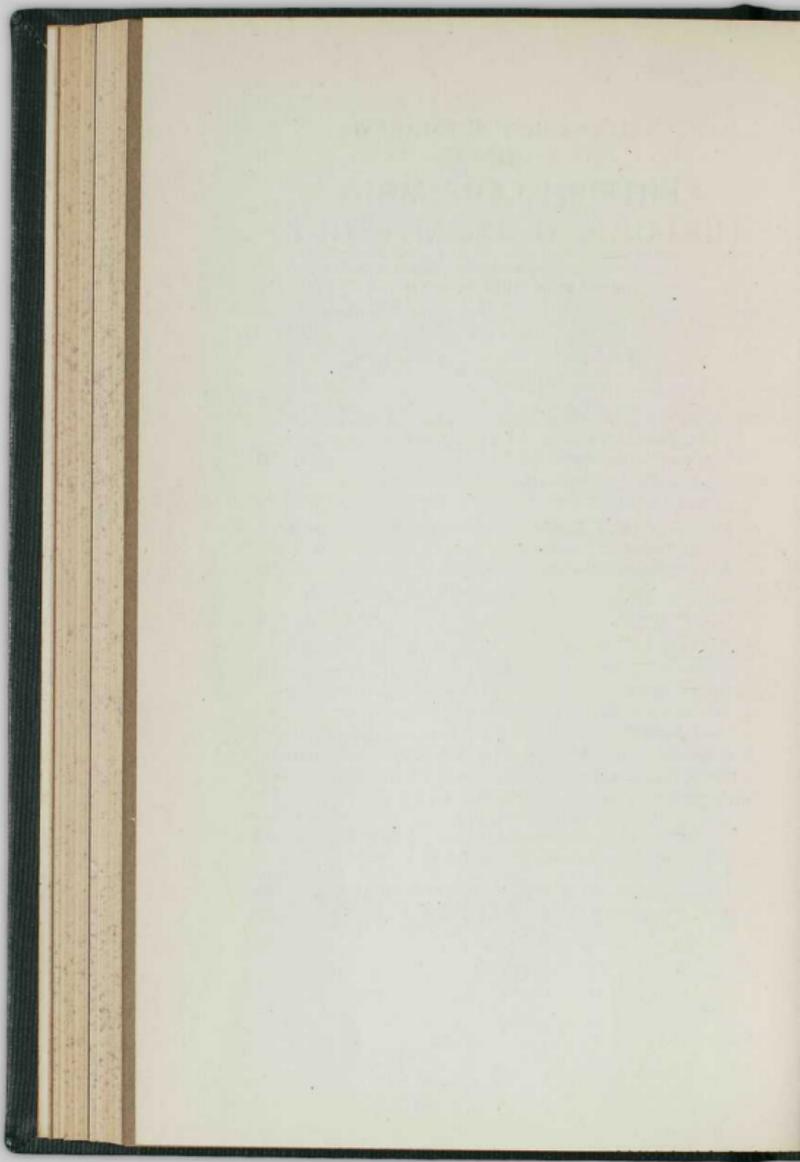
The
BRITISH COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. VII. VICTORIA, B.C., JULY, 1943. No. 3

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CANADA'S FIRST SUBMARINES: CCI AND CC2.

AN EPISODE OF THE NAVAL WAR IN THE PACIFIC, 1914-18.

"About ten o'clock on the morning of the Fourth of June, the destroyer *Wolverine* commanded by Lieut.-Commander Adrian Keyes, the younger brother of the Commodore, took us from Kephalo to Helles. . . . Keyes was full of stories about his experiences in Canada at the very beginning of the war, when he manned a submarine with a crew of local business-men. I wish I could remember the details of the good stories he told us; but they have passed from my recollection irretrievably, and I can only remember the gold watch that was presented to him by his amateur crew. One of those Canadian business-men ought to give us the tale of that submarine's adventures: *Blackwood's Magazine* would be the proper medium. Keyes himself is no longer alive, and the little epic ought not to be lost eternally."

—COMPTON MACKENZIE, *Gallipoli Memories*,
London, 1929, p. 110.

When the British Empire went to war on August 4, 1914, the coast of British Columbia and the shipping in its neighbourhood were almost unprotected against attack by German cruisers, of which two, the *Leipzig* and the *Nürnberg*, were believed to be on the west coast of North America. The *Leipzig* was, in fact, in a Mexican port, and a squadron of German cruisers was known to be in the western Pacific. There were some shore batteries at Esquimalt; but the single warship of any fighting strength stationed on the coast was H.M.C.S. *Rainbow*, a cruiser which was obsolescent, undermanned, and supplied with ineffective ammunition. The only ships of the Royal Navy anywhere near were the sloops *Shearwater* and *Algerine*. From the naval point of view, therefore, the north-eastern Pacific area held out some very unpleasant possibilities.¹

Although vessels able to navigate under water had been thought of and built in the eighteenth century, it was not until near the end of the nineteenth century that a fully practicable

(1) For a full account of the *Rainbow*, the German cruisers, and the general situation in the Pacific, see G. N. Tucker, "The Career of H.M.C.S. 'Rainbow,'" *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, vii. (1943), pp. 1-30.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 3.

one had been designed. The prototype of the modern submarine was invented by John P. Holland, of Paterson, New Jersey, an Irish patriot who saw in such a vessel, used against the Royal Navy, a means of achieving independence for Ireland. His boats were the first to use a combination of internal-combustion engines for cruising on the surface and electric motors driven by storage-batteries for propulsion when submerged. In the year 1900 the Admiralty ordered the first submarines for the Royal Navy, and these were of the Holland type. By 1907 all the great naval powers, most of whom had bought plans and permission to use them from the Holland Company in the United States, were building their own submarines. Smaller countries, when they wanted them, usually ordered them from the ship-builders of their larger neighbours.²

On July 29, 1914, the Admiralty sent out the "warning telegram," and the precautionary stage of the various defence schemes was ordered. The German Navy too was preparing for the worst:—

On July 29 the ships lay in Kiel Harbour and were engaged in effecting the pre-arranged measures which as a rule precede a regular mobilization, measures which were ordered on account of the increasing tension of the political situation.³

On the same day also, a group of about half a dozen men met at the Union Club in Victoria, B.C. Among them were Captain W. H. Logan, Surveyor to the London Salvage Association, and Mr. J. V. Paterson, President of the Seattle Construction and Drydock Company, who was in the city on business.⁴

War possibilities were under discussion. The acquisition of a Chilean warship was suggested and put aside as impossible. Paterson stated that his company had, at Seattle, two submarines which might be obtained. Of their existence Logan was aware. This was the first intimation, however, that there was chance of their acquirement.

(2) Article on Holland in *Dictionary of American Biography*, ix.; W. L. Clowes (ed.), *The Royal Navy, 1897-1903*, vii., p. 61; Bernard Brodie, *Sea Power in the Machine Age*, Princeton, 1941, pp. 288 and 296 n.

(3) Admiral Scheer, *Germany's High Sea Fleet in the World War*, London, etc., 1920, p. 9.

(4) Account of this meeting and the following part of the paragraph are based on *Report of the Commissioner concerning Purchase of Submarines* [Davidson Commission], Ottawa, 1917, pp. 7-25. It is not clear whether Paterson had come to Victoria in order to sell his submarines or whether he was there on other business.

These submarines had been ordered by the Chilean Government in 1911 from the Electric Boat Company of New Jersey, holders of the Holland patents, who had arranged for Paterson's company to build them. The Chilean Government had agreed to pay \$818,000 for the pair, and had actually paid \$714,000; but the payments were slightly in arrears. Chilean naval experts had recommended that the boats should not be accepted, on the ground that they were overweight and that their sea endurance was consequently not up to specification. The builders were willing and anxious to sell the submarines to some one else, because their relations with the Chileans were strained, and also because in this way they would probably obtain a much higher price.

During the first two days of August the international situation was rapidly deteriorating. The Premier of British Columbia, Sir Richard McBride, took the matter of the submarines in charge, and conferences of leading men were held at McBride's office, at the Dockyard, and elsewhere. The Honourable Martin Burrell, Dominion Minister of Agriculture and member for Yale-Cariboo, happened to be taking a holiday on the Pacific Coast at the time, and McBride obtained his advice and personal support; but Burrell would not commit the Federal Government. So exigent did the situation become, that a summons was issued to meet at the Naval Yards on Monday morning the 3rd of August at 3 o'clock. Later in the day other meetings took place. Logan got into telephonic communication with Paterson, and asked for a definite price. The answer was \$575,000 each. Logan expressed surprise at the figure, and handed the receiver to Mr. Burrell, who found it confirmed. To an attempt at bargaining Paterson answered brusquely: "This is no time to indulge in talk of that kind and that I would not listen to it, and that if they did not care to get the boats they did not need to take them." On the next day Logan, at Seattle, again brought up the question of price. Paterson replied that the price was not open to discussion at all. The price included the cost of delivering the vessels at the border of Canadian territorial waters. Naval opinion supported the belief that the purchase ought to be made, and Sir Richard McBride assumed the responsibility of completing arrangements.⁵

On August 3 the Commander-in-Charge at Esquimalt telegraphed to Naval Service Headquarters in Ottawa:—

Two submarines actually completed for Chilean Government Seattle, estimated cost £115,000 each. Could probably purchase. Ready for action

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 11. The *Report*, the whole of which should have been rewritten before publication, is responsible for the strange mixture of *recta* and *obliqua* in Paterson's quoted reply.

torpedoes on board. Chilean Government cannot take possession. I consider it most important to acquire immediately. Burrell concurs. Provincial Government will advance money pending remittance.⁶

The next day, having been warned that the submarines should leave American waters by midnight, he sent another signal to Headquarters:—

Can get submarines over immediately. Urgently suggest to do this before declaration of war, after which builders fear international complications. Shall not act without authority.⁷

After receiving the first signal from the Commander-in-Charge, Naval Service Headquarters had twice cabled to the Admiralty:—Am informed two submarines ready for delivery Seattle, ordered by Chile. Chile unable to take possession. Government desires information as to Admiralty opinion of capabilities of Chilean submarines at Seattle. Understand skilled British ratings in crews. Do you advise purchase?⁸

As time was very pressing, however, McBride, fearful that further postponement might make it impossible to obtain the submarines at all, went ahead on his own responsibility and arranged to buy them with Provincial money. The negotiations were completed by Captain Logan who had gone to Seattle for that purpose, accompanied by Sub-Lieutenant T. A. Brown, R.N.C.V.R.⁹ The Chilean Government strongly objected to losing the submarines; but it had not fulfilled its part of the contract.¹⁰ Throughout the day of August 4 Logan kept in touch

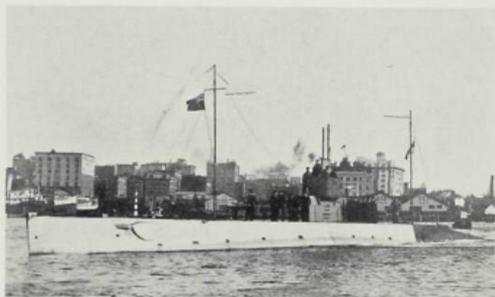
(6) Naval Service Records, Ottawa (hereafter cited as "N.S.R."), Folder No. 1062-1-2(1). Printed in *Correspondence relating to the Purchase of Two Submarines, Sessional Paper No. 158, 1915*, p. 3. The statement that the submarines had torpedoes on board was incorrect.

(7) N.S.R., 1062-1-2(1). *Sess. Paper No. 158*, p. 4.

(8) Headquarters to Admiralty, August 4, 1914, N.S.R., 1062-1-2(1). *Sess. Paper No. 158*, p. 4. (Two signals.)

(9) McBride later told the Davidson Commission that "had it not been for Captain Logan, we would never have had these vessels." *Royal Commission concerning Purchase of War Supplies* [Davidson Commission], Evidence. *Sess. Papers, 1917, No. 60*, p. 1598. Brown was disguised in clothes which he had borrowed from a cook. His job seems to have been to try to make sure that no German agents were included in the crews when the submarines left Seattle.

(10) The rather formidable Chilean navy which had been in the making was deprived of more than the two submarines at this time. The British Government requisitioned the battleship *Almirante Latorre*—28,000 tons, ten 14-inch guns—which had been launched a short time before in a British yard. Renamed the *Canada*, she was present at Jutland, and



One of the submarines in Victoria Harbour.



CCI in a good sea way.
Photograph from the collection of Lieut.-Commander J. V. Arzuff, R.C.N.V.R.

with Victoria by telegraph and telephone. Paterson finally accepted McBride's assurance that whatever amount was agreed to would be paid, and the deal was closed at the price which he had earlier set and refused to discuss. The amount was \$1,150,000 for the two submarines, which was \$332,000 more than the Chileans had agreed to pay.

While the negotiations had been proceeding that afternoon in Seattle, a dramatic scene had been witnessed at the Admiralty, in a London on which the sun had already set:—

It was 11 o'clock at night—12 by German time—when the ultimatum expired. The windows of the Admiralty were thrown wide open in the warm night air. Under the roof from which Nelson had received his orders were gathered a small group of Admirals and Captains and a cluster of clerks, pencil in hand, waiting. Along the Mall from the direction of the Palace the sound of an immense concourse singing "God save the King" floated in. On this deep wave there broke the chimes of Big Ben; and, as the first stroke of the hour boomed out, a rustle of movement swept across the room. The war telegram, which meant "Commence hostilities against Germany," was flashed to the ships and establishments under the White Ensign all over the world.¹¹

The Seattle Construction and Drydock Company had agreed to take the two submarines out so as to reach, by daylight on the morning of August 5, a position 5 miles south of Trial Island, where, just outside Canadian territorial waters, the S.S. *Salvor* was to meet them. Precautions were taken to prevent news of the transfer from reaching the ears of American officials, of the local Germans, and also of certain Chileans who were in Seattle in connection with the hoped-for release of the submarines to their own Government. It was to be an escape rather than a clearance, for clearance papers had not been obtained. Paterson and Logan went on board one of the submarines, and at about 10 o'clock in the evening of August 4 the boats cast off, manned by company crews. Covered by darkness and fog, and running on their comparatively silent electric motors, they came safely to the harbour entrance. Here, in spite of the loud noise which the exhausts would make, the

was released to Chile after the war. Three powerful Chilean flotilla leaders were similarly requisitioned for the duration of the war. (See *Brassey's Naval and Shipping Annual*, 1920-21, p. 61.)

(11) Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis, 1911-14*, New York, 1924, pp. 245, 246.

Diesel engines were started and the submarines worked up to full speed. During this cruise, or earlier, one of them must have scraped her plates on some obstruction; but this fact was not known to their new owners until later.¹²

Meanwhile the Canadian authorities had been arranging to receive the two vessels. An officer who had had several years' experience with submarines was fortunately available in the person of Lieutenant-Commander Bertram Jones, R.N. On the retired list and living on the west coast, he had reported at the Dockyard in Esquimalt when war seemed imminent, and his services had been accepted. Jones was ordered to go out with the *Salvor* to meet the submarines at the rendezvous. He carried written instructions to inspect them as carefully as conditions permitted, spending at least an hour in each boat. If they appeared to be fully satisfactory the submarines were to be paid for, and he was then to bring them to Esquimalt. Jones carried with him a cheque for \$1,150,000, drawn by the Province of British Columbia on the Canadian Bank of Commerce and endorsed by McBride. Accompanied by Lieutenant R. H. Wood, Chief Engineer at Esquimalt, Jones met the submarines at the appointed place, where they drew alongside the *Salvor*. About four hours were spent in inspecting the boats, the huge cheque was then given to the impatient Paterson, British colours were hoisted, and no time was lost in making for Esquimalt, which they reached safely on the morning of August 5.

On the heels of the various declarations of war President Wilson signed a series of identical Neutrality Proclamations. These forbade, within the jurisdiction of the United States, a number of acts likely to benefit one of the belligerents at the expense of the other. The acts which were specified included:—

Fitting out and arming, or attempting to fit out and arm, or procuring to be fitted out and armed, or knowingly being concerned in the furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any ship or vessel with intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of either of the said belligerents.

This, the most nearly relevant section, would hardly have made an offence of an intention to take the two submarines out of American and into Canadian waters. As the two boats had not

(12) The story of how the submarines were acquired, except where otherwise indicated, is based on the evidence given before the Davidson Commission, and the ensuing report.

been cleared out of Seattle, however, their seizure could no doubt have been based on that fact, and it is easy to see why the United States authorities should have wished to bar any possibility of a couple of miniature *Alabamas* running loose in the Pacific. Whatever the legal position may have been, the President's Proclamation covering the hostilities between Germany and Great Britain was signed on August 5, and the following day, at 8 a.m., the United States cruiser *Milwaukee* sailed from Bremerton Navy Yard in order to intercept the two submarines, if they were still in American territorial waters, and "prevent violation of Neutrality." The *Milwaukee* searched Port Townsend harbour, and having steamed for some distance towards New Dungeness without finding the submarines, she returned to Bremerton.¹³

The unheralded arrival of the submarines caused much excitement. Many of the people in Esquimalt concluded that the enemy was upon them. The examination vessel on duty outside ran hastily into the harbour, with the lanyard of her siren tied to the rail and the siren sounding an uninterrupted alarm. The shore batteries, which were manned by the Army and which had not, apparently, been warned, telephoned to the Dockyard before opening fire, in order to find out whether or not any submarines were expected. In the end, the causes of the excitement entered the harbour unmolested, and tied up at the Dockyard. The Esquimalt base was ill-prepared to receive the newcomers, and wired at once to Ottawa:—

Require all gear in connection with 18" submerged tubes firing torpedoes; including gyroscopes spare tools and torp. manuals, torp. artificers, torp. ratings. We have nothing.¹⁴

They also asked for any submarine officers and men who might be available.

The Admiralty's reply to the request from Ottawa for advice favoured the purchase, provided that Canada could man the boats.¹⁵ This opinion was given principally on the advice of

(13) Material from the *Milwaukee's* Cruising Report and Log was kindly furnished by the Officer in Charge of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D.C.

(14) Dockyard to Hdq., August 5, 1914. N.S.R. 46-1-48 (1).

(15) Admiralty to Naval Hdq., Ottawa, August 5, 1914. N.S.R. 1062-1-2 (1). *Sess. Paper No. 158*, p. 5.

Sir Philip Watts, who had been for many years Director of Naval Construction at the Admiralty. He was naval adviser to the Chilean Government, and he knew all that could be known about the two submarines by anyone who had not actually seen them. He thought that they were well worth buying, and his opinion was supported by the Commodore of the British submarine service. The Canadian Government had thus been advised to buy the boats by the best-informed authority accessible to it.

As soon as he had made up his mind to buy the submarines with Provincial funds, Sir Richard McBride had sent the following telegram to Sir Robert Borden:—

After consultation with Burrell and Naval Officers have advanced to-night one million and fifty thousand dollars . . . for purchase two modern submarines lying Seattle harbour and built for Chile. All arrangements complete for their arrival Esquimalt to-morrow morning unless untoward incident occurs. Congratulate Canada if this operation successful on acquisition of such useful adjunct defence of country.

Borden replied:—

Yesterday morning we communicated with Admiralty as to advisability of securing two submarines mentioned, and as to feasibility of manning them, as without crew they would be useless. They advise purchase provided crews could be secured. As this has been accomplished we appreciate most warmly your action which will greatly tend to increase security on the Pacific coast, and send hearty thanks. Please advise us of their arrival.¹⁶

The naval signals which bracketed the actual buying of the submarines were very terse. On August 5 Naval Headquarters sent a signal to Esquimalt: "Prepare to purchase submarines. Telegraph price." The reply was: "Have purchased submarines."¹⁷ British Columbia thus became the only Province that has ever, since Confederation, owned any warships. On August 7 the Dominion Government assumed responsibility for the purchase, and the boats were placed at the disposal of the Admiralty by Order in Council on the same day.¹⁸

Their prospective Chilean owners had named the vessels *Iquique* and *Antofagasta*. The Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, subject to the approval of Headquarters, called the new

(16) McBride to Borden, August 4, 1914; Borden to McBride, August 5, 1914. *Sess. Paper No. 153*, pp. 4, 5.

(17) N.S.R. 1062-1-2(1). *Sess. Paper No. 153*, p. 5.

(18) *P.C. 2072* of August 7, 1914.

arrivals *Paterson* and *McBride* after their builder and buyer. His action, however, was not approved, an Australian precedent being followed instead. Some time previously the Royal Australian Navy had acquired two submarines of the Royal Navy's E class, and had named them *AE 1* and *AE 2*. The Canadian submarines approximated to the Admiralty's C class boats, so the *Iquique* became *CC 1* and the *Antofagasta* *CC 2*. Yet President Paterson did not go entirely unrewarded, for the Electric Boat Company let him keep \$40,000 by way of commission.¹⁹

These were small submarines of a type well adapted to operating in coast waters. The approaches to Victoria and Vancouver through the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the islands within were admirably suited to defence by means of submarines, because a ship entering those narrow waters would have to follow more or less predictable courses. Also the knowledge that submarines were present might weigh heavily with the commander of a raider so far from any friendly base that a serious injury would make her return home impossible. It was with this in mind that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he accepted the submarines for operational purposes on behalf of the Admiralty, transmitted the following suggestion:—
The fact of their being on the coast cannot be too widely advertised but their actual position should be concealed. Plausible reports should be issued from time to time of their presence at different ports.²⁰

Nor was the knowledge that two submarines were stationed on the coast valuable only with respect to its probable effect on the enemy. During those earliest days of the war there was much uneasiness among the seaboard population. The banks in Victoria and Vancouver, for example, were transferring their cash and securities to inland or neutral cities. Blasting in connection with work on sewers in Victoria was stopped, because of nervousness among the people. Several million dollars' worth of insurance against bombardment seems to have been bought, and one family went so far as to prepare a vault in the cemetery for occupancy in case of attack. There was no panic, yet it was

(19) The Electric Boat Company's representative had quoted to Paterson the price of \$555,000 for each of the submarines. Paterson hoisted the amount to \$575,000, and pocketed the difference.

(20) Sec. of State for Colonies [Harcourt] to Governor-General, August 9, 1914. Copy in N.S.R. 1062-1-2(1).

very desirable that the coast should not only be but also seem to be adequately protected. The local press almost from the start struck a note of confidence, and the submarines gave it something tangible to work with. Thus the *Victoria Daily Times* was only enlarging a salutary fact when on August 5, after announcing their arrival, it added:—

The Iquique and Antofagasta are modern submarines of high speed and wide radius of activity. They could cope with a hostile fleet of considerable proportions.²¹

The following day the *Colonist*, of the same city, alluded to the arrival of the submarines in an editorial:—

These vessels are a highly important addition to the defences of the Coast, and fortunately one of the best experts in submarine navigation is on hand to take charge of them. . . .

The southwestern part of the British Columbia Coast is now very well provided for in the matter of defence. In deference to the wishes of Ottawa we shall not enter into any details as to the nature of these preparations, but we can assure the citizens that nothing has been left undone that ought to be done or that can be done with the available facilities, and that these are quite sufficient for defence against any probable enemy.²²

During the first few days of the war the naval arrangements at Esquimalt call to mind those on board H.M.S. *Pinafore*. The Senior Naval Officer, who had been overloaded with work, had a nervous breakdown, and his actions showed that he roundly suspected the enemy of roaming at large in the streets of the town. Accordingly there was a hiatus which was filled for the time being, adequately if unofficially, by the Provincial Premier. The position of Senior Naval Officer was then assumed by Lieutenant Bertram Jones, pending the arrival from Ottawa of Admiral W. O. Storey, who took over the duties on October 20. Preparations were begun to man the submarines and get them to sea, and much of the credit for this achievement belongs to the late Lieutenant Adrian Keyes, R.N. (Retired). An experienced submarine officer of great ability, he was working in Toronto for the Canadian Northern Railway when the war came. Admiral Kingsmill,²³ at his wits' end to find a submarine officer at a moment's notice, heard of Keyes and asked him to

(21) *Victoria Daily Times*, Victoria, B.C., August 5, 1914.

(22) *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Victoria, B.C., August 6, 1914.

(23) Director of the Naval Service. Keyes was a brother of the present Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Keyes.

report in Ottawa. After an interview, Keyes was sent forthwith to Esquimalt to take charge of the submarines. His resources consisted of a badly equipped dockyard, two strange boats, and about a hundred volunteers. These last Keyes lined up, asking any man who might not wish to serve in a submarine to step out of the ranks, whereupon not a man moved. From this group the crews were chosen, and the work of learning to handle the boats began.²⁴

No torpedoes for the submarines had been supplied at Seattle, and none of the required 18-inch calibre were available at Esquimalt as the *Rainbow's* were 14-inch ones. The *Niobe*, which was at Halifax, used 18-inch torpedoes, however, and a supply of these was sent to Vancouver as quickly as possible. One of them went bumping across the continent with its compressed-air chamber filled; but all arrived safely.

Less than two weeks after the boats had reached Esquimalt long strides had been taken towards making them fit for active operations. Keyes himself commanded *CC 1*, and with him were Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Commander) Wilfrid T. Walker, R.N. (Retired), and Midshipman Maitland Dougall, a graduate of the Royal Naval College of Canada, who was later to see much submarine service and to lose his life on the other side of the Atlantic. The crew consisted of three former naval ratings and thirteen volunteers who had been enrolled locally. *CC 1* had on board five of *Niobe's* torpedoes and was fitted with wireless. She was reported ready for active service. *CC 2* had a full complement in training under the command of Lieutenant Bertram Jones. His first officer was Lieutenant (now Captain) B. L. Johnson, R.N.R.²⁵ The crew was composed of six active or former naval ratings and ten local volunteers. The *CC 2* had three torpedoes and was expected to be ready for service

(24) Most of the information contained in this paragraph was supplied by Captain B. L. Johnson, D.S.O., R.C.N.R.

(25) This officer was later to command H.M. submarine *H 8*, which he took from Montreal across to Great Britain and afterwards commanded in the North Sea. On one occasion, while running submerged, the *H 8* struck a mine which blew off a portion of the bow. Lieutenant Johnson brought her safely back to Harwich, was promoted to Lieutenant-Commander, and awarded the D.S.O. a year and a half later for continued good service in H.M. submarines. For a description of this extraordinary incident see William Guy Carr, *By Guess and By God*, New York, 1930, pp. 280-282.

before the end of the month.²⁶ The two submarines were almost identical. Their surface displacement was 313 tons, and their submerged displacement 421 tons. They measured 15 feet across the beam and were 144 and 152 feet long respectively. *CC 1* had five torpedo tubes and could stow five torpedoes; *CC 2* had three tubes and could carry six torpedoes. One of the tubes in each submarine was mounted in the stern. The designed speed of these boats was 13 knots on the surface and slightly over 10 knots submerged; on November 2, 1914, however, in a surface trial over a measured mile, *CC 1* achieved a speed of 15.1 knots. Neither of the submarines possessed any gun armament.

On September 8, H.M.S. *Shearwater*, one of the two Royal Navy's sloops which were stationed on the coast, was commissioned as tender to the submarines, having been lent by the Admiralty for that purpose. Workshops and other conveniences were installed in the *Shearwater*, so that the endurance of the submarines would be greatly increased by cruising in company with her. The *Shearwater's* former crew had been sent east to join the *Niobe*, and the officers and men of *CC 1* and *CC 2* lived in the sloop when in port. She also accompanied her charges wherever they went, and acted as a target for their practice torpedoes. A submarine is at once the least comfortable and the most dangerous of all naval craft which spend any prolonged periods of time at sea. The discomfort arises principally from the lack of space on board. On the surface, submarines have only a small margin of buoyancy, and when submerged they are exposed to a whole series of hazards which surface vessels never know. Experienced "submariners" testify that the life is made much more eligible than it would otherwise be by a characteristic informality and an unusually strong feeling of comradeship.²⁷ The crews of these two Canadian submarines had given themselves to an exigent apprenticeship which was more irksome if less perilous because, except during the first few weeks of the war, there was no likelihood of their seeing the enemy. These

(26) Telegraphic report, August 17, 1914. N.S.R. 46-1-48(1).

(27) E.g., "In a U-Boat there was scarcely any visible difference of rank: no clicking of heels. The life itself bound us to a common fate: a common life or death." (Ernst Hashagen, *U-Boats Westward!*, London and New York, 1931, p. 131.)

crews were largely composed of landsmen, most of whom probably had never seen a submarine before, and the way in which they carried out a task which was the more dangerous because of their inexperience was, as Sir Richard McBride put it, "most creditable to the naval volunteers of British Columbia."

An exceedingly unpleasant experience early befell the complement of *CC 1*. During her first cruise, with an expert from the Seattle yard still on board, somebody accidentally pushed against the handle controlling the horizontal rudders. The tremendous down helm which the boat received resulted in a steep and sudden dive. The Seattle man instantly called for full speed ahead while Lieutenant Keyes ordered full speed astern. Fortunately it was Keyes' command which was obeyed, and the submarine righted herself.²⁸

The following descriptions are taken from a personal account supplied by a former R.N.C.V. Reservist who was selected at the beginning for one of the crews:—

A few days after the commencement of the fateful 4th of August, 1914 . . . I was "peeling spuds" as "cook of the Mess" for the day, when I happened to glance casually seaward from outside the old barrack room of the present Dockyard and observed two low lying craft proceeding towards the entrance of Esquimalt Harbour. . . . Little did I realize . . . that these boats in about a week's time were to be my home for over three years. . . . It was an extreme transformation from an office to a submarine complete with electric motors, pumps, pipe lines, high pressure lines and air bottles, but with the tolerance of those splendid men of the Royal Navy, who willingly assisted me in my new duties, I spent three of the happiest years of my life on these two boats. . . . in a few months the work of each branch of the boat i.e. engineers, stokers, seamen, electricians and torpedo men, was splendidly coordinated and resulted in most efficient operations. . . .

After Coronel was avenged . . . there was no menace to the B.C. coast and for two years the peacetime routine of the Royal Navy for submarines was observed, which was approximately two weeks sea time per month and two weeks harbour routine which included the care and maintenance of the engines, torpedoes, motors and so on.

During these years with diving and torpedo running, the boats reached a high state of efficiency and had the opportunity of showing the White Ensign in many parts of British Columbia where it had not been previously seen and possibly in many places where it has been impracticable to show it since. . . . Many interesting practice torpedo attacks were made, one

(28) Information supplied by Captain B. L. Johnson.

being an attack on H.M.S. "Orbita,"²⁹ an auxiliary cruiser which "CC1" attacked scoring a direct hit with a collision head. This attack was the result of a wager made in the wardrooms the previous night between the Captain of the "Orbita" and our Commanding Officer. The submarines, in accordance with plan, proceeded to sea early in the morning to attack "Orbita," although it must be admitted "Orbita" had little chance to see our periscope as the sea was very choppy that particular morning. . . .

Leave was practically unobtainable in the months which succeeded the opening of the war and one afternoon both boats happened to be in Harbour, having returned from patrol that morning. The crew desired leave and after a "council of war" it was decided that we would have a wedding, to which the Officers could hardly refuse to grant leave for the afternoon and evening. This was consequently applied for in the service manner to attend the wedding of a petty officer whose name I will not record. This was readily granted and one of our officers even kindly thought that a wedding present would not be inappropriate and proceeded accordingly. As many men from both boats as could be spared went ashore and the first problem was to procure a bride and bridesmaids. This was not a difficult matter in Victoria and a most glorious party resulted. This took the form of a dinner party in the famous Westholm Grill, attended of course, by the bride and her maids. It was felt that the suspicions of the officers might be aroused and this actually proved to be the case, as several of the officers attended the Westholm Grill and witnessed the wedding supper and they were then apparently satisfied, or at least they could not deny the existence of the wedding. Leave expired at 1 a.m. and our Commanding Officer, being still somewhat suspicious, to use his own words, decided "to give the beggars a wedding breakfast" and took both boats to sea at 4 a.m. in very heavy weather.

For nearly three years the submarines remained on the west coast, based on Esquimalt and engaged in cruising and training. The Admiralty then sent them around to Halifax on their way to Europe, and they left Esquimalt for the last time on June 21, 1917, accompanied by the *Shearwater*. During this cruise engine-trouble was almost chronic, and twelve days were spent at Balboa for overhaul and repairs, after which, on August 12, the sloop and the two submarines obtained the distinction of being the first warships flying the White Ensign ever to pass through the Panama Canal. The United States naval authorities signalized this event by giving the little flotilla a welcome at Balboa and Colón. The British Minister to Panama and the Vice-Consul at Colón accompanied them through the canal. The

(29) A new liner of 15,486 tons gross, owned by the Pacific Steam Navigation Co. In 1939 she was still in service, running between Great Britain and South America.

personal account which follows³⁰ testifies to the fact that this was no ordinary cruise.

Leaving Esquimalt harbour quietly on the morning of June 21st, the three vessels started on their long voyage. Two days later bad weather set in and the submarines were battened down with the decks just awash. The temperature in the engine rooms of these subs in the Tropics reached as high as 140 degrees and considerably added to the discomfort of the crews as we were unfortunate in having much bad weather which necessitated the boats steaming battened down.

In order to keep the engines from racing it was necessary for the CC 2 to keep charging the storage batteries. Then the submarine would use her motors until the batteries were run down. The only ventilation obtainable was through the operation of the engines. They would be run for ten minutes drawing fresh air into the craft, and in twenty minutes time they would be again started and would draw in a fresh supply.

It was not often possible to keep both engines running at once. While one engine was propelling the submarine, the engine crew would be working feverishly on the other. When the running engine showed signs of weakening and then quit entirely the idle engine would be started while the disabled one was fixed.

Then came another horror. During a heavy gale off Cape Blanco on the Oregon coast, and again off Salina Cruz, Mexico, the storage batteries, through weak construction, were short-circuited time and again and caught fire, giving out chlorine gas that laid low the greater portion of CC 2's personnel. For one night the craft was navigated by the coxswain, while only one or two others were fit for duty, the others lying around in an unconscious state. Sardine sandwiches were the only sustaining power given the men for their all-night vigil. Sometimes they wondered if the game wasn't up for them. That was one of the worst experiences of the whole trip.

On October 14th, 1917, the Shearwater and the submarines made Halifax, and the latter were promptly ordered to refuel and proceed across the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. This was impossible, and the order was later cancelled.

The CC 1 and CC 2 were badly strained and their engines were down and out. A pile of cracked piston heads, and other parts discarded, bore testimony to the difficulties of the long trip. The CC 2 made 7,000³¹ miles with her own engines, a wonderful tribute to the men who coaxed and enticed the machinery to endure the strain which it was never designed to bear. The engine room staff was repeatedly complimented by the Shear-

(30) Account by a crew member, printed in *Harbour and Shipping* (Vancouver), April, 1921, p. 745.

(31) "CC 2 has been the more reliable of the two boats and her engines have run 5000 miles out of the whole distance of 7300." Letter of Proceedings by the *Shearwater's* Commanding Officer, October 17, 1917. N.S.R. 45-2-12(1).

water's commander on the fine performance and on arrival at Halifax the little flotilla received a highly congratulatory message from Sir W. Browning, then Commander-in-Chief of the North America and West Indies station.

As it was evident after their arrival in Halifax that the submarines were unfit to cross the Atlantic without new engines, the Admiralty cabled:—

Consider submarines should be repaired and should remain at Halifax where they may be useful if enemy submarines cross Atlantic.³²

The two boats remained at Halifax until the close of the war. They were laid up for repairs during the summer and early fall of 1918, and it was during this time that German submarines appeared in those waters. In 1920 *CC 1* and *CC 2* were sold out of the service.

The purchase of these two submarines in 1914 had been made in very unusual and difficult circumstances, and Sir Richard McBride seems to have realized from the first that he was taking his political life in his hands. If the boats were to be obtained at all, steps had to be taken swiftly, secretly, and illegally. McBride's action bears a striking resemblance to that which had been taken by Disraeli in 1875 when he bought the shares in the Suez Canal for the British Government. Unlike Disraeli, however, McBride broke the law in that he caused Provincial money to be spent without the authority of his Legislature. These lapses from orthodoxy had been inevitable; but the transaction was made to appear even more questionable by two incidents which happened to occur in connection with it. In the telegram quoted above which McBride sent to Borden on August 4, due to a clerical error made in Ottawa the amount paid for the submarines was stated to have been \$1,050,000, which was \$100,000 less than the amount that had actually been asked for and paid. Furthermore, as soon as the submarines had been delivered in Esquimalt, Paterson had taken his cheque for \$1,150,000 to the Canadian Bank of Commerce in Victoria, the bank that had issued the cheque, and had there converted it into three drafts, two on New York and one on Seattle. The manager of the bank seems to have considered this to be an odd proceeding. He evidently expected a simple transfer of credit to a single account somewhere, and he probably wondered why

(32) Admiralty to Hdq., October 28, 1917. N.S.R. 45-2-12 (1).

Paterson was in such haste to get his money out of the country.³³ Altogether it is not to be wondered at that the transaction gave rise to criticism. By the end of the year scandals were beginning to be suspected in connection with many acquisitions of war materials, and the purchasing of the submarines, when viewed from the outside, had a sinister appearance.

On February 11, 1915, the Honourable William Pugsley, who had been Laurier's Minister of Public Works, moved in the Dominion House of Commons that a copy of all the official correspondence and reports relating to the submarines and their purchase should be laid before the House. Pugsley asserted that the submarines were out of date and not built according to specifications, that Chile had not wanted them, that the price paid had been too high, and that the Government had been too secretive. He also asked whether anyone had got a commission out of the deal. In the course of his speech he referred to McBride as "the sixteenth member of this Government, though he is not yet sworn in." Pugsley also said:—

. . . it looks to me as if this Government was hesitating about purchasing the submarines and Sir Richard McBride took it upon himself to force the hand of the Government by purchasing them himself on behalf of the British Columbian Government. . . . I myself am very much in favour of adding submarines to the Canadian navy. . . . My only regret is that there should be any question as to the suitability of these submarines for the purpose for which they were bought.

Later in the debate Pugsley expressed the opinion that McBride would probably have known what to do with a quarter of a million dollars. The suggestion was, not that McBride had put money into his own pocket, but that he might have used it for party purposes.

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries,³⁴ to whose Department the Naval Service was at that time attached, replied for the Government. He argued that there was no reason to consider the submarines defective; that the naval experts, including those at the Admiralty, had recommended that the boats should be bought; that it had been exceedingly desirable to have two submarines stationed at Esquimalt; and that there had been

(33) The evidence given before the Davidson Commission is extremely detailed regarding the whole transaction.

(34) Hon. J. D. Hazen.

no time to lose. He promised to produce all the relevant documents at an early date, excepting any that might give useful information to the enemy. Sir Robert Borden supported his Minister, emphasizing the danger that had seemed to threaten the west coast and the duty of the Government to furnish all possible protection. He added:—

If Sir Richard McBride had not taken the action which he did the submarines could not have been purchased by Canada and the security they have afforded to the Pacific coast would not have been available.³⁵

McBride also defended what he had done, in a long speech delivered on February 24, in the Provincial Legislature.³⁶ The same day he telegraphed to Borden asking for a strict investigation. The Prime Minister replied that he did not think Pugsley worth that much attention, and McBride agreed to let the matter rest for the time being. On June 2, 1915, the Dominion Government authorized Sir Charles Davidson, under Royal Commission, to inquire into war purchases, and during the same month McBride went to Ottawa and asked once more for an investigation. The buying of the submarines was included in the terms of reference of the Davidson Commission, which took evidence on that subject in Victoria, Vancouver, Ottawa, Montreal, and New York. The Commission reported that the submarines could not, in the circumstances, have been obtained for less, and that alternative purchasers were available to whom Paterson or the Electric Boat Company would have sold them had McBride not met the quoted price. The report also completely exonerated McBride and all others whose names had been unfavourably mentioned in connection with the purchase, stating that "this . . . enterprise was, throughout, of blameless character."³⁷ Both of these verdicts seem to be worthy of acceptance. The sequence of political events which has been described—the unorthodox transaction in emergency; the criticism and demand for information, by the opposition; the publishing of the relevant documents; and the Commission's investigation, followed by a published report and minutes of

(35) The debate on the submarines is in *House of Commons Debates*, CXIX., pp. 94-116. *Sess. Paper No. 158, 1915*, carried out the Minister's promise.

(36) Reported in *Colonist*, Victoria, February 25, 1915.

(37) *Report*, p. 25.

evidence—furnishes a good instance of parliamentary institutions functioning at the top of their form in time of war.

The assertion that the boats were of an unsuitable type was invalid. Their design was not perfect; but it should be remembered that practical submarines were a comparatively recent invention, and that contemporary boats of virtually the same design gave an excellent account of themselves in European waters. The question of workmanship is more difficult; yet on this point, too, it is possible to reach a fairly certain conclusion. The Kingston valve leading from the main ballast-tank of each submarine seemed from the first to be obstructed, and on examination a piece of 2-inch plank was discovered in one of the tanks and a pair of overalls in the other. Both submarines were docked for overhaul in the spring of 1915, and the Chief Engineer at Esquimalt reported on their condition. Of *CC 1* he said among other things that: "The general state of the valves conveyed the impression of gross carelessness in the original workmanship;" and of *CC 2*: "The defects mentioned indicate a lack of detailed inspection during the Construction of the boats." Of both submarines he stated that: "The workmanship put into the vessels does not approach the Admiralty standard of construction." *CC 1* was docked again in December, 1915, and on this occasion about seventeen hundred of her hull rivets had to be renewed.⁵⁸

The Davidson Commission, on the other hand, basing its judgment mainly on evidence given by a number of naval officers who were in a good position to know the facts, praised the construction of the boats.⁵⁹ The overalls and plank in the tanks did not necessarily indicate inferior workmanship, and the deterioration of the rivets referred to above has been credibly attributed to electrolytic action resulting from contact between the steel hulls of the submarines and the copper sheathing of the *Shearwater*. Among those who served in the boats, whose special knowledge carries weight and whose opinions have been available, the prevailing judgment is that the submarines were well constructed, and this verdict it is probably safe to accept.

(38) Reports by the Chief Engineer, Esquimalt, various dates, in N.S.R. 45-2-8(1).

(39) *Report*, pp. 15-20.

The main propelling machinery consisted of two direct, reversible, six-cylinder, two-cycle Diesel engines, of 300 b.h.p. each at 500 r.p.m. The engines operated under blast injection, with a two-stage air-compressor driven directly from the main crank-shaft at the forward end of the engines. Blast air was supplied at 1,000 lb. pressure per square inch at the compressor, and restricted to 900 lb. at the fuel-nozzles. Circulating water, lubricating oil, and primary fuel pumps were connected to a single cross-head and driven by a small auxiliary crank-shaft, also geared to the main crank-shaft at the forward end. A single cam-shaft operated the fuel-injection valves, scavenger valves, and air-starting valves, and was mounted on top of the cylinders and fitted with a reversible clutch. Lubrication was on the closed pressure system, and the oil, after passing the main bearings and the bottom and top ends of the connecting-rods, passed into the piston-heads in order to cool them, and then returned to the crank-case. These engines had been designed at a time when the Diesel was in its infancy, and trouble with them was almost chronic. Cracked piston-heads, broken auxiliary crank-shafts, and trouble with the compressor and the inter-coolers, were extremely frequent experiences, and only the untiring efforts of the engine-room staff kept the engines running.⁴⁰

The German cruiser *Leipzig* had been in Magdalena Bay, Mexico, when she received the news that Great Britain had declared war on Germany, and from August 5 to September 9 she operated off the west coast of North America between Mazatlan and Cape Mendocino.⁴¹ She learned for the first time that the naval force at the Admiralty's disposal on the west coast included "two submarines bought from Chile," during a press broadcast from San Diego on the night of August 6-7, while on her way to San Francisco.⁴² The German Official His-

(40) "At the beginning of the World War [the United States Navy possessed] . . . about fifty serviceable submarines, of small size and indifferent engine efficiency." [Dudley W. Knox, *A History of the United States Navy*, New York, 1936, p. 385.]

(41) See the article cited in footnote No. 1 above.

(42) Several weeks later S.M.S. *Nürnberg* informed Admiral von Spee from Honolulu that the enemy ships on the Canadian coast consisted of three cruisers [correct] and two auxiliary cruisers [Hilfskreuzer]. It seems much more likely that the last three words were an inaccurate description of the *Algerine* and *Shearwater* than that they referred to the submarines.

tory⁴³ does not represent the *Leipzig's* captain as having known that *CC 1* and *CC 2* would for some time be unprepared for serious operations. Nor does it credit the Canadian submarines with having influenced the *Leipzig's* movements in any way. Submarines were an untried weapon at that time, and many naval officers, of whom the *Leipzig's* captain may possibly have been one, had a low opinion of their capabilities. A more likely explanation, however, is that the Germans probably weighed the two submarines very lightly in their calculations because they had no intention of entering the Strait of Juan de Fuca or its approaches.

In the light either of the supposed or of the actual situation in the Pacific on August 3, 1914, it was highly desirable to buy the two submarines. Numerous and powerful enemies, whose intentions were known only to themselves, were at large in that ocean, while the base at Esquimalt was destitute of warships. There was much anxiety on the coast at that time: the presence of the submarines helped to restore confidence and set the *Rainbow* free for other work. If at any time the boats should no longer be needed in those waters, they would be available for use elsewhere. In the actual event, after their transfer to the east coast they added something to the defensive strength of Halifax; and had they possessed more dependable and longer-lived engines, one of them might possibly have sunk or disabled one of the Kaiser's finest warships. Even had their mechanical shortcomings been known in advance they would still have been worth buying, as one of them at least could always get to sea, there was nothing wrong with their diving and torpedo mechanisms, and beggars cannot be choosers. They were worth a war-time price too, for when shooting is about to begin, ships that can fight are more precious than gold to those who lack them. At such a time, moreover, warships are much more difficult to obtain than gold is, and it was only a most unusual combination of circumstances that had made possible the purchase of these particular vessels.

The great masters of naval strategy from Drake to Mahan have practised or preached concentration of force, and offensive

(43) *Der Krieg zur See, 1914-1918: Der Kreuzerkrieg in den ausländischen Gewässern* [by Vice-Admiral E. Raeder] I., Berlin, 1922, Chap. V.

action whenever practicable. Landsmen, on the other hand, often think of naval war as being chiefly a matter of passively defending coasts and ports. During the Napoleonic wars Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty and one of the greatest of all British naval strategists, was loudly criticized for keeping the fleet concentrated and out of sight of land when invasion seemed to threaten.

As the panic grew, frenzied demands came from all parts of the kingdom for ships to be stationed on the nearest parts of the coast, and an insistence on the manning of flat boats, brigs, and other small craft to repel a landing.⁴⁴

In the United States, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War,

the seaboard people were swept off their feet by fear of invasion or bombardment. . . . Senators rushed to the Secretary of the Navy pleading that a naval vessel, any kind of ship, be sent to the leading ports of their states to reassure the population.⁴⁵

The phenomenon is not peculiar to English-speaking countries, nor does it occur only in time of war. "Throughout my whole career," wrote Grand-Admiral Tirpitz at the end of it, "I have always had to oppose two ideas, especially beloved of the lay mind—the idea of a special coastal defence, . . ." ⁴⁶ The fundamental objection of the experts to a shallow-water policy is that it violates the principle of concentration of force and destroys any prospect of offensive action. To place a warship or a small squadron like a goal-keeper outside each port, will weaken the main fleet to the point of ineffectiveness and may expose the isolated ships to being destroyed in detail by superior forces of the enemy. This policy is therefore one of passive defence. The most eminent of the prophets of concentration and the offensive as sound principles of naval strategy has declared that:—

When war has been accepted as necessary, success means nothing short of victory; and victory must be sought by offensive measures, and by them only can be insured.⁴⁷

(44) O. A. Sherrard, *A Life of Lord St. Vincent*, London, 1933, p. 207.

(45) George T. Davis, *A Navy Second to None*, New York, 1940, p. 81.

(46) Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz, *My Memoirs*, London, n.d. [1919], I, p. 92.

(47) A. T. Mahan, *Retrospect and Prospect*, Boston, 1903, p. 152. Mahan's insistence on offensive measures as the only certain means to

He also writes:—

A raid? Well, a raid, above all a maritime raid, is only a raid; a black eye, if you will, but not a bullet in the heart, nor yet a broken leg.⁴⁸

Lord Fisher has put the naval point of view on this subject into two pithy sentences, written in his tempestuous style:—

General principle: The Admiralty should never engage itself to lock up a single vessel even—not even a torpedo-boat, or submarine—anywhere on any consideration whatever. The whole principle of Sea fighting is to be free to go anywhere with every d--d thing the Navy possesses.⁴⁹

This plebiscite of the giants has been held only in order to show that a blessing pronounced upon the action of the Provincial and Dominion governments in acquiring the two submarines should not be construed too widely.

Purchasing the submarines, and stationing them at Esquimalt, were acts thoroughly justified in the circumstances of place and time. The 500-mile front which British Columbia presented to the ocean was exceedingly easy to protect against a naval attack. By fortifying its northern entrance, the Strait of Georgia could be quickly and easily converted into an inlet from the strategic point of view. Inside the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which would then form its single, narrow entrance, lay all but one of the important ports. The exception, Prince Rupert, was not a vital spot except in the virtually impossible event of an attempted invasion, and lent itself admirably to local defence by means of shore batteries. The remainder of the exposed coast, including the seaward side of Vancouver Island, was practically uninhabited except for a few very small towns and an occasional village. Through the Strait of Juan de Fuca came and went almost all the merchant ships which plied overseas, and into it or its approaches any enemy ship hoping to cause serious physical damage would have to come. The coastwise trade route up to a point nearly 200 miles north of Vancouver was covered by the rampart of Vancouver Island. The presence of the submarines in or near the Strait of Juan de Fuca, therefore, achieved far more than merely local pro-

victory is too extreme to win unreserved acceptance among the expert; but there is general agreement that naval forces should act offensively whenever practicable.

(48) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

(49) Lord Fisher, *Memories*, London, 1919, p. 197.

tection for Esquimalt and Victoria. Placing them there was, in fact, applying the principle of concentration for defence to the abnormal coast of British Columbia.

Had it been possible to obtain and man, in place of the submarines, one or more cruisers as good as the *Leipzig* or better, they would have been even more effective than the submarines were, for pure defence. They would also have been able to go wherever the enemy might be, and so to make a positive rather than a purely passive contribution toward winning the war. Such ships could have caught the *Leipzig* off the coast of Mexico, or driven her at once from North American waters. They could then have formed an important addition to the allied naval forces in the Pacific or elsewhere. The supreme merit of the two submarines was, however, that they were available.

Among many persons who have afforded invaluable information and criticism in connection with this article, special thanks are due to F. W. Crickard, Esq., for having written the personal account on pp. 159-160; to J. H. Hamilton, Esq., editor of *Harbour and Shipping*, for his kind permission to reproduce the account of the cruise from Esquimalt to Halifax; and to Captain B. L. Johnson, D.S.O., R.C.N.R., whose time and expert knowledge were unstintingly given.

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THE EARLY GOVERNMENT GAZETTES.

Readers of the *British Columbia Gazette*, the weekly periodical published by the King's Printer in Victoria, and devoted to official Government notices, appointments, proclamations, and orders in council, may be interested to know something of the history of the paper and its predecessors. Probably few of them are aware that the foundations of the current *Gazette* were laid in Victoria as long ago as 1858, and that they are bound up with the earliest days of printing in British Columbia.

Although no official organ of the Government of either Vancouver Island or British Columbia appeared until the autumn of 1859, an enterprising Englishman by the name of Frederick Marriott launched a small newspaper in July of 1858, in Victoria, which he called the *Vancouver Island Gazette*. Marriott, who had been residing in California, was the owner of the *San Francisco News Letter* when word of the discovery of gold on the bars of the Fraser River caused a wave of excitement in the southern city. He thought he saw an opportunity of being one of the first newspapermen at the scene of operations, and he was evidently hopeful that the young colony would need an official Government organ. Accordingly he settled in Victoria, which was both the seat of Government and the one and only centre at which miners could obtain supplies of food, tools, and clothing for their hazardous undertakings on the mainland.

Whether or not Marriott opened negotiations with Governor Douglas in the hope of securing official sponsorship for his paper, history does not relate; but an interesting dispatch from Victoria, dated July 28, 1858, and published in the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* on August 2, indicates that he may have done so, for it says:—

The *Vancouver Island Gazette*, Marriott's [*sic*] paper, came out to day. It is but a small affair. The "By Authority" manœuver has ended, and does not appear either on the paper or on any of the publisher's placards printed here. The title, like California Generalships, will, I think, involve neither honor nor profit to those concerned.

In spite of its unofficial character the *Gazette*, which was a small 4-page paper measuring approximately 8½ by 14 inches,

bore as its heading the Royal Arms. Three weekly issues are in existence, dated July 28, August 4, and August 11, 1858. It published Government notices, and the usual colonial news and advertisements, and was printed at the "Vancouver Island Gazette and General Printing Office" on Wharf Street. Exactly how many issues appeared is not known definitely, but it is certain that its career was brief, doubtless owing to Marriott's failure to secure recognition from the authorities. Shortly afterwards Marriott devoted himself to a journal with no pretensions of an official nature, which he called the *News Letter*, in imitation of his San Francisco publication. It was produced in the same form as the latter, on blue-lined foolscap, with the fourth page left blank for private correspondence. So far as is known there exists to-day only one issue, No. 3, dated September 25, 1858, "Printed and Published by John Martin for the Proprietor."

In the meantime official Government notices were printed in Victoria's first newspaper, the *Victoria Gazette*; and when the *British Colonist* commenced publication in December, 1858, they appeared in it as well. It was not until September 10, 1859, that a special official gazette made its appearance. As its title indicates, the *Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia* was designed to serve both Vancouver Island and the new colony on the mainland. It was "Printed Every Saturday," by Leonard M'Clure, at the Office, Yates-street, Victoria, in the Colony of Vancouver Island," under the proprietorship of Captain E. H. King, with whom Leonard McClure was associated. Fifty-one issues of this interesting publication appeared, but copies of only twenty-six of these are known to be in existence. They were well printed on paper 9 by 11 inches in size. Most of the issues consisted of four pages; the price was 6d. a copy. Although Captain King was not a printer by trade, his *Gazette* would have done credit to most presses of the day, in spite of the criticisms of the *Victoria Gazette*, which, on September 13, commented thus:—

We have received from Capt. King the first number of a weekly issue entitled "Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia." For the first number of a periodical, it is remarkably

(1) Commencing with No. 17, January 3, 1860, publication day was changed to Tuesday.

free from "literal" errors, although there is great room for improvement in its typographical arrangement. . . .

The appearance of this *Gazette* caused considerable ill-feeling amongst the printing fraternity of Victoria. Amor De Cosmos, of the *British Colonist*, came out with a long editorial on September 12, 1859, re the appointment of a Queen's Printer, the unnecessary extravagance attached to such an appointment, and the useless expense of running another printing-shop when there were already three such in Victoria.² Two months before, when rumours were circulating that a Government *Gazette* might be forthcoming, he had written: "We trust this exploded custom will not be allowed to take root in these colonies. . . . Public printing . . . should be given to those who work best and cheapest. . . ." ³ Knowing the lack of cordiality that existed between Governor Douglas and Amor De Cosmos at that early date, it is not to be wondered at that Douglas refrained from delegating to his most ardent antagonist even a small share of the Government's work.

In March, 1860, Leonard McClure and Captain King sold the *Government Gazette* to George E. Nias, whereupon it was produced at the premises of the latter on Langley Street. Nias, like so many of the printers in colonial Victoria, had his financial difficulties, and soon found it impossible to carry on with the *Government Gazette*, which came to an end with the issue of August 28, 1860. The following notice appeared on the last page:—

The Publication of the *Government Gazette* for Vancouver Island, will be discontinued until further notice. Government Proclamations and Notices for British Columbia will hereafter be published in the *New Westminster Times* newspaper.

De Cosmos, who had been persistent in his offers to the Colonial Secretary to execute Government printing of all descriptions, including a gazette, and even gratuitous advertisements, all of which had been declined, must have welcomed the news with enthusiasm. He lost no time in again bombarding the Government with charges of extravagance in a long editorial in

(2) Two of these printing establishments were the *British Colonist* office and the office of the *Victoria Gazette*, both on Wharf Street. The location and ownership of the third shop has not yet been discovered.

(3) *Colonist*, July 11, 1859.

the *Colonist* of September 22, 1860. In this he accused the authorities of deliberately subsidizing the *Victoria Gazette*, which Captain King and George Nias had in turn controlled, by paying extra high prices for all Government work in order to secure the meagre political support that that newspaper was able to give the Government and its policies. At the same time he hinted strongly that certain members of the Legislative Assembly might be part owners of the paper. These insinuations were directed against George Hunter Cary, who at that time was Attorney-General for Vancouver Island, and who was subsequently proven to be not a partner of Nias, but his mortgagee.⁴

When publication of the *Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia* ceased, official notices and proclamations for the colony of British Columbia appeared, as announced, in the *New Westminster Times*. This practice was continued until the demise of the *Times*, on February 27, 1861, whereupon the *British Columbian*, owned and edited by John Robson, which had just commenced publication in New Westminster, sold space in its columns for the same purpose. Eventually almost the whole of the last page was devoted to Government matter. Official notices for the colony of Vancouver Island were advertised in the *Colonist*, and also in the *Victoria Press*, when the latter came into being on March 9, 1861, while the proclamations and statutes of the colony continued to be printed by job-printing shops in Victoria, as had been the case since 1859.

We now come to a consideration of the Royal Engineers, who were stationed in the colony of British Columbia from 1859 to 1863, and their printing activities in relation to Government work in general and the official *Gazette* in particular.

Soon after their arrival in British Columbia the Engineers acquired a "small hand Columbian Press and about £30 worth of type."⁵ The printing office, which was a branch of the Lands and Works Department, since Colonel Moody was also Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, consisted of a single room,

(4) See *ibid.*, October 5, 1860.

(5) *Government Printing Office, Victoria, B.C.*, by R. Wolfenden, 1892. Typescript in Provincial Archives. The Columbian hand-press is now on exhibition in the entrance lobby of the Government Printing Bureau.

measuring about 12 by 18 feet, in one of the buildings comprising the barracks at Sapperton, New Westminster. Corporal Richard Wolfenden, who had served an apprenticeship at printing before joining the Engineers, had charge of the press.

The only printing done at first was the printing of forms and circulars for the Corps itself. Then in 1860 the Royal Engineer press was requisitioned to do some of the Government printing for the colony of British Columbia. The quality of the work evidently pleased Governor Douglas, for we find that in writing to Colonel Moody on July 2, 1860, he said:—

I have received your private note of the 28th June with the two forms of Tenders enclosed which do infinite credit to the conductor of the Camp printing Press; the style of printing being far superior to anything yet produced in this Country.

From time to time additional type was ordered to supplement the original supply and to keep pace with the increasing work. The Royal Engineers' letter-books for the years 1860-62 show that several requests were made for new founts of type. One letter from Colonel Moody to the Colonial Secretary of British Columbia, written on May 2, 1861, includes this statement:—

I find that for the sum of about £50 we shall be able to execute any description of Printing that may be required by Government, including Gazette, Book of Colonial Laws, &c. I should be glad to be informed early if H[is] E[xcellency] will grant this sum in order that I may send to San Francisco for the materials & type.

In another letter, dated June 16, 1862, this interesting item is found: "I forward you 100 Blank Notes for \$25 for signature & seal"—showing that the printing of paper money was at least contemplated, if not carried out.

It has already been stated that the official Government notices for British Columbia were published in the New Westminster *British Columbian* during 1861. This practice was continued during 1862, but on December 1 the Colonial Secretary, W. A. G. Young, notified John Robson, proprietor of the paper,

that the arrangement hitherto existing for printing the Government Gazette in the Columns of the "British Columbian," will cease at the close of the present year, December 1862. The Government having made arrangements to print the Gazette as a separate publication.

This notification must have been a severe blow to Robson, who thought he had a contract to the end of August, 1863. He waited until the 10th of the month before replying and stating

his side of the question. The correspondence that ensued between himself and Young reveals the fact that no *written* contract had been entered into, so consequently Robson was the loser. He took the matter much to heart, and from January 21 until May 13, 1863, frequently aired his pent-up grievances through the medium of letters to the editor and editorials in his paper. He seems to have had some idea that the Government contemplated publishing a full-fledged newspaper, by which they hoped to bolster up their own policies and actions, for on May 13, in an editorial in the *British Columbian*, he wrote:—

This Government Gazette is gradually to assume the shape of a Government organ to be employed in puffing and defending the acts of a Government that is execrated by the people and forsaken of Heaven . . . an Editor is hired, soldiers are transmogrified into printers, and a Government organ is to be published in defiance of public opinion, and that very public, too, is to be made to pay the piper!! . . . It may be wicked, but we could almost wish to see this organ scheme developed. Not that we would wish to come in professional contact with the ill-begotten, illegitimate offspring of a corrupt, purile [*sic*] and asinine Government . . . We shall closely watch the progress of this thing, and will not fail to keep the public advised of it. Let them come on if they dare! . . .

Meanwhile the *Government Gazette—British Columbia* made its first appearance on January 3, 1863. It was a small 4-page sheet, 8 by 11 inches in size, "Printed every Saturday at the Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster, British Columbia." Its contents were strictly confined to official matters and, in spite of Robson's prognostications to the contrary, they have always remained so. By June, 1863, the size had been changed to a larger sheet, 10½ by 15½ inches, and after further slight changes a standard size of 8 by 13 inches was adopted.

On October 26, 1863, after the disbanding of the Corps, Corporal Wolfenden, upon the recommendation of Colonel Moody, was appointed Superintendent of the Printing Office; and the imprint of the *Gazette* for November 14, 1863, bore the name of the "Government Printing Office" for the first time. When Victoria became the capital of the united colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, in May, 1868, the printing establishment was at once moved to the Island, the first issue of the *Gazette* emanating from the new quarters being that of May 30. On November 14, 1871, the title was changed to the *British Columbia Gazette*, the phrase "Published by Authority"

being added. This heading continues in use to-day, after more than seventy years.

Having traced the development of the mainland *Gazette* up to and slightly beyond the date of the union of British Columbia with Canada, we must go back to events on Vancouver Island, while it was still a separate colony, and before its union with British Columbia in 1866.

On May 10, 1864, Harries & Co., of Victoria, who had just purchased the *Colonist* from Amor De Cosmos, accepted a contract to publish for the Government of Vancouver Island a weekly gazette, to be printed every Tuesday, beginning May 17. The term of the agreement was one year. On the appointed date the new gazette duly appeared, printed on blue foolscap paper, headed by the Royal Arms, and entitled "*Government Gazette. Vancouver Island. Published by Authority.*"

The paper was destined to have a troubled career. By July 14, Harries & Co. were writing to the Colonial Secretary asking permission to throw up their contract on account of financial difficulties, and a misunderstanding over the printing of assessment rolls. Governor Kennedy was not willing that they should be released until other arrangements could be made, and, after considerable correspondence, the firm agreed to carry on until the end of the year.⁶

Thereafter changes in publisher became so frequent that it is not possible to trace them all with any certainty. Most of the printers in Victoria seem to have been connected with the *Gazette* at one time or another during its brief life of two and a half years. Beginning January 3, 1865, Wallace & Allen, printers and publishers of the *Evening Express*, took over the *Gazette* from Harries & Co. Their contract, like the previous one, was for one year; but in February the partners sold the *Express*, and soon after both left the city. The purchaser was Alexander D. Bell, proprietor of the *Vancouver Times*, who merged the *Express* in his own paper. The contract to print the *Gazette* seems to have been considered part of the assets of the *Evening Express*, and after the sale Bell published the *Gazette*.

(6) See Letter Book, Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island, March 24, 1863, to September 20, 1864.

Six months later another change occurred, as Bell sold out in August, 1865, to W. L. Mitchell, proprietor of the *Vancouver Daily Post*. Once again the *Gazette* appears to have been included in the transfer. On August 18, Mitchell wrote to the Colonial Secretary and referred, unfortunately without giving details, to "the circumstances under which the contract [to print the *Gazette*] was taken at such a ridiculously low rate . . ." Presumably Mitchell fulfilled the contract and printed the *Gazette* until the end of the year, but the evidence is purely circumstantial.

Higgins & Long, publishers of the *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, were the next aspirants for the honour of producing the *Vancouver Island Gazette*. They took over the task beginning January 2, 1866, and carried on until June 19. What happened thereafter is not clear. The July 10 and subsequent issues appeared with a different heading, and the supposition is that some other printing firm, whose name has not yet been traced, was responsible for producing them. The last issue is dated November 6, 1866; and without any comment, or notice to that effect, the *Government Gazette—Vancouver Island* folded up, in view of the approaching union of the colony of Vancouver Island with its sister colony of British Columbia, which became effective on November 19.

The dozen or more men who, at one time or another were concerned in printing the early *Gazettes* form an unusual and colourful group. As relatively little is known about most of them, some account of their careers may be appended to the story of the *Gazettes* themselves.

Frederick Marriott, who launched the unofficial and short-lived *Vancouver Island Gazette* of 1858, soon returned to San Francisco, and died there, in his 80th year, in December, 1884. The obituary printed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* thus described his early career:—

Marriott was born in Enfield, Middlesex county, England on July 16, 1805. At an early age he went to India in the service of the Madras branch of the Honorable East India Company. Staying there but a short time, he returned to England, where he engaged in journalism. About this time the Greenacre murder occurred, which caused considerable excitement and it occurred to the deceased to publish in the *London Weekly Chronicle* wood-cuts depicting the scene of the murder. This met with good reception and induced him

to start, in conjunction with others, a paper which afterward became the *Illustrated London News*. When the news of the discovery of gold in California was carried to London, Mr. Marriott started for this country and arrived in 1849. He went to the mines and afterward was engaged in the real-estate business. In July, 1856, he began publishing the *News Letter* and was actively connected with it until a few years prior to his death. He leaves a widow, one son and two daughters⁷

Since the *News Letter* was such an unusual publication, it will be of interest to give a brief description of it:—

The first issue was published July 20, 1856, and was printed on a very thin, dull blue paper [foolscap size] The first two pages were covered with the general news of the day in short paragraphs and with advertisements The last two pages were left blank, so that the third page might be used for a letter and the fourth page for writing the address of any one abroad to whom the subscriber or purchaser might care to mail it. The idea was at once a hit with the community, and the *News Letter*, backed by its timely news and the personal news of its senders, was conspicuous in the outgoing mails of the regular steamers. Later, the *News Letter* in its light and unique form of four pages, was readily carried by the Pony Express messengers across the plains.⁸

As we have seen, news of the Fraser River gold discoveries induced Marriott to come to Vancouver Island, where he started the *Vancouver Island Gazette* and, later, a Victoria version of the *News Letter*. Neither venture was a success, possibly because of the powerful competition of the *Victoria Gazette*.

While Marriott was in Victoria the San Francisco *News Letter* was evidently suspended, but within a year of the failure of its Vancouver Island counterpart it was being issued again. According to one story, Marriott and \$8,000 mysteriously and suddenly left Victoria together. This may well be a libel, but the few references to Marriott to be found in Victoria newspapers of subsequent date are uniformly unflattering, and give the impression that he was not a person of good reputation. Nevertheless, he made good with the San Francisco *News Letter*, which flourished until 1928, and during the lifetime of its founder sponsored campaigns against quack medicines and adulterated foodstuffs, while advocating the building of good roads in the State of California.

(7) *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 17, 1884.

(8) *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 60th Anniversary Number, July 20, 1916.

Marriott was much interested in aviation, and was a generous subscriber to schemes for promoting research in this branch of engineering. One of the articles printed at the time of his death states that in his later years he "made a reputation as an inventor of a steering machine for balloons . . . and organized Marriott's Aeroplane Company."⁹ However, after the failure of one of his inventions, the avitor, the exact nature of which does not appear, his enthusiasm for aeronautics diminished.

As noted previously, Captain Edward Hammond King, publisher of the first official gazette, was not a printer by profession. He was born in England in 1832, entered the army in 1851, and served abroad in India and China until his retirement on account of ill-health, in 1858. The next year he came to Vancouver Island with his family, travelling by sailing ship, and in September, 1859, in partnership with Coote M. Chambers, founded the *New Westminster Times*.¹⁰ Although, as its name suggests, the *Times* was intended to circulate on the mainland, it was actually printed in Victoria and shipped to New Westminster by steamer. Later, in 1859, Captain King founded another journal, which he called the *Victoria Gazette*, thus appropriating the name of the city's first newspaper, which had ceased publication a few weeks previously. For this he was sued by the last owners of the old *Gazette*, but after a short time the case was dropped. It is amusing to note that while the matter was before the courts, several issues of Captain King's paper were printed without any name; and when the dispute was settled, the gallant captain offered to print the name on these copies for any subscribers who cared to bring them to his printing office!

In March, 1860, King disposed of the *New Westminster Times* to Leonard McClure, and his *Victoria Gazette* came to an untimely end the following September. Captain King's intention had been to advocate the cause of the Government but, partly because of the unpopularity of the administration and partly because he lacked sufficient knowledge of the printing business, his venture into journalism resulted in serious financial loss.

Doubtless because he printed the official *Gazette* of 1859-60, Captain King was at times referred to in the *British Colonist* as

(9) *San Francisco Examiner*, December 17, 1884.

(10) *Colonist*, August 19, 1883.

"Queen's Printer." Colonel Moody refers to him in the same terms in some of his letters; but this was only a courtesy title. It is true that King was in correspondence with the Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island from November, 1859, until July, 1860, requesting an appointment in the public service; but there is no record of any such appointment having been made. There is nothing to indicate that any one was appointed as an official Government printer until October, 1863, when Richard Wolfenden was named Superintendent of Government Printing of the Colony of British Columbia.¹¹

At the time of his accidental death on the West Coast of Vancouver Island in March, 1861, at the early age of 29, Captain King was acting as agent to a firm of marine underwriters, on whose behalf he had gone to investigate the wreck of the barkentine *Florencia*.¹² Two grandsons, Messrs. Edward and Henry King, partners in the firm of King Brothers, shipping agents, are well known in business circles in Victoria at the present time.

When publication of the *Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia* commenced, in September, 1859, Captain King was in partnership with Leonard McClure. McClure, who was born in Ireland about 1836, had been brought up in the printing trade. At an early age he visited

(11) Richard Wolfenden, who for forty-eight years had charge of the Government Printing Bureau, was born on March 20, 1836, at Rathmell, Yorkshire. Receiving his education in Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, where he also served an apprenticeship in printing, he was later articled to an older brother, a land-surveyor. Joining the Royal Sappers and Miners (as the Corps of Royal Engineers was called at that time) in 1855, he became Instructor of Musketry at Hythe, Kent, in 1858.

In April, 1859, Corporal Wolfenden arrived in what is now New Westminster, as a member of the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers, under Colonel R. C. Moody. At first he was employed as clerk in the office of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, but later was given charge of the Columbian hand-press of which mention has already been made.

Upon the disbanding of the Corps in 1863, Wolfenden was appointed Superintendent of Printing for the Colonial Government of British Columbia. In 1868, when Victoria was chosen as the capital of the united colonies, he moved his establishment to the island city, remaining in charge of it until his death which occurred at Victoria on October 5, 1911. According to the *British Columbia Gazette* of April 25, 1889, he was designated "Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty."

(12) *Colonist*, March 27, 1861.

Australia, where he lived for a short time. Drifting to California, he engaged in journalism in the mining districts, and by 1859 was in Victoria, where he met King. The partnership lasted only a few months, for in March, 1860, McClure took over the *New Westminster Times*, moved the printing plant to New Westminster and published the paper there. The event is of some historic interest, as the *Times* was the first newspaper printed on the mainland. Just a year later, in March, 1861, McClure returned to Victoria and commenced publishing the *Victoria Press*. In this he merged the *New Westminster Times*, thus leaving the mainland field to John Robson's new paper, the *British Columbian*. Although McClure's period of residence in New Westminster was brief, he was popular there, and was elected first President of the City Council (as the Mayor was originally termed) in 1860.

The *Victoria Press* ceased publication in October, 1862, whereupon McClure became active in politics. Later in the year he travelled to London with the Hon. Malcolm Cameron to lay before the Home Government a petition which asked for responsible government, and which aired many grievances of the colonists against the domination of the Hudson's Bay Company. Towards the end of his stay in London he wrote a lengthy letter to his colleagues in Victoria, part of which is worth quoting:—
At all events we have succeeded in ousting Gov. Douglas, and I think Cary and the rest will have to follow suit. The thing might have been done long ago, had the people possessed sufficient sense and spirit to send a delegation.¹³

Upon his return to Victoria McClure joined the staff of the *Colonist*, becoming editor in October, 1863, a position which he retained until the merging of the *Colonist* and *Chronicle* in June, 1866. The following month, with W. L. Mitchell, he established the *Evening Telegraph*, which came to an untimely end on November 13, its annexationist sympathies causing its premature death.

From 1865 to 1866 McClure represented Victoria in the Legislative Assembly, and it was while so acting that he took part in the famous filibuster of April 23-24, 1866. He spoke con-

(13) *Ibid.*, April 4, 1863.

tinuously for seventeen hours, and the ordeal was so severe that it undermined his health.¹⁴

After the collapse of the *Telegraph*, McClure left Victoria towards the end of December, 1866, and took up residence in San Francisco, where he was almost immediately appointed editor of the *San Francisco Times*. His death occurred in the southern city on June 16, 1867, only three weeks after that of his former associate, W. L. Mitchell. Writing at the time, the *San Francisco Bulletin* said of him: "He was a writer of great eloquence and considerable power. In good humored banter he was unapproachable."¹⁵

It will be recalled that Captain King disposed of both his *Victoria Gazette* and the first official *Government Gazette* to George Elmes Nias in April, 1860. Nias was a Yorkshireman by birth and a printer by trade. He arrived in Victoria in 1858, or possibly earlier, having previously been a resident of San Francisco. Our first knowledge of him is as a petitioner, protesting to Lord Derby against the land speculation in Victoria which resulted from the Fraser River gold-rush. The letter was dated San Francisco, July 3, 1858, and read in part:—

I was a strong radical when I left England, I am anything but a radical now and shall return to Victoria under the British Flag at the earliest opportunity with great pleasure.

Nias's newspaper venture did not prosper, and the *Victoria Gazette* ceased publication in September, 1860. Little is known about his activities thereafter, but presumably he carried on a job-printing business. In 1862 he requested permission to preempt about 180 acres of land, part of an extensive common on the shore side of Dallas Road, between what is now Paddon Avenue and Menzies Street. Here he built a cottage and stables.¹⁶

The house was occupied by his family until 1871, when it became for a short time a quarantine hospital for several small-pox patients who arrived in Victoria from San Francisco, and

(14) For a full account of this event see D. W. Higgins, *The Passing of a Race*, Toronto, 1905, pp. 51-55.

(15) See *Cariboo Sentinel*, July 11, 1867.

(16) See Nias to the Surveyor-General of Vancouver Island, October 16, 1862.

for whom no other accommodation was available.¹⁷ It is interesting to note that the beach adjoining this property, which was frequented by children from the James Bay district, was still known as "Nias's Beach" in the early 1900's.

During the summer of 1866 Nias was employed by the Dietz and Nelson British Columbia Express Company between Victoria and the Big Bend of the Columbia River. In December of that year he wrote to Governor Seymour requesting an appointment as Government Printer of the newly united colony of British Columbia, but his proposal was not entertained, and in February, 1867, he left Victoria for Australia.

There was trouble over gaining title to the Dallas Road property, as revealed in a letter written from Melbourne to Governor Musgrave on December 3, 1869. In 1871 we hear that Nias has written a pamphlet entitled *Protection vs. Free Trade*.¹⁸ Presumably his wife and large family eventually joined him in Melbourne, but no later news of him has yet been found.

The first printers of the *Government Gazette—Vancouver Island*, in 1864, were Harries & Company. Walford Arbouin Harries was an English lawyer who came to Victoria in 1862 or 1863, in company with his brother, Julian B. Harries, bearing a letter of introduction to Governor Douglas from the Duke of Newcastle.¹⁹ For a time he was interested in a mining venture.²⁰ The local directory for 1863 describes him as a "Real estate and general agent." Eventually drifting into journalism, Harries formed a syndicate under the name of Harries & Company,²¹ which in 1864 purchased the *Colonist* from its famous founder, Amor De Cosmos. In 1865 Harries was admitted to the Van-

(17) For further details regarding the Nias homestead see Higgins, *The Passing of a Race*, pp. 34-46.

(18) *Colonist*, September 21, 1871.

(19) This letter was dated June 4, 1862.

(20) The claim in question was at Quamichan Lake; Harries, in association with nine others, organized the Comiaken Quartz Mining Company. No details of its activities have come to light.

(21) In August, 1864, Harries & Co. comprised: Walford Arbouin Harries, William Lang Mitchell, William Oughton, John Lawrie, and David McKenzie. See Memorandum of Agreement between Harries & Co. & Henry Wakefield, Acting Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island, dated September 5, 1864.

cover Island Bar,²² but apparently did not practise, for, when his firm sold the *Colonist* to Higgins, Long & Company, in 1866, he was engaged as an assistant on the paper, and later became one of the editors.²³

In April, 1867, Harries severed his connection with the *Colonist* and started off on a tour of Europe, with the intention of corresponding with the *Colonist* during his absence. From Europe he went to South Africa, and when next heard of, in 1869, was practising law in Port Elizabeth.²⁴ He became interested in diamond-mining, and described conditions at the mines in a long and interesting letter printed in the *Colonist* of April 18, 1871. His death occurred at Port Elizabeth on January 2, 1881.²⁵ While in Victoria, Harries was an active member of the Victoria Amateur Dramatic Association, and seems to have been popular with his associates and with the public generally.

Harries's principal partner in the printing business in Victoria was W. L. Mitchell, of whom more later.

At the beginning of 1865 the contract for printing the Vancouver Island *Government Gazette* was awarded to the firm of Wallace & Allen, publishers of the *Evening Express*. The partners were a picturesque pair. George Wallace came to Vancouver Island, travelling overland, in 1862, and began his journalist career by joining the staff of the *Colonist*. Charles William Allen, who was presumably an Englishman, is first heard of in Victoria in 1862, as a reporter for the same paper. The two men quickly joined forces, and in April, 1863, launched the *Daily Evening Express*.

Allen is best known as a figure in a *cause célèbre* against the Hon. Horace Lascelles, who in 1863 was Captain of H.M. gunboat *Forward*. Allen filed suit against Lascelles for "assault and battery" inflicted upon himself as the outcome of an unfortunate report in the *Express* of the *Forward's* unsuccessful expedition against the treacherous Cowichan Indians, earlier in the year, and was awarded \$1,000 damages.²⁶ This spectacular clash

(22) He was admitted "as an Attorney in the Supreme Court" of Vancouver Island. See *Colonist*, September 19, 1865.

(23) *Ibid.*, May 5, 1866.

(24) *Ibid.*, August 29, 1869; February 21, 1871.

(25) *Ibid.*, February 6, 1881.

(26) *Ibid.*, May 22, May 23, November 24, November 25, 1863.

between a commissioned officer of Her Majesty's Navy and the editor of a newspaper has formed the basis of more than one romantic narrative of early British Columbia history.

In February, 1865, only six weeks after they had commenced to print the *Government Gazette*, Wallace & Allen sold the *Express* and their printing office to A. D. Bell. Allen left Victoria the next month, bound for England on a visit, and while there bought the *Coventry Times*. Wallace, on the other hand, shifted the scene of his activities to Cariboo, where at Barkerville, in June, 1865, he became founder, editor, and proprietor of the famous *Cariboo Sentinel*. The paper was printed on the old hand-press brought to Vancouver Island by Bishop Demers about 1856—the first printing press to arrive in what is now British Columbia. Wallace was enterprising enough to have the little press and his other equipment carried into Cariboo by pack-train.

Within a year Allen turned up in Barkerville. His *Coventry Times* venture had not been a success; and as Wallace was willing to sell the *Cariboo Sentinel*, Allen purchased it, in association with a new partner, Warren Lambert. Wallace, for his part, moved to Yale, where, in April, 1866, he started still another paper, the *Tribune*. This proved to be a short-lived venture, and lasted only until the end of the season's mining activities, in October.

Having cleared a large sum by a successful speculation in Japan, Wallace started off for Europe in 1867.²⁷ One account tells of his conducting a company of Japanese jugglers, and amassing a small fortune by exhibiting them both in England and on the continent. After living in London for a time he unfortunately lost most of his wealth by the failure of a banking concern, in which he had invested heavily. He thereupon returned to the show business, this time exhibiting the Siamese twins.²⁸

In 1881 Wallace was said to be in Montreal, on the staff of the *Mail*. His death occurred in that city in May, 1887.

Allen retained his interest in the *Cariboo Sentinel* until 1868, when he and Lambert disposed of the paper to Robert Holloway. He is next heard of in Toronto, in July, 1872, at which time he was night editor of the *Globe*. By 1877 he had removed to Win-

(27) *Cariboo Sentinel*, July 8, 1867.

(28) *Colonist*, May 19, 1887.

nipeg, residing there for some years, where he became associated with the *Manitoba Free Press*, after participating as a volunteer in the Riel Rebellion of 1885.

After his retirement from journalism Allen became a resident of Philadelphia, and during the autumn of 1924, at the advanced age of 84, he revisited Victoria on his return home from a trip to New Zealand.²⁹ Both in Victoria and also in Winnipeg Allen was a prominent member of the local Rifle Corps, and active in athletics.

Alexander Dalrymple Bell, the next printer of the Vancouver *Island Government Gazette*, was a man of many interests. In 1863 he was in business in Victoria as a commission merchant. The next year he formed a company to seek gold at Goldstream, a few miles from the city, where a small rush had occurred.³⁰ The same year—1864—he was editor of the *Chronicle* until September, when he launched a new evening paper in Victoria, the *Vancouver Times*.³¹ In February, 1865, Bell purchased the *Express* from Wallace & Allen, and merged it in his own paper; but in August he himself sold out to W. L. Mitchell. He is next heard of in San Francisco in March, 1866, when he was reported to be writing a play. The next month he was conducting the *San Francisco Dramatic Chronicle*. Later he became one of the editors of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, while continuing his interest in playwriting, and at least one of his plays, entitled *Millicent's Husband*, is reported to have been a success.³² By 1869 Bell had become interested in the California State Immigration Society, and was touring the state giving addresses on its behalf. He was last heard of in 1887, when he was again engaged in newspaper work in San Francisco.³³

William Lang Mitchell, a young Canadian of education and ability from St. Mary's, Canada West, appears to have come to Victoria in 1861 or 1862, where he engaged in newspaper work.

(29) *Colonist*, September 25, 1924.

(30) In association with J. H. Turner, A. F. Main, H. F. Heisterman, and Lionel Varicas, Bell formed the Britannia Quartz Company. Its activities came to nothing.

(31) Bell was editor, but the *Vancouver Times* was actually printed by the *Colonist* presses. See *Colonist*, August 29, September 5, 1864.

(32) *Colonist*, January 17, 1867.

(33) *Ibid.*, January 1, 1887.

In August, 1865, he bought the *Vancouver Times* from Bell, changing its title to *Vancouver Daily Post*. The printing contract for the *Government Gazette* presumably was included in the deal. The *Post* came to an end in April, 1866, and in July Mitchell joined forces with Leonard McClure to found a new paper, the *Evening Telegraph*. As we have seen, this journal espoused the unpopular cause of annexation and, as a consequence, was forced to suspend publication in November.

In 1867 Mitchell gave up newspaper work and proceeded to Cariboo, where he bought a half interest in the Davis claim, at Barkerville. It was whilst working this claim that he met with the accident that caused his untimely death on May 24, 1867. He was buried at Camerontown, and "in the absence of a clergyman the English funeral service was read by Mr. Robertson, Barrister."³⁴

The only other printers of the *Gazette* which have been identified were Higgins & Long, publishers of the *Victoria Chronicle*. Thomas Holmes Long, the junior partner, was in all probability an American. He is first heard of in 1863, when he was reporting for the *Chronicle*. In February, 1865, he purchased an interest in the paper, and the firm of Higgins & Long came into being. The partnership lasted until January, 1869, when Long withdrew. In May he left Victoria and travelled to the Eastern States, where in July he was married. No record of his doings after his return to Victoria has been found, but it is presumed that he was associated with Amor De Cosmos when the latter commenced publication of the *Standard* in June, 1870. The next year Long purchased a half interest in the *Standard*, which he retained until 1876, when he retired from newspaper work.³⁵

Long's name appears in a Victoria directory for 1877-78, but by 1881 he was established as a wholesale merchant in New York City.³⁶ He was still in business there in 1887,³⁷ after which date no further references have been found concerning him.

(34) *Cariboo Sentinel*, May 27, 1867. The Mr. Robertson was Alexander Rocke Robertson, later first Provincial Secretary of British Columbia, and later still a Justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia.

(35) See *Colonist*, August 19, 1883.

(36) *Ibid.*, December 28, 1881.

(37) *Ibid.*, January 1, 1887.

David Williams Higgins is so prominent a figure in the early history of the Province that his career need only be summarized here. He was born of English parentage in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1834, but was brought up and educated in Brooklyn, where he served an apprenticeship as a printer. In 1852 he emigrated to California, and in 1856, in San Francisco, founded the *Morning Call*.

Having disposed of this paper, he was dispatched in 1858 to the Fraser River as special correspondent by one of the leading San Francisco journals.³⁸ Settling temporarily at Yale, he engaged in various mercantile pursuits, in addition to reporting for his newspaper. Two years later, after a chance meeting with De Cosmos, he was persuaded to join the staff of the *Colonist*, on which he served until 1862. After a break with his fellow Nova Scotian, he, in partnership with J. E. McMillan,³⁹

(38) D. W. Higgins in *Colonist*, January 1, 1861.

(39) James Eliphalet McMillan who was a native of Niagara-on-the-Lake, was born on July 25, 1825, of Irish and Canadian parentage. He received his education in Toronto, where he served an apprenticeship in printing. In 1844 he was engaged in newspaper work at Galt, and from 1854-59 published the *Messenger* at Bowmanville, Ontario, in partnership with Alexander Begg.

McMillan came to Victoria in 1859, and joined the staff of the *Colonist* the following year as assistant editor. Six months later he departed to New Westminster and worked for two years in association with John Robson on the *British Columbian*.

Returning to Victoria in October, 1862, he, with D. W. Higgins, commenced publication of the *Daily Chronicle*, continuing in partnership with Higgins, and as editor of the journal, until 1865, when he sold out his interest to T. H. Long, and for a short time carried on a job-printing business in Victoria. During this period he executed a certain amount of work for the colonial government of Vancouver Island, and outlined, in one of his letters, which is still extant, a proposal whereby his print-shop should become a government printing bureau, with himself as Queen's Printer, which proposal was not considered by Governor Kennedy.

Upon his failure to persuade the colonial government to accede to his recommendations, McMillan again transferred the scene of his activities to the mainland and this time bought a half interest in the *British Columbian*. This venture was also of short duration, coming to an end about 1867, when he returned to Victoria to reside permanently. At this time he established the *Morning News* which, after a year or so, developed into the *Evening News*.

This journal has been described by D. W. Higgins as "A lively little paper and made politics in and about Victoria rather warm for its morning

bought the plant of the defunct *Victoria Press* and commenced publication of the *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, in opposition to the *Colonist*.

In 1864 De Cosmos sold his *Colonist* to a syndicate composed of some of his staff, known as Harries & Company, as has been mentioned previously. The syndicate not having made a success of their undertaking, after two years, Higgins bought them out and merged the papers under the name *Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle*. This voluminous title was employed for six years, when the former title *British Colonist* was resumed. Higgins continued as owner of the *Colonist* until shortly after his entry into politics in 1886, when he sold out to W. H. Ellis and A. G. Sargison. In 1890 he was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, where his political career proved to be as brilliant as his journalistic one had been.

In 1897 Higgins resigned the speakership, and in 1900 retired altogether from public life. During his long residence in Victoria he took an active part in all municipal undertakings, and in 1889, with other prominent citizens, promoted the organization of the National Electric Tramway and Lighting Company, becoming its first president. As the author of *The Mystic Spring* and *The Passing of a Race*, his name became widely known to the reading public. He died in Victoria on November 30, 1917.⁴⁰

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

brethren. But in an evil hour it turned a listening ear to the blandishments of the Annexationists . . . ' During the summer of 1867 McMillan travelled to San Francisco in the interests of Annexation.

In June, 1870, McMillan sold his printing plant to Amor De Cosmos who, in June, launched the *Standard* at Victoria. McMillan later accepted a position on the staff of the newspaper, eventually becoming editor. In 1871 he entered the political arena as a candidate for the City of Victoria, but was not elected, primarily because of his annexationist sympathies. He was twice mayor of Victoria, in 1872 and 1873, and eventually retired from journalism in 1875. In 1876 he was appointed Immigration Agent for Victoria. Becoming Sheriff for the District of Victoria in 1884, he held that position until six years before his death, which occurred in Victoria on August 13, 1907.

(40) For a full account of Higgins's life see *Colonist*, December 1, 1917.

ARCHBISHOP SEGHERS: THE MARTYRED ARCHBISHOP OF VANCOUVER ISLAND.

In November, 1863, the Reverend Charles John Seghers, a young priest, delicate in health, but strong in mind and of burning energy, arrived in Victoria and entered into the work of the Church. Being well educated, with a gift for languages, an eloquent preacher, and a fine musician, he sprang at once into a prominent position in the diocese, and became a most valuable assistant to Bishop Demers, who entrusted to him the administration of its finances. He was rector of the Cathedral, then St. Andrew's Church, on Humboldt Street, and chaplain to the Sisters of St. Ann. In him these qualities and scholarly graces were combined with an exquisite courtesy which made him respected, admired, and beloved by all Victoria, regardless of creed or sect. Bishop Demers died on July 21, 1871, and on March 21, 1873, Father Seghers was preconized, and on the 29th of June following was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island. His ecclesiastical jurisdiction included the Territory of Alaska, then recently purchased from Russia by the United States. He felt very strongly the call of that Northland for missionary work, and as Bishop he answered that call and visited Alaska in 1877-78. Sailing from San Francisco to St. Michael and thence ascending the Yukon River, he made his headquarters at Nulato, a Russian trading-post, well known in the days of the Collins Overland Telegraph scheme, more than ten years before.

On his return from the North he was greeted at San Francisco with the news that he had been named as Coadjutor to Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon. His old parishioners in Victoria had heard of his appointment while he was on the ocean returning from Alaska. In the following June he left Victoria, which had been his official home for six years. His departure was felt as a great loss to the life of that city, for he had made his way into the hearts of all its people, regardless of their religious connections.

For four years he remained as Archbishop of Oregon; but even in his ministrations over the length and breadth of that vast archdiocese, which included what is now Oregon and Idaho, his

heart pined for the wilds of Alaska, hearing like St. Paul the call of Macedonia, "Come over and help us." Missionary work in Alaska drew him as the magnet draws the iron; and when he was in Rome in 1883, the benighted religious conditions of the Indians and other residents in Alaska came up for discussion. Pope Leo XIII. had just transferred Bishop Brondel of Victoria to the new diocese of Montana, and was at a loss to find a successor. Archbishop Seghers informed His Holiness that he would gladly give up the Archdiocese of Oregon for the See of Vancouver Island, as this would enable him to follow his conscience and perform his promise to bring the Gospel to the natives of that distant region. The Sovereign Pontiff, having carefully examined the situation and satisfied himself that the offer came from no other reason than that the Archbishop was filled and fired with missionary zeal, consented to make the change; and so, for the love of God and urged by a true apostolic spirit, Archbishop Seghers of Oregon became again merely Bishop of Vancouver Island.

Every one in Victoria, Catholic and Protestant alike, rejoiced to have him once more in their midst; and the whole city acclaimed him when, on May 30, 1886, His Holiness conferred the Pallium on Bishop Seghers and raised him once more to the exalted rank of Archbishop. But above rank, above such reception, above such honours, Archbishop Seghers heard, like Kipling's Explorer, a voice as strong as Conscience, calling from the far-away Yukon, calling for the salvation of souls: "Something lost behind the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go."

The Archbishop had been in Victoria only a year; but amid the stress of his many duties he had found time to evolve his plans for the fulfilment of his promise to return with priests to "the frozen fortresses of the Alaskan Yukon." In selecting these ensign-bearers of the Church, the Archbishop naturally looked for aid to the great missionary branch, the Jesuits, who had been in the forefront in New Spain and New France. The Jesuit Superior entered whole-heartedly into the effort, and selected two able and devout sons of Loyola: Father P. Tosi and Father Aloysius Robaut. These three were to be the nucleus of the party; native guides and assistants were to be added in Alaska. But, hearing of the expedition, an American, John F.

Fuller, volunteered to join the party; his earnestness and insistence overcame all objections. He appeared to be devotedly attached to the Archbishop; but with him entered the element of tragedy.

On July 13, 1886, with fond yet sad farewells, the Archbishop and his three companions sailed on the fatal voyage. On reaching the mouth of the Stewart River, Father Tosi, who had even then become suspicious of Fuller and doubted his sanity, endeavoured to persuade him to abandon the party and return by the next steamer, but Fuller clung to his service of the Archbishop with seeming devotedness and sincerity. The party made their painful way over the Chilcoot Pass, so well known in the Klondike gold-rush of later years, and on September 7, 1886, after untold privations, difficulties, and dangers, arrived at the confluence of the Stewart and Yukon rivers.

There, with many misgivings on the part of Father Tosi, the party separated: the two Jesuits to visit the Indians on the upper reaches of the Yukon, and the Archbishop, with the half-demented Fuller, to descend the river to Nulato. Father Tosi, whose keen penetration had discerned that "Fuller was a worthless scamp and perhaps a villain whose specious attraction for the Archbishop was founded on reasons best known to himself," doubted the wisdom of this division and urged the Archbishop to take Father Robaut as his companion. But he would not consent to the proposal, and with fear in their hearts the two Jesuits bade him a sad farewell and saw him depart the next day for Nulato, accompanied only by Fuller. As they set out on the thousand-mile voyage down the already ice-encumbered river, the Archbishop seemed to have some momentary apprehension of the approaching tragedy. By the 4th of October he and Fuller reached Nukloroyet, where lived an Indian-trader, Walker, who according to the Archbishop's diary received them courteously. There the Archbishop decided to rest for a few days, for the excessive privations and fatigues of the long, hard voyage had made inroads on his weak body; but he was nearing his goal, and his purpose grew in strength as his body weakened. Walker appears to have been a man bitterly opposed to religion, thinking that his lucrative trade with the Indians would suffer if they were Christianized and began to conform their lives to

the teachings of the Church. While the Archbishop and his companion remained at Nukloroyet, Walker had many opportunities to put his views before Fuller, and he seems to have instilled into the weak mind of this man a hatred of the Archbishop, and to have inoculated him with the poison of his own depraved mind. At any rate, from that time Fuller's obsequiousness vanished and was replaced by an attitude of truculence and hostility to the Archbishop. He became insolent to a degree, and finally refused to continue the journey by water. The Archbishop yielded, and the delay of six weeks until the ice became strong enough to carry them and their dog-sled left Fuller under the pernicious influence of Walker. It was now the Archbishop's desire to rid himself of Fuller, but the latter clung to him with diabolic tenacity. To free Fuller from Walker's influence the Archbishop determined to press on; he must reach Nulato that winter. When the two arrived at a small trading-post kept by a Russian named Korkorin, this trader, sensing the Archbishop's danger from the now crazed Fuller, determined to accompany the two until they should reach Nulato; but ultimately he sent two Indians as guides instead. The party, thus increased to four, set out over the ice-covered snow on November 18, 1886. At the end of a week's journeying they reached a place named Yissetlatoh, where they found a loosely-built fishing-hut for their night's shelter. Nulato, the end of the journey, was distant only one day's travel. That night Fuller was very violent and abusive to the Archbishop, and "spoke very loud" according to the Indians' testimony. The Archbishop's only reply was "Thanks be to God, Brother, this is the last day." In that wretched hut the Archbishop laid himself down for his last sleep. He was then only 30 miles from Nulato, the place of his greatest earthly desire—a place he was destined never to reach.

Up to this point I have followed closely the story as told by Sister Mary Joseph Calasanctius in that rare volume *Voix d'Alaska*, since translated and published in 1935 under the title *The Voice of Alaska*. I propose to tell the rest of the story by direct quotation from that translation.

Towards morning Fuller left the cabin saying that he was going to hunt fuel for the fire. He did so and, at the same time, took his gun from the sled and re-entered the hut. He found one of the Indian guides already up

and, to get rid of him, sent him to fetch some ice to melt and heat for their tea. The other Indian was awake but still wrapped in his blankets.

Fuller threw a large handful of birch bark on the fire to make a bright blaze, at the same time calling loudly, "Archbishop, get up!" He added some words that the guide did not understand. The Archbishop raised himself to a sitting position on the rug, and seeing the levelled rifle, took in the situation at once. Crossing his hands upon his breast, he bowed his head in an act of supreme resignation, as the assassin fired. The bullet grazed the heart of the heroic missionary and he died instantly.

The Indian was on his feet in an instant, wrenching the gun from the maniac's hands as he prepared for a second shot. The other Indian entered and demanded if Fuller was going to kill them too. "No," said Fuller, "I wanted to kill only that bad man." Then, deserting the body, the ruthless assassin and the Indians took the trail to Nulato.¹

The remainder of the story is soon told. An Indian, in whose house the Archbishop had dwelt during the winter of 1877-78, with a companion proceeded to the scene of the murder and brought the body of the martyr from Yissetlatoh to Nulato. In the spring the remains were buried at St. Michael—the place where, by agreement, before the separation in the preceding September, the two Jesuits were to meet the Archbishop. A sad and solemn reunion! In the fall of 1888 the sacred remains of the Apostle of Alaska were transferred from St. Michael to Victoria, where they rest in the crypt of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

To mark the spot where the horrid deed was done, the Jesuits erected a large wooden cross, which was blessed on August 26, 1892, Father Tosi, Father Robaut (his two companions on the tragic voyage), and Father Treca saying Mass in the presence of a vast concourse of Indians. The high water of the Yukon River in 1894 carried away the cross, jammed between blocks of ice. But the sacred spot was remarked: a white enamelled cross high up on the rock bears witness to the sad event:—

Here was murdered
Bishop Seghers
November 28, 1886.

Captain Healy, master of the revenue cutter *Bear*, hearing of the murder, proceeded to St. Michael to arrest Fuller. He succeeded in the effort, and brought the criminal to Sitka for trial. Strangely enough the jury returned what was plainly a

(1) See Sister Mary J. Calasactius, *The Voice of Alaska*, Lachine, 1935, pp. 42-43.

compromise verdict, "manslaughter"; and Fuller was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$10,000. Under the circumstances detailed above, it is difficult to understand this verdict. The whole matter hinged upon Fuller's sanity: either he was insane and not responsible for his act, or, being sane, was guilty of one of the most unprovoked and cold-blooded murders in the annals of the Pacific Coast.

SISTER MARY ANNUNCIATA.

ST. ANN'S CONVENT,
NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

THOMPSON COIT ELLIOTT (1862-1943): A TRIBUTE.

With the death on May 5, 1943, of Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, there passed one of the outstanding historians of the Pacific Northwest. For over thirty years the name "T. C. Elliott" appended to an historical study has been a hall-mark of quality and accuracy. His chosen field was, naturally, the Inland Empire, for from 1886 until his death his home was in Walla Walla. To research into Pacific Coast history he devoted a lifetime, never counting the time consumed or the difficulties to be faced and overcome; the truth was there to be ascertained and when, after patient and laborious digging, it was discovered he subjected it to every check and test that meticulous care could devise or suggest before he accepted it. In the identification of historic sites no travel was too severe or exhausting, as with book or manuscript in hand he examined and scrutinized the *milieu*. (I know, for many a time, as his companion, he made me footsore and leg-weary.) This course constantly pursued gave to his historical findings a factual finality that was accepted as basic by all his co-workers.

He delighted to follow the wanderings of David Thompson from the Howse Pass through Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, and to settle the position of his trading-posts, or to trace the footsteps of Lewis and Clark and the Overland Astorians. He was never happier than when engaged in editing some early journal; then his intimate knowledge of the country, the men, and the customs of the fur-trade shone forth and transformed a seemingly dry-as-dust record into an interesting human story.

Though thoroughly familiar with the whole story of the Pacific Northwest, Mr. Elliott could not be induced to attempt a detailed and connected history of the region. He chose, rather, to smooth the pathway of the future historian by intensive studies of persons, places, and incidents connected with the fur-trading period, and these he published mostly in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* and the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. The index volume of the former lists over one hundred items, including book reviews and some sixteen original journals and

documents, whilst the latter contains, up to 1929, over thirty articles, book reviews, and some fifteen original journals. Surely a wonderful record of a completely-filled leisure in the long life of a busy business man. Naturally his fund of local information made him in demand as a speaker at historical gatherings and memorial exercises throughout the Pacific Northwest. When in 1916 Mr. J. B. Tyrrell was editing *David Thompson's Narrative* for the Champlain Society, he called Mr. Elliott into collaboration, and his luminous notes and geographical identifications furnished a clear light for every student who desired to follow intelligently, on a modern map, Thompson's various travels.

Modest and unassuming, Mr. Elliott left his work as it fell from his pen, but some six or seven years ago he gathered together into a bound volume which he called *Historical Addresses and Papers*, and distributed amongst his friends those items which he evidently thought of special value, including "The Land of the Kootenai," an address delivered in 1926 at Bonner's Ferry, Idaho; "Spokane House," "The Chinook Wind," and "Richard ('Captain Johnny') Grant."

Mr. Elliott's thorough-going, scholarly work brought him rewards and recognition. In 1919 the University of Oregon conferred on him its Honorary Degree of Master of Arts, and in 1930 his Alma Mater, Amherst College, which had graduated him in course in 1885 as a Bachelor of Arts, recognized his high standing as an historian by granting him its Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters (D.Litt.). The British Columbia Historical Association in 1939 elected him an Honorary Life Member; and even across the Atlantic his scholarship was known and was recognized in his election as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

So, Thompson Coit Elliott, B.A., M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., with his well-earned honours, closed his earthly career at the ripe age of 80 years—a student and a hard worker in history, even to the last. I shall miss him as a true friend, whose kindly guiding hand was ever at my service.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

THE DIARY OF ROBERT MELROSE.

ROYAL EMIGRANT'S ALMANACK
concerning
FIVE YEARS SERVITUDE
under the
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
on
VANCOUVER'S ISLAND

PART II.

JANUARY.

1854.

- S. 1 Drouthy New Year.*
Mo. 2 Holiday given. Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco.
Very wet day.
Tu. 3 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.
We. 4 Tremendous hard frost.
Th. 5 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Bellview [ie San Juan] Island.
Indians dropped work.
Fr. 6 More Indians started to work.
Sa. 7 Slight fall of snow. Barque "Fanny Major" arrived in Port.
S. 8 Rain.
Mo. 9 John Russel removed to the Farm. Rain.
Tu. 10 Brig "Rose" sailed Coal Mines. Signed a Petition to throw
off Judge Cameron.¹

* [Footnote in original.] New Year's Day, a day above all days, for rioting in drunkenness, then what are we to expect of this young, but desperate Colony of ours; where dissipation is carried on to such extremities my readers will be expecting to find nothing in my Almanack, from Christmas, till past the New Year, but such a one drunk, and another drunk, and so on; how different is the scene, then what must I attribute the cause of all this, too, must I prescribe it to the good morals of the people; no! no! my friends, no such thing could be expected here; the grog-shops were drained of every sort of liquour, not a drop to be got for either love or money, had it been otherwise the case, there is no saying whither my small Almanack would have contained them or not; it would almost take a line of packet ships, running regular between here, and San Francisco to supply this Island with grog, so great a thirst prevails amongst its inhabitants.

(1) A petition to the Queen, which in effect, asked for the removal of David Cameron, brother-in-law of Governor Douglas, who had recently been appointed Judge of the new Supreme Court of Vancouver Island. See Scholfield and Howay, *British Columbia*, I, pp. 547-51; also "Correspondence with the Government of Vancouver Island, relative to the Appointment of Chief Justice Cameron," in *Papers Relating to Vancouver Island*, London, 1863, pp. 37-52.

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1854—Continued.

JANUARY

- We. 11 Brig "Archimades" arrived in Port.² Showers of snow.
 Th. 12 Frost and snow.
 Fr. 13 Severe Frost.
 Sa. 14 One dwelling house finished. Mrs. Cooper gave birth to a female child.
 S. 15 Andrew Muir and Isabella Weir proclaimed for marriage.
 Mo. 16 Brig "Archimades" sailed. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed. James Wilson whole D. The Author whole.
 Tu. 17 John Hall dropped work. J. Instant whole Drunk.
 We. 18 John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. James Stewart $\frac{3}{4}$ D. John Hall $\frac{3}{4}$ Drunk.
 Th. 19 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived. Most severe frost.
 Fr. 20 Heavy fall of snow 18 inches deep.
 S. 22 Docters child died.³
 Mo. 23 Governor Stevens arrived⁴ in Sloop "Sarah Stone."⁵
 Tu. 24 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
 We. 25 J. Hall removed to the Fort. J. Downie removed to Hall's house. P. Bartleman removed to the Farm.
 Th. 26 Tremendous frost lasted from the 12th instant.
 Fr. 27 Rain.
 Sa. 28 Sloop "Sarah Stone" sailed. Rain.
 S. 29 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with fresh meat. Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Island.
 Mo. 30 Monthly Ration Pay due and settled. J. Wilson whole D. The Author whole Drunk.
 Tu. 31 Andrew Muir and Isabella Weir married.

FEBRUARY.

- We. 1 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Bellview Island and Nisqually. Frosty morning.
 Th. 2 Mr. Staines gained a law plea over Duet.⁶ Brig "Rose" visited Port.
 Fr. 3 Fresh Beef served out. Barque "Matilda" visited Esquimalt. Showers.

(2) This brig of 157 tons was engaged in the coal and lumber trades to San Francisco.

(3) The infant son of Dr. J. S. Helmcken, born October 29, 1853.

(4) On Governor Stevens's visit see Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, Boston and New York, 1900, I, pp. 416-18.

(5) This small American sloop plied regularly between Olympia, Bellingham Bay, and Victoria, carrying the mails.

(6) Emanuel Douilet, who was fined and imprisoned for making off with a number of pigs belonging to the Rev. Robert Staines. See James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, November 3, 1854.

1854—Continued.

FEBRUARY

- Sa. 4 Public Meeting held on the state of the Colony. Superscription set agoing in purpose to send Mr. Staines home, to lay the proceedings before the house of Parliament.⁷ God speed. Indians dropped work.
- Mo. 6 Quarters Pay due.
- Tu. 7 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with fresh meat.
- We. 8 James Downie $\frac{1}{2}$ Drunk.
- Th. 9 W. Veitch $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Enoch Morris $\frac{3}{4}$ D. J. Wilson $\frac{1}{2}$ D. Fresh beef served out. John Russel $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Peter Bartleman $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
- Sa. 11 Canadians put up a bught [?] for catching cattle.
- Mo. 13 More Indians started to work.
- Tu. 14 Showers of snow, Frosty. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
- We. 15 Canadians commenced to fence a field.
- Sa. 18 Showers.
- Mo. 20 John Instant whole Drunk.
- Tu. 21 Peter Bartleman $\frac{3}{4}$ D. "Cock Watt" and "Saucy Jack" arrived.
- We. 22 Barque "Fanny Major" sailed. Mr. Staines left for England on his important mission.
- Th. 23 Celebrated Bacchanalian hunt.
- Fr. 24 John Russel $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Author almost whole [drunk].
- Sa. 25 Monthly Ration pay due, not settled, want of money. J. Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
- S. 26 Schooner "Honolulu" arrived from San Francisco. J. Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. J. Whyte $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Rain.
- Mo. 27 William Veitch $\frac{3}{4}$ D. James Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
- Tu. 28 "Cock Watt" & "Saucy Jack" sailed, T. Reed and other two men escaped to America.

MARCH.

- We. 1 Scientific meeting instituted. Schooner "Honolulu" sailed out of Port.
- Th. 2 Schooner "William Allen" arrived with a cargo of sawed lumber.
- Fr. 3 John Russel $\frac{3}{4}$ D. James Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
- Sa. 4 Mrs. Yates gave birth to a female child. John Russel whole Drunk.
- S. 5 John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ Drunk. Schooner "William Allen" sailed.
- Tu. 7 More Indians started to work. Commenced to plough.

(7) Staines, although chaplain and schoolmaster for the Hudson's Bay Company, joined the anti-Company faction in the Colony, and agreed to return to England and present their grievances to the British Government. The vessel upon which he sailed foundered, and Staines was drowned. See entries for February 7 and July 8, 1854.

1854—Continued.

MARCH

- We. 8 Lecture on the pleasures of studying the sciences, by W. Veitch.
 Th. 9 One Sow ferried [farrowed]. Rain.
 Fr. 10 One field fenced in. Canadians dropped work. One Sow ferried.
 Sa. 11 Commenced to fence in the gardens. One Sow ferried.
 S. 12 Showers.
 Tu. 14 Mail came in.
 We. 15 Lecture on the discoveries of Optical science, by the Author.
 Fr. 17 Smiths dropped work for want of coals.
 Sa. 18 Mail came in.
 Mo. 20 Commenced to plant in the gardens.
 Tu. 21 John Russel & Peter Bartleman fought a battle. J. Russel $\frac{1}{2}$ D. S. B. "Beaver" sailed.
 We. 22 Rehearsal of Wilson's "Tales of the Borders," by James Downie. Peas Sown.
 Th. 23 Smiths commenced to work. Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived.
 Fr. 24 Mrs. Whyte gave birth to a male child.
 Sa. 25 Monthly Ration Pay due & settled. J. Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. W. Veitch $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Mo. 27 Wet Morning.
 Tu. 28 Mrs. Cornelius gave birth to a female child.
 We. 29 Lecture on the Nobility of man by James Deans. Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from San Francisco, brought a Mail along with her.

[Entries for April and May, 1854, are missing in the original.]

JUNE.

- Fr. 2 Showers.
 Sa. 3 Six Sheep killed and divided.
 Mo. 5 One Bull drowned in the Rapids. Thunder showers. Pair of Horses started to work.
 Tu. 6 Smith-shop shut up. Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived.
 We. 7 Lecture on the Phases of the Moon by James Deans.
 Th. 8 Showers.
 S. 11 Thunder showers.
 Mo. 12 John Crittle and wife removed to Mr. Skinner's.⁸ Mail came in.
 We. 14 Lecture "from the flood to the times of Abraham," by James Wilson.
 Fr. 16 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Fraser's River.
 Sa. 17 Monthly Ration Pay due. The Author $\frac{1}{2}$ D. Showers.
 Mo. 19 Lime Avenue fenced in. Jack Humphrey started to work.

(8) That is, to one of the other farms of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, of which Skinner was bailiff.

1854—Continued.

JUNE

- Tu. 20 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Fraser's River.⁹
Showers.
- We. 21 Lecture "on the propriety of Prayer." Barque "Thomasine"
sailed Sandwich Islands.
- Th. 22 Showers.
- Fr. 23 Turnips sown.
- Sa. 24 Showers.
- S. 25 Drizzly Rain.
- Mo. 26 S. S. "Otter" sailed Fraser's River along with the Governor.
Thomas Williams started to work. First Lime Kiln
burnt off.
- Tu. 27 Mrs. Guthrie (Helen Fisher) died.
- We. 28 Lecture "on the wonders of civilization" by the Author.
Peter Bartleman $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Mrs. McNeil gave birth to a
male child.
- Th. 29 Showers.
- Fr. 30 Five sheep killed and divided. Wet day.

JULY.

- Sa. 1 Public Sale of Horses at View Field farm. Mail came in.
- S. 2 James Jeal died.
- Tu. 4 Showers.
- We. 5 Tales of "Duncan Fraser, and the Seer's Cave" recited by
James Downie.
- Th. 6 Licences for selling Grog granted 120£ per Annum.
- Sa. 8 S. S. "Otter" arrived. The Late Mr. Staines' Farm Stock
sold by Public Auction. Yankee Scow arrived from Bel-
lingham Bay with sawn timber.
- Mo. 10 More Indians started to work.
- Tu. 11 J. Wilson whole D. Yankee Scow sailed Nisqually for Live
Stock.
- We. 12 Lecture "who is the working man" by James Deans.
- Th. 13 Indians dropped work. Dick Williams, Hollains, and 7 In-
dians drowned.
- Fr. 14 Four Sheep killed and divided.
- Sa. 15 Monthly Ration Pay due. Brig "Cadboro" arrived. Tur-
nips sown. S. S. "Otter" sailed.
- S. 16 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived.
- Mo. 17 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed. Commenced to mow.
- Tu. 18 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived.
- We. 19 Lecture from the times of Abraham, to the glory of the
Roman Empire, by J. Wilson.
- Fr. 21 Mail came in.
- Mo. 24 Very warm weather.

(9) Meaning, in 1854, from Fort Langley.

1854—Continued.

JULY

- We. 26 Lecture on the duty and advantage of Prayer, by William Veitch.
 Th. 27 Mail came in.
 Fr. 28 Four Sheep killed and divided. John Instant whole D. James Downie $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 Sa. 29 Yankee Scow arrived with sheep & cattle from Nisqually. James Wilson whole D.
 Mo. 31 Turnips thinned.

AUGUST.

- Tu. 1 Commenced to shear.
 We. 2 Lecture on the Earths Diameter, Circumference, Revolution &c by the Author.
 Th. 3 Cattle Shed put up. James Whyte $\frac{1}{2}$ D. Magistrates declared by Government.¹⁰
 Fr. 4 Quarters Pay due. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed. One sheep killed.
 S. 6 Schooner "Honolulu" arrived from San Francisco.
 Mo. 7 Mrs. Liddle gave birth to a female child.
 Tu. 8 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived. Barn Yard fenced in.
 We. 9 Description of the River Jordan by James Deans. Brick kiln burnt off. Showers.
 Fr. 11 2nd Lime Kiln burnt off. Schooner "Honolulu" sailed.
 Sa. 12 6 Sheep killed & divided. John Instant whole D. The Author $\frac{1}{2}$ D. Monthly Ration Pay due.
 Mo. 14 Colonial Roads commenced to make.¹¹
 We. 16 Tales of the "Just Retribution," and the "Young Laird of Towsielaw," recited by J. Downie.
 Th. 17 James Whyte $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 Fr. 18 Wet day.
 Sa. 19 Indians dropped work. Mail came in.
 S. 20 John Instant whole D. Duncan Lidgate $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 Mo. 21 Gideon and his Gang commenced to build a School, and School-house.¹²
 Tu. 22 James Wilson $\frac{1}{2}$ D. The Author $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 We. 23 Lecture on the "Immortality of the Soul," by James Wilson.
 Th. 24 Showers. One Sow killed.
 Fr. 25 Two Swine killed.
 Sa. 26 Brig "Cadboro" arrived from Coal Mines.

(10) The meaning of this entry is not clear. It would seem to refer to the appointment of magistrates, but no such appointments were made by Governor Douglas at this time. Kenneth McKenzie, Thomas Skinner, E. E. Langford, and Thomas Blinkhorn had all been appointed in March, 1853; John Muir, of Sooke, was not appointed until September, 1854.

(11) Construction of the road to Sooke commenced at this time.
 (12) The original Craigflower school. The building is still standing, and is now a museum.

1854—Continued.

AUGUST

- S. 27 Thunder, lightning, and rain.
 Mo. 28 More Indians started to work.
 Tu. 29 New Forge put up.
 We. 30 Lecture on the "Atmosphere," by William Veitch.
 Th. 31 Brig "Cadboro" sailed Coal Mines.

SEPTEMBER.

- Fr. 1 John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. One Sow killed.
 Mo. 4 Showers. Bombardment of Petropaulski in Kamtschatka.
 Tu. 5 Harvest completed.
 We. 6 Geographical description of England, by the Author. Brig
 "Rose" arrived from Coal Mines.
 Th. 7 Our Honourable Court attempting to try Captain Mills.¹³
 Fr. 8 Barque "Prince Albert"¹⁴ arrived from England.
 Sa. 9 Monthly Ration Pay due. P. Bartleman $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author
 $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Four sheep killed & divided.
 S. 10 John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Thomas Williams $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Jack Humphrey
 $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 Mo. 11 Carpenters Shop put up. Mail came in.
 Tu. 12 Captain Mills released from prison.
 We. 13 Tales of the "Young Laird of Rycan & Brunsfield Links"
 recited by James Downie.
 Sa. 16 S. Steamer "Otter" sailed San Francisco. American S.
 Frigate "Active" visited Port. John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Mo. 18 Steam Boat "Major Tompkins" commenced to run the Mail
 between Victoria and Olympia every week.¹⁵

(13) John Powell Mills, master of the barque *Colinda*. The story behind this case is a complicated one. The *Colinda*, under charter to the Hudson's Bay Company, sailed from London with a cargo of supplies and 212 passengers, and Mills was instructed to proceed direct to Vancouver Island. Instead of doing so he put into Valdivia, in consequence, as he asserted, of a mutiny of the passengers. At Valparaiso the passengers were brought to trial before Admiral Moresby, Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, for "mutinous and piratical conduct," but were acquitted of the charge. While in Valparaiso, Captain Mills sold a large portion of the *Colinda's* cargo, despite the fact that it was the property of the Hudson's Bay Company. As a result of Mills's conduct, all but seventeen of the passengers refused further passage in the ship, which eventually reached Vancouver Island in April, 1854. Upon the non-delivery of her passengers and cargo the Hudson's Bay Company applied for redress to the Vice-Admiralty Court of Vancouver Island, and obtained an injunction against the ship, which was in due course made over to the Company's representative for adjustment of the claims. Governor Douglas subsequently received a Power of Attorney from James Tomlin, of London, owner of the *Colinda*, placed a new captain in charge, supplied him with capital, and secured a charter for the ship. She sailed from Victoria on March 16, 1855, for San Francisco, *en route* to London.

(14) A supply ship for the Hudson's Bay Company.

(15) This 97-foot vessel, built in Philadelphia in 1847, was the first regular mail-steamer on Puget Sound. She was wrecked a few months later; see entry for February 10, 1855.

1854—Continued.

SEPTEMBER

- Tu. 19 Turning Lathe put up.
 We. 20 Genealogical description of the Anglo-Saxon race, by James Deans.
 Sa. 23 School-house frame erected,¹⁶ whole company in general notoriously drunk.
 S. 24 Brig "Cadboro" arrived from Nanaimo.
 Mo. 25 John Instant whole D.
 Tu. 26 Do. do. do. do. Showers.
 We. 27 Lecture "on the immortality of the soul," continued, by James Wilson.
 Th. 28 American Steam Frigate "Active" visited Port. Showers.
 Fr. 29 One Cow killed. Brig. "Cadboro" sailed Nanaimo.
 Sa. 30 Barque "Prince Albert" sailed Nanaimo. Duncan Lidgate $\frac{1}{2}$ D.

OCTOBER.

- S. 1 Showers.
 Tu. 3 H.M.S.'s "President," 50 Guns, "Pique," 42, & Steam Frigate "Virago," 6, arrived from an unsuccessful attack upon Petropuliski, in Kamtschatke.¹⁷
 We. 4 Lecture "on the pressure of the Atmosphere," continued by William Veitch.
 Th. 5 Captured Russian Transport ship "Sitka" arrived. S. F. "Virago" sailed Nanaimo.¹⁸
 Fr. 6 Mr. McKenzie's vent put up. Jack Humphrey, & Thom Williams dropped work.
 Sa. 7 Monthly Ration Pay due. J. Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. James Downie $\frac{1}{2}$ D. Will. Veitch $\frac{1}{2}$ D. Frosty.
 S. 8 Mr. McKenzie, J. Whyte, J. Downie, J. Liddle, & the Author's children baptized by the Chaplain of the "President." Sermon preached by the Chaplain of the "Pique."

(16) The Craigflower school is meant.

(17) The Crimean War was in progress at this time. The attack on Petropavlovski took place in September, 1854. On this action, and the movements of naval craft noted in subsequent entries, see "Correspondence relating to the establishment of a naval base at Esquimalt," in this *Quarterly*, VI. (1942), pp. 277-96.

(18) Melrose himself gives this note elsewhere in his diary: "When leaving the port, and a short distance outside, the steamer 'Virago' captured a Russian schooner, and after taking every thing out of her, set her on fire, shortly after a Russian merchantman, the 'Sitka' of 800 tons 10 guns, with a crew of 35 men, and 20 passengers, was taken by the 'President' her cargo chiefly gunpowder, is valued at 40,000£, sterling."

1854—Continued.

OCTOBER

- Mo. 9 Dinner given to the Governor on board the "President."
 Tu. 10 Wet day.
 We. 11 Geographical description of Scotland, and Ireland by the Author.
 Th. 12 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco. Brig "San Francisco" sailed.
 Sa. 14 Steam Frigate "Virago" arrived from Nanaimo. "Yankee Scow" arrived from Bellingham Bay.
 S. 15 Transport Ship "Sitka" 10 guns sailed San Francisco. Sermon by the Chaplain of the "President."
 Mo. 16 Frigates, "President," and "Pique" sailed San Francisco.
 We. 18 Harry Teasdale the smuggler of Embleton, recited by James Downie.
 Th. 19 John Instant whole D.
 Fr. 20 Four Swine killed. Jo. Instant whole D.
 S. 22 Steam Frigate "Virago" sailed San Francisco.
 Tu. 24 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Fort Simpson.
 We. 25 Geographical, and Political view of Vancouvers Island, by James Deans.
 Th. 26 One working bullock died.
 Fr. 27 Frequent showers.
 Sa. 28 Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco.
 S. 29 Duncan Lidgate whole D.
 Mo. 30 John Instant whole D.

NOVEMBER.

- We. 1 Lecture on the resurrection of the body, by James Wilson.
 Th. 2 Two more vents put up. Provision Store, & Slaughter house finished.
 Fr. 3 One Bullock killed. Monthly Ration Pay settled.
 Sa. 4 Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from her trading expedition. Quarters pay due.
 S. 5 Duncan Lidgate whole D. J. Wilson $\frac{1}{2}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Mo. 6 Wheat sown.
 We. 8 Geographical description of Sweden and Norway, by the Author.
 Fr. 10 New Wharf erected. Drizzly rain.
 Mo. 13 J. Wilson whole D. J. Downie $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author whole D.
 Tu. 14 Duncan Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D. John Instant whole D.
 We. 15 Tales of "Lyol Lisle," & "Raulin Roarin Willie," recited by James Downie.
 Th. 16 School vents finished.
 Fr. 17 One Cow killed.
 Sa. 18 Showers.
 S. 19 Barque "Prince Albert" arrived from Nanaimo. Wet day.

1854—Continued.

NOVEMBER

- Mo. 20 James Tait paid his passage money. Rain.
 Tu. 21 Barque "Prince Albert" sailed for England. Rain.
 We. 22 Lecture from Romans 5 Ch. 19 V. by James Deans. Rain.
 Th. 23 Barque "Princess Royal" arrived from England with
 Miners.¹⁹ Rain.
 Sa. 25 S. Boat "Beaver" & Brig "Recovery" sailed Nanaimo with
 the Miners. Peter Bartleman $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Mo. 27 Rain.
 Tu. 28 Rain. One Sheep killed.
 We. 29 Lecture on the inventions of man by James Wilson. One Pig
 killed.

DECEMBER.

- Fr. 1 Screw Steamer "Otter," & Brig "Cadboro" arrived from
 Nanaimo.
 Sa. 2 Monthly Ration Pay due & settled. Two pigs killed. Frosty.
 S. 3 Frosty.
 Mo. 4 Ship "Mason" visited Port. Duncan Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Frosty.
 Tu. 5 Brig "Recovery" sailed Fraser's River. Frosty.
 We. 6 Geographical description of Denmark by the Author. James
 Stewart $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 Th. 7 More cattle got for the farm.
 Fr. 8 Schoolmaster got a house.²⁰
 Sa. 9 James Wilson taking money for his Rations.
 Mo. 11 Rain.
 Tu. 12 Mr. McKenzie whole D.
 We. 13 Lecture on the Atmosphere by William Veitch.
 Th. 14 Rain.
 Fr. 15 One Sheep, and two Swine killed.
 Sa. 16 Celebrated feasts of Bacchus. John Russel taken money for
 his Rations.
 Mo. 18 Frosty.
 Tu. 19 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Nanaimo.
 We. 20 Tales of the "Cloth-Merchant of Selkirk," "Paddy gone to
 the West Indies" and "Mary-Martin," recited by James
 Downie.
 Th. 21 Slight rain.
 Fr. 22 Two Swine killed. Store broken into. Rain.
 Sa. 23 Rain.
 S. 24 Rain.

(19) Many of those on board are remembered as pioneer citizens of Nanaimo. See Barrie H. E. Gault, "First and Last Days of the *Princess Royal*," in this *Quarterly*, III. (1939), pp. 15-24.

(20) Charles Clarke, who arrived in the *Princess Royal* to be master of the new school at Craigflower.

1854—Continued.

DECEMBER

- Mo. 25 Christmas celebrated by Fiddling, dancing, singing, eating,
and drinking. Rain. Brig "Recovery" arrived.
- Tu. 26 Rain.
- We. 27 Rain. Scientific meeting postponed till after the daftdays.²¹
- Th. 28 Rain.
- Fr. 29 Rain.
- Sa. 30 Monthly Ration Pay due and settled. Frosty.
- S. 31 Frosty. Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived.

1855.

JANUARY.

- Mo. 1 New Years day celebrated in a glorious Bacchanalian manner.
Frosty.
- Tu. 2 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived. Frosty. M^{rs} Porter gave
birth to a female child.
- We. 3 Fall of snow. Frosty.
- Th. 4 Frosty.
- Fr. 5 M^{rs} Stewart gave birth to a male child. Frosty.
- Sa. 6 Yankee Scow arrived. Rain and Sleet.
- S. 7 Rain and snow.
- Mo. 8 M^r Clark taken up his school. Rain.
- Fr. 12 Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco. Frosty.
- Sa. 13 Barque "Princess Royal" sailed for England. J. Russel
stopped taking money for his rations.
Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.
- We. 17 Wet day.
- Th. 18 Showers of sleet and snow.
- Fr. 19 Another Bacchanalian spree held this evening. Showers.
- Sa. 20 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
- S. 21 Rain.
- Mo. 22 Rain.
- Tu. 23 Rain.
- We. 24 James Deans bought an Indian woman.
- Th. 25 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Bellvue. Rain and sleet.
- Sa. 27 Monthly Ration Pay due. S. Boat "Beaver" arrived.
- S. 28 Barque "Colinda" sailed Nanaimo.²² Walter Ross died.²³
- Mo. 29 James Deans divorced his Indian woman.
- We. 31 Brief review of ancient and modern Athens, by James Wilson.

(21) "The epithet of the Daft (mad) Days, applied to the season of the New Year in Scotland, indicates very expressively the uproarious joviality which characterized the period in question." (Chambers, *Book of Days*.)

(22) A supply ship of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(23) Presumably the son of the late Chief Trader Charles Ross, in charge of Fort Victoria, 1843-44.

1855—Continued.

FEBRUARY.

- Sa. 3 Rain.
 S. 4 George Jeal drowned in the arm.
 Mo. 5 Quarterly Pay due and settled.
 Tu. 6 Search made for George Jeal, not to be found. John Smith started to work.
 We. 7 M^{rs} Hume gave birth to a female child. Frosty. J. Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Th. 8 M^{rs} McAulay gave birth to a female child.
 Fr. 9 Rain.
 Sa. 10 Flying Showers. Steam Boat "Major Tompkins" wrecked on M^c Aulay's Point.
 Mo. 12 Showers.
 Tu. 13 William Veitch whole D. James Wilson whole D. The Author whole D.
 Th. 15 Old-Store weather-boarded.
 Fr. 16 M^{rs} Irving gave birth to a female child.
 Sa. 17 J. Wilson whole D. J. Downie $\frac{3}{4}$ D. J. Russel $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author whole D.
 Mo. 19 Wreck of the "Major Tompkins" towed into harbour. Frosty.
 Tu. 20 S.B. "Beaver" conveyed the crew and passengers of the "Major Thompkins" over to Port Townsend.
 We. 21 Frosty.
 Th. 22 Frosty.
 Fr. 23 School and school-house finished.⁽²⁴⁾ Pine-field fenced in.
 Sa. 24 Peter Bartleman dropped taking money for his rations. Mo[nthly]. Ra[tion]. Pay settled.
 S. 25 Frosty.
 Mo. 26 Chess commenced to put up the saw-mill frame. Frosty.
 We. 28 Fresh weather. Bridge over the Arm completed.

MARCH.

- Th. 1 Wreck of the "Major Tompkins" sold by public auction.
 Fr. 2 Schoolmaster removed to his new house. S.S. "Otter" arrived from S. Francisco.
 Sa. 3 James Wilson dropped taking money for his Rations.
 Mo. 5 High wind and rain.
 Tu. 6 Showers. Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Nanaimo.
 We. 7 Rain.
 Th. 8 "Major Tompkins's" bell hung at the end of the school.⁽²⁵⁾
 Fr. 9 George Jeal's body found.
 Sa. 10 S. S. "Otter," and Brig "Cadboro" sailed Nanaimo. Showers.
 S. 11 Schoolmaster started to preach.
 Mo. 12 Coroner's inquest held upon Jeal's body, buried also. Showers.

(24) The Craigflower school.

(25) Again the reference is to the Craigflower school.

1855—Continued.

MARCH

- Tu. 13 Barque "Colinda," and Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from Nanaimo.
- We. 14 Duncan Lidgate whole D. J. Instant whole D. The Author whole D.
- Fr. 16 Barque "Colinda" sailed San Francisco.
- S. 18 Frosty.
- Mo. 19 M^{rs} Helmkin gave birth to a female child.
- Tu. 20 Major Thompkins's Force-Pump placed on the well. Frosty mornings.
- We. 21 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Nanaimo along with the Governor.
- Th. 22 Yankee Scow arrived from Bellingham bay with sawed lumber for bridge.
- Fr. 23 S.B. "Beaver" arrived.
- Sa. 24 The Author dropped taking money for his rations. G. Geal's effects sold by auction.
- S. 25 M^{rs} Wilson gave birth to a still born female child.
- Mo. 26 M^{rs} Wilson's child buried. Commenced to sow.
- Tu. 27 M^r McKenzie laid seige to Peter Bartleman's castle and destroyed it.²⁶
- We. 28 Peter Bartleman stricken work.
- Th. 29 Yankee Scow sailed Soack, with the Major Thompkins's boiler and engine.²⁷
- Fr. 30 Slight rain.

APRIL.

- S. 1 Ship "Marquis of Bute" arrived from England, brought a minister.²⁸ Showers.
- Mo. 2 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.
- We. 4 Andrew Hume's son half-drowned.
- Th. 5 Quarters Session, Robert Porter imprisoned for six months. Rain.
- Fr. 6 Good Friday kept.
- Sa. 7 Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco.
- Mo. 9 John Smith dropped work.
- Tu. 10 Andrew Hume $\frac{3}{4}$ Drunk. Brig "Rose" sailed Nanaimo.
- Th. 12 Peter Bartleman sentenced to be sent home.
- Fr. 13 Screw Steamer "Otter" and Brig "Cadboro" arrived.
- Sa. 14 Frosty mornings.
- S. 15 John Instant whole D. Duncan Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D.

(26) The meaning of this entry is not clear.

(27) *Sooke* is spelled *Soack* by Melrose throughout the diary. The engine and boiler had been purchased by John Muir, who installed them in his sawmill on Sooke Basin.

(28) The Rev. Edward (later Bishop) Cridge, who succeeded Staines as chaplain for the Hudson's Bay Company.

1855—Continued.

APRIL

- Mo. 16 Duncan Lidgate whole D. John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Tu. 17 Steam B. "Beaver" sailed on her trading expedition. Fifteen Indians drowned by the upsetting of a canoe.
 We. 18 Slight rain.
 Th. 19 House for Brick Machine put up.
 Fr. 20 James Tait engaged again with Mr. McKenzie.
 Sa. 21 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Bellevue with sheep.
 Mo. 23 J. Tait started to work. Rev. E. Cridge paid us a visit. Showers.
 We. 25 Frosty mornings.
 Fr. 27 Blue Grouse served out.
 Sa. 28 W. Veitch whole D. J. Wilson whole D. J. Downie $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 The Author whole D.
 Mo. 30 John Instant whole D.

MAY.

- Tu. 1 Mrs. Clark gave birth to a female child. Mr. McKenzie and J. Downie trying a wrestle.
 We. 2 Two Private houses put up. Saw mill frame raised. J. Downie stricken work.
 Th. 3 Brig "Recovery" arrived from Frasers River. The Author whole D.
 Fr. 4 Barn frame raised. John Smith started to work. Quar. Pay due & settled.
 Sa. 5 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Nanaimo.
 Tu. 8 S. S. "Otter" sailed Fraser's River. Showers.
 Fr. 11 Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.
 Sa. 12 Eight Sheep killed and divided.
 Mo. 14 Slight rain.
 Th. 17 Duncan Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D. John Russel $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 Fr. 18 Peter Bartleman removed to his own house. S. S. "Otter" arrived.
 S. 20 Carpenters Shop went on fire, but extinguished without much damage.
 Tu. 22 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually for sheep. James Liddle removed to P. Bartleman's house.
 Mrs. Deans gave birth to a female child.
 Th. 24 Victoria Races celebrated on Beacon hill. D. Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D. J. Instant $\frac{1}{2}$ D. James Tait whole D.
 Sa. 26 Eight Sheep killed & divided. S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with 700 Sheep.
 Mo. 28 James Deans put on for a Shepherd.
 Tu. 29 James Downie warned out of his house.
 We. 30 Ship "Marquis of Bute" sailed.
 Th. 31 Thom Bates started to work. Mrs. Capt. Muat [Mouat] gave birth to a male child.

1855—Continued.

JUNE.

- Fr. 1 Grand Picnic held on Esquimalt Bay in honour of Mr. Douglas's son's birth-day.
- Sa. 2 James Downie, wife, and family removed to Mr. Skinner's farm.
- Mo. 4 James Stewart and Andrew Hume's children baptized by the Rev. E. Cridge.
- We. 6 Grand Picnic held at Soack. Warm weather.
- Th. 7 John Smith dropped work. Steamer "Water Lilly"²⁹ visited Port with a batch of Yankees on a pleasure excursion.
- Fr. 8 Court postponed owing to the Pic Nic.
- Sa. 9 Six Sheep killed and divided.
- S. 10 Mrs. Clark died.
- Mo. 11 Mrs. Clark opened. J. Whyte removed to a new house. John Hall removed with his house here.
Batch of Defaulters fined. J. Stewart whole D. J. Tait whole D. J. Wilson $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
- Tu. 12 Saw Mill Shed went in fire little damage done.
- We. 13 Mrs. Clark buried.
- Th. 14 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
- Fr. 15 Refreshing rain.
- Sa. 16 John Instant removed to J. Whyte's house. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D. J. Wilson $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
- Mo. 18 Clay Mill erected.
- We. 20 Bob Brown, and Harry Dame started to work.
- Th. 21 Screw S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
- Sa. 23 Six Sheep killed and divided. Yankee Scow arrived.
- Mo. 25 James Smith and the late James Geal's widow married.
- Tu. 26 Census of the Island taken.³⁰ Refreshing Showers.
- We. 27 Showers.
- Th. 28 S. S. "Otter" sailed Frasers River.
- Fr. 29 Mrs. Veitch gave birth to a male child.

JULY.

- Tu. 3 One Lamb killed. Engine going night and day scarcity of flour.
- We. 4 James Wilson removed to a new house.
- Th. 5 Licence for selling Grog granted 120£ per annum. Justice vanished, larceny.
- Fr. 6 One Bullock killed. Refreshing Showers. S. S. "Otter" arrived from Fr's. River.
- Sa. 7 Fresh meat served out.

⁽²⁹⁾ This 49-foot sidewheel steamer was intended to replace the wrecked *Major Tompkins* on the Puget Sound mail run, but proved too small and frail. She was built in San Francisco and brought north on the deck of a ship.

⁽³⁰⁾ For this census see this *Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 51-58.

1855—Continued.

JULY

- Mo. 9 Schooner "Agnes" fitted up.
 Tu. 10 Remarkable warm weather.
 We. 11 John Instant whole D. James Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Th. 12 Duncan Lidgate whole D. John Russell whole D. The Author whole D.
 Fr. 13 Mr. Parson opened his Public house with a grand spree.
 S. 15 Mrs. Greenwood gave birth to a male child.
 We. 18 Mr. McKenzie bought the Schooner "Black Duck."
 Th. 19 H.M.^s Steam Frigate "Brisk" 16 guns arrived from Petropaulovski and Sitka.
 Fr. 20 Brig "Recovery" arrived from Sandwich Islands. George Greenwood engaged with Mr. McKenzie to sail the "Blackduck."
 Sa. 21 Four Sheep killed and divided. James Tait dropped work.
 S. 22 One Sheep killed.
 Mo. 23 James Tait $\frac{3}{4}$ D. D. Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Tu. 24 H.M.^s S. "Dido" 18 guns arrived from Petropaulovski and Sitka.
 We. 25 Mrs. Yates gave birth to a female child.
 Th. 26 One Lamb killed.
 Fr. 27 One Sheep killed.
 Sa. 28 Mr. Clark's School Examination held on a Royal scale.
 Mo. 30 James Tait removed to Victoria. George Greenwood removed to Farm. Commenced to harvest. American Steam Frigate "Active" arrived in Port.

AUGUST.

- We. 1 Chief Engineer of H. M.^s S. "Brisk" died.
 Fr. 3 American Steam Frigate "Active" sailed.
 Sa. 4 Five Sheep killed and divided. Well sunk 27 feet deep. Quarters Pay due.
 S. 5 One Marine belonging to the "Brisk" drowned in Esquimalt Harbour.
 Mo. 6 H. M.^s S. "Dido" sailed for San Francisco. The "Black Duck" Launched.
 Tu. 7 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco. John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. James Liddle $\frac{3}{4}$ D. H. M.^s S. S. Frigate "Brisk" sailed San Francisco.
 Th. 9 Bob Brown dropped work.
 Fr. 10 Duncan Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Sa. 11 One Sheep killed. Foggy mornings. The "Black Duck" named "Jessie."
 S. 12 John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Tu. 14 Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands. Batteaux "Agnes" arrived.

1855—Continued.

AUGUST

- We. 15 One Sheep killed. Batteaux "Agnes" sailed Fraser's River.
 Mrs Anderson gave birth to a female child.
 Th. 16 Mr Clark's juvenile Pic Nic celebrated on Esquimalt Bay.
 Fr. 17 One Bullock killed.
 Sa. 18 Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Barr breaking the peace.
 Mo. 20 Great Batch off to the gold-digging.
 Tu. 21 H. M^s S. "Trincomalee" 26 guns arrived at Soack.
 We. 22 Extraordinary warm.
 Fr. 24 One Bullock killed.
 Sa. 25 H. M^s S. "Trincomalee" arrived in Esquimalt Bay. Duncan
 Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 S. 26 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco.
 Mo. 27 H. M^s S. "Monarch" 84 guns arrived from San Francisco.
 Tu. 28 Showers.
 We. 29 One Bullock killed "Monarch."
 Th. 30 Two do's do. do. Batteaux "Agness" arrived
 with salmon.
 Fr. 31 Do. do. do.

SEPTEMBER.

- Sa. 1 Four Bullocks killed for H.M.S. "Monarch."
 S. 2 Heavy showers.
 Mo. 3 Five Bullocks killed for H.M.S. "Monarch" & Cargo of sheep.
 Tu. 4 Six do do do. S. S. "Otter"
 sailed Nisqually.
 We. 5 William Veitch and George Greenwood's children baptized by
 the Chaplain of the "Monarch."
 Th. 6 H.M.S. "Monarch" sailed San Francisco. Bob Brown
 started to work.
 Fr. 7 One Bullock killed.
 Mo. 10 James Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Tu. 11 S. S. "Otter" arrived. Schooner "Jessie" arrived. One
 Bullock killed "Trincomalee." J. Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. J. In-
 stant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. John Hall dropped work.
 Th. 13 Batteaux "Agnes" arrived. One Bullock killed "Trincoma-
 lee." Will Stephens engaged with Mr. McKenzie.
 Fr. 14 One Bullock killed "Trincomalee." Showers.
 Sa. 15 O. do do & Two Sheep do. S. S. "Otter" sailed
 Nisqually. Showers.
 Mo. 17 John Hall removed to Victoria. Mrs. Simpson gave birth to
 a male child.
 We. 19 John Hall removed to J. Hall's house. Showers. One Sheep
 killed.
 Th. 20 One Sheep killed.
 Fr. 21 Two Bullocks killed. S. S. "Otter" arrived.

1855—Continued.

SEPTEMBER

- Sa. 22 John Vine engaged with Mr. McKenzie.
 S. 23 Heavy showers Thunder and lightning.
 Mo. 24 Three Sheep and one Bullock killed. Showers. Schooner
 "Jessie" sailed.
 Tu. 25 Great Ball held at the Naval Hospitals.⁽¹⁾
 We. 26 Grand Theatrical opera celebrated at the Hospitals. Showers.
 Fr. 28 Five Sheep killed. Dozen sent on board the "Trincomalee."
 Sa. 29 H.M.S. "President" 50 guns arrived.
 S. 30 H.M.S. "Trincomalee" sailed San Francisco.

OCTOBER.

- Mo. 1 One Bullock killed "President." Showers.
 Tu. 2 do. do. do. do. Schooner "Jessie" arrived.
 We. 3 Do. do. do. do. do.
 Th. 4 Do. do. do. do. Harvest completed.
 Fr. 5 One Bullock to be killed every day for the "President" a
 sheep now and then.
 Sa. 6 Four Sheep killed and divided. J. Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. D. Lidgate
 $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Mo. 8 Bob Brown dropped work.
 We. 10 Showers.
 Th. 11 James Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Will Veitch $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Fr. 12 George Greenwood and Andrew Hume fighting. Showers.
 Sa. 13 Horse-races celebrated on Beacon-Hill. Fresh Beef served
 out.
 S. 14 William Stephens $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Tu. 16 John Vine whole D. Duncan Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 We. 17 Schooner "Jessie" sailed.
 Th. 18 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.
 Fr. 19 Showers.
 Sa. 20 Heavy rain. Fresh Beef served out. Schooner "Jessie"
 arrived with potatoes.
 S. 21 John Vine $\frac{3}{4}$ D. William Stephens $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 We. 24 High wind with heavy rain.
 Th. 25 Schooner "Jessie" sailed Theatrical Play and Ball held on
 board H. M. S. "President."
 Sa. 27 Fresh Beef served out. Showers.
 S. 28 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Fort Simpson. 7 Children bap-
 tized on board the "President."
 Mo. 29 H.M. S. "President" sailed San Francisco. D. Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$
 D. Frosty.

(1) A naval hospital, consisting of three buildings, was erected at Esquimalt in 1855. See "Correspondence relating to the establishment of a naval base at Esquimalt," in this *Quarterly*, VI. (1942), pp. 277-96.

1855—Continued.

OCTOBER

- Tu. 30 Schooner "Jessie" arrived with potatoes.
 We. 31 Schooner "Jessie" sailed Soack.

NOVEMBER.

- Th. 1 Mr Longford's³² men completed their five years engagement.
 Frosty.
 Fr. 2 One Bullock killed.
 Sa. 3 Fresh meat served out. Schooner "Jessie" arrived.
 S. 4 American Steamer "Water Lilly" arrived in Port.
 Mo. 5 Quarters Pay due. Showers.
 Tu. 6 Schooner "Jessie" sailed Nanaimo with sheep.
 We. 7 High wind and rain.
 Th. 8 John Russel $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D. One Bullock killed.
 Fr. 9 High wind.
 Sa. 10 J. Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D. W. Veitch $\frac{1}{2}$ D. The Author whole D.
 Brick kiln burnt off.
 Mo. 12 Harry Dane dropped work.
 Tu. 13 Schooner "Jessie" arrived from Nanaimo with coals.
 Th. 15 John Instant whole D.
 Fr. 16 S. S. "Otter" and Brig "Recovery" arrived from Fraser's
 River.
 Sa. 17 Fresh Mutton served out.
 S. 18 Heavey rain. Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service at
 Craigflower.
 Tu. 20 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually. Frosty.
 Fr. 23 One Bullock killed.
 Sa. 24 Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.
 Mo. 26 Heavy rain.
 Tu. 27 S. S. "Otter" arrived Nisqually.
 We. 28 High wind and heavy rain.
 Th. 29 Heavy rain. Tremendous roll of thunder six o'clock evening.

DECEMBER.

- S. 2 John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Thom Bate's wife died.
 Mo. 3 Mrs Abernethy gave birth to a still-born male child.
 Tu. 4 Meeting held to form a Christmas ball. Rain.
 We. 5 Highwind.
 Th. 6 Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from her trading expedition.
 Fr. 7 One Bullock killed.
 Sa. 8 Schooner "Alice" driven back by stress of weather.³³
 S. 9 Very wet day.

(32) Langford is meant.

(33) This little iron schooner of 45 tons, owned by Captain James Cooper, was the first vessel registered at Victoria. She was brought out from England in sections.

1855—Continued.

DECEMBER

- Tu. 11 S. B. "Beaver" sailed Bellvue. Showers.
We. 12 Showers.
Th. 13 Showers.
S. 16 Showers. John Vine $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
Mo. 17 Barque "Princess Royal" arrived from England.
Th. 20 Showers.
Fr. 21 Frost and Snow. Six Sheep killed.
Sa. 22 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco. D. Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
Severe Frost.
S. 23 Frosty.
Mo. 24 Frost and snow.
Tu. 25 Christmas Ball celebrated with great glee. Most severe frost.
We. 26 High wind with keen frost.
Th. 27 Very Frosty.
Fr. 28 Frosty.
S. 30 Still very Frosty.
Mo. 31 Showers of snow.

(The concluding instalment of the diary will appear in
an early issue of the *Quarterly*.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

A meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday, June 8. The Vice-Chairman, Mr. F. C. Green, presided. The speaker of the evening was Mr. Gerald E. Wellburn, well-known stamp collector and past president of the Vancouver Island Philatelic Society, who spoke on *The History of Victoria from a Stamp Collector's Viewpoint*. Mr. Wellburn is an authority on the postal history of the Province, and the knowledge and enthusiasm with which he dealt with his topic made his address of absorbing interest. The stamps issued in colonial days are now difficult to obtain, and the speaker hazarded the opinion that not more than half a dozen collectors in the world possess complete sets. Fortunately, one of these sets is in the Provincial Archives. Mr. Wellburn stressed the close connection that naturally exists between the development of transportation and the history of stamps and letter-carrying systems of various kinds, and he briefly traced these developments from the time when a letter destined for Victoria travelled by sailing ship via Cape Horn, a distance of 12,500 miles, to the present time, when a Trans-Canada Airways plane can carry a letter from New York to Victoria in a single day. The address was illustrated with views of interesting and valuable letters, stamps, and covers, the originals of many of which are in Mr. Wellburn's personal collection.

A group of documents relating to the Naval Canteen and the Royal Naval Club at Esquimalt, received recently from the Naval authorities, was exhibited at the meeting and handed over to the Provincial Archives, to be added to the extensive files of Naval records already in the manuscript collection.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The Section met in the Hotel Grosvenor on the evening of Tuesday, April 20. The President, Mr. A. G. Harvey, was in the chair. Mr. George Green, of Burnaby, spoke on *The Original Fort Langley*. Mr. Green has spent much time exploring both the old records relating to Fort Langley and the actual site upon which the original buildings of the post were erected in 1827. He dealt first with the reasons which prompted the Hudson's Bay Company to build a post on the Fraser River at so early a date, and described the operations carried on there, which included salmon-fishing and farming, as well as the usual trading of furs. He next explained why the Company decided to abandon the original site, and erected a new fort, somewhat higher up the Fraser, in 1839-40. Finally, Mr. Green described at length the interesting developments which took place at the old site in later years. When the gold-rush occurred in 1858, this site was hastily selected as a suitable location for the capital of the new colony that was coming into being on the Mainland. The city-to-be was named Derby, and

construction of a church and a number of Government buildings was started without delay. At this point Captain Grant, commanding officer of the advance party of the detachment of Royal Engineers sent out to British Columbia, arrived and condemned the site on military grounds. Colonel Moody is generally credited with this decision, and the none-too-happy relations between Moody and Governor Douglas have been ascribed to the rejection of the site Douglas had chosen; but Mr. Green quoted from a letter written by Captain Grant before Moody's arrival that throws new and interesting light on the whole question. The address was illustrated by a number of maps and charts prepared by the speaker, which made it easy to follow every detail of the story. Those attending the meeting included two pioneers who, as children, had travelled from England with the Royal Engineers in the *Thames City*: Mr. John Henry Scates, of Vancouver, aged 88, and Mr. Hugh Murray, of South Westminster, who is 87. Both contributed reminiscences in the course of the discussion that followed the address, as did Mr. Otway Wilkie, another well-known pioneer of the Langley region.

GRADUATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The final meeting of what has been an interesting and successful year was held on Wednesday, May 19, at the home of Mr. John Gibbard, 1756 Fifty-seventh Avenue West, Vancouver. The speaker was Dr. J. A. Crumb, of the Department of Economics, The University of British Columbia, who spoke on *Some Financial Problems of the Peace*.

The annual election of officers was held, and the executive for the season 1943-44 is composed as follows:—

Honorary President - - - -	Dr. W. N. Sage.
President - - - - -	Miss Lois Nicholson.
Past President - - - - -	Miss Rose Whelan.
Vice-President - - - - -	Miss Helen Manning.
Corresponding Secretary - - -	Miss Daisy McNeill.
Recording Secretary - - - -	Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Treasurer - - - - -	Mr. John Gibbard.

The book prize awarded annually by the Society to the member of the graduating class of the University coming first in History was this year won by Miss Jean Rosemary Barnett.

MEMORIAL TO CHARLES ROSS.

The centenary of the City of Victoria has aroused interest in the career of Chief Trader Charles Ross, who was placed in charge of building operations when the original fort buildings were under construction, and who managed the post during the first year of its existence. Ross died on June 27, 1844, and so little notice has been taken of him that he has been well described as Victoria's "forgotten man." Thanks in great part to the efforts of Mr. B. A. McKelvie, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, Ross is now receiving belated recognition, and a monument to his memory was unveiled on Sunday, June 27, 1943, the ninety-ninth anniversary of his death.

The handsome stone is of Nelson Island granite and stands in the old Quadra Street cemetery, now known as Pioneer Square, in which Ross lies buried. The stone was erected by the city, the cost being defrayed out of the grant made by the Provincial Government in March. Alderman D. D. McTavish, Chairman of the Civic Centenary Celebration Committee, presided at the unveiling. Mr. B. A. McKelvie delivered the principal address, and recalled the highlights of Ross's career. He spoke, too, of the many noted pioneers who rest in the old cemetery, including Chief Factor John Work; Captain Charles Dodd, who commanded the historic steamer *Beaver*; David Cameron, the first Chief Justice of Vancouver Island; and Dr. J. S. Helmcken, son-in-law of James Douglas. The actual unveiling was performed by Mr. Francis Ross, grandson of Charles Ross, while the latter's great-great-great-grandchildren looked on. Invocation was pronounced by Rev. J. W. L. McLean, of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and Piper Donald McLean played a lament in honour of Ross, who was born in Scotland.

The inscription on the monument reads as follows:—

In Memory of
CHARLES ROSS
Chief Trader Hudson's Bay Company
who arrived with his wife & family
June 1, 1843 to take charge of
FORT VICTORIA
Died June 27, 1844
Erected by
The Citizens of British Columbia
June 1943

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Lord of Alaska. By Hector Chevigny. New York: Viking Press, 1942.
Pp. 320. \$3.

This book tells the story of Alexander Baranov, concerning whom most of us have known little more than that he was Governor of Russian Alaska and lived at Sitka in the misty past. The author reveals the man, a man to admire as much for his courage as for his sagacity, "a man of action with a strong stubborn streak, an independent spirit, high honesty, and genuine pride in legitimate achievement." Such is the author's pronouncement after tracing his career through its many vicissitudes. His life was a long series of adventures, replete with hardship and misfortune; he had to face battle and murder, shipwreck and mutiny; he was buffeted by the forces of nature and the weaknesses of man, to survive them all and obtain recognition at last from his myopic government at far-away St. Petersburg.

In reading the biography of such an intrepid man, one realizes the numerous extraordinary escapes from death. Many famous men seem to have had their lives preserved for a special purpose, surviving all sorts of mishances. That is true of the greatest Englishman now living—Winston Churchill.

The first Russians to invade and exploit Alaska were the *promyshleniki*, or frontiersmen, daring and reckless, of Cossack origin; they had heard rumours of a region rich in peltry across the sea from eastern Siberia. Vitus Bering, a Danish sailor, led the way in 1741, and established contact between Okhotsk and the Aleutian Islands, which owed their name to the foxes, whose fur was sought before the sea-otter was discovered along the coast of the mainland. Gregor Shelekhov, a trader, started a post on Kodiak Island in 1783. Seven years later he engaged Baranov, then 43 years of age, born near the Finnish border. He is described as flaxen haired, comparatively slight of body, but hard and wiry. He was a small trader, and uneducated. The factor at Kodiak was not trustworthy, so Shelekhov sent Baranov, with a small ship-load, to replace him. The voyage was one of 1,800 miles. Thus Alexander Baranov began a career that was to absorb the remaining thirty years of his life. In that time he did a great work for the Russians and won undying fame.

Among the might-have-beens of history is the opportunity the Russians had to gain a larger part of the Pacific coast region, including British Columbia and the northern half of California. Nicolai Rezanov and Alexander Baranov alike saw the opportunity and did their best to interest the Tsar's government in the grandiose enterprise, but the Russians of that day had too many troubles at home and were little concerned with colonial expansion. Our author gives information on the subject both in this book and in his earlier volume, *Lost Empire*, which tells the story of Rezanov.

The biography is fortified by a background of careful research. The author gives a bibliography, indicating the use of many Russian volumes

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and documents, but this book would be more scholarly and better appreciated by historians if he had given page references.

The author uses Russian words freely, frequently without stating their meaning. To the reviewer, who has lived in Russia, these give local colour, but to the average reader they will be mental hurdles hard to clear. The book, nevertheless, is decidedly interesting, despite an evident lack of the requisite literary skill.

Mr. Hector Chevigny is of French-Canadian stock, but much of his life has been spent in the United States. He resides now in California. That explains his use of many American vulgarisms, which in a serious and valuable book are equivalent to illiteracies. For example, "much [instead of many] data," "he set his men to readying [making ready] his residence," "they joined in helping set [to set] everything afire," "such necessities [necessaries] as powder and shot." It is curious how men, and women, will undertake to write books before they have learned the proper use of the language they employ for the purpose. If another edition is issued, as is likely, for the book is worthy of it, we may hope that these blemishes will be removed. As it is, *Lord of Alaska* is a welcome and valuable contribution to the history of the Northwest.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

San Juan Archipelago: Study of the Joint Occupation of San Juan Island.

By Hunter Miller. Printed at the Wyndham Press, Bellows Falls, Vermont, 1943. Pp. 203. Map.

This monograph is an advance text of the notes on the joint occupation of San Juan Island that Dr. Miller has prepared for inclusion in volume 8 of the monumental series entitled *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, which he is editing for the Department of State. As publication of that volume has been postponed owing to the war, this preliminary version has been issued in a limited edition in order that it may be available immediately to those interested in the subject. It may be added that the volume is devoted entirely to the specific aspect of the San Juan question indicated in the title. The actual boundary dispute is only mentioned incidentally, as it will be dealt with in a companion study to be printed in a later volume of the *Treaties* series.

The Hudson's Bay Company had long had its eye on San Juan Island, and when it became clear that the Oregon boundary would soon be determined the Company took steps to record its claim, both on its own behalf and on that of the Crown. Agents of the Company took possession of the island "in the month of July 1845, and a notice to that effect engraven on a wooden Tablet, was erected on an eminence near the South east point of the Island . . ." This tablet was still in existence in 1855, when Governor Douglas reported on the matter to the Colonial Office. Much had occurred in the intervening decade, for both the British and American authorities nearest the scene assumed that the boundary treaty of 1846 had awarded the island to their respective countries. The Hudson's Bay Company estab-

lished a fishing-station on San Juan in 1850, and followed this with a large sheep-farm in December, 1853. A few months later the Legislature of the newly-formed Washington Territory countered these moves by including the whole archipelago within the boundaries of Whatcom County.

Governor Douglas took a great personal interest in the San Juan dispute, and in response to his appeals to London the British Government, in the person of Lord Grey, officially authorized him, in September, 1854, "to continue to treat those Islands as part of the British Dominions"; but at the same time it is abundantly clear that the Government did not intend Douglas to press the British claim aggressively. In effect he was authorized to continue in possession until such time as the sovereignty of the archipelago should be determined. In Washington a similar view prevailed. In July, 1855, Secretary of State Marcy, writing to the Governor of Washington Territory, stressed the fact that "the officers of the Territory should abstain from all acts, on the disputed ground, which are calculated to provoke any conflict . . ."

In 1856 a definite step was taken toward a settlement. Boundary commissioners were appointed by both Governments. The following year, however, the commissioners found themselves unable to agree and negotiations reached a deadlock. This was still unbroken two years later, when a crisis was precipitated by the celebrated affair of the pig. The pig in question was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, and it was done to death by one Cutler, an American settler, whose garden it had been molesting. From this simple incident there soon arose claims and counter-claims, threats and counter-threats, and, finally, military action by Brigadier-General Harney, commander of the American troops in Oregon. Harney, an ardent nationalist, who regarded San Juan Island as being unquestionably a part of the United States, visited the island on July 9, 1859, three weeks after the demise of the pig. Nine days later he ordered troops to the island, and on the 27th a force duly landed.

Douglas, whose ardour for the British cause was fully equal to Harney's for the American claim, was outraged by this action, and at once arranged to have a naval force sent to San Juan from Esquimalt. In Douglas's view the honour of the British Government was involved, and it was his wish not only that a counter-landing should be made on San Juan, but that the matter should be fought out there and then if the Americans chose to resist. With Douglas in this mood on the one side and Harney on the other, neither of them prepared to yield an inch, the situation had, in fact, all the makings of an international incident that might well have ended in a resounding clash of arms.

Fortunately, the commander of the British ships, Captain Hornby, was an officer of intelligence and experience. He recognized that the crisis was no more than a clash between local authorities who had no power to settle the fundamental point at issue—the sovereignty of the archipelago—and he was determined to avoid violence if possible. As for the honour of Great Britain, the strength of the force at Hornby's command made it evident that he could land if he chose, even in the face of American opposition, and,

that being the case, he saw no disgrace in refraining from doing so. He therefore ignored Douglas's instructions to land on the island—an act which Douglas never forgave nor forgot. Fortunately, the matter was soon taken out of Douglas's hands by the arrival of Admiral Baynes, who fully agreed with Hornby's point of view. Indeed, so imperative did he consider it that a clash should be avoided that he gave Hornby a "positive order" that he was "not, on any account whatever, [to] take the initiative in commencing hostilities . . ."

As soon as word of these events reached London and Washington prompt steps were taken to clear the matter up. The British Government endorsed the action of Hornby and Baynes, while the American Government hastened to send General Winfield Scott to the scene as a special envoy, charged with the task of restoring peace and quiet. Scott proposed a joint military occupation of San Juan Island. Douglas at first demurred, but an agreement was finally arrived at. The British detachment landed on March 21, 1860. Contrary to expectation, the San Juan dispute dragged on for another dozen years, and the last of the British troops were not withdrawn until November, 1872.

Dr. Miller tells the whole story in the fullest detail, and every point is carefully documented. The narrative does not make easy reading, but that is not to be expected in an exhaustive work of reference. The thoroughness and judgment with which every possible source of information has been ransacked and turned to expert account is most striking; and it is interesting to note that Dr. Miller found the Provincial Archives "rich in relevant material." The book is fair to both sides, and will at once take its place as the definitive study of the subject. From the local point of view, the most interesting point is that, for once, Douglas does not appear in a very favourable light. It is clear that he permitted his feelings to sway his judgment, and if it had not been for Captain Hornby's intervention he might well have precipitated a war between Great Britain and the United States. Moreover, Dr. Miller shows that he misled the Colonial Office when reporting upon the character and extent of British settlement on San Juan. It does not seem to have occurred to him that his dispatches to the Colonial Secretary and to the Hudson's Bay Company might be placed side by side.

The mass of material bearing upon the joint occupation is astonishing. It is an example of the amount and variety of information that can be secured about many aspects of the history of the Pacific Northwest if one has the opportunity and the intelligence to search it out.

W. KAYE LAMB.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

SHORTER NOTICES.

A 32-page illustrated booklet has been issued by the Sir James and Lady Douglas Chapter of the I.O.D.E. in honour of the centenary of Victoria. A foreword, contributed by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, indicates that the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association and the British

Columbia Travel Bureau were also concerned in its publication. The booklet is evidently intended primarily for the tourist, and this no doubt accounts for the emphasis placed (in the pictures especially) on the city's present, rather than upon its past. Some early street scenes and views of early buildings are included, along with portraits of Captain Vancouver, Governor Blanshard, Sir James Douglas, Lady Douglas, and Victoria's first Mayor, Thomas Harris. There are forty-five illustrations in all. The text is interesting, but there is no connected narrative of the history of the city. It is a pity that no title was placed on the cover; only the dates "1843 1943" appear, on either side of an early view of Government Street. The price of the booklet is 25 cents.

Tales of the Kootenays, by Fred J. Smyth, first published in 1938, has been issued in a second edition, dated 1942. The book was reviewed in the *Quarterly* for January, 1941. The new edition is issued from the office of the *Cranbrook Courier*. The price is \$2.

A THIRD CHECKLIST OF CROWN COLONY IMPRINTS.

Being a supplement to the checklists printed in the *Quarterly* in October, 1937, pp. 263-71, and April, 1940, pp. 139-141.

54. *Addresses presented to His Excellency A. E. Kennedy, C.B., on assuming the government of Vancouver Island.*
30p.O.
No imprint.
Printed cover.
The addresses of welcome, 17 in number, are dated March and April, 1864.
55. *By-laws of the District Grand Lodge, of Antient, Free and Accepted Masons, of British Columbia. E.R.* Adopted August 20th, 5868. Confirmed December 10th, 5868. And approved by the Most Worshipful the Earl of Zetland, Grand Master of England, April 6th, 5869. Victoria, B.C. Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1869. 15p.D.
56. Hyack Engine Company, No. 1, New Westminster.
Constitution, bye-laws and rules of order of the Hyack Engine Company No. 1, New Westminster, B.C. New Westminster. Printed at the Office of the "British Columbian," 1864.
14[1]p.sq.T.
Printed cover.
The constitution of one of the early volunteer fire companies.
57. *Minutes of a preliminary meeting of the Delegates elected by the various Districts of British Columbia convened at Yale, pursuant to the . . . Yale convention.* New Westminster, British Columbian Print, 1868 [?].
12p.O.
No title-page.
The Yale convention took place on September 14, 1868.

58. New Westminster Home Guards.
Rules and regulations of the New Westminster Home Guards . . .
 New Westminster. Printed at the Government Printing Office, 1866.
 1 p.1.8p.T.
 Printed cover.
 The Home Guards was a volunteer regiment organized in June, 1866, as a result of the popular desire to strengthen the defences against a possible invasion by Fenians from across the border.
59. Patterson, William D.
Map of the Cariboo and Omineca Gold Fields and the routes thereto, compiled from reliable authorities by Wm. D. Patterson, C.E., lithographed by F. W. Green, C.E. . . . Victoria, printed at the Standard Office, 1870.
 cover-title, T.
 In addition to the map which measures 15¼ x 20¼ inches there is a folded leaf "Distance tables and miscellaneous information."
60. Patterson, William D.
Map of the Cariboo and Omineca Gold Fields and the routes thereto, compiled from reliable authorities by Wm. D. Patterson, C.E., lithographed by F. W. Green, C.E. . . . Victoria, printed at the Standard Office, 1871.
 cover-title, T.
 Identical with item 59, except for date of publication.
61. *Proceedings of the Provincial Grand Lodge of British Columbia A.F. & A.M., R.S. at its second annual communication held at the City of Victoria, May 1, A.L. 5869.* Ordered by the R.W. the Prov. Grand Master, that these proceedings be read in each Lodge immediately after the receipt thereof. Victoria, J.E.M'Millan, 1869.
 30p.O.
 At head of title: From the Office of the Provincial Grand Secretary.
62. Skewton, Lady Lavinia [*pseud.*].
The "Occasional Paper"; one letter from the Honorable Lady Lavinia Skewton, London, to the Lord Bishop of Columbia [*sic*]; 2d ed. Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860.
 7[1]p.S.
 Printed cover.
 A satirical item, obviously inspired by the famous "Occasional Papers" written by George Hills, first Bishop of British Columbia, to the Columbia Mission, soon after his arrival in the colony.
63. Somerville, Thomas.
Oration delivered at the inauguration of the new Masonic Hall, on Government Street, Victoria, Vancouver Island, on Monday, 25th June A.L., 5866 . . . [Victoria] Colonist and Chronicle Print [1866?].
 9[1]p.O.
 Printed cover.
 Thomas Somerville was "chaplain to Vancouver Lodge," A.F. & A.M.

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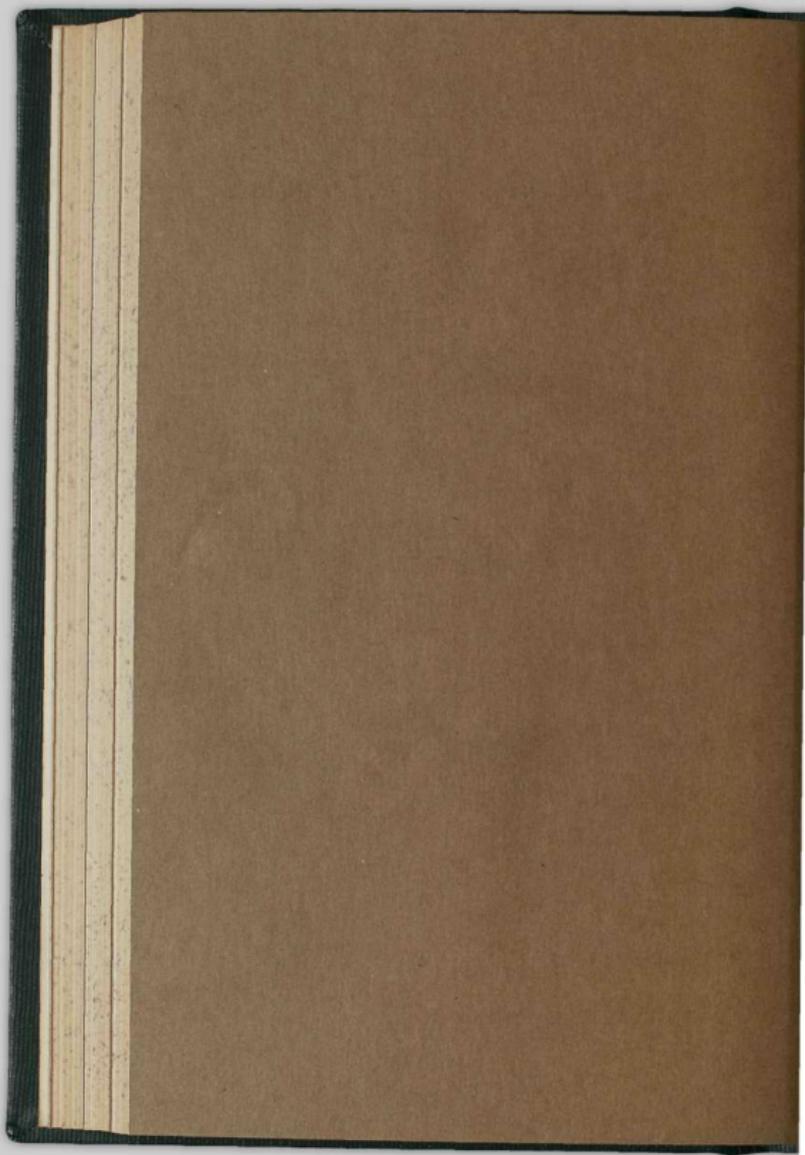
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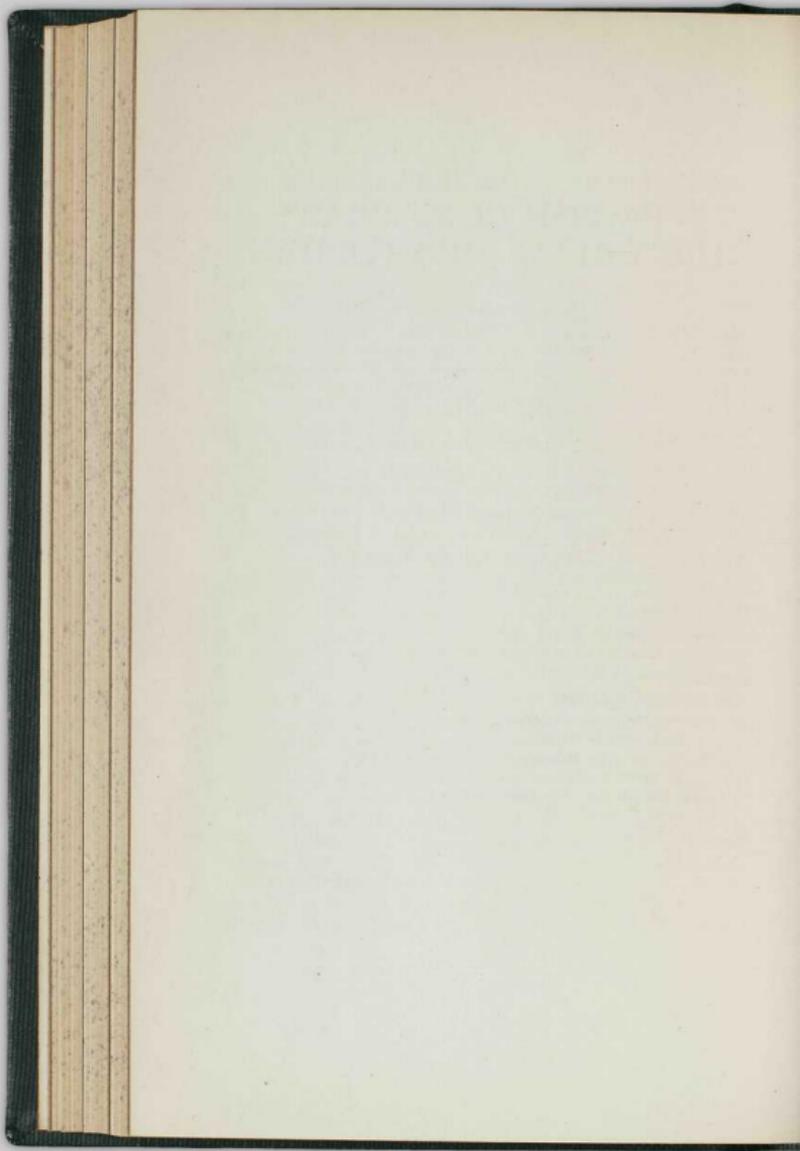
The
BRITISH COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. VII. VICTORIA, B.C., OCTOBER, 1943. No. 4

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AN IRISHMAN IN THE FUR TRADE: THE LIFE AND JOURNALS OF JOHN WORK.

One becomes accustomed to thinking that the early fur-traders were, in the main, Finlaysons, Frasers, McKays, McTavishes, Mackenzies, and McLeods, who were born and reared in Scotland. John Work was at least a partial exception to this rule. He was of north of Ireland stock, although probably Scottish in origin and Presbyterian by faith. John was born about 1792 at Geroddy farm, not far from St. Johnstown, County Donegal. He was the son of Henry Wark, and the eldest of a family of six children. Born after him was another boy, Joseph, who was followed by three sisters and, finally, by the youngest child, David. Joseph emigrated to America and became a considerable land-owner on the outskirts of Cincinnati. David was educated for a clerkship in the Hudson's Bay Company, but was disappointed in this ambition by the amalgamation with the North West Company in 1821, when clerks were being dismissed rather than recruited. He emigrated to New Brunswick, started a small business at Richebucto, moved to Fredericton, served in the local Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council, and was appointed to the Canadian Senate at the time of Confederation. He died as recently as 1905, in his hundred and second year. David's only child, Miss Helena Wark, resides in Montreal to-day. Both John and his brother Joseph anglicized their surname from *Wark* to *Work*, but the original spelling was retained by other members of the family.

Family tradition has it that young John ran away from home to join the Hudson's Bay Company at their recruiting station in the Orkney Islands. His contract is dated at Stromness, June 15, 1814, but it seems rather doubtful that a boy of 22 years of age would have "to run away from home." Be that as it may, John Work crossed the Atlantic to spend the first few years of his new life in the vicinity of Hudson Bay. He spent the season of 1814-15 at York Factory as steward, but was then transferred to the neighbouring Severn District, where he became second trader at Severn House. In 1818-19 he was promoted district

master. Nothing much more than this is known about those early years. The journals which Work kept during this period are in existence, in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in London, but are as yet inaccessible. Some day they may be produced to add an interesting chapter to an interesting story. We do know, however, that John was fitting into the Company nicely, since Nicholas Garry, who had been sent out from England to implement the coalition between the Hudson's Bay and the North West companies, described Work as a "Most excellent young Man in Every Respect."¹ It was fortunate for him that this was so, for it undoubtedly saved him from dismissal, which was the fate of many young men during the process of weeding-out that inevitably followed the amalgamation.²

The coalition made little difference to John Work at first. He was ranked as a clerk and remained in the Severn District during 1821-22. He then went to the adjoining Island Lake District, where he served until 1823.

In July, 1823, John Work, then 31 years of age, left York Factory to take up new duties in the Columbia District. He was to spend the rest of his life west of the Rockies, a life which was to be adventurous but hard, and at times extremely irksome. Through the thirty-eight years that he lived on the Pacific slope we can follow his fortunes fairly closely, for this is the period partially covered by his journals and letters in the Provincial Archives. Here are treasured the original manuscripts of fifteen of the journals which he kept in the field. The earliest of the series commences in July, 1823; the last ends in October, 1835. Usually when Work was resident at a post, he kept no personal journal. Naturally this leaves gaps in our record of his life—gaps which can only be filled by access to the journals of the posts

(1) E. E. Rich (ed.), *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee*. First Series 1825-38. Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1941. Hudson's Bay Company Series IV. (hereafter referred to as H.B.S., IV.), p. 356.

(2) Governor Simpson planned a ruthless reorganization that would have involved the dismissal of 250 men. The Governor and Committee modified this decision to protect "deserving young men" in their employ. See H.B.S., IV, p. xliii.; and R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1940. Hudson's Bay Company Series III. (hereafter referred to as H.B.S., III.), p. 313.

at which he served. Many of these are preserved in the Hudson's Bay Archives, but owing to the war they cannot be consulted at present. It has therefore been necessary to attempt to fill in the intervals between the journals, as well as the period after them, by obtaining information from the relatively few letters from Work which are in existence, and from the many references to him which are to be found in the papers of his contemporaries.

The fifteen journals were meticulously kept. They tell of the day-to-day travels, trials, hopes, and disappointments of the fur-traders. The keeping of them was due not to the personal whim of the diarist, but to the specific instructions of his superiors. They were to embrace methods of trade, the conduct and character of subordinates, and the climate, topography, and vegetation of the country through which their writer passed.³ They were written with a view to being used as guides for others who might follow the trails blazed by John Work and his companions. Work had a keen, observing eye; as a consequence his journals are veritable mines of information on fur-trading practices and on the life and habits of the Indians. Moreover, before he left home in Geroddy, he had been trained as an operative farmer,⁴ and he often viewed this vast new country with a vision of pasture land and fat cattle, of thriving vegetables and waving grain.

The fifteen journals in the Provincial Archives are not uniform in size. Some are written in standard Hudson's Bay journals, measuring about 12½ by 8 inches, while others are on half sheets folded once. A few are in rough hand-stitched leather bindings. The ink used was apparently carried in powder or tablet form, since the writing varies considerably in colour and density. The twelfth volume must have fallen into a pool of ink when it was half completed. Entries up to the accident are partially obliterated by the ink-stain, which extends in an arc across the bottom corner of the page. Most of these can nevertheless be read with some difficulty, but transcribers often gave up the attempt. Amusingly enough, the same transcribers failed to notice that after the accident occurred Work

(3) H.B.S., III., p. 126.

(4) H.B.S., IV., p. 358.

wrote around the ink-stain but not through it. They interpreted the absence of faint lines through the blot as total obliteration, breathed a sigh of relief, and simply omitted the bottom quarter of each page.

Work has been accused of illiteracy in his journals. Quite the opposite of this is true. He had an extensive and a varied vocabulary, which enabled him to express himself in interesting style. The accusation arises for a number of reasons. First, it is true that his handwriting is crabbed, and many of his words are deliberately telescoped. It must be remembered that most of the entries must have been made at night, when Work was crouched half-frozen over a smoky fire clutching a pen in his stiffened fingers, or in the intense summer heat of the arid Snake River country, or in the mosquito-ridden fever camps on the Sacramento River. Secondly, he used words which are now obsolete or obsolescent in use or in form. Words have varied in meaning in a hundred years, and spelling was then more fluid than it is to-day—facts that editors would do well to remember. Time and again Work flavours his descriptions with such expressions as "thicketty" woods, through which he travelled in a "pour" of "weighty" rain, or gazed upon a "jabble" of sea, lit by flashes of "lightening." Moreover, he used trade expressions which were current in those days, but which were not familiar to or were unrecognized by those who have attempted to make transcripts of his journals. For example, the word *apishamore* has been rendered variously.⁵ *Marrons*, *cabrie*, and *pluis* seem to have utterly defeated editors of the journals.⁶ Finally, Indian names and expressions proved difficult, not only because they were hard to trace but because they were spelled phonetically. John Work was no exception to the rule that fur-traders simply rendered these names as best they could. It is most unfortunate that up to the present the transcriptions of his journals have been consistently bad. Whole sentences and even complete paragraphs have been omitted. Mistakes have been made or blanks left in places where even a small amount of

(5) An *apishamore* was a saddle blanket, made usually of buffalo calf-skin.

(6) *Marrons* were wild horses; *cabrie* were prong-horned antelope; while *pluis* was an expression of value derived from "peaux," "plus"—a beaver-skin.

knowledge of the period should have furnished the key to the problem. As an inevitable consequence, where access to the original manuscripts was not possible, the printed versions of these journals suffer badly and are sometimes woefully inaccurate. Indeed it would appear that in no case was the text as printed collated with the original.⁷

The earliest of Work's journals in the Provincial Archives is divided into two parts.⁸ The first half deals with his voyage across the continent; the second with his journey from Spokane House to Fort George⁹ and thence up the Columbia River again, where he spent the summer of 1824 superintending a party of Hudson's Bay employees for whom there was no summer employment and who had been sent up the Columbia to live off the Indians and the country.

On Tuesday, July 18, 1823, Work left York Factory for the Columbia. The expedition, the express, consisted only of "two light canoes, four men in each";¹⁰ Peter Skene Ogden¹¹ was in command. The canoes followed the usual route by way of the Hayes River to Oxford House and from thence to Norway House. By noon of July 31 they had crossed the dangerous waters at the northern extremity of Lake Winnipeg, and soon began the ascent

(7) The 14th and 15th journals of John Work, which will be printed in subsequent issues of this *Quarterly*, are the first which have been transcribed directly from the originals.

(8) For purposes of identification and cataloguing the original journals in the Provincial Archives have been numbered chronologically from 1 to 15 (see the checklist appended to this article). The earliest of the series is thus catalogued as: John Work, *Journal I*, (a) *York Factory to Spokane House, July 18-October 28, 1823*; (b) *Columbia Valley Trading Expedition, April 15-November 17, 1824* (hereafter referred to as *Journal I* (a) or (b)). For a summary and extracts see Walter N. Saxe, "John Work's First Journal, 1823-1824," in *Canadian Historical Association, Report . . . 1929*, Ottawa, 1930, pp. 21-29.

(9) Originally Astoria, built by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. The present city of Astoria now occupies the site.

(10) *Journal I* (a), entry for July 18, 1823.

(11) Ogden was a former Nor'Wester who, because of his violent attitude towards the Hudson's Bay Company, had been left unprovided for at the coalition of the two companies. He was later admitted as chief trader and sent to serve west of the Rockies. He was placed in charge of the Snake River expeditions at first, and was later given charge of the coastal trade.

of the Saskatchewan River. Long days, from dawn to dusk, were spent in the canoes, paddling through the narrow channels of the river where the water was shallow and the low muddy shores were covered with matted reeds and overhung with clumps of willows. Then they left the main river and penetrated through a net work of channels to Cumberland House. Here Ogden and Work spent a very unpleasant day overhauling their outfits and securing provisions. It was the height of the fly season and, wrote Work, "We are like to be devoured. . . ."¹²

From Cumberland House their way lay along the usual brigade route, which followed a chain of lakes, small rivers, and portages to the Churchill River, and thence west to Lac Île-à-la-Crosse. On the way it was found that two of their five bags of pemmican, that staple of fat and dried meat used by the fur-traders, were mouldy and the contents rotten. No game could be secured along the route, so the party spent anxious days until they overtook the west-bound Caledonia Brigade and secured an additional supply of food from it. At Île-à-la-Crosse Work may have seen James Douglas, for it is altogether likely that Douglas was there at the time.¹³

The express pushed on westward up the Beaver River, which flows into Lac Île-à-la-Crosse, until they arrived at Moose Portage. For some time now the men had been tiring, not only because of long days spent at paddle and pole, but again because of the food supply. Four hundred pounds of dried meat had been taken aboard to be their staple diet. By now the fat bits had all been eaten and only the worst pieces remained, tough and hard as shoe leather. Here at Moose Portage they had expected to find a supply of provisions awaiting them, but of this there was no sign. In his journal Work indicated that he felt that there was but little chance of meeting with Indians and no chance of game because most of the woods had been destroyed by fire. Since the next cache lay a distance of ten days' travel away, and since it, too, might be bare, Ogden decided to send Work ahead to Edmonton in charge of a small party.

Before Work reached Edmonton, he and his men had a terrible time. Twice they lost their way and floundered through

(12) *Journal 1 (a)*, entry for August 5, 1823.

(13) See Walter N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, p. 26.

the woods. Beset with rain by day and frost by night, numbed by cold, gnawed by the pangs of hunger, they finally wandered into Edmonton on September 3, tired and "wet to the haunches." They had been eight full days on the journey, and Ogden had expected them to make the return trip in not more than ten. Because of Indian wars, Edmonton itself was short of provisions, but Work managed to secure some pemmican and dried meat and a few horses to transport the load. Six days later Work arrived back at Moose Portage to find that Ogden and his party had gone ahead to a near-by Indian encampment, where they, too, had secured food. With relief, Work wrote in his journal: ". . . the horses will not be required for eating."¹⁴

On September 18 they reached the Athabaska River. What a welcome change were its deeper waters from the shallow boulder-strewn streams of the past few weeks! The river was too swift for paddles, but not too deep for poles, so that progress was rapid. Day by day as they proceeded the appearance of the country changed. Poplars gave way to pines. Rapids were more frequently encountered and the banks were getting higher and steeper. About noon on the 24th they arrived at Fort Assiniboine, which was just in the process of being built. As they continued up-stream from the fort, Work noted seams of coal in the river-bank, but in his journal, if not in his mind, he failed to speculate on their later importance to the country.

On October 1 he caught his first glimpse of the Rockies, and two days later arrived at Rocky Mountain or Jasper House. "This house," wrote Work, "is built on a small Lake very shallow, and embosomed in the mountains whose peaks are rising up round about it on three sides."¹⁵ On October 8 they reached Moose Encampment and entered the eastern end of Athabaska Pass. The trail was exceedingly rough and difficult, being encumbered by burnt and fallen trees, by steep banks and swamps. On October 13 they reached the end of the Portage at Boat Encampment, on the "Big Bend" of the Columbia River. Here

(14) *Journal I* (a), entry for September 10, 1823.

(15) *Journal I* (a), entry for October 3, 1823. This post, located where the Athabaska opens into Second, or Burnt, Lake, was built originally by the North West Company. See Frederick Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 29n; also A. G. Harvey, "The Mystery of Mount Robson," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), p. 222.

they found that Chief Factor Kennedy¹⁶ had been waiting for them for twenty days. In spite of the difficulties of the route over the mountains, Work expressed his opinion that the roads were in "unprecedented good order."¹⁷

At Boat Encampment the party embarked, not in canoes, but in the wooden boats which were typical of travel on the Columbia River in fur-trading days.¹⁸ Their journey down the Columbia was rapid and uneventful. They safely passed the dreaded Dalles des Morts, which are some distance above the present city of Revelstoke. At Upper Arrow Lake Work had his first view, certainly not his last, of the Pacific salmon. From their size these must have been spring salmon which were on their way up the river to spawn and die, their life-cycle completed. ". . . They are remarkably fine," he remarked, "when they first enter the river. . . . The natives are now splitting and drying these dead and dying fish for their winters provisions."¹⁹

The express arrived at the junction of the Spokane River and the Columbia on October 21. From this point Ogden and Work took horses and rode to Spokane House, which was situated on the north bank of the main Spokane River, just a little above the junction with the Little Spokane. This fort was the outfitting point for the Snake River expeditions, and had two outposts lying to the east—Flathead and Kootenay houses.²⁰ At Spokane Work spent his first winter on the Pacific coast.

No doubt the months passed pleasantly enough in the novelty of his new surroundings. When spring came, he left Spokane with the fur brigade to journey down the Columbia to Fort

(16) Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy was appointed to the Columbia in 1822, with headquarters at Spokane House. He travelled east in the spring of 1825.

(17) *Journal 1 (a)*, entry for October 12, 1823.

(18) These boats were about 30 feet long, with a 5½-foot beam, clinker built, and pointed at both ends. They were capable of carrying eight men and a load of fifty-five pieces of goods (a piece weighed 90 lb.). Planks of cedar formed their outer skin. Since nails were scarce, they were only used to secure the planks to stem and stern-piece. The overlapping seams were "gummed" with pitch to render the craft watertight.

(19) *Journal 1 (a)*, entry for October 17, 1823.

(20) The old fort lay about 10 miles north-west of the present city of Spokane.

George.²¹ It was his first trip down the broad river with which he was to become so familiar. The season was well advanced and Work had time to notice and record that shrubs and plants along the route were in full flower. He protested against the driving wind which at times roughened the Columbia and partially blinded the travellers with drifting sand. As the brigade dropped below Walla Walla and traversed the series of obstructions called Celilo Falls and the Little and Great Dalles, which stretch for 14 miles, Work described the awe-inspiring sight which stretched before him: "The river is confined to a narrow span bordered on each side by steep rocks between which the water rushes with great violence and forms numerous whirlpools which would inevitably swallow any boat that would venture among them."²² He was pleased to find the countryside growing green and to see oaks, pines, and poplars appearing on the hillsides. At the confluence of the Columbia and the Willamette he noticed the tides which run up the river some 90 miles from the sea.

At Fort George, John Work received instructions to conduct a party of men up the Columbia in order to feed them by trading with the Indians for provisions. The latter consisted very largely of salmon, fresh and dried, some sturgeon, and an occasional dog or horse. The annual ship had not yet arrived from England and supplies were short. With Work went Francis N. Annance.²³ From the 17th of May until July 24 the party wandered up and down the banks of the river, moving from one Indian encampment to another. It is typical of Work's thrifty nature that he leaves us an estimate of the daily cost of feeding his party, the sum being 3s. 2d. per day to keep a total of thirty-five men, two clerks, and twelve women. Traffic with the Indians was not confined to food. "As usual," wrote Work, "some women arrived in the evening for the purpose of hiring them-

(21) *Journal I (b)*, entry for April 15, 1824.

(22) *Ibid.*, entry for May 10, 1824.

(23) Francis Noel Annance entered the employ of the North West Company in 1820, and became a clerk and interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company after the coalition. He was one of McMillan's party to explore the Fraser in 1824. He was a member of the expedition which established Fort Langley in 1827, and retired in 1834.

elves to the people for the night."²⁴ The men traded their tobacco and even their buttons for these creatures, until it was estimated that only two dozen buttons were left in camp.

By July 24 Work was back at Fort George in order to assist in getting the brigade ready for the interior. There was still no sign of the annual supply ship from England, but Chief Factor Kennedy had decided that the departure of the brigade could be delayed no longer. As junior officer, Work was detailed to accompany the men to a spot a few miles from the fort, where they could enjoy their "regale" of rum before beginning the arduous journey ahead. The senior gentlemen arrived the next morning, and the brigade set off for Walla Walla, its first stop.

Work left the party there and journeyed by horseback to Spokane. A few days later he set off with Finan McDonald²⁵ on a trading expedition to the Flathead country. It was a flying trip to meet the Indians at their summer rendezvous just above Pend d'Oreille Lake, on Clark's Fork River. Upon their return they received news that the long-expected supply ship had at last arrived in the river. Ogden and Work set out immediately for Fort George in order to secure much-needed provisions. There was need for haste and they drove their men hard. Work was back at Spokane Forks when on October 27, 1824, a west-bound express arrived from York Factory bringing Governor Simpson, Dr. John McLoughlin, and James McMillan.

This was Simpson's first inspection trip to the west. He was intent upon retrenchment and reform, and had come to see for himself the state of affairs in the Columbia District. By the time he visited Spokane House definite plans were forming in his mind, some of which were to affect Work's own future. Simpson proposed to send out the Snake River expedition in November, instead of in the spring, so that it could proceed much farther afield than formerly. It might even penetrate into Northern California, and perhaps return by way of the Umpqua and Willamette rivers to Fort George. Several of Ogden's and Work's historic expeditions were planned with this in mind. Simpson

(24) *Journal 1* (b), entry for May 29, 1824.

(25) Finan McDonald, clerk, was at Spokane House when Simpson passed in 1824. He was then sent to command an expedition into the Umpqua Valley. He remained in the Columbia until his retirement in 1827.

was anxious to make the posts as self-sufficient as possible. "It has been said," he wrote, "that Farming is no branch of the Fur Trade but I consider that every pursuit tending to lighten the Expence of the Trade is a branch thereof."²⁶ Lastly, Simpson sought information about the lower reaches of the Fraser River, with a view to establishing a post there which should take the place of Fort George as the headquarters of the Columbia District. He hoped that, if the lower Columbia became American territory by the impending settlement of the boundaries west of the Rockies, the Fraser River might become an alternative route to the vast hinterland north to New Caledonia.

Work travelled down the Columbia in Simpson's party to Fort George. There Simpson placed James McMillan²⁷ in charge of an expedition to explore the Fraser. Work was one of the party, which consisted in all of thirty-nine men. From the mouth of the Columbia they made a portage overland to Shoalwater Bay, in order to avoid the open water around Cape Disappointment. From there they began a tedious and difficult journey northward, paddling along the outer beaches of bays and dragging the boats behind exposed promontories for miles at a time. The usual November weather, with heavy rain and strong westerly winds, prevailed. Finally they turned eastward, up the tortuous Chehalis River, and thence north up the narrow Black River, paddling through deep water and scrambling through shallows and over obstructions of driftwood. Time and again they chopped a path through the tangles for their boats. At length a further portage brought them to the head of Puget Sound. Thence they paddled through the islands north to Semiahmoo Bay, where they took shelter while waiting for the weather to moderate in order to permit them to cross to Point Roberts, which Indians told them formed the southern side of the entrance to the Fraser River. Abandoning this idea because of continued bad weather, they proceeded along the eastern shore of the bay to the Nicomekl River. From the headwaters of this crooked little stream they portaged to the Salmon River, down

(26) Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 50.

(27) James McMillan, a former Nor'Wester, was appointed Chief Trader at the coalition, in 1821. He accompanied Simpson on his first trip west in 1824, and explored the lower reaches of the Fraser later in the year. He established Fort Langley in 1827, and retired in 1839.

which they paddled to its junction with the Fraser. "At this place," wrote Work, "it is a fine looking River at least 1,000 yards wide, as wide as the Columbia at Oak Point. . . . From the size and appearance of the River there is no doubt in our minds but that it is Frazers."²⁸

The expedition explored the Fraser as far as Hatzic Slough, and saw the Cheam Peaks in the distance. Because of the wintry weather, McMillan decided not to attempt to penetrate the canyon to Kamloops; moreover, the Indians represented these middle reaches as being easily navigable.²⁹ Then began the return journey, the first stage of which took the party down the Fraser to its mouth.³⁰ On Monday, December 20, they paddled out of the estuary and saw Point Grey to the north. Their course lay south around Point Roberts and back to the head of Puget Sound. Once over the portage to the Black River the party separated. McMillan, Work, and Laframboise, the interpreter, accompanied by six men, set out to find a route overland to the Cowlitz River and thence to Fort George. This led to the discovery of the Cowlitz Portage, which later became an established Hudson's Bay route from the Columbia to Fort Nisqually. The rest of the party returned by the outward route.

As a result of this expedition Simpson left the Columbia in hopes that the Fraser River would provide a highway from New Caledonia to the sea. As a beginning, Fort Langley was built in 1827-28. Not until Simpson returned and travelled through the Fraser Canyon in 1828 did he see for himself the impracticability of this projected route.

Meanwhile Work remained on the lower Columbia, where, in the spring of 1825, he was employed in moving goods and equipment from Fort George to a new post called Fort Vancouver, almost opposite the mouth of the Willamette River. It lay on

(28) *Journal 1 (b)*, entry for December 16, 1824.

(29) It seems strange that neither McMillan nor Simpson was familiar with Simon Fraser's exploration of the Fraser in 1808.

(30) At one time one of the rivers flowing into the Fraser from the north was known as the Work River. This appears to have been the Stave River of to-day. See Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley 1827-1827*, Vancouver, B.C., 1927, p. 10; also Archibald McDonald, *Peace River: A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific . . . in 1828*, Ottawa, 1872, entry for October 10, 1828.

the north side of the Columbia, which would keep it in British territory if the Columbia became the boundary between the American and British possessions. During this time Work made the acquaintance of the famous botanist David Douglas,³¹ who had just arrived from England. Later Douglas was to accompany Work on some of his expeditions, and the two became firm friends. Douglas noted in his diary a number of specimens which Work had generously collected for him.³²

In June, 1825, John Work was assigned to the interior brigade. Simpson had originally intended that he and Thomas McKay³³ should take charge of an expedition to the Umpqua country. On reconsideration, Simpson felt that Work did not have the necessary experience, so Finan McDonald was sent in his stead, while Work returned to Spokane House to take temporary command "until the arrival of some Commissioned Gentlemen from the other side."³⁴

When the brigade reached Walla Walla, a trading party was sent up the Snake River to secure horses for the New Caledonia pack-trains. John Warren Dease³⁵ commanded this expedition, of which Work was a member. The party went as far up the Snake as its junction with the Clearwater, and managed to secure 112 animals. Work and six men were left to drive these horses overland to Spokane and Okanagan, while the remainder of the expedition returned by canoe to Walla Walla.

(31) David Douglas spent the next two years on the Columbia. In 1827 he travelled overland to Hudson Bay and thence to England. He returned to the Pacific in 1829, and was accidentally killed in the Hawaiian Islands in 1834.

(32) See David Douglas, "A Sketch of a Journey to the North-Western Parts of the Continent of North America," in *Companion to the Botanical Magazine*, Nos. 15, 16, and 17, London, 1835-6, p. 89.

(33) Thomas McKay (d. 1850) was the son of John McLoughlin's wife by a previous union with Alexander McKay, a former Nor-Wester, who lost his life in the massacre of the *Tonquin*.

(34) Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 135.

(35) Chief Trader John Warren Dease was in charge of Nez Percés (Walla Walla) when Simpson passed in 1824. See Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 53. From there he was transferred to Spokane, and then to Colville. He died in 1830, en route back to Colville from Fort Vancouver, where he and McLoughlin had had a quarrel. See H.B.S., IV., pp. xcix.-c.

At Spokane Work received a note from Governor Simpson instructing him to abandon Spokane House and to remove all goods and supplies to a new post at Kettle Falls, which was to be built under his direction. Work was ordered further to see that the Kootenay and the Pend d'Oreille rivers were examined with a view to sending out the Kootenay and Flathead outfits by water rather than by pack-horse. Governor Simpson had first thought of Kettle Falls as a possible alternative to Spokane House when he passed the falls on October 26, 1824. The soil was good and fish were plentiful. Moreover, the 60-mile pack-horse trail from the Columbia to Spokane House could be avoided. Simpson personally selected a site:

. . . a beautiful point on the South side about 3/4ths of a Mile above the Portage where there is abundance of fine Timber and the situation eligible in every point of view. An excellent Farm can be made at this place where as much Grain and potatoes may be raised as could feed all the Natives of the Columbia and a sufficient number of Cattle and Hogs to supply his Majestys Navy with Beef and Pork. . . . I have taken the liberty of naming it Fort Colville. . . .³⁶

Work dispatched his subordinate, Thomas Dears,³⁷ to commence construction of the new fort, while he himself went to conduct the summer trade with the Flathead Indians, as in the previous year. When returning he was compelled to travel slowly and cautiously, for the canoes were overloaded. Rapids could only be run with half-cargoes; the remainder of the goods had to be carried down the boulder-strewn banks. Back at Spokane House, Work spent a short time in routine operations and then, on the last day of August, 1825, he repaired to Kettle Falls to see how Dears had been getting along with the new fort. To Work's disappointment little progress had been made, but it was not long before his energetic nature began to make itself felt. A pit was dug for whip-sawing lumber, a cart was constructed to haul logs and timber, and the men were distributed over a wide variety of tasks. When Work left for Spokane on September 4,

(36) Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 139. Andrew Colville was a director and later Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(37) Thomas Dears entered the Hudson's Bay Company service as a clerk in 1817. After serving at York Factory, Island Lake, and other posts, he was appointed to the Columbia. From thence he went to New Caledonia, where he served until he retired in 1836.

he felt reasonably sure that the stores building, at least, would be completed for use that fall. However, he was doomed to disappointment, for when he returned to Colville later to meet the east-bound express, he found that not a timber of the building was yet up. Dears had been peculiarly inept, and Work's exasperation crept into his journal: "Certainly there is little work done for the number of men & time they were employed."³⁸ Meanwhile instructions had arrived from Chief Factor McLoughlin directing Work to stop construction, since the site was on the south side of the Columbia and therefore lay in territory which might soon become American. Directing Dears to stop work as soon as he had collected the timber for the storehouse, Work returned to Spokane House. It seemed to him that there was no other spot at Kettle Falls, on either side of the river, where a fort could be built. Perhaps for this reason McLoughlin's order was later rescinded and work on Fort Colville recommenced.

At Spokane, Work spent the fall of 1825 in preparing for the long winter ahead. Firewood was collected. Corrals were built for the horses. Charcoal-pits were dug, filled with wood, and fired. Houses were repaired against the winter cold and then neatly whitewashed. In November, Work began to assemble the outfit for the Flathead trade which he was to accompany, while J. W. Dease came from Walla Walla to take charge of Spokane House. On the 14th, Work and eight men set out for Flathead House,³⁹ which he found to be a scene of desolation. The buildings were still standing, but doors and windows were gone. The floors had been torn up by Indians in search of small treasures, and many of the broken parts had been burned. However, organized activity soon remedied this situation. Squares of scraped skin were fitted to form windows, mats were placed on the roofs to keep out the wet, new doors were made and hung, and the party settled down to spend the winter.

Indian bands came and went, and from them Work learned a little of their love of pomp and ceremony. A chief arrived with

(38) John Work, *Journal 4, June 21, 1825-June 12, 1826*, entry for September 19, 1825.

(39) Flathead House was situated near the site of the existing railway station at Eddy, Montana, on the main line of the Northern Pacific Railway. See T. C. Elliott (ed.), "Journal of John Work, 1825-1826," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 5 (1914), p. 183, n. 101.

his people and fired a salute to the fort. Not knowing this custom, Work omitted to fire a salute in return. The chief was a little put out, but Work hastened to placate him with the promise that the fort would fire a salute as he departed. "I understand," he wrote, "it is pleasing to the Indians to receive this mark of respect. As the expense is but trifling we intend returning their salutes when they arrive in future."⁴⁰ It was by such small gestures as well as by its wisdom in larger matters of policy that the Hudson's Bay Company kept the friendship and respect of the natives.

On January 4, 1826, in obedience to a request from Dease, Work set out for a brief visit to Spokane. No hint appears in Work's journal as to the reason for the visit, but later entries show that Work did not consider it to be of much importance. During this winter Work first makes mention of his wife, Josette Legace, a Spokane woman, who was to share his fortunes and to care for his children. In February, before spring had come, and while trading was still incomplete, Dease ordered Work back to Spokane House to make out the annual accounts for that place. In considerable exasperation, openly expressed in his journal, Work obeyed. The trip from Flathead House was an exceedingly difficult one, for although the river was partially frozen over the ice was too weak to bear the weight of the men and they had to resort to stumbling along the shores. Over the Skeetsho Portage, from the Pend d'Oreille River to Spokane, snow lay 3 feet deep, through which the party stumbled on foot until, at an Indian camp, they were able to secure snow-shoes.

Work was kept busy at Spokane making up the accounts and assisting in preparations to abandon the post. On April 7, 1826, the last pack-train left the old fort. No expressions of regret at leaving are found in Work's journal. Instead there appears a longing for spring, until on the last day of March he could write: "The ground about the fort is getting quite green, and the bushes are putting forth their leaves and some small plants flowering."⁴¹

From 1826 to 1830 John Work's life centred around the new fort at Colville. It is not to be inferred that he was there all or even most of the time, for he was constantly on the move in the

(40) *Journal 4*, entry for December 9, 1825.

(41) *Ibid.*, entry for March 31, 1826.

district of which Colville was the centre. In June, 1826, he accompanied the New Caledonia brigade, under the command of Chief Factor William Connolly,⁴² from Okanagan to Fort Vancouver. In the party was James Douglas, making his first journey south, and David Douglas, the botanist, with whom Work renewed his earlier acquaintance. They remained at Vancouver for three weeks only, since the supply ship had arrived and stores were available. On July 14 the brigade arrived back at Walla Walla, and once more Work was sent on a trading expedition up the Snake River to secure horses for the use of the New Caledonia outfit. When the horses were collected, the two clerks, John Work and James Douglas, were detailed to drive them north. With them was David Douglas. For a while their paths lay together, but at the site of Spokane they parted, Douglas with the bulk of the herd proceeding to Okanagan, and Work to Colville.

From Colville that same summer Work pioneered a new route to the trading-grounds on Clark's Fork. In the fall, after the east-bound express had passed, he planned to examine the navigability of the lower reaches of the Pend d'Oreille River. But his journal breaks off on September 15,⁴³ two days before he was scheduled to start, so that we have no means of knowing whether he made the expedition or not.

From September 15, 1826, to May 20, 1828, when his next journal starts, we know little about John Work's activities. David Douglas saw him when he passed with the annual express in April, 1827. In January, 1828, from Fort Colville, he wrote to his old friend Edward Ermatinger,⁴⁴ and he was still there when the east-bound express passed on April 11, 1828. During these years his health had been bothering him. Sore eyes had tormented him to the point of blindness; and although he was recovering, his sight was still weak enough to make writing a great effort. In 1828 he suffered from quinsy, from which he

(42) Chief Factor Connolly was in charge of New Caledonia from 1824 to 1831. James Douglas married his daughter Amelia.

(43) John Work, *Journal* 5, July 5-September 15, 1826, entry for September 15, 1826.

(44) Work to Ermatinger, Colville, January 2, 1828 (original in Provincial Archives). Edward Ermatinger, with his brother Francis, was apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818. He remained in the service for only ten years, and then retired to St. Thomas, in Upper Canada.

had scarcely recovered when he was attacked by a bull on the farm at Colville, "The effect of whose blows," wrote his garrulous friend, John Tod, "he is never likely to get the better [of]. . . ."45

In May and June, 1828, he made another trip to Fort Vancouver, with Connolly and the New Caledonia brigade. On this expedition the dangers the fur-traders ran in their travels became apparent. At Priest's Rapid, between Okanagan and Walla Walla, one of the boats was overturned and three of the men were drowned.

That winter, Work was again stationed at Colville. In March, 1829, he paid his respects to Governor Simpson when the latter passed the post on his way east. In the summer, Work met Connolly for a third time at Okanagan and accompanied the brigade to Fort Vancouver. There he became one of a punitive expedition sent against the Clatsop Indians, who were alleged to have murdered the crew of the wrecked brig *William and Ann* and to have plundered her cargo.⁴⁶ Work did not care for his baptism of fire: ". . . It is very well," he wrote, "to sing 'O for the life of a soldier' and laugh and talk about these affairs, but trust me my friend it is no jest being engaged in them . . ."47

When Work returned up the Columbia he found that Dease had been taken seriously ill and had to go to Fort Vancouver. Work assumed command of the Colville District and took up his headquarters at the Flatheads, leaving Francis Heron⁴⁸ in charge at Colville. It was not an unwelcome change: ". . . I am rid of the farm and pigs," he wrote, "a circumstance I by no means regret. . . ."49

On his return to Colville in April, 1830, Work left for Walla Walla and Fort Vancouver in charge of a herd of horses. The reason for this expedition remains obscure. There is no evidence

(45) Tod to Ermatinger, McLeod's Lake, February 14, 1829, in *Papers of Eduard Ermatinger, 1826-1843* (transcript in Provincial Archives).

(46) See H.B.S., IV., pp. lxxvii., 71-3.

(47) Work to Ermatinger, Flat Heads, March 19, 1830 (original in Provincial Archives).

(48) Heron entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1812. Not until 1829 did he come to the Columbia District, where he was stationed at Colville until 1835. He received his commission as Chief Trader in 1828, and retired in 1839.

(49) Work, *loc. cit.*

in his journal⁵⁰ or letters to prove that these animals carried all or even part of the annual returns. In all probability they were intended to swell the herd at Fort Vancouver, or for use in the Umpqua expeditions, or to begin a pack-train across the Cowlitz Portage to Puget Sound, now that Fort Langley was completed.

He left Colville with five men and thirty-five horses. The party followed the valley of the Colville River and crossed to the source of the Chimakine, which flows into the Spokane River and thence south. According to T. C. Elliott the route which they followed later became the regular wagon route between Colville and Walla Walla.⁵¹ They lost but one horse on the journey. At Walla Walla another sixteen horses were secured, and the whole band was made to swim the Columbia to the north bank. From this point west to Fort Vancouver the party pushed along that side of the river. At times they kept close to its banks and at others they wandered inland in search of a better road. Certainly from Work's description, no expedition had forced its way through that wilderness before. Not without a little pride he was able to state that on Monday, May 31, 1830, he had arrived at Fort Vancouver with forty-eight of his fifty horses.

It is reasonable to suppose that John Work spent that summer at Fort Vancouver. In August he was appointed to succeed Peter Skene Ogden as leader of the annual Snake River trapping expedition, while Ogden himself was to undertake the difficult task of founding a post on the Nass River, far to the north.⁵² When he set out on his new mission Work was accompanied by Josette Legace, his "little rib." She and her growing family were to share the hardships and dangers of this and many later expeditions. The Snake River party consisted of forty-one men, and seventy-four women and children. They had with them 272 horses to carry their provisions, traps, and leather lodges. Their journey lay south-east from Walla Walla, over the Blue Mountains, slanting in an easterly direction towards the Snake River. Their method of travelling is interesting. Each day the camp drifted from 10 to 25 miles in a predetermined direction, where it

(50) John Work, *Journal 7, April 30-May 31, 1830*.

(51) T. C. Elliott (ed.), "Journal of John Work . . . 1830," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, X. (1909), p. 297.

(52) See H.B.S., IV., p. lxxxv.

was hoped beaver might be plentiful. From the main camp small groups of trappers fanned out and set their traps in near-by creeks and little lakes. Sometimes these parties were away for two or three days; sometimes they were merely out overnight. Quite often traps were set near the main camp itself. In succession, they passed the Powder and the Burnt rivers until they reached the main Snake River, which they crossed to the east side. Here a small party was detailed to hunt the Weiser, Payette's, and Salmon rivers, with instructions to be back at Walla Walla by July 10, 1831. The main camp followed up the Boise River, to avoid the great loop of the Snake to the southward.

Difficulties of the trail beset them. Occasionally an individual was sick. Sometimes the camp would pause while a woman was taken in labour. Only two days were allowed her, and then the camp moved on. Work was philosophical about these delays. He sympathized with the troubles of his people and made concessions where possible, but, as always with him, duty came first. "In our present mode of life," he wrote, "a sick person is wretched indeed as he cannot possibly be properly attended to notwithstanding the trouble and delay occasioned to the rest of the party."⁵³ More serious dangers often faced them. Constant guard had to be maintained against hostile Indians, especially the Blackfeet. Horses were tethered or corralled at night—a necessity Work deplored, since it gave the animals but little opportunity to feed on the scanty grass of the arid country. In spite of every caution two of his men were ambushed and killed, and another wounded. That night Work wrote in his journal:

Thus are people wandering through this country in quest of beaver continually in danger of falling into the hands of these ruthless savages and certain of losing their lives in the most barbarous manner, independent of the privations and hardships of every other kind they subject themselves to.⁵⁴ Finally the party came to Malade River,⁵⁵ which flows into the Snake. They had been trapping a considerable number of beaver,

(53) John Work, *Journal 8*, August 22, 1830–April 20, 1831, entry for September 24, 1830.

(54) *Ibid.*, entry for September 25, 1830.

(55) The Malade River (Work's Sickly River) was so named by Donald MacKenzie because his men were made sick by eating beaver there. Alexander Ross reports a similar experience. See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XIII. (1912), p. 368n.

but not as many as they had hoped. Work decided to lead them north to the headwaters of the Salmon River. On the way, they were followed by a party of American trappers, which they managed to lose by evasive action. It was now the middle of November, and ice and snow were gradually gathering, even in the more sheltered valleys. The day-long marches were especially hard on the women and children. Even some of the more poorly-clad men suffered intensely. Few beaver had been found, so the party turned south once more to the Snake River. Work intended to spend the winter in the vicinity of Blackfoot Hill, where many of the friendly Snake Indians were encamped and where buffalo might be secured for food. Here, huddled in their leather tents, the party spent the long winter months. Usually they were able to keep the camp supplied with meat, but it was coarse, fatless, and stringy. Close watch was kept for marauding Blackfeet, and also over their amicable but none too honest neighbours, the Snake Indians.

Somehow the winter passed, and on March 18, 1831, they were on the move again. For some weeks Work's party trapped the tributaries flowing into the Snake River from the south, such as the Portneuf, the Bannock, and the Raft rivers. He even sent two men over the mountains to trap near the Great Salt Lake. Later he divided his party again, sending eight men to hunt the east fork of the Owyhee River while the main party pushed south to the Humboldt. The waters of the latter were flooded, and not only was the party without furs to show for its labour, but it had become so short of food that the horses were being slaughtered. Even the best hunters could find no game.

In the last days of June the expedition headed north and west towards home, hunting and trapping as they went. They passed west of the Snake River by Malheur Lake and the Silvies River, and thence over the mountains to John Day's River. On July 18, John Work, riding ahead of the party, reached Walla Walla. He and his companions had travelled upwards of 2,000 miles in their pursuit of fur. Work himself was disappointed in his returns. They were not good, but for this Work was in no way to blame. The whole area had been pretty thoroughly exploited by Ogden's men, and American competition made a good catch even more difficult.

With the bitter came the sweet. "In compliance with your Instructions," wrote McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee in October, 1831, "I have had the pleasure to deliver Mr. Works commission to him. . . ."⁵⁶ This was John Work's appointment as a Chief Trader, dated in London November 3, 1830, and received at Fort Vancouver while he was still in the wilderness. Poor Work, for some years he had despaired of promotion. In March, 1829, he had written Edward Ermatinger that he was determined to leave the service.⁵⁷ John Tod expressed his sympathy for his old friend: ". . . if he remains much longer in the Country neglected I fear he'll die of the spleen."⁵⁸

Work accompanied the returns from Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver where, in August, 1831, he was preparing an expedition to the Arrow Stone River.⁵⁹ McLoughlin did not want Work to proceed on this expedition, believing that the area was exhausted. Moreover, an epidemic of malaria had broken out in the lower Columbia, and the supply of able-bodied men was insufficient to penetrate into such a hostile country. However, Work pressed his request and McLoughlin reluctantly agreed, with the proviso that the expedition should hunt the branches of Clark's Fork and give the district trapped the previous season a rest. To strengthen the small force Work took along a cannon with which to rout hostile tribes.

The party left Vancouver for Walla Walla on August 16 or 17, 1831. Some of the men were already ill with malaria and as these recovered more were stricken. ". . . Every boat was like a hospital. . . .," wrote Work.⁶⁰ At Walla Walla they were delayed not only by waiting for the sick to recover but by an insufficiency of horses. A cloud seemed to hang over the party from the start. Even Work felt it, for he wrote to John McLeod: "I escaped with my scalp last year, I much doubt whether I shall

(56) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, October 20, 1831, in H.B.S., IV., p. 230.

(57) Work to Ermatinger, Colville, March 28, 1829 (original in Provincial Archives).

(58) Tod to Ermatinger, New Caledonia, April 10, 1831 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(59) The name applied by Work and his contemporaries to Clark's Fork.

(60) Work to Ermatinger, Fort Vancouver, August 5, 1832 (original in Provincial Archives).

be so fortunate this trip."⁶¹ In spite of the dangers, his wife and three small daughters accompanied him. From September 11 to the 26th they journeyed eastward to near the present town of Weippe, in Idaho. Then they travelled by the famous Lolo Trail to the Bitterroot River. From this point the expedition crossed to Hellgate Canyon. Work then proceeded up the Hellgate River, which flows out of this defile, to the Big Blackfoot River. While in this neighbourhood he received information that a large party of Americans had hunted the branches of the Missouri, which he had planned to trap. It was disappointing news. He was now in territory belonging definitely to the United States, and it is more than surprising that he planned to hunt there, in view of strict orders against such poaching which had been issued from the Company's headquarters.⁶² But it was the presence of American trappers and an ambush by Blackfeet, who killed two of his men, that deterred Work, and not orders from London.

On November 2 he began to direct his expedition southward to the Big Hole and Beaverhead rivers. These drain a basin of land in Montana about 100 by 150 miles in extent, where Work intended to hunt buffalo to keep the expedition in food. This was the country of the dreaded Blackfeet and he was very uneasy. One evening the Indians attacked just at dusk, but the camp was not caught napping. The cannon was loaded and fired and the surprised Indians melted away into the darkness. Only one of Work's people was wounded. In the succeeding days the party began a retreat westward up the Beaverhead River to the mountains. Once more they had a brush with the Blackfeet, and this time escaped unscathed. On December 15, 1831, they crossed the Lemhi Pass in 2 feet of snow and followed down the Lemhi River. Work had intended to move down the Lemhi to the Salmon, but he had been told that a large party of Americans were camped at the junction of these two rivers. So the expedition turned south along the mountains and again crossed into the Blackfoot country by way of the Bannack Pass, and retraced their steps toward the Big Hole River.

(61) Work to John McLeod, Nez Perces, September 6, 1831 (original in Provincial Archives).

(62) See H.B.S., IV., p. lxiv.

At daybreak on January 30, 1832, they were attacked by 300 Blackfeet, who kept up the onslaught until noon. Two of Work's party were wounded, two friendly Indians were hurt, and one was killed. Work himself was wounded in the arm. Their precious cannon was again called into action but burst on the third discharge. However, five or six of the Blackfeet were killed, including the chief of the attacking party. Once more the expedition retraced its steps to the mountains, and crossed by the Bannack Pass to the west.

Until June 23, 1832, they hunted through the maze of mountains and streams in the Salmon River area of Idaho, some distance north of the country that they had trapped the previous season. They had but little success, and now had reached a branch of the Weiser which they followed down to the main Snake River. Here they crossed by a skin canoe with but one casualty—a Company mule which was drowned. It was to be expected that Work would follow the usual route back to Walla Walla, but he could not resist one last attempt to add to the paltry number of beaver-skins which they had managed to secure. He decided to push westward up the Burnt River in an attempt to cross the mountains to John Day's River and make a circuitous route to Walla Walla. The party reached the latter river but without many additional beaver. All they succeeded in doing was to add to their ill-fortune, since one of the trappers disappeared *en route*. Hunt as hard as the conscientious Work could, this unfortunate man was not to be found⁶³ and the expedition proceeded to Walla Walla without him. Two of the three parties which Work has sent out also arrived safely. Neither secured any beaver. A group of four men which had left them to descend the Salmon River had met with disaster. Two of the party were drowned; the others lost everything they had, even their clothes, but with the help of friendly Indians managed to reach the fort.

"Mr. Work's Returns are very poor," wrote McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, "yet I owe it to him to state that though such is the case, I am satisfied that he did the utmost

(63) In the course of the expedition the following year it was ascertained that the man had been murdered by Indians.

that could possibly be done in this instance, as also, I believe, in every other instance in which he had any duty to perform."⁶⁴ This tribute to his faithfulness may have helped Work to forget the difficulties of a dangerous and rather profitless journey.

"I am going to start with my ragamuffin freemen to the Southward towards the Spanish settlements," wrote Work in August, 1832, "with what success I cannot say."⁶⁵ He had been at Fort Vancouver since his return from the Blackfoot Country, and now, less than a month later, was preparing to set out again on his peregrinations in the wilds. Once more Mrs. Work and her children faithfully accompanied her husband, in spite of his decision to the contrary.

From Fort Vancouver the expedition ascended the Columbia to Walla Walla. Malaria again dogged their footsteps and here the number of cases increased sharply. Thinking that the fort might be the source of infection, Work moved his camp a few miles down river to the Umatilla. On September 8 the expedition got under way, leaving behind Work's able assistant, François Payette, who was too ill to proceed. The party moved steadily south through the Blue Mountains until they reached John Day's River, following the same route outward as on the return journey in the spring of 1831. From John Day's River they crossed to the Silvies, which they followed south. Work had planned to trap the country eastward to the Humboldt River, but in view of the lateness of the season he decided to push south to the Sacramento as quickly as possible. For some days, therefore, their journey lay through desert country and along the edge of almost dry salt or alkali lakes, where fresh water was scarce. On one occasion they marched 32 miles, a two days' journey, because no water was to be found at the first water-hole. On October 21 the party reached Goose Lake. Passing this lake they came to the headwaters of Pit River, which flows into the Sacramento. From this point they were never far from the main river, as they pushed southward on its eastern side, exploring each little stream and tributary as they went. High water forced them to construct dugout canoes to use in their search for beaver, but so far very few had been taken.

(64) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, October 28, 1832, in H.B.S., IV., pp. 103-4.

(65) Work to Ermatinger, Fort Vancouver, August 5, 1832 (original in Provincial Archives).

On December 7, to Work's surprise and anger, two messengers from Michel Laframboise appeared in camp on their way to Fort Vancouver with letters. Laframboise had been sent south to hunt the coast, and had apparently disregarded his instructions and come inland to hunt the Sacramento, which had been assigned to Work. Moreover, he had built canoes just across the river from Work's camp and, since the spring, had hunted the river to its mouth. To add to Work's annoyance a party of Americans was reported to be trapping these lower reaches. As senior officer, Work sent instructions to Laframboise to meet him to discuss future plans. In the meantime Work moved down-stream to the Sutter Buttes,⁶⁶ which rise out of the valley floor between the Sacramento and the Feather rivers. It was not until Work was returning from an expedition up the latter river that Laframboise, driven by starvation, condescended to unite his party with Work's and to accept the latter's leadership. The united parties returned to the Buttes and camped there for a month, slaughtering elk by the hundred and waiting for the high water to abate. Towards the end of February they moved north, crossed to the west bank of the Sacramento and proceeded towards the Cascade Mountains. Arriving at the foothills, Work decided to divide his party. Half were to push on with their traps after the American party whose tracks they had discovered. The other half were to remain with Work and move south towards San Francisco. For about a week Work's party prospected the shores of San Francisco Bay for beaver. It was Easter, and some of his Roman Catholic Canadians went on Easter Sunday to mass at the Sonoma Mission. It will be remembered that Work was not a Catholic, and, as his subsequent dealings with the personnel of the Mission were not very happy, his remarks in his journal are not very complimentary to that institution.

Having decided that it would be impossible to hunt the bay, Work began to push north along the sea-shore, exploring and trapping the area to which Laframboise had been assigned.⁶⁷

(66) Identified by Alice Bay Maloney in "John Work of the Hudson's Bay Company," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXII. (1943), p. 102.

(67) The party sent out to follow the Americans had in the meantime returned.

On April 18 the party reached Bodega Bay, upon which stood the Russian settlement of Fort Ross. The governor objected to the presence of the party at first, but later became quite cordial and gave Work a good dinner and the benefit of his knowledge of the hundred miles of coast north of the fort. It was not a promising picture, but the indomitable Work decided to push on. Not until he had nearly reached Cape Mendocino did he realize the futility of his efforts. The foreshore consisted of nothing but rugged and steep gullies, and no large rivers were to be found.

Once again Work decided to split his party. Michel Laframboise was to make his way north as best he could from the Eel River, where they were now encamped, while Work cut overland south-east, back to the Sacramento Valley. Work first crossed by way of the Russian River and Clear Lake to the eastern foothills of the Cascades. From this point several attempts were made to push eastward to the Sacramento River, but each was blocked by impassable marsh country. However, he finally reached the Sacramento farther to the north, followed it down, and crossed at a point below the Feather. By this time it was the beginning of June, and Work pushed on southward until July 18, when he reached his most southerly point, the Stanislaus River.⁶⁸ During this time the whole party had taken but few beaver and in Work's opinion the skins were of indifferent quality. The heat was almost insupportable, and night after night was spent in sleepless exasperation because of clouds of mosquitoes. Moreover, they were annoyed by Indian horse thieves from near-by villages, who, ignorant of the quality of Hudson's Bay men, thought they could steal with impunity.

As they began their return journey, Work's party attacked and defeated two of the guilty villages, recovering in the process a good many of their horses. The journey north was an uneasy one; disease dogged their footsteps. They passed Indian villages which were nearly depopulated, and in which the dead or dying lay in the bushes around the lodges. Already a few of the expedition had been stricken. Later whole families were laid low. Some wished to stop, and Work had to fight dissension.

(68) See A. B. Maloney, "John Work," *California Historical Quarterly*, XXII. (1943), p. 102.

He contended that it would be folly to linger when they had no medicine. Moreover, he was hopeful that the mountains might cure these attacks, and in any event Fort Vancouver was not more than a month's journey away. They must push on.

On August 26, Work began to keep a list of the people who were ailing.⁶⁹ So far only one person had died, but the list shows that as many as seventy-five people were ill. Among them were his wife and children, and Work himself was affected. To make matters worse their trail was being dogged by hostile Indians, who were aware of their plight.

When they reached the Pit River they turned west to the Klamath and then to the Rogue. Their progress was pitifully slow, being only 8 or 10 miles per day. A second member of the party succumbed, one of the men who had become so weak that for some days past he had been tied on his horse. From the Rogue River their way led north to the Umpqua. On October 13 they met Laframboise, who had been sent to look for them, since rumours had reached Fort Vancouver that the party had been slaughtered by Indians. Work's hope that the sick would improve as they moved north through the mountains was realized. Many were still weak, but the danger was past. By this time they were moving down the trail beside the Willamette River. The last day of October, 1833, saw all the people and baggage safe at Fort Vancouver. The most arduous journey Work had ever undertaken was safely over. The expedition was not a financial failure, in spite of the fact that Work brought back only 1,023 beaver and otter after fourteen months in the field. Chief Factor McLoughlin estimated that it would yield a profit of £627.⁷⁰

Work was too ill to resume active duties in the field that year and stayed at Fort Vancouver during the winter, where he was probably attended by Dr. Meredith Gairdner, who had arrived

(69) The writer discovered these hitherto unidentified manuscript sheets inset as pages 12-16 in *Fort Simpson, Correspondence outward, September 6, 1841-October 11, 1844* (original in Provincial Archives). Careful checking with the register of people on this journey, as contained in *Journal 11*, along with the fact that the totals of persons who were ill correspond with the totals as given in *Journal 12*, proved them to concern this expedition. The sheets in question are now inset in *Journal 12*.

(70) H.B.S., IV., p. 358.

on the Columbia in May, 1833.⁷¹ In the following spring Work left on a short trading and trapping expedition to the Umpqua country, which lies beyond the headwaters of the Willamette River, and through which he had passed on his return the previous fall. The general route followed by the party lay to the west of the Willamette and crossed its tributaries on that side. Throughout the journey one is struck by the fact that Work's journal ceases to be one of a fur-trader or trapper and becomes one of a farmer or prospective settler. Whether this change of attitude was unconscious or deliberate it is hard to say. Simpson states that he "was bred an operative Farmer,"⁷² which may be explanation enough. Certainly the contrast is striking between the meagre description given as he passed there in October, ill with fever, and the detailed account of the country as it lay before his eyes in all the beauty of May.

On his return from the Umpqua in July, 1834, Work was sent to make a report on coal deposits found in the vicinity of the Cowlitz River.⁷³ He was no sooner back from this venture than he was directed to take charge of the coasting trade, in place of Peter Skene Ogden. He left Vancouver on December 11, 1834, on board the *Lama*, commanded by Captain W. H. McNeill.⁷⁴ The ship dropped down river to Fort George, where she anchored beside the *Dryad* which, with Ogden aboard, had made port the previous day. The *Dryad* brought news that the Russians would not permit the Hudson's Bay Company to establish a post on the Stikine River, so that there had been nothing for Ogden to do but to return.⁷⁵ Unfortunately Ogden had been on his way up river by boat as the *Lama* came down, and Work had missed him. Work therefore returned to Fort Vancouver for new orders.

(71) *Ibid.*, p. 344.

(72) *Ibid.*, p. 358.

(73) McLoughlin to William Smith, Fort Vancouver, November 19, 1834, in H.B.S., IV., p. 132.

(74) McNeill was an American citizen who had joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1832, after the Company purchased his brig, the *Lama*. His career was associated with the coastal trade. He became a Chief Trader in 1840 and a Chief Factor in 1856.

(75) On this whole episode see H.B.S., IV., pp. ciii. *et seq.*; also Donald C. Davidson, "Relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast, 1829-1867," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 33-51.

Back again at Fort George, he re-embarked in the *Lama*, which was forced to lie just inside Cape Disappointment, awaiting a favourable opportunity to cross the Columbia Bar and put to sea. It was not until twenty days later that wind and wave permitted the vessel to slip out. On the way north, Work visited Fort McLoughlin, which had been started in 1833 and which was now nearly complete. A few days later the *Lama* arrived at Fort Simpson, which had been moved the previous summer from the Nass River to a position at the tip of the Tsimpsean Peninsula, on McLoughlin Bay.

Work did not take up permanent residence at the fort immediately, but set out in the *Lama* on a trading expedition to learn something of the territory over which he had control. He visited Indian villages on the islands adjoining Dixon Entrance. He entered the Nass River and dropped anchor near the old fort. He explored and traded among the islands which strew the coast from Fort Simpson to Fort McLoughlin. He traded at Nahwitti Harbour, on Vancouver Island, where Fort Rupert was to be built later. He touched the Queen Charlotte Islands in his efforts to secure fur. Much of this time he was dogged by American vessels. Competition was so keen that prices at one time rose to a peak of one blanket, five gallons of rum, and ten heads of tobacco for a single beaver-skin. Between times Work visited the fort, or allowed McNeill to carry on with the *Lama* while he kept a supervisory eye on the post's development.

In August, 1835, the *Lama*, with Work aboard, set sail for Fort Vancouver with the returns. On the way south she touched at Fort McLoughlin and Fort Langley. Work left the ship off Port Townsend, at the entrance to Puget Sound, and proceeded by canoe to Fort Nisqually, and thence by the Cowlitz Portage to the Columbia and Fort Vancouver. McNeill was directed to bring the vessel around to the River as soon as possible.⁷⁶

In January, 1836, Work returned to Fort Simpson, where his control seems to have been that of a field superintendent subject to change at the whim of John McLoughlin. Upon the arrival of the steamer *Beaver*, later in 1836, Chief Factor Duncan Fin-

(76) Work's early experiences on the Northwest Coast have been dealt with very briefly, as his journals for 1834-35 are to be printed, with an introduction and notes, in subsequent issues of this *Quarterly*.

layson" was given command of the coastal shipping. After his departure, James Douglas began to carry out much the same duties, so that between the two, Work found his powers restricted. However, until 1840 he was regularly employed at Fort Simpson, and brought the coast returns down each fall.

In the winter of 1837-38 mutiny broke out on the steamer *Beaver*, which was lying at Fort Simpson. In its initial stages the trouble seems to have been confined to two members of the crew whom Captain McNeill had flogged for insolence. Subsequently the whole crew mutinied and Work was called in to deal with the problem. Nothing that he could do would induce the men to serve under McNeill, who was a Yankee. Finally, with Work acting as Master, and McNeill as a passenger, the vessel was brought south to Fort Nisqually. There four of the men were taken into custody, McNeill was reinstated in command, and Work returned to Fort Simpson. Although the matter was settled, it did not reflect much credit on Work's executive ability. Later we will see how McNeill was to continue to be a thorn in Work's flesh.

An agreement reached with the Russian American Company in 1839 greatly improved trading conditions on the Northwest Coast. For one thing it practically ended the exasperating competition of American ships. Extravagant prices and unlimited sale of liquor could be discontinued. This agreement also led to the organization of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, since it created a market for farm produce. While on the Columbia in 1839 Work assisted in surveying property for the Agricultural Company's farm at Cowlitz, a survey which assisted the Hudson's Bay Company in establishing its claims before the joint commission after the Oregon boundary question had been settled in 1846.

James Douglas went north to Sitka to carry out details of this agreement with the Russians. On his return to Fort Vancouver he found his commission as Chief Factor awaiting him. At the same time Captain McNeill was made a Chief Trader. Between McNeill as shipmaster-trader on the one hand and

(77) Duncan Finlayson, who was McLoughlin's equal in rank, seems to have been sent out as his second-in-command, with the idea of succeeding him at some later date. He left the Columbia in 1837. See H.B.S., IV., pp. xviii. *et seq.*

Douglas as supervisor of trade with the Russians on the other, Work lost control of everything of importance except Fort Simpson. Worse still, he was frequently left in ignorance of future plans for the management of the northern posts and shipping.⁷⁸ His letters show that he felt a shadow had been cast upon his reputation. Certainly he suffered an eclipse; between 1840 and 1845 he was immured at Fort Simpson.

To make matters worse he got into a rousing quarrel with John McLoughlin over trade policies in 1844. McLoughlin blamed Work for not sending the *Beaver* to a northern rendezvous during the winter. Work's reply was that he had to keep her at hand to compete with American vessels in Queen Charlotte Sound, and that in any event the Indians had been visited in the summer and did but little hunting in the winter. McLoughlin also accused Work of having allowed the *Beaver* to loiter in the south while American competitors stole the northern trade. Work was now thoroughly roused. He had sent the *Beaver* south with three men involved in the murder of John McLoughlin, junior, thinking to help his superior bring the murderers to justice.⁷⁹ He had told the Captain of the *Beaver* not to linger, but his orders had been disregarded. Work did not feel himself to blame, and considered that McLoughlin's final thrust, a set of six notes which set down standing rules for the steamer, was a gratuitous insult. His reply to McLoughlin is worth quoting:

I have been some 20 years under your orders and you have not before found it necessary to censure me for any deviation from instruction.

You write to me in detail as if I had never known anything at all about the business or indeed taken any interest in it. Nevertheless your Instructions shall be adhered to to the letter so far as it rests with me; but I shall decline being responsible for the result.⁸⁰

Work took the precaution of stating his side of the case in a letter to Simpson; but by 1844 McLoughlin's star was on the wane, and his criticism of Work does not appear to have affected the latter's future in the Company. In 1846, the same year that

(78) Work to McLoughlin, Fort Simpson, February 26, 1844, in *Fort Simpson, Correspondence outward* (original in Provincial Archives).

(79) This matter is dealt with at greater length in Henry Drummond Dee, *John Work: A Chronicle of His Life and a Digest of His Journals* (M.A. thesis in University of British Columbia Library), pp. 268-9.

(80) Work to McLoughlin, April 27, 1844, in *Fort Simpson, Correspondence outward* (original in Provincial Archives).

McLoughlin's resignation took effect, Work was appointed Chief Factor. The same year, too, the Columbia District was divided into three parts and placed under a Board of Management. Ogden was to have charge of the Interior; Douglas, of the depot and shipping; and Work of the Coast, including Fort Simpson, Fort Stikine, Fort Langley, and the steamer *Beaver*. The Board consisted at first of Ogden and Douglas; Work's name was added in 1849.⁸¹

Work continued to make Fort Simpson his headquarters until November, 1851, but after 1846 he no longer confined himself to year-round residence at the fort. Once more he began to make frequent trips to other posts and to engage in other activities. In 1847-48 he accompanied Douglas to Fort Langley, to discuss a new route for the fur brigade from the interior by way of the Fraser River, since the treaty of 1846 had placed the old one in American territory. In 1849 he was busy abandoning Fort Stikine and establishing Fort Rupert, near the northern tip of Vancouver Island, for the purpose of mining coal. When, in the following year, the miners became discontented and hard to handle, Work was sent for. He made the trip south to Victoria and then back to Fort Simpson, a distance of 1,500 miles, by canoe.

Work's attention had turned from furs to coal-mining; it was now to be centred on gold. In 1850 he dispatched a small party by canoe from Fort Simpson to the Queen Charlotte Islands, to investigate a report that the Indians had discovered gold there. They did not reach the goldfields, but made the important discovery that the Queen Charlottes consisted of two large islands, instead of one, and that a clear passage existed between them. Subsequently Work himself made the dangerous crossing by canoe to Englefield Bay, on Moresby Island. He discovered the gold vein, and was convinced that further investigation might prove profitable. An attempt by the *Beaver* to reach the site by way of Skidegate Inlet failed, so a later expedition, including Work and McNeill, set out in 1851 in the brigantine *Una*. They remained fifteen days, scrambled with the Indians for the gold after each blast was set off, and then gave up in disgust. One other incident remains to be told in connec-

(81) See H.B.S., IV., p. 358.

tion with John Work and the Queen Charlottes. The news of the discovery reached California, where it caused a minor rush. One of the ships which came north, the *Susan Sturgis*, was boarded and her crew overpowered by the Indians. Chief Factor Work succeeded in ransoming the crew, but was too late to save the vessel, which was looted and destroyed.

The summer of 1852 was Work's last at Fort Simpson. Since 1849 he had been spending the summer only at that northern post. Now he was to take up residence at Fort Victoria, as a member of the Board of Management for the Western Department. He had never enjoyed life at Fort Simpson and admitted that only his ambition had induced him to go there. The years had taken their toll of his health. It must be remembered that he was already 42 when he left to take up his duties on the northern coast. His photograph gives the impression that he was a sturdy, thick-set individual; but in 1838 John Tod spoke of him as having become "quite bald, hollow-cheeked & slender limbed."⁸² It was not very long before he was known as the "old gentleman."⁸³ The illness which he had contracted on the Sacramento had left its effect upon him. He had been ruptured by an accidental fall in the summer of 1840, while clearing land for the garden, and had aggravated this condition a month later by jumping down from a fallen tree. Three years later he was troubled by a cancerous growth on his lip. Dr. Kennedy at Fort Simpson treated it without success. Finally the surgeon of the British sloop-of-war *Modeste* removed the growth by operation. Added to all these troubles were rheumatism, a heart condition, and his old problem of sore eyes, which nearly blinded him. Well might Work grumble about "the privations of the Service & this 'Cursed Country.'"⁸⁴

Most of the time at Fort Simpson he had his family to comfort and cheer him. They did not accompany him north at first, but on December 31, 1836, his wife and the two youngest girls joined him, leaving the two eldest in school at Fort Vancouver.

(82) Tod to Ermatinger, Fort Vancouver, February 28, 1838 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(83) Same to same, Cowlitz Plains, February, 1840 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(84) *Ibid.*

The latter were entrusted to the care of American missionaries at Willamette when the school at Vancouver was closed because of McLoughlin's quarrel with the Reverend Herbert Beaver.⁸⁵ Work was very proud when the girls were able to pen their little letters to him. In 1841 his wife went south and brought the pair back with her. At Fort Simpson six of Work's eleven children were born—three girls and three boys. In 1849 he sent his whole family to Victoria, so that those of school age might receive the rudiments of an education. The following year the faithful Josette accompanied her husband north to Fort Simpson with the three youngest, but all of them were soon to be settled on Vancouver Island.

As late as 1850 Work was still undecided as to where he would settle after leaving Fort Simpson. It seems apparent that he had a yearning, not to return to Ireland, but to move to some more settled part of the world than the Pacific Coast, where life was less crude and creature comforts were more easily come by. It must be remembered that he was 22 years of age when he left the old land, with habits of life not so easily blotted out nor forgotten. Letter after letter to Edward Ermatinger tells of his hopes of moving to Upper Canada and settling beside his friend. When he decided finally that he must remain west of the Rockies, he determined to try Vancouver Island, although he was loath to face the difficulties of hacking a farm out of the bush. So he took up residence "in Mr. Finlayson's house at Rock Bay, without a particle of furniture."⁸⁶ From this time on, Work's activities were to be threefold—as a public servant, as a Chief Factor of the Company, and as a private farmer.

His name was included in a list of persons suitable to be justices of the peace for Vancouver Island, which Sir John Pelly submitted to the Colonial Secretary in 1848. In April, 1853, Douglas, then Governor, announced that he had "appointed John Work Esqre, a gentleman of probity and respectable character, and the largest land holder on Vancouver Island, to be a member

(85) See G. Hollis Slater, "New Light on Herbert Beaver," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1942), pp. 13-29.

(86) Work to Tolmie, Fort Victoria, March 14, 1853 (original in Provincial Archives).

of [the Legislative] Council."⁸⁷ The appointment was confirmed from London in 1854. Until his death, Work remained a faithful member of this body. He became senior member, and during May and June, 1861, acted for the Governor. Judging from the minutes, he seems to have missed but one meeting in 8 years.

He appears to have been a member of local road commissions appointed to investigate a route from Victoria to Sooke, and to supervise the construction of a road along the east bank of Victoria Arm. He supported Douglas's appointment of David Cameron to the office of Judge, an appointment which aroused a storm of protest but which was upheld by the Colonial Office.⁸⁸ He again supported Douglas when mandatory directions were received by the Governor to set up a popular assembly on Vancouver Island, although a letter written at the time to Edward Ermatinger shows that he had serious doubts as to the wisdom of the move:

I have always considered such Colony & such a government where there are so few people to govern as little better than a farce and this last scene of a house of representation the most absurd of the whole. . . . The principle of representation is good, but there are too few people and no body to pay taxes. . . .⁸⁹

During this time Work was still a Chief Factor in the employ of the Company. Both he and Douglas felt that one of the main impediments to colonization on Vancouver Island was the rule by which settlers could not purchase land in lots of less than 20 acres. To obviate this inconvenience, Douglas and Work, acting as trustees for what was known as the Fur Trade Branch of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1856 purchased land for the purpose of disposing of it afterward at the original cost of £1 an acre, in small allotments to *bona-fide* settlers, who were unable to purchase larger blocks.⁹⁰ When Douglas severed his connec-

(87) Douglas to Newcastle, Victoria, April 11, 1853 (original letterbook copy in Provincial Archives). H.B.S., IV., p. 358, wrongly gives the date of this appointment as 1857.

(88) For an account of this episode see Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, pp. 186-8.

(89) Work to Ermatinger, Victoria, August 8, 1856 (original in Provincial Archives).

(90) The indentures covering these purchases are in the Department of Lands, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C. See also Berens to Lytton, London, March 4, 1859, in *Record Office Transcripts, H.B.C.*, Vol. 728, pp. 111-112 (in Provincial Archives).

tion with the Company in 1858, to become Governor of both Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Company affairs passed into the hands of a new Board, consisting of Alexander Grant Dallas, John Work, and Dugald McTavish. One of Work's tasks in this capacity was that of advancing the land claims which the Hudson's Bay Company pressed upon the British Government after 1858.

Work's own purchases of land in and around Victoria were sufficient to make him the largest land-owner on Vancouver Island. His property, as recorded in the Department of Lands, totalled 1,304.23 acres, which does not include acreage deducted for roads, swamp, and rock.⁹¹ The home farm at Hillside consisted of 583 acres. Another large area lay across the low-lying lands of Shelbourne Street and stretched up over Mount Tolmie. A third portion consisted of an area stretching along the foreshore from Gordon Head to Arbutus Bay. The first census of Vancouver Island shows that Work was Victoria's greatest producer of potatoes. Only the Douglas farm at Fairfield produced more wheat. The *Victoria Gazette* for October 22, 1858, contained the following item on Work's prowess as a farmer:—

We yesterday were shown a couple of pumpkins raised on the farm of Mr. John Work, a mile and a half from Victoria, which, in consequence of their enormous size and weight, are worthy of special note. The largest one weighs 108½ and the other 68 pounds.

Work's only other business venture seems to have been the purchase of one share in a sawmill in 1861. The venture failed.

The home of the Works at Hillside was noted for its hospitality. The family was a large one, so that a few extra guests made little difference and were always welcome. The house was a gathering-place for young men who came to dance or to ride with the older girls. Work's youngest child, named Josette, after her mother, was born on September 15, 1854. Henry, the second son, died in 1856 at the age of 12, as the result of an accident, according to family tradition. The other two boys, John and David, did not enjoy enviable reputations. "The family of our late departed friend Work, I regret to say," wrote John Tod, "seem overwhelmed with grief at the reckless profligacy of the elder Son . . . the other Son, altho sufficiently temperate, as

(91) Official Land Register, Victoria District (in Department of Lands, Victoria), pp. 3, 13-16, 30.

regards drink, is Yet in my opinion, a much more dispicable character than his brother.⁹²

All of the girls married.⁹³ In 1849 Work decided to have his own marriage solemnized by the Church of England. His first marriage to Josette Legace had taken place according to the custom of the fur trade. The later ceremony was performed by the Reverend Robert Staines, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. James Douglas and John Tod signed the marriage certificate as witnesses. Josette made her mark, for she could not write.⁹⁴

The year 1861 was Work's last. His strenuous life, his injuries, and his illnesses, had aged him prematurely, for he was only 69. Loyal and obstinately he clung to his association with the Company, much to the exasperation of his friend Tod: ". . . it is pittingful," observed Tod, "to see him still clinging to the service, as if he would drag it along with him to the next world."⁹⁵ In October Work was attacked by a recurrence of the fever which had sapped his strength on his return from the Sacramento. For two months he was confined to his bed and,

(92) Tod to Ermatinger, Oak Bay, November 12, 1868 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(93) The dates of the marriages were as follows (the daughters are listed in order of age; the authority for the date given in each instance is cited in brackets):

Jane, to Dr. W. F. Tolmie, February 19, 1850 (Register of Marriages at Fort Vancouver and Victoria).

Sarah, to Roderick Finlayson, December 14, 1849 (*ibid.*).

Letitia, to Edward Huggins, October 21, 1857 (Edward Huggins to Eva Emery Dye, March 14, 1904; copy in Provincial Archives).

Margaret, to Edward H. Jackson, February 5, 1861, (*British Colonist*, February 7, 1861).

Mary, to James Allen Graham, September 5, 1860 (*British Colonist*, September 7, 1860).

Catherine (Kate), to Charles W. Wallace, Jr., February 5, 1861 (*British Colonist*, February 7, 1861).

Cecilia Josephine, to Charles Septimus Jones, October 12, 1870 (*British Colonist*, October 13, 1870).

Josette (Suzetta), to Edward Gawler Prior, January 30, 1878 (*Victoria Daily Standard*, January 31, 1878).

(94) November 6, 1849. Register of Marriages for Fort Vancouver and Victoria (photostat copy in Provincial Archives).

(95) Tod to Ermatinger, Vancouver Island, July 27, 1861 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

finally, on the 22nd of December, he died. To the funeral came Governor Douglas and his suite, the Members of the Legislative Council, the Speaker and Members of the Assembly, and many relatives and friends. It was proof of the general esteem and affection in which he was held. To-day his tombstone may be found in Pioneer Square, in the shadow of Christ Church Cathedral. His wife lived until the winter of 1895-96. At her death the Legislature passed the following resolution:—

That the members of this Legislature having heard with regret the death of Mrs. Work, wife of the late Hon. John Work, a member of the Council of Vancouver's Island from 1853 to 1861, who before her demise was the oldest resident of British Columbia, and will be remembered for her usefulness in pioneer work and many good deeds, beg to express their sympathy with the relatives of the deceased.⁹⁶

John Work's will,⁹⁷ which is a voluminous and wordy document, appointed his son-in-law, Roderick Finlayson, and his nephew, John McAdoo Wark, as his executors. The bulk of the home farm at Hillside was left to his wife; the other land was divided fairly equally among his sons and daughters. Interestingly enough, one of the witnesses of the will was the pioneer Presbyterian Minister, John Hall.⁹⁸

The memory of John Work has been almost erased by time, but his name and those of his family have been perpetuated in place-names in British Columbia and in and about Victoria. Behind Fort Simpson is a long inlet named Work Channel. Old maps of Victoria show a Work Street, on the northern shore of Rock Bay. This has been swallowed up in the continuation of Bay Street. A comparison of maps would seem to indicate that the Wark Street of to-day probably runs close to the site of the old home at Hillside. Work Point Barracks bears his name, while John, Henry, and David streets were named after his sons.

Work was not a great man, but he was a capable, conscientious, and loyal subordinate. He lacked the hard, calculating

(96) N. de B. Lugin, *Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843-1866*, Victoria, B.C., 1928, pp. 63-4.

(97) The will was discovered in the Court-house in Victoria, B.C., by Mr. Isaac Burpee, to whom the writer is indebted for many of the intimate details concerning Work and his family. A copy of the will has been deposited in the Provincial Archives.

(98) See J. C. Goodfellow, "John Hall: Pioneer Presbyterian in British Columbia," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII. (1943), pp. 31-48.

coldness which made for success in such men as James Douglas. Unfortunately he was ambitious, and through the later years when promotion came but slowly, he became critical and somewhat bitter. His friend Tod often accused Work of a want of decision, of not cutting the Gordian knot which bound him to the country. But in the perspective of the years this is seen to have been due not to indecision, but rather to his affection for his wife and family, coupled with the knowledge that any attempt to transplant their western natures to the older, less tolerant east, might end in misery and disaster. He was extremely capable as a leader of small expeditions in the field, where his physical courage, his great endurance, and endless loyalty stood him in good stead. Time and again the parties in his charge were saved by his caution, forethought, and attention to detail. From the pages of his journals, faithfully kept from day to day, may be gleaned a wealth of detail of early fur-trading days on the Pacific, found nowhere else in history.

HENRY DRUMMOND DEE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

APPENDIX.

THE JOURNALS OF JOHN WORK.

The following is a checklist of the original journals of John Work which are preserved in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. Printed versions are indicated in the notes following each entry.

1. (a.) *York Factory to Spokane House, July 18-October 28, 1823.*
(b.) *Columbia Valley Trading Expedition, April 15-November 17, 1824.*

For a summary and extracts see Walter N. Sage, "John Work's First Journal, 1823-1824," in Canadian Historical Association, *Report . . . 1929*, Ottawa, 1930, pp. 21-29; also Walter N. Sage and T. C. Elliott, "Governor George Simpson at Astoria in 1824," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX. (1929), pp. 106-110, in which the entries for October 18-November 17, 1824, are printed verbatim.

2. *Journal of a Voyage from Fort George to the Northward, Winter 1824, November 18-December 30, 1824.*

Deals with the McMillan expedition, which explored the lower Fraser River. See T. C. Elliott (ed.), "Journal of John Work, November and December, 1824," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, III. (1912), pp. 198-228.

3. *Journal, March 21-May 14, 1825.*

During these months Work was engaged in moving goods and equipment from Fort George to Fort Vancouver.

4. *Journal, June 21, 1825-June 12, 1826.*

Deals with Work's activities at Spokane House, the building of Fort Colville, and trading in the Flathead country. See T. C. Elliott (ed.), "Journal of John Work, June-October, 1825," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V. (1914), pp. 83-115; "Journal of John Work, Sept. 7th-Dec. 14th, 1825," *ibid.*, pp. 163-191; "Journal of John Work, Dec. 15th, 1825, to June 12th, 1826," *ibid.*, pp. 258-287.

5. *Journal, July 5-September 15, 1826.*

Work left Fort Vancouver with the New Caledonia brigade on July 4; was sent up the Snake River on a horse-trading expedition; drove the horses thus secured to Fort Colville, and then made a brief trading expedition to the Flatheads. See T. C. Elliott (ed.), "The Journal of John Work, July 5-September 15, 1826," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1915), pp. 26-49.

6. *Journal, May 20–August 15, 1828.*

See William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers, "Journal of a Trip from Fort Colville to Fort Vancouver and Return in 1828," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1920), pp. 104–114.

7. *Journal, April 30–May 31, 1830.*

The journal of Work's "difficult and troublesome journey" from Colville to Fort Vancouver, with a band of horses. See T. C. Elliott (ed.), "Journal of John Work April 30th to May 31st, 1830," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, X. (1909), pp. 296–313.

8. *Journal, August 22, 1830–April 20, 1831.*9. *Journal, April 21–July 20, 1831.*

See T. C. Elliott (ed.), "Journal of John Work, covering Snake Country Expedition of 1830–31," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XIII. (1912), pp. 363–371; XIV. (1913), pp. 280–314. The first instalment, covering *Journal 8*, was printed from notes taken from a copy of the original in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, London, by Agnes Laut. These are extremely scanty, and consist of no more than a few scattered entries, culled from a lengthy and detailed journal.

10. *Journal, August 18, 1831–July 27, 1832.*

See William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips, *The Journal of John Work A chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. during his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest . . . and Life of Work*, Cleveland, 1923, 209 pp.

11. *Journal, August 17, 1832–April 2, 1833.*12. *Journal, April 3–October 31, 1833.*

These journals, which cover the expedition to the Sacramento, are being edited by Mrs. Alice B. Maloney for publication in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*.

13. *Journal, May 22–July 10, 1834.*

See Leslie M. Scott (ed.), "John Work's Journey from Fort Vancouver to Umpqua River, and return, in 1834," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIV. (1923), pp. 238–268.

14. *Journal, December 11, 1834–June 30, 1835.*15. *Journal, July 1–October 27, 1835.*

These journals, which deal with Work's activities on the Northwest Coast, are being edited for publication in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS IN HISTORY MUSEUMS.*

During the last fifteen years or so a new concept has been formed of the function of history museums. Their original purpose was to preserve and exhibit any object of an historical nature, and let it go at that. They were looked upon as an enlarged version of the private curio cabinet, in which the objects were arranged haphazardly, with no thought of historical sequence.

As time went on, objects of a non-historical nature found their way into the collection, and were tolerated there because they were donated by one of the museum's trustees, or because they were part of a private collection presented on the condition that it be kept intact as a memorial to the donor.

Gradually, the word "museum" came to mean a storehouse of relics and curios, full of dust and mustiness, a place to be avoided except when one was showing a visiting relative the sights of the city. The objects were crowded together in poorly lighted cases and explained by labels that were dusty and illegible. There was little order, either in the cases themselves or in the museum as a whole, and the so-called display became an example of what has been well described as "visible storage."

I use the past tense here because these conditions are no longer true of all history museums. But, of course, they are still true of many museums in the United States as well as in Canada. While museums of art and science have forged ahead, using all the latest methods of display and lighting and labelling, and carrying out their functions with originality and imagination, the history museums have lagged behind.

I recall one striking example of this in a city in Massachusetts. There the public library and the art, science, and history museums are all under one management, and all grouped delightfully around a little green square. The first three institutions are models of their kind, the science museum even possessing one of the four planetariums in the entire United States. But

* An address delivered before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, April 19, 1943.

the methods of the history museum have progressed not one inch since the 1890's.

I said that the new concept of history museums has been formed in the last fifteen years or so. Actually, it was *proclaimed* over fifty years ago by the great American museist, Dr. George Browne Goode. He saw what an effective tool the museum could become in the cause of popular education, and he made the celebrated statement that "an efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels, each illustrated by a well selected specimen."

No doubt he was heartily laughed at by most of the museum people of his day. But time has shown how right he was. The great science and history museums of the world now answer to that description exactly. They hold that the purpose of exhibiting an object is *to illustrate a fact*. Now, as history is made up of a series of facts, or incidents, which occurred in a certain order, the obvious way to arrange the material in a history museum is in that same order. To arrange it otherwise is like printing a book beginning with, say, chapter twelve, following it with chapter five, then skipping to chapter fourteen, and so on.

A case in point is the small museum of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at Regina, which I visited on the way from Winnipeg, and which has never had the benefit of any direction but that of amateur enthusiasts. One exhibit, a most interesting one, shows the entire equipment of a mounted policeman in the earliest days of the Force; but you go through about two-thirds of the museum before you find it. Its rightful place as Exhibit A is taken by a case of Eskimo material which, considering the Arctic was the last region in Canada to feel the influence of the Mounties, should have been placed towards the end.¹

Naturally, it is impossible to arrange everything in chronological order. One has to pay attention to classification, too, showing a case of firearms of different periods, for instance, or one of lamps. But if the case itself is arranged in chronological order, the story it is supposed to tell will be that much clearer.

Again, territorial arrangement is often advisable. A museum of the Canadian Indian might be arranged chronologically. But the story would be far more comprehensible if it were divided

(1) This arrangement has since been changed.

into cultures, or grouped under such headings as transport, weapons, costume, and the like.

Museum directors of to-day have found it necessary to alter their methods, not only because their visitors have less time on their hands than the visitors of fifty years ago, but also because the visitors of fifty years ago had a keener interest in the subject. Perhaps some of you have read a book issued by the American Association for Adult Education entitled *The Civic Value of Museums*. It was written by T. R. Adam, a Scotsman living in New York, and was published in 1937. Because he tackles the problem forcefully and from what I believe was an entirely original view-point, I'm going to take the liberty of quoting from his book at some length.

The social pressure that made some form of cultural participation almost obligatory for ambitious people [in the 19th Century] appears to have changed its direction toward the petty fields of sport and entertainment. The Linnaean societies and pre-Raphaelite groups of our grandfathers have been replaced by our country clubs and bridge parties.

During the last decade the museum has rallied its powers to overcome the lethargy of the public toward firsthand knowledge of art and science. In the days when it was fashionable to have a mind of one's own, to explore the outskirts of science or art with the aid of an independent intelligence, the halls of a museum were used by the general public as a private laboratory or art gallery. Visitors brought an interest already sharpened to a study of the exhibits. Questions of arrangement and setting were of secondary importance. With the dying of public curiosity in personal study and the almost religious acceptance of the rounded dogmas of intellectual authority, the museum entered a period of twilight gloom. Its visitors were easily satisfied with the secondhand authority of books and lectures; a display of firsthand material puzzled their docile minds. Having lost their personal interest in questioning and experimenting, an array of objects that would have proved challenging to their forbears became meaningless and irritating.

The task of the museum has been to arouse once more public appreciation of firsthand material, to create understanding of the original sources of learning. To do this, exhibits have had to be made dramatic and colorful in their own rights. Our word-drugged minds have had to be lured into contemplating things as concrete objects. If a visitor walks through a gallery, say of ancient sculpture, and forms firsthand impressions of the beauty or ugliness of the objects and of the character of the people depicted, he has made a personal judgment on a cultural matter. Whether he perceives truth or error, he has engaged in independent thinking about basic materials. This effort runs contrary to the modern trend where specialization is all-important and the average person finds it more convenient to accept second- or even fifthhand information about original facts. . . .

The courage and skill of museum officials within the last fifteen years have brought the exhibition of objects to a fine art. To some extent they have borrowed the technique of early religious instruction; their material has been dramatized, creating a pageantry of objects that affects the mind directly through the eye. The purpose of exhibition always must be to stimulate the visitor to make judgments of his own concerning original material. This is a far harder task than to load a docile mind with predigested information or theories in neat verbal bundles. The power of the modern museum to fascinate millions of visitors annually with the lure of the original object is a vital part of our educational system. If critical intelligence is to survive in a civilization flooded by propaganda and intellectual authoritarianism, the longing for firsthand information must be kept alive in some quarter. The new technique of museum exhibition has aroused a response from the general public that proves it is meeting a true need in our cultural life.²

Now, you will notice that Mr. Adam stresses the point that exhibits have to be made dramatic and colourful. And this is only natural. The museum of to-day exists in a world where public appreciation of the art of display has been brought to the highest level. People accustomed to store-windows where every trick of lighting, colour and arrangement has been brought into play, are going to find most museum exhibits pretty uninspiring by comparison. So the museist has to learn something of the tricks of the trade.

In the first place, he must not crowd a display case with objects, no matter how interesting or how beautiful they may be. The most arresting store-windows have not more than two or three large objects in them to hold the attention of the passer-by. Tests made with a stop-watch at the Buffalo Museum of Science have shown that the average visitor spends only half as much time over a case crowded with objects as he does over the same case when half the objects are removed. In other words, each object gets four times as much attention as it did when it was in a crowded case. Put one of Cellini's masterpieces, or a rare document, in a case filled with bric-à-brac, and most people will give it only a passing glance. But put it in a well-lit case by itself, and it will get the attention it deserves.

Think, for instance, what a magnificent display could be made of the priceless Indian material in the basement of the building next door [the Provincial Museum]. There is a col-

(2) T. R. Adam, *The Civic Value of Museums*, New York, 1937, pp. 7-9.

lection which in most respects is as fine as any in the American Museum of Natural History or the Museum of the American Indian. But, on account of lack of facilities, the display can only be described as "visible storage."

The museist of to-day must be not only a scholar, but a showman too. If he is not a good showman, he would do well to ask the assistance of some one who is. To quote Dr. Arthur C. Parker, author of the standard work on the subject, *A Manual for History Museums*: "There must be something in the museum that seems to pulse with life, that thrills the beholder, that enables him to see he is a part of history. Museums must not be dead things, nor have the atmosphere of a funeral parlour. We must so plan our presentation of history that we dramatize our theme, and make the visitor feel that he is one of the actors."³

The modern history museum also differs from its forerunners in lighting and labelling. With the development of new types of illumination, the museum of to-day has some wonderful opportunities to make its exhibits not only well lighted but, sometimes, dramatically so. Artificial lighting is preferred to daylighting because it can be properly directed, while documents can be displayed under it without fading. The colours of native handicraft, such as beadwork and painting, which were chosen to be seen in daylight, look their best under the white fluorescent light; while a really arresting presentation of a single object, like a costumed figure, or a rare piece of craftsmanship, can be made by spot-lighting it.

As regards labelling—in the old-time museum, the tendency was to present as much information about the object as possible. Those were the days when people had the leisure, and the interest, to read through such lengthy dissertations. But to-day few museum visitors have either the time or the desire to read labels more than three lines long. Dr. Parker, who is director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, tells of one museum director playing a joke on a member of his staff who had written a label about fifteen lines long. He had the label copied exactly, except that half way through he inserted a sentence reading as follows: "Any visitor who reads as far as this may come to the

(3) Arthur C. Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, New York, 1935, p. xi.

office, where a reward of one dollar will be paid him." Though the label was on view for months, no one ever claimed the money!

Writing labels is an art in itself. Your museum visitors are roughly divided into two groups: those with a casual interest in the subject, and those who really want to learn something about it. For the first group, the label heading of three or four words is generally enough. For the second group, the heading is merely an introduction to what follows, like the heading in a newspaper story. If the object exhibited is a map or a picture, or anything else the character of which is obvious, it is naturally superfluous to head the label MAP or PICTURE, or whatever it is. Yet it is amazing how often this is done. Headings, above all, should be simple and arresting, and may often be cast in the form of a question, to lead the reader on.

Some of you may be interested in hearing about the setting-up of the new Hudson's Bay museum in Winnipeg, in which we have tried to follow the principles of modern museum technique. Heaven forbid that I should set myself up as an authority on the subject. I simply followed the suggestions of real authorities, and copied the methods of other museums, and the result, judging from the museum's popularity, has been successful. Last year we had a record registration of over 46,000, which means that the actual attendance was well over 100,000.

Dr. L. V. Coleman's *Manual for Small Museums*⁴ and Dr. Parker's *Manual* were my two bibles. To give me new ideas, the Hudson's Bay Company sent me on a two weeks' tour of the best museums from New York to Chicago, and then gave me carte blanche in the reorganization.

All the material from the Vancouver store museum—part of which had been exhibited in Victoria—was shipped down to Winnipeg to be incorporated in the new layout. The room to house the museum was part of the Winnipeg store, measuring about 100 by 45 feet. I had to design new cases—three kinds of them—and new lighting, and, of course, plan the layout. Incidentally, I found that several people had been giving accession numbers to the material, so that there were nine sets in all, which had to be reconciled into one. But that was a job which could wait.

(4) New York, 1927.

We set the carpenters to work building the display cases, of which ten were wall cases, five centre cases, and seven table cases. The store carpenters erected partitions in front of all the windows to block out the daylight, and the electricians put up a band of lights all the way round the room, shaded by a vertical board 7 feet above the floor. As the wall cases were 7 feet high, you could put one of them anywhere against the wall and it would be automatically lit from above through the top glass. On the wall between these the pictures and documents were to hang, also lit by the same band of lights. Alcoves were formed by putting centre cases end-on against the wall, with a special light-box on top.⁵

I should say that, previous to making the tour in the United States, I had written a short outline of the story the museum had to tell, and had formed some ideas of what objects would be needed to illustrate it. When I got to Winnipeg, I made a survey of the collection, and was then able to determine which points in the story could be illustrated by which objects.

It is a rule of modern museum technique that every object should be capable of illustrating a fact, and that any object which cannot do so should be discarded. There are, however, two exceptions to this rule.

If an object *calls attention* to a fact, or serves in a really constructive way to bring the past closer and make it more real, it may well be included in the chosen material. A sword picked up on a battlefield cannot possibly illustrate any fact except that swords of that type were used in the battle. But it can serve a much more useful purpose by calling attention to the "instructive label" which, in turn, calls attention to the battle.

The second exception to the rule may be represented by an object that is definitely in the class of "relics." Your modern museist abhors a "relic" as something coated thickly with the sugar of sentiment. Dr. Parker states that, as the objects shown are merely tools in the visualization of ideas, it isn't really necessary to exhibit a single relic or antique. This is an important point, because if copies of originals are permissible in a history museum the task of that museum is made much lighter and its possibilities greatly expanded.

(5) Photographs of the museum will be found in *The Beaver* for September, 1937.

When I was planning the Hudson's Bay Company Museum, one of the things I wanted to do was to exhibit a case of trade goods of 1748. I had a list of trade goods in that year, with their respective values in beaver. But I had no merchandise dating from that period, with the possible exception of a couple of firearms and a sword-blade. Next to that case I intended to show some furs, such as were traded in 1748. Now, of course, furs nearly two hundred years old were impossible to find. But the furs that *were* available were exactly similar and, therefore, illustrated the point just as well. By the same token, modern copies of those old trade goods were also just as good for illustrating the type of merchandise bartered for the furs. So I went ahead and installed my copies, and the result, I was told, was one of the most interesting displays in the museum.

There are some instances, however, where a copy is quite useless. To behold an accurate copy of the pen with which the Declaration of Independence, for example, was signed, leaves one only mildly interested. But to be confronted with the very pen itself, conjures up in the mind's eye one of the most momentous events in the history of mankind. Even a person of the dullest imagination must surely see the fingers of those great men grasping that quill, and with it, writing the beginning of a new chapter in world history.

Another important principle by which the museist must abide is the determination not to show everything in his collection. If he does that few people will bother to visit his museum more than once—firstly, because they will say they have seen all there is to see, and, secondly, because the multiplicity of material will bewilder them. I have seen several museums—and I have no doubt you have too—which exhibited two or three identical objects side by side, just because they had two or three in the collection. If they had had fifty of them, they would doubtless have exhibited fifty. The same is true, to a lesser extent, of things that come in pairs, like moccasins and leggings and gloves. The only excuse for exhibiting more than one of a pair is to attain balance in the display.

Another good reason for not showing everything at once is that the material kept in reserve can be used to change the exhibits from time to time. Imagine how popular store-windows would become if they always looked the same. One museum in

the United States, which carried out regular changes, put up a sign reading: "If you have not visited this museum in the past six months, you have not visited it." If the local public, rather than the tourists, know that a museum's exhibits are constantly changing, they will be much more likely to go there instead of putting off their visit until next week, or next month, or next year.

When I got to Winnipeg after my tour of museums I found that the Company already had a large storage collection of material from which the exhibits could be freshened up from time to time. The immediate task, then, was to choose the material for the first layout. So I took my story, divided it into chapters, listed the main points in it, and then selected objects to illustrate those points. The chapters represented the various sections in the museum. There was the founding of the Company, the early developments in Hudson Bay, the exploration and expansion inland, the strife with the North West Company, the Union of 1821, and the further expansion that succeeded it. From here the story was divided territorially into the Eastern Woodlands, the Prairies, the Arctic, the Mackenzie area, the interior of British Columbia, and the Pacific Coast, arranged in the order in which the Company penetrated those various regions. Then came the surrender of the West, the period after 1870, and, finally, the twentieth century. The introduction to the whole story was a case of moving cut-out figures, representing the chief episodes in it, and passing slowly before the visitors' eyes on the rim of a large wheel. And as this was placed at the door, it also served as a summary of the story which the outgoing visitor had just seen.

The final exhibit of all was a model trading-post, with a counter, in which were shown typical trade goods of a certain period.

The room was painted in cream with a chocolate-brown trim, and so were the cases. The tendency in old museums was to have the cases looking dark and imposing with mahogany. But one goes to a museum to see the exhibits, not the cases, which are merely a necessary evil designed to exclude the corrupting influences of moth and dust and people's fingers. Our aim then, was to make the cases as inconspicuous as possible.

This layout lasted about a year, when about half of it was changed. Since then it has been altered twice—which is not as

often as I would have liked. But it is due for another overhaul in June.

Our attendance has been rising steadily, despite the demands of the war and the decrease in tourists. Part of our attendance is, of course, made up of school children, but we are just as keen in interesting the adults—if not more so. Mr. Adam's book, from which I quoted at length awhile back, makes it plain that the museum has become one of the strongest *potential* forces in adult education to-day. I stress the word "potential" because, although the technique of the museum has been so greatly improved during the last few years, the public is still backward about making use of its facilities. Certainly, the history museum appeals to a greater section of the public than do the other kinds. Mr. Adam gives it as his opinion that more people would maintain intellectual interests in adult life through the study of history than through the pursuit of art, literature, or science. And he goes on to point out that a history museum combining expert scholarship with skilled showmanship is admirably suited to act as a focal centre for popular education, *if* it receives the support of outside organizations.

Paul Marshall Rea, another of the leading museists south of the border, and author of *The Museum and the Community*, points out that museums are "potentially popular universities that may enrol the whole population almost literally from the cradle to the grave."⁶ The museum is, in fact, rightly called "the poor man's university."

Its value in the education of children is generally accepted without question. But there are some powerful dissenting voices. Dr. Goode was opposed to paying too much attention in the museum to the needs of the young, deeming it of more value to adults. "I should not organize the museum primarily," he wrote, "for the use of the people in their larval or school-going stage of existence. . . . School-days end, with the majority of mankind, before their minds have reached the stage of growth most favorable for the assimilation of the best and most useful thought."⁷ Dr. Benjamin Gilman, author of that forward-looking

(6) Paul M. Rea, *The Museum and the Community*, p. 31.

(7) Quoted in Benjamin Gilman, *Museum Ideals*, Cambridge, Mass., 1923, p. 285.

book *Museum Ideals*, is inclined to support this view. "School classes marshalled through museum halls," he says, "may afford gratifying statistics; but the invisible census of educational result would make the judicious grieve." And he continues: "There is solid psychological ground for the objection to indiscriminate museum visits by school classes. The perils should not be blinked by museum authorities, but should suggest the enquiry whether . . . the attempt to turn school children into habitués of museums does not rest upon the assumption that, whatever the adult can assimilate to his profit, can, and should, be presented and expounded to the young."⁸

Most schools to-day include museum visits as part of their curriculum. When I was at the Newark, New Jersey, museum, one of our most regular duties was to lead groups of school children through the exhibits, explaining the points which we thought would be of most interest to them. We always tried to make their visit appear as little like school-work as possible; but, at the same time, we had a feeling that when they got back to school, the teachers were going to examine them on what they had seen and learned—and that, of course, would immediately classify their visit as work, rather than recreation. As Dr. Gilman rather succinctly puts it: "Unless a museum is to fail essentially in its teaching office, its instruction must be accomplished in holiday mood, without drudgery for the docent (or teacher) and without tasks or tests for the disciple."⁹ The point is, that the adult must remember the museum as a place where he enjoyed himself as a child, and so will return to it again and again.

Visual education is certainly important, but tactile education is often more so. Most large museums in the United States have lending collections, which are sent round to the schools for the children to handle as well as see. At Newark our lending collection consisted of over ten thousand objects, the distribution of which required a staff of six. At Rochester, to add to the number of "expendable" objects in the Indian collections, they lend original objects to craftsmen on the near-by Iroquois reserve for copying. These copies are then loaned out

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 287.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 288.

to the schools, and if they are lost or damaged it doesn't matter very much.

All in all, if we want public support for the history museum it is through the field of education that we must make our appeal. And parents who take an interest in the museum because it helps to educate their children may, quite unconsciously, absorb a good deal of information themselves. So much, in fact, that they may become really interested in the history of their community and of their country. That is the end towards which we must work.

CLIFFORD P. WILSON.

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA.

THE DIARY OF ROBERT MELROSE.

ROYAL EMIGRANT'S ALMANACK

concerning

FIVE YEARS SERVITUDE

under the

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

on

VANCOUVER'S ISLAND

PART III.

(Concluding instalment.)

1856.

JANUARY.

- Tu. 1 Divine service held by the Rev^d E. Cridge.¹ Great drinkings
at night.
- We 2 Fresh weather.
- Th. 3 Showers and high wind.
- Fr. 4 All arrived to work.
- S. 6 Showers.
- Mo. 7 One Sow killed. Showry.
- We. 9 Every thing very quiet.
- Fr. 11 S.B. "Beaver" arrived from a cruise up the Sound.
- Sa. 12 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco.
- We. 16 Remarkable fine weather.
- Sa. 19 Frosty.
- S. 20 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
- Mo. 21 William Stephens dropped work.
- We. 23 Slight Showers.
- Fr. 25 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nanaimo. A Ball held for the
benefit of James Tait.
- S. 27 No preaching to day.
- We. 30 S. S. "Otter" sailed Fort Simpson. Rain.
- Th. 31 Rain.

(1) Rev. Edward (later Bishop) Cridge, chaplain for the Hudson's Bay Company. See entry for April 1, 1855.

1856—Continued.

FEBRUARY.

- Fr. 1 A Subscription paper sent through for the benefit of John Davy.
- S. 3 No Sermon to day. Caleb Pike and Elizabeth Lidgate proclaimed for marriage.
- Mo. 4 Quarter's pay due.
- Tu. 5 No Mails arriving on account of the Indian war.²
- Th. 7 Cap. Wishart³ gained a law-plea over And. Hume. M^r McKenzie⁴ one over W. Millingto[n].
- Fr. 8 George Greenwood $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author whole D. 7 Men run off from the "Ps. [Princess] Royal." 4 Men escaped out of the Bastion belonging to the "Pss. Royal."
- Sa. 9 Showers.
- S. 10 M^r Clark⁵ dropped his preaching altogether.
- Tu. 12 Barque "Princess Royal" sailed for England. Slight showers.
- Sa. 16 Slight Frost.
- S. 17 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
- Mo. 18 M^{rs} Downie gave birth to a female child. Cold winds.
- We. 20 The long-looked-for mail arrived.
- Th. 21 One Boar killed. American S. Frigate "Active" visited Port.
- Fr. 22 Caleb Pike and Elisabeth Lidgate married. S.S. "Otter" arrived.
- James Downie commenced to make bricks.
- Mo. 25 Rain. Garden Park fenced in.
- Tu. 26 M^r Thorn engineer, and his son started to work.
- Th. 28 Frosty mornings.

MARCH.

- Mo. 3 Foggy mornings.
- Tu. 4 Recruiting commenced to form a local militia corps. Voltigeurs.⁶
- We. 5 Great dread of an Indian attack.

(2) The war between the Americans and the Indians in Washington Territory and parts of Oregon, which had broken out in 1855. The situation continued tense for several months. See Douglas to Tolmie, April 21, 1856: "I am sorry to have very bad accounts of the war, the Indians appear to have the upper hand and really exhibit a degree of courage and sagacity which make us tremble for the empire of the whites."

(3) Captain David D. Wishart, of the Hudson's Bay barque *Princess Royal*.

(4) Kenneth McKenzie, bailiff in charge of Craigflower Farm.

(5) Charles Clarke, schoolmaster at Craigflower.

(6) The corps formed at this time was known as the Victoria Colonial Voltigeurs. The total number of men enlisted is not known, but eighteen members took part in the expedition to Cowichan later in the year. See entry for August 20, 1856, *infra*.

1856—Continued.

MARCH.

- Th. 6 American Screw Steamer "Massachusetts" 4 guns visited Esquimalt harbour.⁷
 Fr. 7 Sloop "Sarah Stone" arrived with the mail.
 Sa. 8 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
 Mo. 10 Frosty mornings.
 We. 12 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.
 Fr. 14 A fleet of 30 Indian canoes arrived from the North.
 Sa. 15 John Russel commenced taking money for his rations. M^r Moffat a clerk, and Miss McNeil a chief-traders daughter, married.⁸
 S. 16 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
 Tu. 18 S.B. "Beaver" & Brig "Recovery" sailed Nanaimo.
 We. 19 Schooner "Jessie" sailed along with M^r McKenzie for potatoes.
 Th. 20 Rain.
 Fr. 21 Good Friday kept as a holiday. Heavy Showers.
 Sa. 22 Sch. "Jessie" arrived with a small cargo of potatoes.
 Tu. 25 Sch. "Jessie" sailed. Showers.
 We. 26 Great Ball held at Victoria, riff-raff excluded.
 Fr. 28 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco. M^r Clark gave a great dinner.
 Sa. 29 Sch. "Jessie" arrived. Joh. Russel $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Dun. Lidgate $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 S. 30 M^r McKenzie gave a great dinner in opposition to M^r Clark.
 Mo. 31 Ja. Stewart $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Jo. Vine $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 Brig "Recovery" arrived from Nanaimo.

APRIL.

- We. 2 Sch. "Jessie" sailed.
 Th. 3 Brig "Recovery" sailed San Francisco. High wind with rain.
 Sa. 5 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed on her trading expedition. Rain.
 S. 6 Heavy rain.
 Tu. 8 A Batch of the Bob-tail giving false alarms at night.⁹ Frosty.
 Fr. 11 One Bull killed.
 S. 13 Duncan Lidgate whole D. John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 We. 16 Cold showery weather.
 Fr. 18 Heavy rain.

(7) This barque-rigged vessel originally belonged to the United States Navy, but had been handed over to the War Department. She was one of several vessels sent to Puget Sound because of the Indian troubles.

(8) Hamilton Moffat, of Fort Rupert, and Lucy McNeill, daughter of Captain W. H. McNeill.

(9) The meaning of this curious entry is obscure. Possibly the reference is to "ragtag and bob-tail," meaning thereby the riff-raff of the Craigflower community.

1856—Continued.

APRIL.

- Sa. 19 Fresh beef served out.
 S. 20 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
 Mo. 21 American sloop of war "Decatur" visited.¹⁰
 Tu. 22 M^r Tod a retired Chief Trader impeached with cattle stealing.¹¹
 Sa. 26 Sloop "Sarah Stone" seized for smuggling grog.
 We. 30 Pump of Engine broke,

MAY.

- Th. 1 M^r McKenzie removed into his new house.¹² heavy showers.
 Fr. 2 Four sheep killed.
 S. 4 American Sloop of war "Decatur" sailed Puget Sound.
 Tu. 6 Very warm weather.
 We. 7 S. S. "Otter" sailed Bellvue [San Juan Island] with a cargo of horses.
 Fr. 9 Great discoveries of gold in different parts of the Island.¹³
 Sa. 10 John Instant $\frac{3}{4}$ D. Brick-kiln burnt off.
 S. 11 Refreshing rain.
 Mo. 12 One sheep killed.
 Tu. 13 American S. S. "John Hancock" visited Esquimalt.
 Fr. 16 Brig "Recovery" arrived from San Francisco. Five sheep killed.
 Sa. 17 John Instant dropped work.
 S. 18 Mrs. Captain Cooper gave birth to a female child.
 Tu. 20³ Duncan Lidgate, John Instant, & Robert Laing apprehended for shooting into M^r McKenzie's house.¹⁴
 Th. 22 Three sheep killed by dogs.
 Fr. 23 Five sheep killed.
 Sa. 24 Victoria Races celebrated on Beacon Hill. Duncan Lidgate, John Instant, and Robert Laing bailed out of prison.
 S. 25 Refreshing showers. Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.

(10) The *Decatur* (as the name should be spelled) took a prominent part in the war against the Indians. She was at Seattle and helped to defend the settlement when it was attacked in February, 1856.

(11) The reference is to John Tod, one of the best-known officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. No particulars of the charges made are available, and no reference to the case has been found in the records of the Courts.

(12) This dwelling, now known as the Old Craigflower Farmhouse, is still standing and in good repair. It was sold to private owners by the Hudson's Bay Company only a few years ago.

(13) Promising placer deposits in the vicinity of Sooke were causing some excitement at this time. See Douglas to Tolmie, May 1, 1856.

(14) The Court records relating to this case are incomplete, and give no additional details. See entries for May 24, May 31, and June 5, *infra*.

1856—Continued.

MAY.

- Mo. 26 John Instant removed to Esquimalt bay. One sheep killed by dogs. William Brown & wife removed to Craig Flower.
- We. 28 Showery weather.
- Fr. 30 Four Sheep killed.
- Sa. 31 Another examination held on D. Lidgate, J. Instant, and R. Laing.

JUNE.

- Mo. 2 Commenced sheep shearing.
- We. 4 Refreshing showers.
- Th. 5 Dun. Lidgate fined 5s. Jno. Instant. Joseph Armstrong killed by a horse dragging him along the ground.
- Fr. 6 5 Sheep killed. Mrs. Cridge gave birth to a male child. Coroner's inquest held on the body of Joseph Armstrong.
- Mo. 9 A law passed to form a house of representatives.¹⁵
- We. 11 Very warm weather.
- Fr. 13 Five Sheep killed.
- Sa. 14 James $\frac{3}{4}$ D. The Author $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
- S. 15 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
- Tu. 17 James Newburgh disappeared.¹⁶
- Th. 19 Very warm.
- Fr. 20 Five sheep killed.
- Sa. 21 Ineffectual search made for the person of James Newburgh.
- Mo. 23 High winds.
- Th. 26 Another ineffectual search made for the person of James Newbird.
Schooner "Alice" sailed Sandwich Islands.
- Fr. 27 Five sheep killed.
- Sa. 28 John Bell made his marriage feast whole company notoriously drunk.

JULY.

- We. 2 Doctor Helmkin [Helmcken], and Mr. T. Skinner elected for the Esquimalt district—with[ou]t any opposition.
- Th. 3 Licence's for selling grog granted £120 per annum.
- Fr. 4 Five Sheep killed. George Greenwood and Andrew Hume, fighting.
- Mo. 7 American S. S. "John Hancock" visited Esquimalt.

(15) On this date the Council of Vancouver Island and Governor Douglas fixed the qualifications for candidates and voters, and defined the districts in which members of the new House of Assembly would be elected.

(16) The man's body was found a year later. See entry for June 23, 1857.

1856—Continued.

JULY.

- Tu. 8 Mr. Yates, Mr. Longford, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Thorn, and Mr. McKay nominated for the Victoria district, three to be chosen out of the five.¹⁷
- Fr. 11 Mr. Yates, Mr. Longford, and Mr. Pemberton elected for the Victoria district.
- Sa. 12 Five Sheep killed.
- Mo. 14 Mr. Yates, Mr. Longford, and Mr. Pemberton declared [elected]. Refreshing rain.
- Fr. 18 Five Sheep killed. Showers.
- S. 20 Refreshing rain.
- Mo. 21 Heavy showers.
- We. 23 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.
- Fr. 25 Barque "Agnes Garland" arrived from England. Five Sheep killed.
- Sa. 26 Another well sunk 33 feet deep.
- Tu. 29 Extraordinary warm.
- Th. 31 Mr. Clark's school examination held on a royal scale.¹⁸

AUGUST.

- Fr. 1 Five sheep killed.
- Sa. 2 James Wilson $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
- Mo. 4 The Author whole D. Quarters Pay due.
- Th. 7 Mr. Charles Clark and Miss Boatwood married.
- Fr. 8 Four sheep killed. Commenced to harvest.
- Mo. 11 H.M.S. "Monarch" 84 guns arrived in Esquimalt harbour.¹⁹
- Tu. 12 H.M.S. "Trincomalee" 22 guns arrived do. do.
The Members for the House of Assembly sworn in.
- Th. 14 Cattle killed every day for the ships.²⁰
- Fr. 15 Four Sheep killed.
- Sa. 16 Barque "Agnes Garland" sailed China.
- Mo. 18 Mrs. Liddle gave birth to a female child.
- Tu. 19 House of Assembly met.

(17) Four of the candidates were: James Yates, E. E. Langford (not Longford), J. D. Pemberton, and J. W. McKay. Thorn has not been identified; but see entry for February 26, 1856, *supra*, which may refer to the person in question.

(18) The Craigflower School was inspected both by Governor Douglas and by the Rev. Edward Cridge. The latter submitted a written report for which see D. L. MacLaurin, "Education Before the Gold Rush," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 258-60.

(19) Flagship of Rear Admiral H. W. Bruce, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station.

(20) Meaning for the ships of the Royal Navy.

1856—Continued.

AUGUST.

- We. 20 Thomas Williams shot through the arm by an Indian.²¹
 S. 24 Attended divine service on board H.M.S. "Monarch."
 Tu. 26 Royal salute fired for Prince Albert's birth day.
 Th. 28 Robert Anderson's child died.
 Fr. 29 S. S. "Otter" taken H.M.S. "Trincomalee" in tow up to
 Coweigan.
 Sa. 30 Sheep killed.
 S. 31 Colonial Church consecrated.²²

SEPTEMBER.

- Tu. 2 Very showery weather.
 Th. 4 The Indian hung who shot Thomas Williams.
 Fr. 5 Sheep killed. Showers.
 Sa. 6 S. S. "Otter" & H.M.S. "Trincomalee" arrived from their
 Coweigan expedition.
 S. 7 Mr. Cooke gunner H. M. S. "Trincomalee" held a Prayer
 meeting School room.
 Mo. 8 Mrs. Barr gave birth to a male child.
 Tu. 9 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
 Fr. 12 Mrs. Muir gave birth, a female child.
 Sa. 13 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
 S. 14 Mr. Cooke held his Prayer meeting.
 Tu. 16 Foggy mornings.
 Sa. 20 Fresh Beef served out.
 S. 21 Mr. Green Chaplain H.M.S. "Monarch" held divine service
 in the School house.
 Mo. 22 James Liddle's child baptized by the Rev. Mr. Green.
 Tu. 23 H.M.S. "Monarch" sailed San Francisco. James Class
 started to work.
 We. 24 Thomas Hervey died.
 Fr. 26 All the corn got in.
 Sa. 27 Mrs. Muir (Isabella Weir) died.²³ Fresh Beef served out.
 S. 28 Mr. Cooke held his Prayer meeting.

(21) "Thomas Williams an English subject and settler in this Colony having been wantonly fired at and dangerously wounded by an Indian of the Somina Tribe who inhabit the upper Cowegin valley," Douglas requested Admiral Bruce to send a force to apprehend the would-be murderer. Douglas to Bruce, August 25, 1856. An expedition was at once organized and left in the Hudson's Bay steamer *Otter* and H.M.S. *Trincomalee*. See entries for August 29, September 4, and September 6. Some 400 sailors and marines took part; eighteen members of the Victoria Voltigeurs accompanied them. The murderer was apprehended, tried, and executed.

(22) The Victoria District Church, the predecessor of Christ Church Cathedral. The original building was destroyed by fire in 1869.

(23) Mrs. Andrew Muir. For her marriage see entries for January 15 and January 31, 1854, *supra*.

1856—Continued.

SEPTEMBER.

- Tu. 30 Mrs. Muir buried. William Newton and Miss [Emmaline] Todd married. Trincomalee Ball.

OCTOBER.

- We. 1 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
 Th. 2 Matthew Rolland imprisoned for one year for stealing cattle.
 Fr. 3 Very showery weather. Mrs. Whyte gave birth to a female child.
 Sa. 4 Fresh Mutton served out.
 S. 5 American S.S. "Massachusetts" visited Esquimalt.
 Mo. 6 H.M.S. "Trincomalee" sailed coast of Mexico.
 Tu. 7 Terrible high wind.
 We. 8 Showers.
 Fr. 10 Two Sheep and one Pig killed.
 Mo. 13 Mr. Blinkhorn died.²⁴
 Tu. 14 Mrs. Veitch gave birth to a female child.
 Th. 16 Mrs. Montgomery gave birth to a still-born male child. Mr. Blinkhorn buried.
 Fr. 17 One Bullock killed.
 S. 19 Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from her trading expedition.
 Mo. 20 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco. Very frosty.
 Th. 23 Heavy rain.
 Fr. 24 Two pigs killed.
 Sa. 25 9 Sheep poisoned.
 S. 26 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
 Mo. 27 Very wet day.
 We. 29 Peter Bartleman and Mr. Skinner at law.
 Th. 30 Showers.
 Fr. 31 Three Sheep killed.

NOVEMBER.

- Sa. 1 One Pig killed. Andrew Hume, James Wilson, & The Author taking money for their rations.
 Brig "Recovery" arrived from Sandwich Islands.
 Mo. 3 Heavy rain.
 Tu. 4 Quarters pay due and settled.
 Th. 6 New marked [market] opened, one pig sold. One Bullock killed.
 Fr. 7 Severe frost.
 Sa. 8 Duncan Lidgate taking money for his rations.
 Mo. 10 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.

(24) Thomas Blinkhorn, who had come to Vancouver Island as an "independent settler" in 1851, and had taken charge of a farm at Metchosin owned by Captain James Cooper. Blinkhorn was appointed magistrate for Metchosin District in 1853, and held the office at the time of his death.

1856—Continued.

NOVEMBER.

- Th. 13 Mrs. Hume gave birth to a male child. One Bullock killed.
 Fr. 14 Mrs. Pike gave birth to a still-born child.
 Sa. 15 Fine weather.
 Mo. 17 Steam Engine removed to the new building.
 Matthew Rolland liberated from prison.
 We. 19 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
 Th. 20 Hurricane of wind and rain.
 Sa. 22 Heavy rain.
 S. 23 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
 Tu. 25 American S. S. "Massachusetts" arrived with 80 Indian
 prisoners on board.
 We. 26 Rain.
 Th. 27 The Indian prisoners sent away north.
 Sa. 29 Monthly Ration pay.
 S. 30 William Thomson and Margret Lidgate proclaimed for mar-
 riage fl.[rst] time.

DECEMBER.

- Mo. 1 Frosty.
 We. 3 Two Bullocks killed. Showry.
 Sa. 6 Heavy rain.
 Mo. 8 James Downie started to the thrashing.
 Tu. 9 Dreadfull storm of wind and rain.
 Fr. 12 Very frosty.
 Sa. 13 Rain.
 Mo. 15 Heavy fall of snow 8 inches deep.
 We. 17 Hard frost.
 Fr. 19 William Thomson and Margret Die married. Rain and snow.
 Sa. 20 Captain Cooper's household effects sold by public auction.²⁵
 Very rainy.
 S. 21 Showers.
 Mo. 22 Captain Cooper's sale continued. Showers.
 Tu. 23 Heavy Showers. Two horses drowned at the Esquimalt
 bridge.
 Th. 25 Christmas kept as a holiday.
 Fr. 26 Mrs. McKenzie gave birth to a male child.
 Sa. 27 Monthly ration pay settled.
 S. 28 Rev^d E. Cridge divine service in the school-room.
 Tu. 30 Heavy fall of snow.

(25) Following the death of Thomas Blinkhorn (*see* entry for October 13, 1856) Cooper sold his farm at Metchosin, and later sold his household effects, as recorded in this and subsequent entries. He returned to England in 1857, where he gave evidence before the Select Committee investigating the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was appointed Harbour Master for British Columbia in 1859.

1857

JANUARY.

- Th. 1 New Year's day kept as a holiday.
 Fr. 2 Severe frost with drift and snow.
 Mo. 5 Chief Judge and Sherriff. confirmed.
 Tu. 6 Hoar frost.
 We. 7 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nanaimo.
 Sa. 10 Severe frost lasted from the first.
 Mo. 12 Captain Cooper sold out entirely.
 We. 14 Theatre opened at Victoria.
 Th. 15 Barque "Princess Royal" arrived from England.
 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
 Sa. 17 Heavy rain.
 S. 18 Rain.
 Mo. 19 Rain.
 Tu. 20 One Bullock killed. Rain.
 We. 21 Rain.
 Th. 22 Rain.
 Fr. 23 Rain.
 Sa. 24 Rain. Monthly Ration Pay settled.
 S. 25 Rev^d E. Cridge held divine service. Rain.
 Mo. 26 Brig "Recovery" arrived from Sandwich Islands. Rain.
 Tu. 27 Rain.
 We. 28 Rain.
 Th. 29 Rain.
 Fr. 30 Brig "Recovery" and S. B. "Beaver" sailed Fraser's River.
 Rain.
 Sa. 31 Rain.

FEBRUARY.

- Mo. 2 Rain.
 Tu. 3 Rain and Snow.
 We. 4 Quarter Pay due. Rain. One Bullock killed.
 Th. 5 Rain.
 Fr. 6 Hard frost. Thrashing mill set agoing.
 Sa. 7 Snow and rain.
 S. 8 Twenty-one sheep killed by wolves or panthers.
 Tu. 10 Rain.
 We. 11 Rain.
 Th. 12 Rain.
 Fr. 13 Sch. "Morning Star" arrived from Sock. Rain.
 Sa. 14 Mr. Clark received a respectable round from Mr. McK[enz]ie.
 Rain.
 Mo. 16 Rain.
 Tu. 17 Presentation of Silver Plate to Dr. Helmkin [Helmcken] on board the "Princess Royal."²⁶

(26) No mention of this presentation is found in Helmcken's reminiscences, and its significance is not known.

1857—Continued

FEBRUARY.

- We. 18 Rain.
 Th. 19 Four pigs killed. Rain.
 Fr. 20 Rain.
 Sa. 21 Monthly ration pay due. Rain.
 S. 22 Rev^d E. Cridge held divine service. Rain.
 Mo. 23 Frosty.
 Tu. 24 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
 Th. 26 American S. S. "Massachusetts" arrived Esquimalt.
 Fr. 27 Slight Frost. New Flour-mill started.

MARCH.

- Tu. 3 Fine weather.
 Th. 5 Barque "Princess Royal" sailed for London.
 S. S. "Otter" arrived Nisqually.
 Mrs. Souel gave birth to a female child.
 Fr. 6 Three pigs killed.
 Mo. 9 Showry.
 We. 11 Rain.
 Th. 12 Rain.
 Fr. 13 Three pigs killed.
 S. 15 Very wet.
 Mo. 16 Rain.
 Tu. 17 Mr. W. McDonald and Miss C. Reed married.²⁷ Heavy rain.
 We. 18 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually. Rain.
 Th. 19 Rain.
 Fr. 20 One Pig killed. Rain and snow.
 Sa. 21 Monthly Ration Pay settled. Rain.
 S. 22 Mrs. McKenzie, Mrs. Veitch, Mrs. Whyte, and Mrs. Hume's children baptized by the Rev^d E. Cridge.
 Mo. 23 S. S. "Otter" arrived.
 Tu. 24 S. S. "Otter" chartered by the American Government for a cruize on the Sound.
 We. 25 Showery.
 Fr. 27 Four Pigs killed.
 Tu. 31 S. S. "Otter" arrived.

APRIL.

- Fr. 3 Two Pigs killed.
 Mo. 6 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
 Th. 9 S. S. Otter arrived. Nisqually.
 Fr. 10 Good Friday kept. One Bullock killed.
 Tu. 14 Mrs. Deans gave birth to a male child.
 Fr. 17 One Bullock killed.

(27) William John McDonald, a well-known Victoria pioneer (who was afterwards Senator), and Catherine Balfour Reid, daughter of Captain J. M. Reid.

1857—Continued

APRIL.

- Sa. 18 Monthly Ration Pay settled.
 Mo. 20 Mr. McKenzie gained a law-plea over Mr. Clark.
 We. 22 Mark Cole put a pistol bullet through a Canadian's leg.
 Fr. 24 One Bullock killed.
 Sa. 25 S. S. "Otter" arrived.
 Tu. 28 Very warm weather.
 We. 29 Mrs. Kelly gave birth to a male child.

MAY.

- Mo. 4 Quarter's Pay due and settled.
 Tu. 5 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
 Th. 7 S. S. "Otter" arrived with Mr. Dallas and Mr. Munroe.
 Fr. 8 Three Sheep killed.
 Sa. 9 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nanaimo, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Dallas, Mr. Pemberton, & Mr. Cridge.
 Mo. 11 Hot and sultry.
 We. 13 Refreshing showers. S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nanaimo.
 Fr. 15 Three Sheep killed.
 Sa. 16 Showers. Monthly ration pay settled.
 Mo. 18 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
 Tu. 19 Brig "Recovery" arrived Sandwich Islands.
 We. 20 S. S. "Otter" arrived Nisqually.
 Th. 21 Heavy rain.
 Fr. 22 Four Sheep killed.
 S. 24 Rev^d E. Cridge held divine service.
 Mo. 25 Victoria races celebrated on Beacon Hill.
 We. 27 Very hot and sultry.
 Fr. 29 Three Sheep killed.
 Sa. 30 Great concert held in the Assembly rooms Victoria.
 S. 31 Heat 110 degrees.

JUNE.

- We. 3 Cool breezes.
 Fr. 5 Four Sheep killed.
 Mo. 8 S. S. "Otter" sailed Columbia River.
 Fr. 12 Three Sheep killed.
 Sa. 13 H.M.S.S. "Satellite" 20 guns arrived in Esquimalt.
 Monthly Ration pay due.
 We. 17 John Hunter started to work.
 Fr. 19 Four Sheep killed.
 Sa. 20 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Columbia River.
 Mo. 22 American Steamer "Active" arrived at Victoria.
 Tu. 23 The skeleton of James Newbird found.²³

(28) The man had disappeared a year before. See entry for June 17, 1856, *supra*.

1857—Continued

JUNE.

- Th. 25 Mrs. Cridge gave birth to a male child.
 Fr. 26 Five sheep killed.
 S. 28 Confirmation of young communicants by the Bishop of Oregon.²⁹
 Mo. 29 Refreshing rain.
 Tu. 30 Rain.

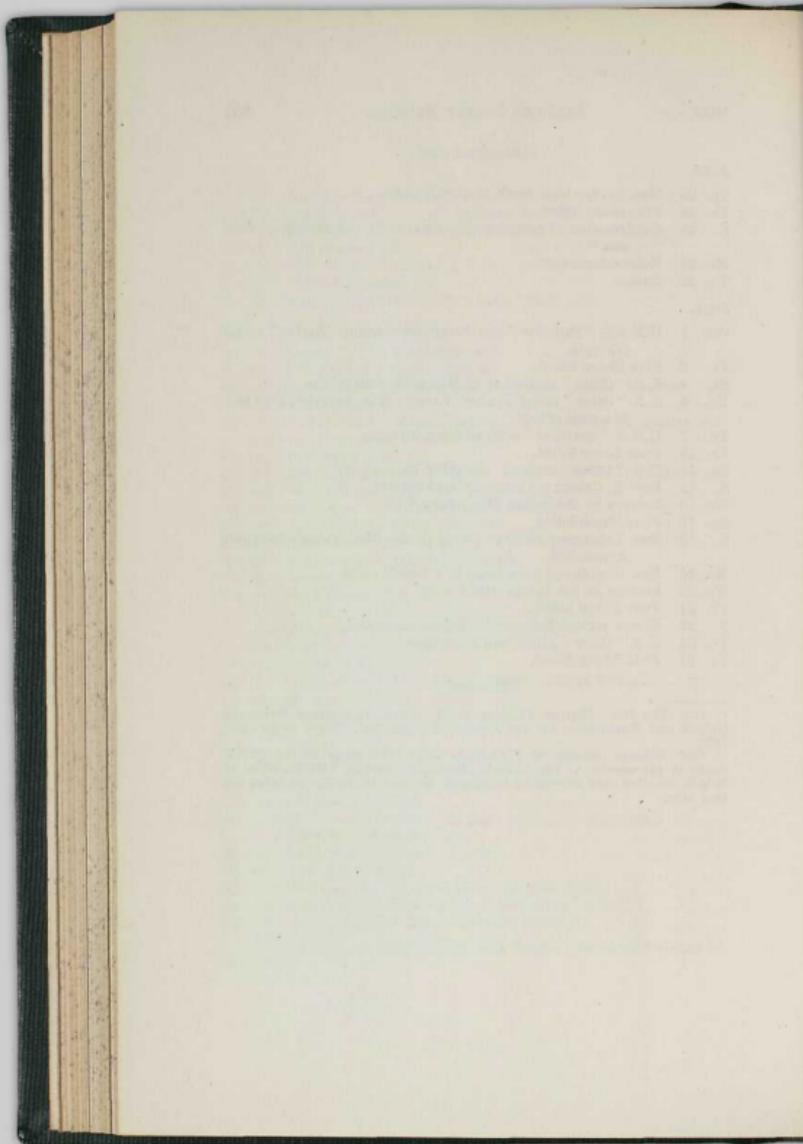
JULY.

- We. 1 H.M.S.S. "Sattelite" and American Steamer "Active" sailed Olympia.
 Fr. 3 Five Sheep killed.
 Sa. 4 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
 Mo. 6 S. S. "Otter" sailed Fraser's River. Mrs. Downie gave birth to a male child.
 Tu. 7 H.M.S. "Sattelite" arrived from Olympia.
 Fr. 10 Four Sheep killed.
 Sa. 11 S. S. "Otter" arrived. Monthly Ration pay.
 S. 12 Rev^d E. Cridge performed divine service.
 We. 15 Lecture by the Indian Missionary.³⁰
 Sa. 18 Four Sheep killed.
 S. 19 Mrs. Yates gave birth to a male child. Mrs. Yates's daughter Agnes died.
 Mo. 20 Mrs. Greenwood gave birth to a female child.
 We. 22 Lecture by the Indian Missionary.
 Fr. 24 Four Sheep killed.
 S. 26 Divine service held by the Indian Missionary.
 Tu. 28 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
 Fr. 31 Four Sheep killed.

[The End.]

(29) The Rev. Thomas Fielding Scott, elected missionary bishop of Oregon and Washington for the Protestant Episcopal Church in October, 1853.

(30) William Duncan, of Metlakatla fame, who came to the Pacific Coast in the service of the Church Missionary Society. He travelled in H.M.S. *Satellite*, and arrived at Esquimalt on June 13, 1857; see entry for that date.



NOTES AND COMMENTS.

HIS HONOUR JUDGE HOWAY.

As this number of the *Quarterly* went to press word was received of the death, on October 4, of Judge F. W. Howay, leading authority on the history of the Pacific Northwest. Amongst his innumerable honours and offices, Judge Howay was first President and an Honorary Member of the British Columbia Historical Association. Suitable reference to his life, and to the remarkable contribution he made to the historical knowledge and literature of this Province, will be made in the January issue.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

Owing to the restrictions on the use of cars, no Field Day could be organized this summer, but its place was taken by a most successful garden meeting, held in the beautiful grounds of "Molton Combe," home of Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson, on July 10. A large number of members and friends of the Section attended. The Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson, Chairman of the Section, presided. The speaker was Lieut.-Comdr. Gerald S. Graham, R.C.N.V.R., formerly Professor of History in Queen's University, and now of the Royal Canadian Naval College, Esquimalt. His subject was *The Making of a Nation: Problems of Canadian Unity since Confederation*. Commander Graham first noted the geographical difficulties that faced the young Dominion in 1867, and especially after 1871, when British Columbia joined the union. Because of the lack of roads and railways the Dominion consisted of three tenuously connected parts; and this "absence of communications left a social and political gulf between Maritimes, Canada, and the Pacific Coast which no amount of common sentiment for the Imperial connection could bridge." It must be remembered, too, that Confederation itself was due in great part to outside influences, notably the American Civil War and the menace of American expansion. There was no widespread popular demand for Confederation in the Canadas; but the union of Upper Canada and Lower Canada had not proven a success, and the larger scheme offered a means of bringing it to an end. "It would be a mistake," for this and other reasons, "to say that a nation was born in 1867." Confederation simply assembled the materials from which, through the years, a nation might perhaps be made. Commander Graham stressed the part played by the West in the evolution of the Dominion: "'Without the West,' one historian has remarked, 'the eastern communities would have lost that stimulus of a common feeling that came from sharing its development.' It was westward expansion which first developed a genuine consciousness of nationhood in the United States. The peopling of our own prairies provided a similar filip to Canadian national consciousness." Turning next to the subject of Empire and foreign relations, the speaker showed how outside factors had continued to influence the Dominion's character, just as they had done much to bring about its initial organization. While refusing to consider either

independence or annexation, Canada nevertheless insisted more and more upon complete control of her own affairs. By 1914 she had attained a constitutional status that "defied definition," but which was to lead ultimately to the Statute of Westminster. Commander Graham concluded: "In the present and the future, the chief task will be to resist disintegration from within. Once again, as in Durham's time, far-seeing leadership will be necessary to surmount the ever-growing sectionalism, based on economic, social, and racial divergences between the provinces, and only when defence or 'provincial rights' is jettisoned for some more positive principle of action in the interests of the nation as a whole, will the ideal of the Fathers of Confederation be fully realized."

Mr. F. C. Green, Vice-Chairman of the Section, moved a vote of thanks to the speaker. The address was followed by community singing and a social hour. Before adjournment, Dr. T. A. Rickard paid tribute to Mrs. Fitzherbert Bullen, granddaughter of Sir James Douglas, and for many years an active member of the Section, who was that week celebrating her 80th birthday. All present joined in extending their good wishes upon the occasion.

The memory of Sir James Douglas was honoured by the Section at a ceremony held at his graveside, in Ross Bay Cemetery, on August 15, the 140th anniversary of Sir James's birth. The observance was suggested by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, and was planned as a part of the celebration of the centenary of the City of Victoria. Mr. McKelvie had been asked to be the principal speaker of the day, and he paid eloquent tribute to Douglas and his work. "We have," he said, "gathered here not to mourn the death of Sir James, but to recall accomplishments of his life. . . . These attain an increasingly important place in our history when viewed in the perspective of the passing years. In doing him honour we honour ourselves." About fifty members and friends were present at the ceremony, and many societies seized the opportunity to honour the memory of Sir James by placing wreaths on his grave. At the conclusion of the programme Rev. T. H. Laundry, pastor of the Church of our Lord, from which Sir James was buried, delivered the invocation and pronounced the blessing.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of Friday, September 17. The Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson presided and introduced the speaker of the evening, the Hon. Mr. Justice Sidney A. Smith, of Vancouver. Mr. Justice Smith has long been interested in the history of ships and the sea, and spoke to the Section on *The Opening-up of British Columbia Coast Lines*. The speaker comes of a sea-faring family, himself holds a Master's ticket, and spoke with a knowledge and eloquence that held the large audience enthralled. He first went far back in Canadian history, and dealt with some of the pioneer voyages of the great mariners who first traced the coast-line of the continent. Coming nearer home, he gave a vivid impression of the work of Cook and Vancouver, touching incidentally upon the fascinating subject of place-names and their derivation. Turning next to trade routes, he showed how

the world's commerce moves for the most part along relatively few well-beaten ocean pathways, and indicated the significance of this fact in the maritime development—past, present, and future—of our own Pacific Coast. In his preliminary remarks Mr. Justice Smith made a strong plea for better care for the famous *Tilikum*, the Indian canoe in which Captain Voss sailed unescorted across 48,000 miles of ocean. In its present position in Thunderbird Park it is being damaged by vandals, and he asked that it be better protected or moved to a safer spot.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The first meeting of the season was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on the evening of Thursday, September 30. Mr. A. G. Harvey, Chairman of the Section, presided. Over sixty members attended and listened with interest to the informative and amusing address on *Early Days in New Westminster* delivered by Mrs. Clarence D. Peele. Herself a native daughter of New Westminster, Mrs. Peele was thoroughly familiar with her subject, and adorned the early history of the city with a wealth of diverting stories. Turning first to the earliest days, she told of the coming of the Royal Engineers, the selection of the site of the city, and the gradual growth of the old capital on the Fraser. Then came the union of the colonies, and, soon after, a bitter blow, when the capital of the United Colony of British Columbia was moved to Victoria. Recovering gradually, New Westminster became the metropolis of the mainland, only to have this position taken from it a generation later by the growth of Vancouver. Finally came the great fire of September 10, 1898, which may be said to have marked the end of the old city. Rising indomitably from its ruins, New Westminster has in forty years grown into the beautiful and prosperous city of to-day, and, incidentally, in normal times the greatest exporting centre in the Province. Even in its modern dress the Royal City has taken care to treasure its distinctive traditions, and May Day and the anvil battery carry on to-day, as they have done for more than seventy years. New Westminster is the oldest incorporated city in British Columbia, and, as Mrs. Peele reminded her audience, had, amongst other things, the first public library in the Province.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Ports of British Columbia. By Agnes Rothery. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1943. Pp. 279. Illustrated. \$3.

Armchair travellers will welcome this addition to a recent trend in writing. American publishing firms are adding to their lists of travel and guide books, titles which fall into neither category. The "Rivers of America" series (Farrar & Rinehart), and the Doubleday, Doran "Seaport" series, of which this book is a recent volume, seek to depict America through local character portraits. Often the author of such a study is a resident of the region concerned, but Miss Rothery is a well-known travel writer who came to British Columbia expressly to gather material for her book.

The result of this circumstance is a mixed blessing; very few British Columbians could view Vancouver and Victoria with the eyes of an outsider, as Miss Rothery has done. But, on the other hand, few residents would make the errors that she has done. She uses wrong dates, names, and figures (by omitting a digit she even places the population of the Province at 78,000).

How many Vancouverites are familiar with the details of the lumber and fishing industries which are so important to this port? Mr. R. L. Haig-Brown has, of course, presented much more intimate and vivid accounts of these crafts, but Miss Rothery gives us interesting material. We are apt to think of Vancouver as another Seattle or Portland, but this visitor has been quick to notice the differences. Any British Columbian will enjoy her account of Victoria. She went there prejudiced against its "little bit of England" reputation, but came away charmed by its gardens, its shops, and its people. Evidently Victorians are better hosts than mainlanders, for her impressions of the Island are much more personal.

Strangers should, of course, benefit most from this book. The author uses an effective method of presenting her material; while omitting her personal adventures, she progresses easily from the "stoutly Canadian" store windows of Cordova Street, to the want ads asking for cat chasers, to an excellent account of the lumber industry in woods and mills; from the dome of the Parliament Buildings to the political structure of British Columbia, and its background; or from the Provincial Archives to Captain Vancouver's voyages.

Readers who have yet to visit British Columbia will gain a fairly sound impression of the southern part of the Province—its wealth, its beauties, its faults. True, such readers will not learn that New Westminster and Prince Rupert are also great ports, and they will not be able to travel far with the end-paper map which places Vancouver's City Hall in Victoria and omits all rivers. However, such omissions, while in some cases rather serious, are not sufficiently so to condemn the book. *The Ports of British Columbia* is a most useful and readable work.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 4.

ELEANOR B. MERCER.

Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671-1674. Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by Sir John Clapham. Toronto: The Champlain Society, and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1942. Pp. lxxviii, 276.

It was apparently not until October, 1671, that any very formal minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company court and committee meetings were preserved, and it was not until November of that year that accounts were summarized in ledgers; whatever rough records of the previous four years' activity had existed were soon afterwards mislaid. The first series of minutes have now been edited, together with extracts from the early ledgers, and the full text of the charters of 1670 and 1675. Sir John Clapham has supplied a brisk and entertaining introductory essay, Miss Alice Johnson, of the Company's Archives Department, has added valuable biographical notes, and the whole is printed in that luxurious style to which members of the Champlain Society have become accustomed, and which continues miraculously unaffected by war-time difficulties. The only possible improvement in form that could be suggested would be the insertion of chapter headings to emphasize the topics dealt with in the introduction.

Both the specialist and the general reader will find a quantity of fresh detail in this volume, enabling them to picture more clearly the organization of the Company, the outfitting of its ships, and the personnel of the early expeditions. The notes, for example, round out the biography of that eccentric Quaker, Charles Bayly, who was released from imprisonment in the Tower to enter the Company's service, and became the first resident governor of Rupert Land. Arrested in Bristol for giving too much voice to his religious opinions, he had written to Charles II. exhorting him to reform his wanton ways. The king must have enjoyed his letter immensely, and may have had him removed to the Tower as a joke. There is no evidence that Bayly had any influence at Court. He proved an able servant of the Company, his religion in no way interfering with the supply of arms to the Indians. Another servant, William Lydall, had lived for many years in Russia. One of the seamen, John Hawkins, who sailed on the first three voyages, is described as having learned to speak the language of the Hudson's Bay country very well, and was therefore re-engaged as a trader for a three-year term.

From the point of view of the economic historian, the chief importance of the minutes and accounts lies in the information that they furnish as to the Company's original sources of capital. Even in the optimistic atmosphere of the Restoration it was not easy to raise funds for so speculative a venture as the exploration and development of a remote northerly region. The wealthy city merchants and bankers concentrated upon safely established lines of trade, dealings in land, and the growing business in short-term government loans. The latter, as the less cautious financiers discovered one by one, was far from risk-free. Yet the majority of the investors of the day were inclined to underestimate risks arising from political affairs, while displaying little confidence in trade expansion. The shareholders of the new company were drawn mainly from a small circle of imaginative noble-

men and officials who were more or less distinctly looking forward to the building of empire through trade. Seven of the eighteen whose names are given in the first chapter had served on one or other of the councils on trade and plantations that the Restoration government had fostered. One of them, Sir Peter Colleton, was a Barbados planter with interests also in the Carolinas and in the Bahamas. He and four others of the eighteen were members of the Royal Society; this indicates that they had probably a very deep interest in geography and exploration. As a result of the extravagant mode of living that was then fashionable, however, few of these early imperialists could raise very large sums of money. Baron Arlington, who was said to employ a hundred domestic servants in his country house alone, subscribed only £200. Prince Rupert himself put up only £270. Actually, the first subscriptions to materialize were obtained from Sir Robert Vyner, banker and tax-farmer, and one of his associates. Vyner was at the time perhaps one of the richest men in England, but he subscribed only £300, and doled out the money, with evident reluctance, in seven small instalments, between 1667 and 1670. In 1675 the nominal share capital amounted to £10,550, including one share of £300 credited to the Duke of York, who had paid in nothing. By far the largest shareholder at that time was Sir James Hayes, Prince Rupert's able and energetic secretary, who had gradually built up a holding of £1,800. This gave him eighteen votes.

The records fail to give any very detailed picture of the Company's business operations. It is plain that beaver prices were kept high by careful spacing of sales, but no balance-sheet was drawn up for any of the voyages. Wages and salaries paid to seamen and other servants were supplemented by generous provisioning of ships and forts; the rations included fruit and vegetables as well as lime-juice, and the allowance of beer was three quarts a day. In trade goods there was a preference for knives, hatchets, and guns; cloth shipped out was of good quality. From the first there was constant concern over losses through private trade on the part of the Company's servants; this was impossible to suppress and difficult to control. In these early years, in fact, it might be said that the employees were the only people who made anything by the trade. The only shareholders who received any return were some half dozen who occasionally advanced sums at interest for operating expenses, thus becoming a kind of debenture-holders. Hayes was the chief of these, but he turned back all that he made in this way into the Company stock. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the next largest shareholder, and one of the most active in the direction of Company affairs, made nothing out of his investment. As Sir John Clapham writes of him, "He and all the best of the adventurers, and those most loyal to the Company, strike one as reasonably disinterested imperialists and patrons of pioneering enterprise, as the worst gamblers in exploration and empire."

SYLVIA L. THRUPP.

The American-Born in Canada. A Statistical Interpretation. By R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean. Toronto: The Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1943. (*The Relations of Canada and the United States.*) Pp. xix., 176. \$3.75.

Within recent years there has been a growing interest and a growing literature in the field of Canadian-American relations. Not the least important of these relations has been the interchange of nationals. Though we are sometimes prone to think of the migration as a one-way movement, or preponderantly an exodus of Canadians drawn by the enlarged opportunities of their southern neighbour, it has been a to-and-fro movement with permanent settlement on both sides. Here we have an authoritative volume on the influx to Canada of Americans over many decades and their absorption into Canadian life. Its authors, R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean, have done a thorough job, not only in the statistical presentation of the data culled from Canadian census tabulations but more particularly in their interpretation of the statistical analyses. Dr. R. H. Coats is too well known to need introduction here; until recently Director of the Bureau of Statistics, Mr. Coats directed and edited the compilation and analysis of the data in collaboration with his Chief of the Branch on Social Analysis, Mr. M. C. Maclean, who unfortunately died before the completion of the work.

This volume is one of three which deal with different approaches to Canadian-American migration. The historical aspects of the subject have been dealt with by the late Professor Marcus Lee Hansen in a work, entitled *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples*, while the counterpart of the present volume, namely, the settlement of the Canadian-born in the United States has been written under the title, *The Canadian-Born in the United States* by Dr. Leon E. Truesdell, Chief Statistician for Population of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

The present work is divided into two parts. Part I, for which R. H. Coats is entirely responsible, is an interpretation of the basic statistics which comprise for the most part the body of Part II.

The Canadian population, according to the 1931 census, was 10,376,786, of which 2,307,525 or 22.2 per cent. were born outside Canada. It is interesting to note that American nationals held second place in the rank of immigrants; England provided 7.0 per cent., the United States 3.3 per cent., and Scotland 2.7 per cent. The question is asked: "What criterion shall we apply to these 344,574 American-born in Canada, as a whole and in their various aspects and characteristics, in order to interpret what their presence means in the country to which they have come? It is essential to observe and analyse them by age, sex, conjugal condition, racial origin, and all the other rubrics of the Census . . . but clearly the overlying criterion of a phenomenon like immigration is *distribution*, the evenness or unevenness of their scatter or spread. . . ." This will show in turn how the immigrant conforms to the social and economic behaviour of his new environment, whether he stays in racial pockets, whether he specializes in certain occupations or activities, whether he marries from his own race or from others, whether he accepts the *mores* of the natives, whether he maintains a racial

or cultural identity distinct from or resistant to the influences of his new home. Assimilation is more than intermixture. It is acceptance of standards of behaviour, of social, economic, and political activities, and of civic responsibility; it is this which makes an immigrant not just an economic adventurer but a citizen of a living community. The task which the authors set for themselves is just this, to find out by appropriate demographic measurements and statistical techniques the answers to such questions. The job is extremely well done. For those who want verification in figures, well, the data are there; for those who want logical deduction the inferences are there, clearly drawn and unmistakable; and, above all, for those who want something more than bald statistical analysis there is an insight which, coupled with a fine style, enlivens and holds the interest. This is something more than a case study in immigration; it is an interpretation of the complex factors which build a nation out of diverse assimilations. The American-born immigrant is in Canada to stay. "The even distribution, however, of the American-born over Canada spells, on the face of it, that they are at one and the same time disseminating their influence widely and themselves becoming Canadianized." (P. 37.)

Throughout the book the technical illustration of the statistical data is very well done. The two frontispiece maps showing the percentage distribution of the American-born throughout Canada by counties and census divisions are supplemented by charts and graphs showing not only the distribution of the American-born but their relationship to the distribution of other foreign-born for 1931 and other selected periods. For example, the "control group" of immigrants used throughout the study is the Scottish racial group which appears, in spite of a reputation for clannishness, to be more evenly distributed throughout the Dominion than any other racial group. The American-born group, traced by racial origin, Canadian and otherwise, comes in spite of differences close to the Scottish distribution.

This book is a welcome addition to the expanding body of literature on Canadian-American relations and its reliance on factual analysis gives it a place of special importance in this widening field of study.

G. F. DRUMMOND.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

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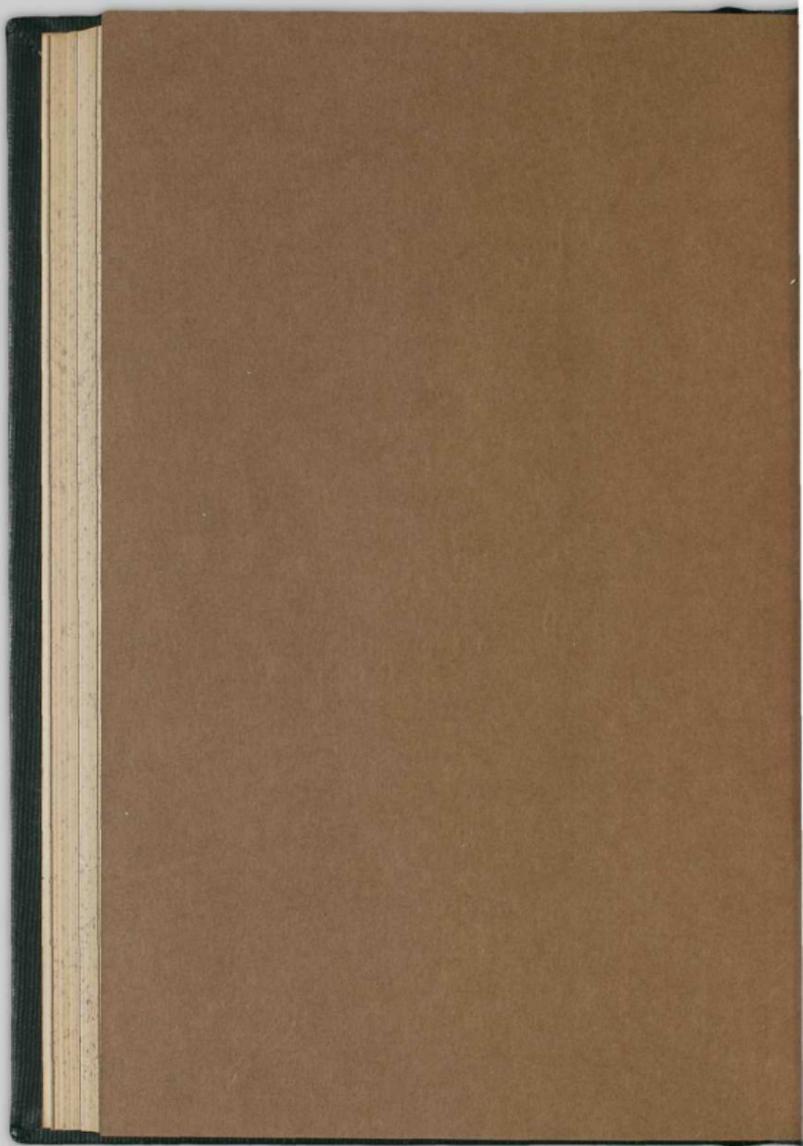
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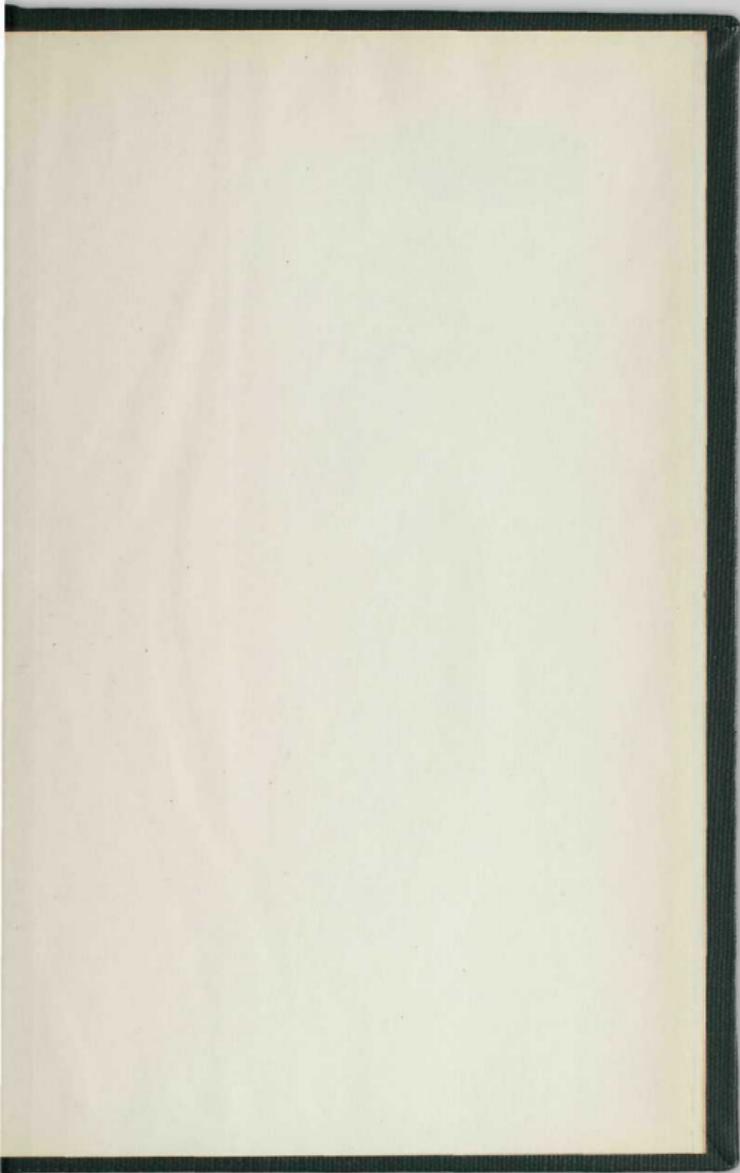
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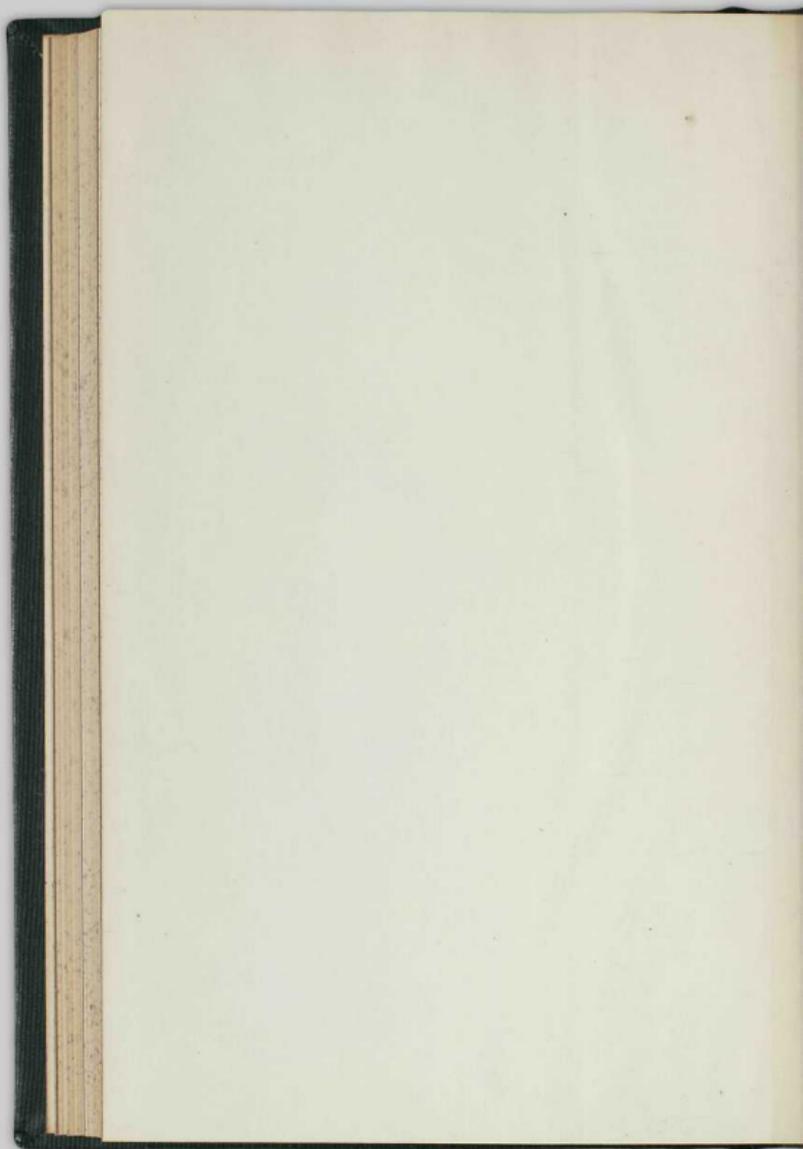
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