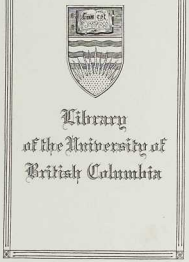

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VOLUME X.

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ERRATA.

Page 4, line 24: For *Ogilvey* read *Ogilvy.*
Page 18, line 15: For *Emery's* read *Emory's.*
Page 86, line 23: For *1946* read *1945.*
Page 88: Delete lines 30 and 31.
Page 92, line 17: For *Balir* read *Bilir.*
Page 94, line 11: For *Carmanah Point* read *Cape Commerell.*
Page 156, lines 12, 13: The phrase should read: " . . . named after Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Fowler Hastings, C.B. . . ."
Facing page 199: In the caption on the upper illustration, for *Buckley* read *Bulkley.*
Page 240, line 21: For *Coast* read *Station.*
Page 244, line 9: For *July* read *June.*

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JANUARY, 1946

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

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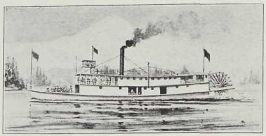
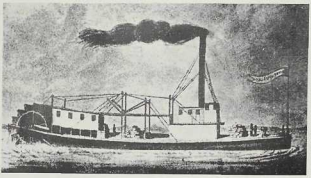


The *Colonel Moody*, the first steamer registered at New Westminster. Built at Victoria in 1859.



The *Lady of the Lake*, built for service on Anderson Lake by Chapman & Company in 1860.

STEAMBOATING ON THE FRASER IN THE 'SIXTIES.

The prosperity of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in the 'sixties depended largely upon the streams of gold bullion and supplies that flowed to and from the placer mines in the Cariboo. Fraser River steamboats and connecting express lines provided the vital links between the Interior and the trading centres of the Coast.

When freight and passenger rates were high the miners and traders suffered, while the owners of the sternwheelers garnered big profits. Prosperity attracted competition, and inevitably rate-cutting would begin, until sometimes the delighted travellers found themselves carried free, with meals included. The weakest competitors would be forced into bankruptcy, or a "combination" formed, and rates would soar again.

It was an era of "combination, defamation and ruination," and the many steamboat wars of the period present a tangled skein of unbridled competition.

One of the accepted perils of travel was the steamboat explosion. Boilers were often of flimsy construction, inspections were inadequate, and ambitious captains had a lamentable habit of holding down the safety-valve when tempted to race speedier rivals. As a consequence the western rivers of North America had an appalling record of bloody disaster.

British Columbia captains were rugged types, and they maintained a good batting average of explosions. The *Caledonia* was the first to go, in 1859, followed spectacularly by the *Fort Yale* and *Cariboo* in 1861. Then there was a lull for ten years until the *Emily Harris* carried three members of her crew to a sudden demise in 1871.

The disasters were met with philosophy. The casualties were counted—Indians and Chinese not included—the dead were buried (if enough remains could be found), and the incident was written off as an "act of God." Explosions were considered one of the natural perils of navigation. If the timid wayfarer did not like them, he could stay at home.

The intense rivalry that existed on the Fraser River in the 'sixties was fanned by the strident claims of the two competing routes to the mines and by the personalities of the men engaged. The traveller could go to the Cariboo either via Harrison Lake and the chain of connecting lakes to Lillooet, or via the head of navigation at Yale. Those who had invested in the Harrison route spared no words in villifying the opposition and painting in lurid colours the perils of the Fraser Canyon, while Yale merchants answered with shrill counterclaims.

The captains who engaged in the steamboat wars of the period were a colourful lot, for much of the success or failure of a boat depended upon the skill and personality of her skipper. The most enterprising of the rival captains were William Irving, William Moore, Charles Millard, and Tom Wright. Irving, with canny Scottish persistence and a good business head, eventually disposed of his rivals. Moore succumbed to overexpansion; Millard and Wright fell victims to the ruinous rate-cutting. Other competitors, like the Jamieson brothers, and Captain James Frain, ended their careers abruptly and spectacularly in boiler explosions.

In the boom days of 1858 the pioneer steamboats on the Fraser, except the Hudson's Bay Company's screw steamer *Otter*, were American,[1] although they were required by Governor Douglas to fly the British flag as a concession to British customs regulations. From 1859 onwards, British-registered vessels had the trade to themselves, with the exception of the *Eliza Anderson*, which at various times engaged in the Gulf run between Victoria and New Westminster.

The first steamboat to be launched in the two colonies was the sidewheeler *Caledonia*, or *Caledonian*, which was her officially registered name. On September 8, 1858, she slid off the ways at the Songhees Indian village, opposite the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Victoria, in the Inner Harbour. She "took to the water as naturally as a duck, amidst the shouting of the crowd in witness upon the novel scene," wrote a reporter of the event.[2]

(1) *See* Norman R. Hacking, "Steamboat 'Round the Bend: American Steamers on the Fraser River in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1944), pp. 255 *et passim*.

(2) *Victoria Gazette*, September 9, 1858. Dimensions of vessels mentioned in this article will be found in the appendix.

The little vessel was a speculation of a San Francisco firm, Faulkner, Bell & Company, and her building was superintended by Captain James Frain, who was to be her captain most of her life. Her original engine was only 25 horse-power, but this was later replaced by a more powerful one.

Builder and designer of the vessel was James W. Trahey, who had learned his trade in Nova Scotia. He was a master at his craft, and until his sudden death on December 26, 1868,[3] nearly all the steamboats built in the two colonies were designed or constructed by him. His original yard was in the Indian reserve, but he soon built a new ways across the harbour at Laurel Point. His temper was a bit choleric, judging by the number of lawsuits and assault cases in which he was involved, but he deserves a measure of fame as one of the founders of the ship-building industry in British Columbia.

The *Caledonia* began her active career on October 26, 1858, carrying freight and passengers between sailing vessels in Esquimalt and Victoria.[4] With improvement of the old Esquimalt road in 1859, this service was no longer necessary, and new and stronger engines of 70 horse-power were installed in the ship to enable her to cross the Gulf to the Fraser. She made her trial trip with increased power on July 16, 1859,[5] and started a service to Queenborough, or New Westminster, in opposition to the *Otter*. Plans were made to run her as far up the river as Hope,[6] but an "act of God" intervened.

While her agent, A. R. Green, was making arrangements at New Westminster, the vessel was already a smouldering hulk. On November 3, 1859,[7] while outbound from Victoria, not far from the Sand Heads, her "larboard" boiler exploded, killing a fireman, and wounding five others. She drifted about the Gulf for twenty-eight hours, until finally she was blown on the rocks of a small islet, about 8 miles from Orcas Island. The survivors suffered terribly from injuries and exposure, and another fireman succumbed. Word of their plight reached Victoria, and on November 11, the hulk was towed into Esquimalt by

(3) Victoria *Colonist*, December 28, 1868.
(4) Advertisement in *Victoria Gazette*, October 28, 1858.
(5) *Ibid.*, July 16, 1859.
(6) *Ibid.*, November 8, 1859.
(7) *Ibid.*, November 10, 1859.

H.M.S. *Pylades*.[8] The wreck was towed into Victoria a day or two later by the *Eliza Anderson*, and presented "a most chaotic mass of ruins."[9] The hull was still sound, however, and the *Caledonia* reappeared in service the following spring.

The first sternwheeler built at Victoria was launched on October 30, 1858, from Trahey's yard at the Indian reserve. She was named the *Governor Douglas*, and the christening was performed by Miss Agnes Douglas. Despite the fact that the event was marred by the ship sticking on the ways, the christening was a gala social occasion, attended by Governor James Douglas, Rear-Admiral R. L. Baynes, Captain J. C. Prevost, R.N., and other distinguished guests. The vessel was built of Puget Sound pine, and boasted eight staterooms and eight open berths.[10] She was better constructed than many of the subsequent river boats, but she was not of sufficiently shallow draught to ascend the river above Hope, which detracted from her earning capacity. This fault was offset by her ability to engage in the frequently stormy Gulf run.

Her owners were a Victoria syndicate called the Victoria Steam Navigation Company. The backers were substantial business-men, headed by Alexander Caulfield Anderson, retired Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and first Collector of Customs at Victoria. James N. Thain was secretary, and the directors were W. H. Newton, J. D. B. Ogilvey, Frederick Ginn, and Alexander Sinclair Murray.

Murray provided the practical knowledge. He was a Scottish sea captain who had learned river navigation on the Columbia. He superintended the construction of the vessel and took over command, but with a decline of business in 1860 he sold out his interest to Captain William Irving, a fellow-Scotsman from the Columbia. Captain Murray sailed away for Australia, where he pioneered steamboating on the Murray River.[11]

William Irving remained to brave good times and bad in the colony, and until his death in 1872 was the best-known of the

(8) *Ibid.*, November 15, 1859.

(9) *Ibid.*, November 17, 1859.

(10) *Ibid.*, November 2, 1858.

(11) For a biographical sketch of Captain Murray, *see* E. W. Wright (*ed.*), *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, Portland, Oregon, 1895, p. 33. Hereafter cited as *Lewis & Dryden*.

steamboat captains. In an age of cut-throat competition, he was engaged prominently in each of the battles. When hard times came in the late 'sixties, he was the only steamboat owner to survive financial ruin.[12]

The steamboat captains were usually men of substance and probity. Irving became the first President of the New Westminster City Council, and on the day of his funeral, August 29, 1872, business in the Royal City ceased. One of his chief rivals, John R. Fleming, retired to California because of ill-health, but when word reached New Westminster of his death at Oakland on August 19, 1875, all flags on the lower Fraser were flown at half-mast.

William Irving was born at Annan, Dumfriesshire, in 1816, arriving in Oregon in 1849 as master of the barque *Success*, in which he entered the coastal trade. He later operated river steamers on the Columbia before coming to Victoria in 1858. Upon his death he was succeeded in the management of his steamers by his son, Captain John Irving, who quickly made a name for himself as the most redoubtable steamboat man in the business.

Machinery for the *Governor Douglas* arrived at Victoria on December 21, 1858, from San Francisco,[13] and on January 22, 1859, the steamer made her trial trip to Esquimalt and back.[14] Five days later she cleared for Langley under the command of Captain Murray with passengers and freight.[15]

Plans were made by the syndicate for a sister ship, to be named the *Colonel Moody*, in honour of Colonel R. C. Moody, R.E., commander of the Royal Engineers in the mainland colony. On this occasion the syndicate called itself the British Columbia Steam Navigation Company.

Throughout 1859 efforts were made in the Vancouver Island House of Assembly to incorporate the Victoria Steam Navigation Company. J. D. Pemberton acted for the syndicate in the House, and introduced a Bill for incorporation on February 8, 1859.

(12) For a biographical sketch of Captain Irving, *see* E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, IV., pp. 1058–1061, and *Lewis & Dryden*, p. 25.

(13) *Victoria Gazette*, December 23, 1858.

(14) *Ibid.*, January 25, 1859.

(15) *Ibid.*, January 29, 1859.

The Bill went into committee, and had a rough passage, for there was opposition headed by Dr. J. S. Helmcken, and amendments were made to require three-fourths of the shareholders to be British subjects, and none but British or colonial-built steamers to be employed.[16]

This proposal did not please the promoters, who included a large percentage of American citizens, and the Bill languished in committee for many months. Eventually the syndicate had their company incorporated in British Columbia, where there was no troublesome House of Assembly. The British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., vesting ownership of the *Governor Douglas* and *Colonel Moody*, was incorporated in February, 1860. The American-built steamer *Maria* was also purchased in 1860.

The *Colonel Moody* was launched at James Trahey's new shipyard at Laurel Point, Victoria, on May 14, 1859, at which time, we are told, "a gay party assembled on the steamer, to enjoy the festive occasion," and Colonel Moody made a suitable speech.[17] She made her maiden trip to Queenborough on July 6, 1859,[18] under the command of Captain Smith Jamieson, a former Columbia River navigator, who, like Murray and Irving, was a Scotsman. Henceforth the *Governor Douglas* usually ran from Victoria to New Westminster, connecting with the *Colonel Moody* and *Maria* for up-river points. The *Colonel Moody* was registered at New Westminster, the first vessel to be registered at that port.

In June, 1859, Captain Murray had an angry brush with Wymond Hamley, the Collector of Customs at Queenborough, which provoked much harsh and vigorous language. Cause of the quarrel was a proclamation issued by Governor Douglas on June 15, authorizing collection of a head tax of $1 from every passenger entering or leaving the colony of British Columbia.

On June 17, as the *Governor Douglas* was leaving Queenborough for Victoria, an attempt was made by Hamley to collect the impost. No previous notice had been given of the tax, so Captain Murray refused to pay, saying he would pay on the next trip.

(16) *Ibid.*, May 5, 1859.
(17) *Ibid.*, May 17, 1859.
(18) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1859.

The vessel returned on June 21, and Captain Murray again refused to pay. He offered a bond, which the Collector refused, ordering a revenue officer with an armed guard of soldiers to board the steamer. The next day Thomas Skinner, a shareholder in the steamer, offered to pay the money under protest, but Hamley refused to accept payment from any one but Captain Murray. The valiant captain then lost his temper, and threatened to sail with the occupying troops and land them at Port Douglas, at the head of Harrison Lake.

The *Governor Douglas* slipped her lines and headed out into the river, while the Collector followed in a small boat, calling on the master to stop, and at his peril to proceed. It must have been a ludicrous situation for Mr. Hamley, for in his official report to the Acting Colonial Secretary, he remarks plaintively, "I am sorry to say that, by Mr. Murray's order, personal violence was offered to Mr. Kirk [the revenue officer] when, in the execution of his duty, he attempted to bring the vessel back to the wharf—and it was only, as I understand, after an intimation of interference from Colonel Moody that the master returned—he sent his purser on shore to pay the fees, and then proceeded on his voyage."

On his return down the river, Murray was bound over to appear before the magistrate on a charge of resisting an officer, but the matter was never pressed. Captain Murray, backed by public opinion, won the battle, for on June 25 the Governor rescinded his previous proclamation and ordered return of all fees collected. The colonial tempest in a tea-pot thus resulted in nothing but discomfiture for Mr. Hamley, who at least was trying to enforce the law.[19]

On October 31, 1859, the agents for the *Governor Douglas* and *Colonel Moody* addressed a memorial to the Governor requesting exclusive rights to navigation of the Fraser and Harrison rivers. They suggested that freight rates from New Westminster to Hope be set at $25 per ton from April to November and $40 for the low-water season. Freight rates to Port Douglas were to be $25 per ton all the year round, with passenger fares $10 for the

(19) Victoria *Colonist*, June 20, 27, 1859. For Hamley's account of the episode *see* W. Wymond Hamley to W. A. G. Young, June 22, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

upward passage and $7 for the downward. In return for the monopoly the company offered to contribute $1,000 towards improvement of navigation of Harrison River.[20]

This was rather a high-handed proposal, for already an opposition steamer was under construction at Victoria. Governor Douglas considered the rates too high, and refused the request.

Sailing of the Fraser River steamer from Victoria was one of the excitements of the day for the little town. There was keen competition between the *Governor Douglas*, *Otter*, *Eliza Anderson*, *Caledonia*, and other steamers; consequently the inhabitants were treated to many inducements to patronize a particular vessel. As publication of the newspapers was somewhat infrequent, it was customary to advertise the sailings by means of Victoria's town crier, a bibulous rascal named John Butts, who for $2, by means of a bell and his stentorian voice, would announce the date of sailing and latest rates on the New Westminster boat. In pursuit of this ancient profession, Butts was once committed to Victoria gaol for concluding his address to the populace with " God save John Butts," instead of the customary " God save the Queen."[21]

Rates fluctuated with amazing rapidity and disparity on the different routes. During times of intense competition, passengers would sometimes be carried free, while in times of monopoly they were fleeced to the limit. During 1859 the following were some of the rates offered. In April the *Eliza Anderson* was charging $12 per ton for freight, and $10 cabin and $8 deck passage rates, from Victoria to Queenborough and Langley.[22] The *Maria* was charging $30 per ton freight, Langley to Hope, and $10 passage.[23] Three weeks later Captain Thomas Gladwell of the *Maria* was carrying passengers for " two bits " (25 cents) each.[24] On August 30 the *Otter* was charging $3 per ton freight and $3 passage money to New Westminster.[25] By September 22

(20) The memorial is printed in F. W. Howay (*ed.*), *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, Victoria, 1926, pp. 120–121.

(21) D. W. Higgins, *The Passing of a Race*, Toronto, 1905, pp. 116–120 gives a popular account of the career of John Butts.

(22) *Victoria Gazette*, April 26, 1859.

(23) *Ibid.*, May 7, 1859.

(24) *Ibid.*, May 24, 1859.

(25) *Ibid.*, August 30, 1859.

freight was down to 50 cents a ton and passage 50 cents.[26] On October 15 the *Eliza Anderson* was the only steamer plying to New Westminster, and freight and passage had jumped to $6 from Victoria.[27] At this time the clearance fee for British vessels sailing from Victoria to the Fraser was $3, while foreign vessels had to pay a sufference of $12 per trip.

In the autumn of 1859 a third steamer was launched at Victoria for the river traffic. This was the sternwheeler *Henrietta*, set afloat October 17 for Captain William Moore, and named after his daughter.[28] The vessel was built at Trahey's yard by Peter Holmes, a Danish ship's carpenter.[29] She was a small vessel designed to ply at low stages of water on Harrison River, and between Hope and Yale, and she drew only 20 inches of water with 40 tons freight.

Prior to the arrival of her engines she was operated under sail to Port Douglas, with Captain John Deighton as pilot. Known as "Gassy Jack," because of his proclivity for argument, Deighton was a well-known Fraser pilot for many years, but his chief fame rests as the first property-owner in the village of Granville, or "Gastown," on Burrard Inlet, which was later to become the City of Vancouver.

"Gassy Jack" Deighton was born in Hull, Yorkshire, in 1830.[30] He followed the sea in his early years and came to British Columbia in 1858. In 1867 he settled on Burrard Inlet, where he built the Deighton Hotel, but he was still attracted to the Fraser during the season, and in 1874 he was captain of John Irving's steamer *Onward*.[31] He was rough and ready, but possessed a fair education, and was highly regarded as a river pilot. On his death on June 7, 1875, the Victoria *Colonist* described him as an "energetic, useful citizen,"[32] and the *Mainland Guardian* of New Wesminster lauded him as "the first and

(26) *Ibid.*, September 22, 1859.

(27) *Ibid.*, October 15, 1859.

(28) Victoria *Colonist*, October 19, 1859.

(29) Holmes was later captain of several ships on the coast. He died at Victoria, February 24, 1893, aged 90 years. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1893.

(30) For an account of the career of "Gassy Jack" *see* Vancouver *News*, September 14 and 15, 1886.

(31) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, April 15, 1874.

(32) Victoria *Colonist*, June 10, 1875.

best pilot on the Fraser."[33] He was not the first, but he was one of the best.

1860.

The *Henrietta* made her trial trip under steam on January 19, 1860. Through passage rates from New Westminster to Hope were quoted at $7, while freight was $17 a ton to Port Douglas and $25 to Hope.[34]

Since the departure of the American steamer *Umatilla* from the river in 1858, no vessel had been able to reach the head of navigation at Yale. Arrival of the *Henrietta* at that town on February 19, 1860, was the signal for general rejoicing. The Yale correspondent of the Victoria *Colonist* described the gala occasion:—

> The steamer Henrietta arrived here this afternoon, bringing fifty passengers and 9 tons freight. Her arrival was the signal for a general suspension of business. All was excitement such as I have never before witnessed in Yale. The advent was the final realization of our twenty months' anticipation. Anvils were made to answer the purpose of cannon, and quite a brisk firing was kept up during the afternoon. A large banner was displayed on the river front upon which the words "Welcome Henrietta" but echoed the heart-felt sentiment of the entire community. Capt. Moore deserves much credit for his untiring energy and perseverance, for he has established and maintained the position (if adequately supported) that Yale is accessible by steam at this, the worst, season. Ergo—Yale *is* the head of navigation. In the evening a collation to Capt. Moore and his officers rendered the occasion one that will not soon be forgotten.[35]

The owner and skipper of the *Henrietta*, Captain "Billy" Moore, was one of the most colourful personalities in British Columbia marine annals. He played a prominent part in every gold excitement from the Queen Charlotte Islands flurry of 1852 to the Nome rush of 1901.

A native of Hanover, he went to sea at the tender age of seven. In 1851 he prospected in California, and the following year came gold-hunting to the Queen Charlottes in the brig *Tepic*. The venture was not a success, and after a spell of adventure in Peru and California, Moore came to the Fraser River in July, 1858. He built a barge, with which he freighted between Hope and Yale, winning the soubriquet of the "Flying Dutchman," and making enough to build the *Henrietta*. The passenger

(33) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, June 9, 1875.
(34) Victoria *Colonist*, February 18, 1860.
(35) *Ibid.*, February 25, 1860.

rate at that time between Hope and Yale was $2.50, while the freight rate was 1 cent a pound.[36]

Captain Moore spent his last days at Victoria, where he died on March 30, 1909, aged 87. He was not an educated man, but he was a man of stubborn character, strong and aggressive, full of ambition and perseverance.[37]

Competition was keen on the Fraser River during 1860, and three new sternwheelers followed the *Henrietta:* the *Fort Yale, Hope,* and *Flying Dutchman.* Three new steamers also were built for the chain of lakes between Port Douglas and Lillooet. These were the *Marzelle* on Lillooet Lake, *Lady of the Lake* on Anderson Lake, and *Champion* on Seton Lake; all of them sternwheelers.

For several years, until completion of the Cariboo road from Yale, a large percentage of the traffic to the Cariboo mines followed the Harrison–Lillooet route. From Port Douglas, 45 miles from the mouth of Harrison River, a trail was cut 29 miles to Lillooet Lake. After crossing this lake, a 22-mile portage brought the traveller to Anderson Lake. A portage of a mile and a half joined Anderson to Seton Lake, and it was then only 4 miles to Lillooet on the Fraser. The entire length of the trail, including the lakes, was about 100 miles to Lillooet. One of the chief difficulties lay in navigation of Harrison River, which in one spot known as the "rapids" was so shallow at low water that steamers had to land their cargoes on the bank and tranship them across the bar.

After completion of the Cariboo trail through the canyons to Lytton and Clinton in 1862, there was great competition between the two routes. The Harrison route gradually declined after 1863 and was abandoned about 1867. Too many transhipments and consequent delays caused its failure.[38]

(36) Victoria *Daily Chronicle,* June 4, 1864.

(37) The Moore family papers are deposited in the University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington. *See* C. L. Andrews, "Biographical Sketch of Captain William Moore," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* XXI. (1930), pp. 195–203, 271–280, XXII. (1931), pp. 32–41.

(38) *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada, 1862–63,* with introduction and notes by A. G. Doughty and Gustave Lanctot, Ottawa, 1931, pp. 238–241. Hereafter cited as *Cheadle's Journal.*

The three lake steamers were rather primitive, but served their purpose fairly well for several years. The *Champion* was completed in June, 1860, for Taylor & Company.[39] Her owners claimed that she was "very fast," and could make four trips a day across Seton Lake. She was actually frightfully slow, and was replaced by a faster steamer called the *Seaton* in 1863.

The little *Marzelle* was launched on June 12, 1860, for service on Lillooet Lake, by Goulding & Company.[40] She ran until 1863, until she was replaced by a fine sternwheeler called the *Prince of Wales*. She was then relegated to service on Little Lillooet or Tenas Lake.

Travellers were critical of the rates charged by the *Marzelle*. On July 18, 1860, a correspondent wrote to the *Colonist*:—

> The beautiful little steamer called the "Marzelle" is now running regularly on Lillooet Lake. She is owned by parties, who but for their cupidity, would certainly deserve credit for their enterprise. They think they have the monopoly of the Lake, and demand higher prices for freight than has hitherto been charged by small boats. In fact, their demands are so exorbitant, that parties have again put on small boats; so that under present circumstances the steamer is rather an injury than a benefit to the route.[41]

Governor Douglas made a trip up the Harrison route in 1860, and with characteristic thoroughness made a note in his diary on the operations of the *Marzelle*, under date of September 3.

> The steamer Marsella [*sic*] which plies on Lillooet Lake is 50 tons burthen, 25 horse power. She is hardly finished yet but is nevertheless a useful boat. The following is a return of her freights from the 24 June to 24 August—2 months: 510,246 lbs or about 8000 lbs a day, or 4 tons which gives at 1 cent a lb 80 dols. as her daily earnings and 1410 tons as the annual transport by this route.[42]

The Anderson Lake vessel, the *Lady of the Lake*, was also launched in the early summer of 1860 for Chapman & Company.[43] She was called a "splendid model," but she was no record breaker for speed. Her engines were so small they were hardly able to make a stand-off in a stiff breeze.

(39) Victoria *Colonist*, June 12, 1860.

(40) *Ibid.*, June 19, 1860.

(41) *Ibid.*, July 24, 1860.

(42) Douglas *Private Papers*, First Series, p. 73, transcript in the Archives of B.C. from the original in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

(43) Victoria *Colonist*, June 12, 1860.

The *Henrietta* did not compete for long in 1860. In July, just at the peak of business, she was bought off the river by the British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company, which had hopes of maintaining a monopoly.[44] This buying-off process was a standard steamboat practice of the day. But Captain Moore was not a man to be squeezed out of a lucrative trade, for he promptly sold the vessel to Charles T. Millard, a Victoria merchant, and began construction of a new steamer, the *Flying Dutchman*. The *Henrietta* reappeared under Millard's banner, so the Navigation Company was worse off than before.

Captain Charles Thomas Millard, with his partner Captain Asbury Insley, were to provide some of the stiffest competition yet seen on the river. Millard, an Englishman, operated the *Henrietta*, *Hope*, and *Caledonia* at cut rates until 1865, when he was forced into bankruptcy. He became an auctioneer at Victoria in 1870, but in 1874 he was steamboating again, with the *Gem* on the Stikine River.[45] In 1876 he was back on the Fraser, running the *Gem* in opposition to William Moore and John Irving. He subsequently became a provision merchant in New Westminster.

Millard was a strong character, as an event that occurred in 1862 proves. On June 25, 1862, the *Henrietta* was leaving Port Douglas, when a group of about 100 miners forcibly took possession and refused to pay their fares to New Westminster. The captain, Henry Devries, was a timid Dutchman, and allowed himself to be intimidated. Meanwhile, Captain Millard was on his way up Harrison Lake in the *Hope*. When he came alongside the *Henrietta*, Devries explained the situation. Single-handed, Millard collected fares of $5 each from eighty of the tough miners, and forced the remainder to return to Port Douglas in the *Hope*. Some of the miners complained bitterly of his aggressive conduct, so Captain Millard defended himself in a letter to the *Colonist*.

> I am ready to swear neither knives nor pistols were used. . . . When I am afraid to collect the fare from my passengers I will sell out and leave the country.[46]

(44) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860.
(45) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1874.
(46) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1862.

His action was upheld by a correspondent signing himself "Veritas," who wrote:—

> . . . Capt. Millard . . . has won the esteem of every decent person on the river. He has "nipp'd i' the bud" rowdyism in its incipient stages, and taught about 100 men a lesson. . . . It has taught them that they cannot come into a British colony and act as they please—that they must obey the laws, and they will not be allowed to trample upon the rights of citizens . . .[47]

Captain Millard's partner, Captain Asbury Insley, known on the river as "Delaware," was long one of the best-known Fraser navigators.[48] Originally a deep-water sailor from Delaware, he came to the Fraser River in 1858 and freighted a small barge between Hope and Yale. He was a partner of Millard until 1864, when he sold out and joined forces with Captain William Moore.

After purchase of the *Henrietta*, Charles Millard launched a new sternwheeler called the *Hope*, at Trahey's yard, Laurel Point, on September 22, 1860. The *Colonist* expressed rapturous appreciation of the happy event.

> After the launch had been effected, several baskets of Cliquot champagne yielded up their contents, and amid the popping of the corks and cheers of congratulation, the future good "health" of the Hope was drank [*sic*] by the multitude.[49]

She was fitted with "spacious cabins and saloons," and cost an estimated $15,000. The *Hope* proved to be one of the most successful boats built for the river, chiefly because she had sufficient power and shallow draught to reach the head of navigation at Yale at almost any time of the year. She was rebuilt by Captain Fleming in 1870, and ended her days in 1875 on the Stikine River.

Captain Moore's *Flying Dutchman* was launched at Laurel Point on September 26, to the accompaniment of the usual festivities and champagne.[50] Peter Holmes was the builder and James Trahey performed the christening. Captain Moore expressed his intention to run her to Yale regularly or collapse.

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(47) *Ibid.*, July 12, 1862.

(48) For a sketch of the career of Captain Insley *see Lewis & Dryden*, pp. 93-94.

(49) Victoria *Colonist*, September 25, 1860.

(50) *Ibid.*, September 27, 1860.

She drew only 5 inches of water when light, and it was claimed she could sail on a heavy dew. She was fitted up "in a plain but substantial manner," which meant that her accommodation was fairly crude. She made her trial trip on January 21, 1861.

After the *Henrietta* was bought off the Yale run, citizens of that town determined to build a steamer of their own, free of entangling alliances. The Yale Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., was organized. John Kurtz, of Kurtz & Company, general merchants, was chairman; Hugh Nelson (later a Senator and Lieutenant-Governor), of the Dietz & Nelson Express Company, was secretary; and E. H. Sanders, the assistant gold commissioner, was treasurer. Directors were A. C. Elliott, barrister (later Premier of British Columbia); J. C. Beedy, Hugh McRoberts, and William Power.[51] Beedy held the contract to build the trail from Yale to Spuzzum, and McRoberts and Power built the portion from Spuzzum to Boston Bar.

The new company's vessel, designed by James Trahey, was launched from Laing[52] & Scorgie's shipyard on Major (James) Bay, Victoria, on October 15, 1860.[53] She was christened the *Idahoe*, but the name was soon changed to *Fort Yale*.

She was soon running on the Fraser, under command of Captain Smith Jamieson, arriving for the first time at Yale on November 26, 1860, amid great rejoicing. She made the 16-mile run from Hope to Yale in two hours and twenty-five minutes, cutting five minutes from the previous record held by the *Hope*. Her arrival was described in the *Colonist*.

> She was received by the inhabitants of that flourishing town [Yale] with every manifestation of rejoicing. Cannons and anvils were fired, and British and American flags hoisted in honor of the event. The Celestials there resident also came in for their share of the fun, and set off innumerable packs of Chinese fire-crackers. In the evening, a dinner was given to the attachees of the boat, and many invited guests, by the inhabitants, at which the "humbler classes," ladies and gentlemen, mustered in full strength. After the dinner, a ball was held, and the dancing continued till an early hour in the morning. On Tuesday, at half-past eight o'clock,

(51) *Ibid.*, May 15, 1860.

(52) Robert Andrew Laing operated a shipyard from 1859 to 1882. Born at St. Andrew's, Scotland, in 1816, he died at Victoria, September 29, 1882. He was a prisoner of the Queen Charlotte Island Indians when the *Susan Sturgis* was captured in 1852. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1882.

(53) *Ibid.*, October 16, 1860.

a.m., the Fort Yale took her departure, amid the cheers of the assembled multitude and made the run to Fort Hope in 54 minutes; left Hope at half past ten o'clock, and reached New Westminster (stopping at Harrison River on the way) at 5 o'clock, and though dark and rainy, made the entire trip in less than seven hours and a half—the quickest trip on record. The people of Fort Yale are highly delighted with their boat, which is a perfect model of beauty and strength.[54]

Unfortunately, the people of Fort Yale were not to maintain their delight for long. On April 14, 1861, the steamer was blown to pieces in a boiler explosion at Union Bar, 2 miles above Hope. Captain Jamieson and four others were killed, while a number of Chinese and several Indians were said to be missing. The ship's purser, F. J. Barnard, survived, to found the B.C. Express Company. Captain William Irving, who was a passenger, also escaped injury. Everything above the deck was razed. Pieces of the boiler were picked up more than half a mile from the disaster. The tragedy was blamed on inferior iron in the boiler.[55]

The death of Captain Jamieson held a personal tragedy, for he was about to marry, on his next trip down to New Westminster, Miss Sue Robinson, the ingénue of a San Francisco theatrical troupe then playing in the Royal City.

Smith Jamieson was one of five brothers who came to the Pacific Coast from Scotland, all of whom died in steamboat disasters within a short period.[56] In 1854 one of the brothers was blown up in the steamer *Gazelle*, at Canemah, Oregon. Captain Robert Jamieson was killed when the steamer *Portland* went over the falls of the Willamette River in 1857. Smith Jamieson lost his life in the *Fort Yale*, while Archibald and James perished in August, 1861, when the *Cariboo* blew up off Shoal Point, Victoria.

The *Cariboo* was a sidewheeler, launched on November 16, 1860, at the Indian reserve, Victoria.[57] Captain Archibald Jamieson, her owner and captain, intended to run her from Victoria to Hope direct. Her engines did not arrive from Scot-

(54) *Ibid.*, November 30, 1860.

(55) New Westminster *British Columbian*, April 18, 1861.

(56) For an account of the unfortunate Jamieson brothers *see* "An Ill-fated Family," in D. W. Higgins, *The Mystic Spring*, Toronto, 1904, pp. 171–185.

(57) Victoria *Colonist*, November 16, 1860.

land until the following May, so the vessel made her trial trip from Victoria on July 26, 1861.

Her career was very short. On her second trip out of Victoria, on August 1, 1861, while off Shoal Point, her boiler exploded, killing the captain and five others, including William Allen, chief engineer, who had previously survived the *Caledonia* explosion, and the captain's brother, James Jamieson, second engineer.[58]

Cause of the explosion was never determined, but it was believed to be due to low water in the boiler. The dismantled hull was towed back into harbour, where it was tied up at Laing's shipyard. The hull was sold at auction to Charles Millard for $800, but no attempt was made to rebuild it until 1866, when Dougal Brothers, of Victoria, who operated a foundry, reconstructed the vessel. She was renamed the *Fly*, but subsequently appeared under the curious composite name of *Cariboo and Fly*. Under this name she had a very chequered career in British Columbia coastal waters until 1895, when she was wrecked near Port Essington.

1861.

The first screw steamer launched in the colonies was the *Emily Harris*, built for Thomas Harris, first mayor of Victoria, who was a butcher, and used her for transporting cattle. She was built by Peter Holmes at Trahey's yard, and launched on January 3, 1861.

Champagne was dispensed freely at her launch, and the *Colonist* reporter waxed eloquent at the little ship's beauty.

> The Emily Harris is one of the most beautiful craft we have ever beheld. She is modeled after an Indian canoe and sets deep in the water—much like a clipper-ship. She is . . . built with a view to strength, speed and durability, and her timbers are all of live oak.[59]

Her strength and durability did not prevent her blowing to pieces on August 14, 1871, when bound from Nanaimo to Victoria. Captain James Frain and two others were killed.

Steamboat competition on the Fraser River reached a new peak in the spring of 1861. Freight rates were reduced to $1 a ton from New Westminster to Hope and Douglas. In May

(58) *Ibid.*, August 3, 1861.
(59) *Ibid.*, January 4, 1861.

the *Colonel Moody* was carrying passengers to Yale for 25 cents, while the *Hope* was taking travellers free of charge.[60] Such cut-throat trade could not continue, and in June it was announced that a combination had been formed.[61]

Included in the deal were Captains Irving, Moore, and Millard, with the steamers *Governor Douglas, Colonel Moody, Maria, Flying Dutchman, Hope,* and *Henrietta.* Freight rates immediately jumped to $15 a ton to Port Douglas and $25 a ton to Yale. Two weeks later freight to Douglas was boosted to $25 a ton, and Douglas and Lillooet merchants announced they were building a steamer to break the combination.

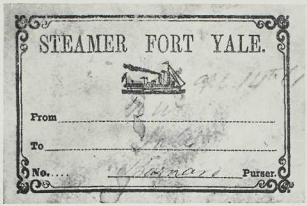
In July four steamers were running on the river. The *Colonel Moody* operated from New Westminster to Hope, the *Flying Dutchman* and *Henrietta* were on Harrison Lake, while the *Hope* ran from Hope to Emery's Bar. The *Governor Douglas* and *Maria* were laid up.

New competition was not long in arriving. On May 7, 1861, a steamer similar to the *Fort Yale* had been launched at Laing's shipyard to the order of the Yale Steam Navigation Company, christened the *Maggie Lauder.* Her owners went into liquidation, and the hull lay idle for some months. On July 13, 1861, the vessel was launched again, this time as the *Union.*[62] Her owners were merchants interested in the Douglas–Lillooet route, and the chief shareholders were Gustavus Blin Wright and Uriah Nelson. Wright had the contract to build the toll-road from Lillooet to Soda Creek, while Nelson was a big mule-team operator. He was later partner with Captain Otis Parsons in operating a ferry service across the Fraser at Lillooet.

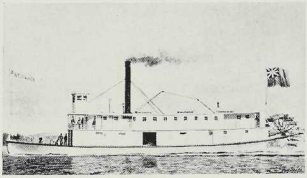
Master of the *Union* was Captain W. G. Doane, who had been pilot with Captain Tom Wright in the *Enterprise* in 1858. Freight rates were immediately reduced to $5 a ton to Douglas and Hope and $10 to Yale.[63] Monopoly was defeated once again.

Huge treasures were carried down by the river steamers in the early autumn of 1861. It was customary for bullion to be entrusted to Barnard's Cariboo Express from the northern mines

(60) *Ibid.,* May 21, 1861.
(61) *Ibid.,* June 12, 1861.
(62) *Ibid.,* July 15, 1861.
(63) New Westminster *British Columbian,* August 15, 1861.



Ticket for a passage from New Westminster to Yale in the steamer *Fort Yale* on April 14, 1861—the day she was shattered by a boiler explosion at Union Bar, 2 miles above Hope. Signed by F. J. Barnard, who was serving as Purser of the *Fort Yale*. From the original in the Provincial Archives.



The *Reliance*, one of the most successful steamers ever placed on the Fraser. Built at Victoria for Captain William Irving in 1862. She was equipped with the engines of the ill-fated *Fort Yale*.

to Yale or Lillooet, from which points Dietz & Nelson's British Columbia and Victoria Express would be responsible for safe delivery of the gold at Victoria. Bulk of the treasure was then shipped to the San Francisco mint by Wells, Fargo & Company.

Figures quoted in the Victoria *Colonist*, although perhaps exaggerated, give an indication of the magnitude of the traffic from the mines to Victoria, via New Westminster.

In the period between August 17 and October 31, 1861, the steamers *Otter* and *Caledonia*, which were engaged in the Gulf run, delivered at Victoria, more than $1,500,000 in gold-dust from the Cariboo mines. On October 30, for instance, the *Caledonia* arrived in Victoria with 120 passengers and $240,000 in bullion, while the *Otter* topped that mark with $300,000 on November 12.[64]

1862.

The winter of 1861–62 was a particularly severe one in British Columbia, and navigation on the Fraser was blocked by ice from December to April. As early as December 10 there was a shortage of flour, beef, and potatoes in New Westminster. Communication between Victoria and New Westminster was maintained via Burrard Inlet. The *Emily Harris* engaged regularly in this trade during the cold spell. Passengers were landed at Port Moody and transported to New Westminster by sleigh.

The ice on the lower Fraser was broken by the *Flying Dutchman*, which managed to reach Victoria on March 12 with a badly broken stern-wheel. Citizens of New Westminster subscribed "between $300 and $400" to compensate Captain Moore for his loss in opening the river.[65]

By March 17, 1862, the river was open as far as the Harrison, and Victoria began to experience a boom, as long-delayed trade began to move.

The business portion of the city suddenly woke from its winter-long torpor. Wagons and drays were kept constantly on the move between the stores and the wharves, and merchants were busily employed from early until late, selling, packing, and delivering merchandise. The steamers were not able to accommodate half of the goods that were offered.

(64) Victoria *Colonist*, August 17, 1861, *et seq.*

(65) *Ibid.*, March 13, 1862.

There was indeed need for supplies, as the gold colony was close to starvation. At Yale, flour was selling for $75 a barrel, and Chinese were paying $5 each for cats and dogs. Captain Irving reported that both the Fraser and Harrison rivers were lower than he had ever seen them. Steamers were compelled to discharge freight at the mouth of Douglas Slough (3 miles short of the town), from whence it cost $30 a ton to convey it to Port Douglas.[66]

It did not take long for the steamboat war to break out again. When navigation reopened to the Harrison in March, the *Colonel Moody* charged $10 fare from New Westminster, while the *Hope* countered with a $5 rate. By April 11 the rate war was on. The *Flying Dutchman* and *Union* were carrying passengers from New Westminster to Douglas at $1 each, and freight at $6 per ton. The *Hope* and *Henrietta* were taking passengers at 50 cents, horses and mules free; while the *Colonel Moody* offered meals and passage free.[67] On May 7 it was possible to purchase a through ticket to Lillooet via the *Flying Dutchman*, *Union*, and the three lake steamers for only $4.[68]

The *Henrietta* had recently been rebuilt at Laing's yard in Victoria, and lengthened 12 feet. Captain Charles Millard was never one to stint himself, and at the trial trip we are told:—

> The delighted company toasted the steamer and her enterprising commander in bumpers of Cliquot, and had a pleasant time generally.[69]

One is tempted to remark, "No doubt!"

Captain Millard had an ambitious plan at this time to take the *Hope* and *Henrietta* through the canyons of the Fraser above Yale, and pioneer a new field. He hoped to run the *Henrietta* from Sailor's Bar, 9 miles above Yale, to Chapman's Bar, 7 miles farther up the river. The *Hope* he intended to send through both the Big and Little Canyons of the Fraser to Boston Bar, from whence he could run her to Lytton.[70] The scheme did not materialize, and not until 1882 did a steamer navigate the Big Canyon. This was the sternwheeler *Skuzzy*, which ran for two years between Boston Bar and Lytton.

(66) *Ibid.*, March 21, 1862.
(67) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1862.
(68) *Ibid.*, May 7, 1862.
(69) *Ibid.*, March 4, 1862.
(70) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1862.

An important newcomer to the Fraser River trade in 1862 was the Hudson's Bay Company's sidewheeler *Enterprise*, which was purchased to supersede the *Otter* on the Gulf run. She was built in 1861 for the trade between San Francisco and Stockton, but later in that year was brought north to operate on Puget Sound in opposition to the *Eliza Anderson*. She was not successful, and Captain W. A. Mouat purchased her for the Hudson's Bay Company for $60,000. She had beds for sixty passengers and could accommodate 150 tons of freight. She made her first trip to the Fraser on April 3, 1862, under Captain Mouat. She was a great money-maker for the Hudson's Bay Company until July, 1885, when she collided with the *R. P. Rithet*, and was abandoned in Cadboro Bay.

A new factor appeared in the river competition in the spring of 1862, when the pioneer British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company changed hands. On May 22, 1862, Captain William Irving disposed of his interest to Captain John T. Wright, Jr., brother of Captain Thomas Wright. The *Governor Douglas*, *Colonel Moody*, and *Maria* were sold at a bargain price of $12,500, paid over in gold and silver coin. The coin filled a cedar bucket to the brim, and in being carried from MacDonald's Bank in Victoria, nearly carried away the bottom of the pail.[71] Wright immediately placed the *Eliza Anderson* on the Gulf run, connecting with his up-river boats, while he placed the steamer *Hermann* on the run from San Francisco to Victoria. In July, 1862, he took the pioneer steamer *Maria* off the river, sending her to the Columbia River.

Another steamer to leave the river was Captain Moore's *Flying Dutchman*, which sailed for the Stikine River on June 10, with sixty passengers, and towing the new barge *J. W. Moore*. This was a wise move on Moore's part, for he escaped the ruinous competition on the Fraser and made a small fortune on the Stikine, where discovery of gold in the sand bars had caused a mild rush. Moore had the river to himself and charged as much as the traffic would bear. An angry correspondent wrote from the Stikine to the Victoria *Colonist*:—

. . . Freight up to the highest spot, about 180 or 190 miles up the river is $100 per ton; what think you of that? but Capt. Moore thinks he is

(71) *Ibid.*, May 23, 1862.

doing us a favor. . . . Passage is $20 per man without grub or anything else, and on every pound of their personal effects 5 cts per lb. is charged.[72]

There were now only two competitors on the Fraser, for Captain Wright had acquired the *Union*. He and Captain Millard formed a new combination, in which Wright was to stick to the Fraser and Millard to the Harrison. One-third of the profits were to go to Millard and two-thirds to Wright. Freight rates were boosted to $20 to Douglas and $25 a ton to Yale.

The first opposition to the new monopoly was provided by the *Caledonia*, which in October started running between New Westminster and Douglas, cutting the fare to $7. Even this was considered excessive, and many miners came down by canoes, which charged $3. One canoe with twelve passengers came down in seventeen hours, which was little more than steamer time.[73]

The *Caledonia* did not compete for long. In November, Captain Millard purchased her for $8,000, and announced that after installation of a new boiler she would run from Victoria to New Westminster and Port Douglas.[74] Meanwhile, on October 8, 1862, Captain William Irving had launched the new sternwheeler *Reliance* from the yards of James Trahey, at Victoria. She was equipped with the machinery from the *Fort Yale*.[75]

An interested spectator at the launching was William Irving's son, the late Captain John Irving, then aged eight. Seventy-four years later he recalled to the writer that he imbibed freely of the champagne, which was flowing generously, and had to be carried home by his father's quartermaster, much to the perturbation of his mother. A doctor was called, who quickly diagnosed the cause of the malaise, but never let on to Mrs. Irving the reason for the small boy's fall from grace.

The *Reliance* proved to be the most successful of the steamers on the Fraser during the height of the gold-rush, and made more money than any of the competitors. She was broken up in 1871.

1863.

An event of some note in the spring of 1863 was the completion of the first vessel to navigate the upper Fraser from Soda

(72) *Ibid.*, July 21, 1862.
(73) *Ibid.*, November 10, 1862.
(74) *Ibid.*, November 4, 1862.
(75) *Ibid.*, October 9, 1862.

Creek to Quesnel. She was built for Captain Thomas Wright, in conjunction with G. B. Wright, the road-builder (who was no relation), and was named *Enterprise*, the third of that name, after the pioneer vessel of 1858. James Trahey constructed her at Four Mile Creek, near Fort Alexandria, and her engines and boilers were sent up over the Harrison–Lillooet route. On her first trip up the river she left Alexandria at 4 p.m. on May 9, under command of Thomas Wright, and arrived at Quesnel at 4 p.m. on the 10th. The trip down to Alexandria was made in two hours and forty minutes, and to Soda Creek from Alexandria, one hour and twenty minutes.[76]

The ship proved to be a money-maker, charging $40 per ton for freight from Soda Creek to Quesnel. Captain W. G. Doane, late of the *Union*, soon succeeded Tom Wright in command, and she ran for many years. In 1871, during the Omineca excitement, G. B. Wright took her through the Cottonwood and Fort George Canyons to Fort George, then up the Nechako to the Stuart River, up the Stuart to Stuart Lake, up Tachie River to Trembleur Lake, and then up Middle River and Tatla Lake to Tatla Landing,[77] a feat never equalled in river navigation in British Columbia.

Dr. Cheadle gives an interesting description in his journal of a trip from Soda Creek to Quesnel in the autumn of 1863. Under the date of October 16, he says:—

> Steamer came in about 2 o'clock bringing a host of miners 2 of whom were very drunk & continued to imbibe every 5 minutes; during the time we stayed in the house they must have had 20 drinks. The swearing was something fearful. After we had been on board a short time the Captain, finding out who we were, gave us the use of his cabin, a comfortable little room, & supplied us with cigars & a decanter of cocktail, also books & papers. We were fetched out every few minutes to have a drink with some one, the Captain taking the lead by standing champagne all round. We had some dozen to do before supper; no one the least affected, Milton & I shirking in quantity. The 'Cap' told us the boat was built on the river, all the timbers sawn by hand, the shaft in 5 pieces packed up on mules, cylinders in two, boiler plates brought in same manner. Boat cost $75,000!
>
> Saturday, October 17th—As we did not leave Soda Creek until 4 & the boat makes very slow progress against the powerful current, we had to anchor for night after doing only some 10 miles. At daybreak went on 4

(76) Thomas Wright to R. C. Moody, May 13, 1863, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(77) *Cariboo Sentinel*, July 16, August 12, 1871.

or 5 miles, & then delayed by the dense fogs which prevail on the river in the early morning at this season. Passed Fort Alexander about 10. . . . Continually called out to have a drink.

Sunday, October 18th—Arrived about 9, at Quesnel mouth, a little collection of about 20 houses on the wooded banks of the Fraser. Quesnel at the north side of the Fort. Large new stores & cards all lying about the street. . . . We made up our pack & set out. Captain Done [Captain W. G. Doane of the *Enterprise*] met us in street half seas over & insisted to treat us to champagne, &c., at every bar in the place. At last escaped & walked to 4-mile house. . . .[78]

On their return to Quesnel in November the tourists once again met the hospitable Captain Doane. Cheadle says, under Wednesday, November 4th:—

Steamer stopped & hauled on to the bank. . . . Called on Captain Done on the Steamer. Cocktails every 5 minutes, & champagne lunch afterwards. Happiest man I ever saw. Steward tells me he takes a cocktail every ten minutes when on board. Very jolly fellow. Had to give a keg of brandy to his men before they could haul the steamer on shore. Gave them a champagne dinner on being paid off today, & we heard them singing away below deck. Came in for many champagne drinks during the day.[79]

Such was the life on the river-boats during the heyday of the Cariboo mining boom. As the *Enterprise* was laid up for the winter, Cheadle and Milton took passage on a rowboat from Quesnel to Soda Creek, for which they paid $10.

A correspondent writing to the Victoria *Chronicle* in 1864 says:—

The steamer Enterprise was laid up on my arrival at Soda Creek for repairs to her shaft, but has now a new one and makes better time than last year. She is very comfortable though small and her "high-toned" Captain, (Doane) and gentlemanly purser (Mr. Hunt) are hard to beat. For the first time after leaving Lillooet, I sat down to a fine dinner with claret and ice, ale, sherry, and champagne in their company. In this respect, as in many others, she is the pioneer of civilization in this part of the country.[80]

Competition on the lower Fraser was very strong again in 1863. Captain Moore returned from the Stikine with the *Flying Dutchman*, and placed the *J. W. Moore*, in which he had installed engines and a screw propellor, on Harrison Lake, under command of Captain Peter Holmes. In May a new combination was formed, with the intention of driving Captain Irving's *Reliance*

(78) *Cheadle's Journal*, pp. 245-247.
(79) *Ibid.*, p. 258.
(80) Victoria *Daily Chronicle*, June 17, 1864.

off the river. The *Hope*, *Union*, and *Henrietta* were laid up, while the *Colonel Moody*, *Governor Douglas*, and *Flying Dutchman* united at cut rates.

Fares dropped to 25 cents, but the *Reliance* still won the bulk of the traffic. At last in November, Captain John T. Wright gave up the struggle. The British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., went into liquidation, and the steamers *Governor Douglas*, *Colonel Moody*, and *Union* were sold to R. D. Dunn, a Victoria merchant, for $11,200.[81] They were withdrawn from the river and laid up. In May, 1864, the *Governor Douglas* and *Colonel Moody* sailed for Puget Sound,[82] and soon after they were dismantled and their engines removed at Utsalady sawmill. The *J. W. Moore* also went to Utsalady, where she became a tugboat.

Captain William Moore embarked on a new venture in 1863, in partnership with Captain Asbury Insley, who sold out his interest in Captain Millard's vessels. With the profits he had made on the Stikine, Moore ordered from James Trahey the largest sternwheeler yet built for the Fraser River. This was the *Alexandra*, named in honour of the Princess of Wales. She was launched on July 29, 1863, but the non-arrival of her machinery and financial difficulties between Moore and Trahey delayed her completion for nearly a year.

Meanwhile a new strong competitor arrived on the river—Captain John R. Fleming, former master of the *Eliza Anderson*. He sold out his interest in that vessel to the Wright brothers for $35,000, and invested the proceeds in a company called the Port Douglas Steam Navigation Company, which ordered a new vessel from James Trahey, called the *Lillooet*.

She was launched on September 12,[83] and it was announced that she would have the finest boilers and machinery ever imported. She became the fastest ship on the river, and carried a set of stag's antlers on her pilot-house as a symbol of her speed.

Two new vessels were built for the lakes during 1863. The slow little *Champion* on Seton Lake was replaced by a larger ves-

(81) Victoria *Colonist*, November 19, 1863, where the initials are wrongly given; they appear correctly in the record of the transfer in the Port of Victoria Register Book.

(82) For the departure of the *Colonel Moody* see *ibid.*, May 23, 1864.

(83) *Ibid.*, September 14, 1863.

sel called the *Seaton*, while a good-sized sternwheeler, the *Prince of Wales*, was built for Lillooet Lake by Goulding & Company. Both had short careers, for after 1864, the Harrison–Lillooet route rapidly went into decline.

Strong efforts were made to attract travellers to the Harrison route, and columns of advertisements in the Victoria papers lauded the relative merits and demerits of the rival routes. Of the new *Prince of Wales* it was said:—

> On the Lillooet Lake Goulding's New and Splendid Steamer Prince of Wales, 100 Tons Burthen, Will Make Two Trips per Day, And is Capable of taking on board The Heaviest Wagons or An Entire Mule Train![84]

That passengers were not always happy about service on the river-boats is revealed by a facetious "card" which appeared in the *British Columbian* late in 1863.

> The undersigned Passengers on the splendid steamboat Flying Dutchman on her last trip down from Harrison River, would tender our hearty thanks to Capt. Bill Moore for the high-toned and elegant manner with which we were treated on the trip. We left Harrison River about 12 o'clock M. on Tuesday. About 1 o'clock on the same day the boat made such rapid progress that we were laid up on a bar to prevent her making "lightning speed" to N. Westminster. On that Bar we rested heavily for the space of twenty-one hours, sleeping lightly in chairs, on board, and in bunks designed for weary miners. Soon after we left the bar our polite and accommodating Captain ran his barge into a snag, which ran into the barge hard enough to "dump" her cargo of horned individuals into the "chuck." After this our Captain, in a spirit of thanksgiving, ordered that no more "grub" should be served on his boat; and we proceeded to New Westminster, where we arrived about 7 P.M., with appetites sufficiently keen to do ample justice to the best dinner ever set at the "Colonial." For all of which we desire to tender to Capt. Moore the renewed assurances of our highest regard and most distinguished consideration. And to the public we would say, travel with Bill Moore when you see either one of us go aboard his boat, and "not till then."[85]

1864.

The year 1864 started the decline in the fortunes of the Cariboo mines, and it was also a bad year for the steamboats, except

(84) *Ibid.*, March 21, 1863.

(85) New Westminster *British Columbian*, December 19, 1863. The card, dated December 11, 1863, was signed by "Absalom Huffstuttle, Archy Soft, Mich. Horton, Jeff. Johnson, David Thomas, Dudley O'Archibald, Fritz of Lillooet and sixteen others."

for Captain Irving's *Reliance*, which was a consistent money-maker, despite the efforts of his rivals to drive him off the river.

The little *Union*, which had been laid up for some months, was purchased in May for $3,600 by Captain Tom Coffin, late owner of the trading schooner *Nanaimo Packet*.[86] He announced his intention to take the river-boat on an independent trading voyage to the Northwest Coast, believing that because of her shallow draught the *Union* could trade up narrow inlets and shallow creeks, which could not be reached by schooners or vessels of greater draught.

The *Union's* northern voyage is of some historical interest, for she pioneered navigation on the Skeena River. She left Victoria on June 11, 1864, with four passengers and 20 tons of freight. The passengers and part of the freight were destined to Port McNeill, where there were coal operations.[87]

In the course of her northern trip the *Union* attempted to ascend the Stikine River on August 5, but found the current too strong. However she ascended the Nass River for 30 miles, and the virgin Skeena for 60 miles on August 25. She arrived back at Victoria on September 7, where it was reported that the trading voyage had been unprofitable.[88] Later in the month she was laying buoys for the Government at the mouth of the Fraser.

An amusing feud between Captain William Irving and John Robson, editor of the *British Columbian*, two of the Royal City's most prominent citizens, created some stir in the colony in the spring of 1864.

The quarrel was evoked by one W. E. Wynn Williams, who started publication of a short-lived scurrilous weekly called the *Scorpion*. For some reason, Williams chose to make personal attacks on Captains Fleming and Irving, the two most highly respected river captains.[89]

Fleming remained quiet, but Irving was furious, and blamed the attacks on Robson, for the *Scorpion* was printed in the press-room of the *British Columbian*. Irving announced that hence-

(86) Victoria *Colonist*, May 16, 1864.
(87) Victoria *Daily Chronicle*, June 12, 1864.
(88) *Ibid.*, September 8, 1864.
(89) The reference to Captain Irving appeared in the fifth and last issue of the *Scorpion*, May 16, 1864.

forth he would not carry the *British Columbian* on his steamer, and would levy a $50 freight charge for any papers carried. Shortly after, the Dietz & Nelson Express Company accidentally sent a parcel of *British Columbians* to Yale on the *Reliance*. Irving promptly billed the company for $50. They paid up, so they must have felt sympathetic. John Robson stoutly maintained his innocence of any slander. Presumably Irving's temper cooled down, and the *Scorpion* soon expired.[90]

Competition was keen in the spring of 1864, with the *Flying Dutchman* and *Lillooet* forming a familiar combination to oppose the *Reliance*. The *Lillooet* connected at the mouth of the Harrison with the *Dutchman*, which ran to Douglas, while the *Lillooet* herself ran on to Yale in competition with the *Reliance*. In April Captain Fleming was advertising fares of $1 to Yale or Port Douglas, with a freight rate of $5 per ton to Yale.[91] Captain Millard's *Hope* did not compete, for she was laying buoys, while his *Caledonia* carried lumber from New Westminster to Victoria.

The *Reliance* remained the most popular vessel, and Irving proudly reported to the press that in the three months ended May 2 his boat carried 1,539 passengers to Yale from New Westminster. His biggest list had been 124 and his smallest eleven passengers.[92]

The big event in 1864 was the completion of Captain Moore's *Alexandra*, which had been delayed for nearly a year by financial trouble and a protracted quarrel between Moore and James Trahey, the ship-builder. Even after she was placed in service, the new vessel was in no way as lavishly fitted as her owner intended.

The *Alexandra* was modelled on a Mississippi River boat, with two tall stacks, or "chimneys," as they were called, athwartships. As originally planned she was to have stateroom accommodation for fifty-eight passengers. The after part of her hull was to be fitted as a ladies' cabin, and the centre occupied by the main saloon, which was lined on each side by fifteen staterooms. A large pantry and kitchen adjoined the saloon, while forward

(90) New Westminster *British Columbian*, June 1, 1864.

(91) A news item, commenting on the rivalry, gives the fare as $1. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1864.

(92) *Ibid.*, May 4, 1864.

were the boilers and fire-rooms. A second cabin, in the forecastle, had a capacity of forty passengers.

On the main deck, the after part was occupied by the engine-room, forward of which was the well-stocked bar, with companion ways to the saloon deck and upper deck. The latter included a promenade, the captain's and purser's cabins, and the pilot-house forward. The pilot-house boasted a steam-gauge, a new feature on Fraser River boats.

The big vessel had four boilers, and three separate stern-wheels, each of which could be run independently. Her engines, of 145 horse-power, were described as being " of the most powerful and elegant description." She had a freight capacity of 400 tons.[93]

Unfortunately, the *Alexandra* was doomed to failure from the start. She was extravagant to operate and her hull was weak, while she arrived just as the mine traffic began to decline. It was the intention of Moore and Insley to run her direct from Victoria to Yale, connecting with the *Flying Dutchman* at Harrison, but she was too big for the up-river trade, except at high water, and she made only two or three trips.

She made her maiden trip to New Westminster on June 4, and on June 10 she went up to Port Douglas. A week later she made her first trip to Yale. Captain Moore was determined to display his boat's capacity, and on one trip down river he made the run from Yale to New Westminster in only six hours. From Yale to the mouth of the Harrison he averaged " 21½ miles an hour."[94]

Speed was not sufficient to make the *Alexandra* pay, however, and on July 12, it was announced that she would start a service to Olympia and Sound ports. In August there was a short-lived gold excitement at Leech River, near Sooke, and Moore, who could never resist a gold-rush, ran the *Alexandra* from Victoria to Sooke for a time.

But creditors were closing in. Captain Moore had already lost the *Flying Dutchman*, and debts were piling up against the *Alexandra*. He made a final attempt to gain a footing in the Fraser River traffic, but the odds were against him. The com-

(93) Victoria *Colonist*, June 4, 1864.
(94) *Ibid.*, July 2, 1864.

petition was terrific. Captain Millard, also in financial trouble, was setting the pace against the field. He ran the *Hope* to Yale, while Captain Devries ran the *Henrietta* to Douglas, with fares set at 25 cents. Also in the running were Captain Deighton with the *Flying Dutchman*, Fleming with the *Lillooet*, and Irving with the *Reliance*. Before the year was out, everybody was "broke" except the indomitable Irving.

Moore was the first to succumb. On September 25 he crossed the Gulf from New Westminster with forty passengers and a barge in tow. He had been warned that sheriff's officers were waiting for him to land, so he decided to make a run for the American side, where he would be temporarily free from his enemies.

Upon his arrival at Esquimalt, he cast off his tow, put his passengers ashore, and hastily sought a haven at Port Angeles. His creditors, temporarily thwarted, chartered the *Flying Dutchman* at New Westminster, and went in pursuit, but failed to effect an arrangement. Moore's indebtedness was said to be $17,000.[95]

His flight to the American side did him no good, for the crew promptly sued for back wages. The United States marshal seized the vessel, and she was laid up at Penn's Cove, Whidbey Island.

Meanwhile Moore's old rival, Captain Charles Millard, was also dodging his creditors. In July the mortgagees foreclosed on the *Caledonia*, and she was sold at auction for $2,975.[96] Next month she was resold to her captain, James Frain, and a speculator named William Culverwell, and for a short time she ran to Sooke during the gold excitement.

Millard ran his other two ships, the *Hope* and *Henrietta*, on a cut-rate basis for several months, but bankruptcy was approaching. In September he sold the *Henrietta* to Captain H. Devries,[97] and by the end of October the *Hope* was sold by the sheriff.

The *Lillooet*, which was the best ship on the river, had hard luck in 1864. At the opening of the year she suffered damage to the extent of $2,500, while crossing the Gulf from New Westminster in a storm. After she returned to the river she was

(95) *Ibid.*, September 26, 1864.
(96) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1864.
(97) *Ibid.*, September 22, 1864.

unable to stand the cut-rate war, and on October 1 she was advertised for sale for the benefit of her mortgagee and the creditors of the Port Douglas Steam Navigation Company. She was sold in December for $19,500 to C. W. Wallace, but Captain J. R. Fleming retained command, and subsequently regained ownership.

1865.

The misadventures of the *Alexandra* continued during 1865. For several months the vessel lay at Whidbey Island, with the United States marshal aboard, while Captain Moore camped near-by with his family. It was known that he intended to attempt to steal the boat, so some of the machinery was removed. However, much to the surprise of every one, notably Moore, his former partner, Captain "Delaware" Insley, arrived from Victoria one day, made a deal with the marshal, and sailed the *Alexandra* away. She arrived at Victoria on February 20, where Moore's creditors were licking their chops. It was explained, on behalf of the marshal, that Insley had produced bonds given by lawyers for the creditors, but the *coup d'état* was generally considered a clever bit of piracy.[98]

Captain Moore was not aware of the departure of his $50,000 boat until she was away. Penniless and chagrined, he gathered together his family and his pigs and returned to the Fraser River. He was adjudged a bankrupt in the Victoria Court on February 22, and the *Alexandra* was sold at auction for $8,000 on March 28.

She made a few trips to Puget Sound and New Westminster under command of Captain W. G. Doane, the cheerful hard-drinking skipper of the up-river *Enterprise*, and in June, Captain Tom Coffin, late of the *Union*, took command.

The *Alexandra* soon ran into trouble, for on June 19, at 11 p.m., she collided with the Nanaimo mail steamer *Fideliter*, near Clover Point, Victoria. The *Fideliter*, which had twenty-five passengers aboard, was beached, while the *Alexandra* reached port, and was run ashore at Laing's shipyard in James Bay. At the time of the accident the *Alexandra* was carrying seventy-five

(98) Victoria *Daily Chronicle*, February 22, 1865.

passengers, forty-six of whom were Chinese, and a cargo of 600 sheep and stock.[99]

Her damages were actually slight, amounting to only about $500, but the steamer was laid up pending a lengthy lawsuit with the *Fideliter's* owners. The Courts found the *Alexandra* at fault, and in November damages of $16,340 were assessed against her.[100]

Her owners were unable to pay, so in February, 1866, the vessel was once again seized by the marshal and put on the auction block. T. Pritchard, acting for the Hudson's Bay Company, bought her for the bargain price of $5,000,[101] but she never made any money for any of her owners.

She was refitted and ran intermittently for several years on the New Westminster run. In May, 1867, she was chartered to the Admiralty, and for a brief time was used as a surveying vessel under command of Captain Daniel Pender, R.N.[102]

In September, 1869, it was decided that her usefulness was over, and her machinery was removed. A month later the dismantled hull was towed to Esquimalt and beached on a cove near the Hudson's Bay Company's wharf.[103] The machinery lay on the dock at Victoria until 1874, when it was purchased for a Columbia River tugboat.

Hard times continued on the Fraser River in 1865, with Captain Irving still getting the cream of the traffic. The *Flying Dutchman*, owned by Captain Insley, called it quits and sailed away for Puget Sound, leaving her creditors behind. She was broken up at Utsalady mills, and her engines installed in the tug *Favorite* in 1869.

Captain Millard appeared briefly on the river in the *Hope* in February, but he was bankrupt, and for several months the *Hope* and *Henrietta* passed in and out of the sheriff's hands with dizzy monotony. On March 18, 1865, it was announced that the two

(99) Victoria *Colonist*, June 20, 1865.

(100) *Ibid.*, November 4, 1865.

(101) *Ibid.*, February 8, 1866, reports sale of the vessel to T. Pritchard—meaning Captain Thomas Pritchard, a retired sea captain. The Port of Victoria Register Book shows that title to the vessel was transferred directly to the Company.

(102) *Ibid.*, May 1, 1867.

(103) *Ibid.*, October 12, 1869.

vessels had been purchased by E. T. Dodge & Company, who maintained an express service to the Cariboo via the Douglas–Lillooet route. The vessels were intended to bolster up the declining trade on this route, in opposition to the Yale traffic. "Our teams start daily from Port Douglas for Cariboo," advertised Dodge & Company.[104]

The *Caledonia* also ran into sheriff trouble in 1865. On May 3 she was attached at Victoria by Spratt & Kriemler, of the Albion Iron Works, who had not yet been paid for her new boiler. Her joint owner, William Culverwell, who had been engaged in various precarious speculations, decamped quietly for Portland, leaving a host of mourning creditors behind.[105]

This marked the end of the career of the *Caledonia*, the first steamer built in British Columbia. Joseph Spratt dismantled her to get back his boiler, while her engines were installed in the tugboat *Colfax*, launched later in the year at Seabeck, Puget Sound.

The *Union*, commanded by Captain Tom Coffin, was chartered by the Collins Overland Telegraph Company in 1865, and was kept busy supplying provisions and stores to the upper reaches of the Skeena and Stikine rivers, where surveyors and linemen were fighting against time to complete the huge telegraph project.[106]

The following year the *Union* was replaced on this service by a new sternwheeler, the *Mumford*, specifically built at Puget Sound. The vessel was fitted up at Victoria, and arrived at New Westminster on July 6, 1866, *en route* to the north, under command of Captain Coffin.

She spent the season on the Stikine and Skeena,[107] but with the completion of the Atlantic cable in August, 1866, the telegraph scheme was abandoned. The *Mumford* spent the next year laid up in the Fraser, and in 1868 she was taken in tow for San Francisco.

Despite the many financial failures of his rivals, Captain William Irving had the courage to build a new river steamer in

(104) New Westminster *British Columbian*, March 18, 1865.
(105) Victoria *Colonist*, May 4, 1865.
(106) *Ibid.*, August 25, 1865.
(107) *Ibid.*, August 16, 1865.

1865. This was the *Onward*, launched at Trahey's yard on June 26. She was staunchly constructed of Burrard Inlet timber, and upon her arrival at New Westminster on her maiden trip citizens warmly welcomed her by firing off the big gun on Pioneer Wharf. She showed her mettle on this trip by beating the *Otter* from Victoria by nearly an hour.[108]

The *Onward* boasted twenty-one staterooms, "a cosy ladies' cabin, and a spacious and well-lighted dining saloon." She provided strong competition for the *Lillooet*, and in November, 1865, the fare from New Westminster to Yale was down to 50 cents again.

1866.

The year 1866 showed a big decline in the popularity of the Harrison–Lillooet route to the mines. The financial difficulties of E. T. Dodge & Company mounted, until in September the ever-active sheriff stepped in to seize the assets.

The assets were small, for the *Henrietta*, following the usual custom, had run away to the American side to avoid her debts. However, she had neglected to get clearance papers and was seized by the United States Customs. Eventually she paid a nominal fine and steamed back sheepishly to New Westminster.[109] She was dismantled soon after and her engines went to the new steamer *Chehalis*, built at Tumwater, Washington, in 1867.

The *Hope* went on the auction block and was purchased for $1,000 by Captain Fleming of the *Lillooet*. This was a real bargain, for the *Hope* was still a fairly good ship, and survived for many years after.

In August, 1866, New Westminster was set agog by a visit from the high officials of the Collins Overland Telegraph Company. The little town was most hospitable, and Captain Fleming took the party on an excursion to Yale. There was plenty to eat and drink, and much praise of Fleming's good-fellowship and generosity. On this trip the *Lillooet* called at Hope, long abandoned as a river port. It was noted that the once-flourishing village had fallen into sad decay, with only three houses occupied.[110]

(108) New Westminster *British Columbian*, August 8, 1865.
(109) Victoria *Colonist*, September 5, 1866.
(110) *Ibid.*, August 23, 1866.

Hardly had the directors of the company returned to New Westminster than news came of the completion of the Atlantic cable, which meant that their $3,000,000 investment was wasted.

The Big Bend gold excitement was the chief topic of discussion in the colonies in 1866. It was apparent that the Cariboo mines were declining, so when word came of a new Eldorado on the upper Columbia, plans were made for a big rush.

The colonial authorities offered a subsidy of $400 a month to any one who would operate a steamer on the Thompson River from Savona's Ferry to the head of Shuswap Lake at Seymour, 45 miles from the Big Bend diggings. Among those who tendered were William Irving, G. B. Wright, William Moore, Charles Millard, and John A. Mara. Moore and Millard had just emerged from bankruptcy, but they were ever ready to take a further risk.

Irving was awarded the contract, but he soon transferred it to the Hudson's Bay Company, which in June, 1865, had sent Captain W. A. Mouat to investigate the possibilities of navigating the Thompson. On his favourable report, decision was made to build a steamer.

In March, 1866, the ubiquitous James Trahey, with a party of shipwrights, left Victoria for Savona's Ferry, and on May 10 the new sternwheel steamer *Marten* was launched, the first steamer on the Thompson River.

The *Marten* arrived at Seymour "City" on May 27, 1866, under the command of Captain Mouat, where the auspicious event was celebrated by the customary gay party. Champagne, in those happy days, was available even in the wild Shuswap country.

> Although every effort was made and every nerve strained on the part of the Seymourites to welcome the gallant Marten their labors were as a single grain of sand on the shores of Shuswap compared with the handsome manner in which they were acknowledged by her popular commander, if we may judge by the amount of champagne and H[udson's] B[ay] rum freely distributed to all hands not only on board during her trip but to every individual who stood on the beach. . . .
>
> The steamer left Savana's Ferry at 5 p.m. on Saturday arriving at Kamloops at 7.45. She started from there at 6 a.m. and arrived at 6 p.m.

Thus was her arrival described by a correspondent in the Victoria *Colonist*.[111]

The *Marten* continued to run twice a week between Savona and Seymour, charging $10 fare and $20 a ton freight. These charges were considered exorbitant, and small sailing barges were liberally patronized. Skipper of one of these was Captain "Bill" Moore, his spirits revived by the prospect of new gold discoveries.

Unfortunately the bubble burst in the late summer of 1866, and the Big Bend diggings were acknowledged to be a failure. The whole season's production amounted to less than $250,000.

The *Marten* was laid up at Kamloops, where she lay for several years. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company proposed bringing her down the Thompson River to the Fraser, but the plan was abandoned as impracticable. In 1875, with an influx of settlers to the Thompson country, the steamer was purchased by John A. Mara and started operation again, under Captain Asbury Insley, and ran for several years.

The collapse of the Big Bend gold-rush had a disastrous effect upon the economy of the colony. A profound depression set in, population declined, and pessimism grew. Steadily decreasing returns from the Cariboo mines only added to the gloom.

The hard times had their effect on the Fraser River steamboating business. No longer was there eager competition between eight or ten vessels. Now only Captain William Irving, with the *Onward* and *Reliance*, and Captain John R. Fleming, with the *Lillooet* and *Hope*, were left on the river.

HARD TIMES ON THE RIVER.

Cut-throat competition still existed between the two survivors. On November 23, 1867, Captain Irving wrote to the colonial authorities complaining bitterly that the *Hope*, which was carrying passengers from New Westminster to Yale for 50 cents, was unseaworthy, and that the competition was unfair. He declared he had $50,000 invested in his two steamers, while the *Hope* had cost Fleming a mere $1,000. Irving admitted that he was losing heavily.[112]

(111) *Ibid.*, June 4, 1866.

(112) William Irving to J. W. Trutch, November 23, 1867, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Traffic declined even further in the next two years, and the two competitors decided to run their boats every consecutive season. In 1869, conditions had reached such a sad plight that the *Lillooet* was only making one trip a week between New Westminster and Yale.[113]

However, with the discovery of new gold country in the Omineca area, business began to pick up in 1869, and a considerable migration started from the Cariboo to the remote regions north of Fort St. James.

This led to the construction of a new river steamer for the upper Fraser to supplement the *Enterprise*. This was the *Victoria*, built at Quesnel in the summer of 1868 by James Trahey, to the order of Edgar Marvin and G. B. Wright. She was the last steamer built in the colony by the pioneer ship-builder, for he died that winter in Victoria.

The *Victoria* was completed in 1869 and was equipped with the engines and boilers from the Lillooet Lake steamer *Prince of Wales*.[114] She ran for many years faithfully on the upper Fraser, and her registry was not closed until 1897.

The decade ended with the colony in the doldrums, and so was the steamboating business. The next decade was to see a revival of traffic on the river, culminating in a new boom created by construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

NORMAN R. HACKING.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(113) Victoria *Colonist*, July 5, 1869.
(114) *Ibid.*, March 1, 1869.

APPENDIX.

FRASER RIVER STEAMERS: 1859–1870.

Dimensions, etc., as given by even the best authorities frequently vary by a few inches (or, in some instances, a few feet). The principal sources upon which the following table is based are indicated as follows:—

[L] *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest.*
[R] *List of Vessels on the Registry Books of the Dominion of Canada, on the 31st Day of December, 1874.* Ottawa, 1875.
[V] Port of Victoria Register Book (photostat copy in the Provincial Archives).
[W] Note-book of Thomas Westgarth, Steamboat Inspector (containing entries covering the period 1865 to 1874).

1. *Alexandra.*
   Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria July 29, 1863, for William Moore.
   Dimensions: 167' (keel) x 29'6" x 8'6" [W].
   Gross tonnage 500; carrying capacity 200 tons [W].
   Engines 21¼" x 72"; 150 h.p. [W].
   4 boilers 40" in diameter and 16' long [W].
   (Wrongly listed in *Lewis & Dryden* as the *Alexandria.*)

2. *Caledonia.*
   Sidewheeler; launched at Victoria September 8, 1858, for Faulkner, Bell & Company.
   Dimensions: 100 x 18.8 x 5.2.
   Oscillating engines 20" x 30"; 70 h.p. [W].
   (Wrongly listed in *Lewis & Dryden* as the *New Caledonia.*)

3. *Cariboo* (later *Cariboo and Fly*).
   Originally a sidewheeler; later rebuilt as single screw steamer; launched at Victoria November 16, 1860, for Archibald Jamieson.
   Dimensions: 130.2 x 22.2 x 6.4 [V] [R].
   Gross tonnage 199.85 [V].
   Oscillating engines 17" x 36"; 120 h.p. [V].

4. *Champion.*
   Sternwheeler; built on Seton Lake in 1860 for Taylor & Company.
   Dimensions: 110 x 22 [L].

5. *Colonel Moody.*
   Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria May 14, 1859, for the British Columbia Steam Navigation Company.
   Dimensions: 144.9 x 26.7 x 4.
   Engines 16" x 72" [L].

6. *Emily Harris.*
   Single screw; launched at Victoria January 3, 1861, for Harris, Carroll & Company.
   Dimensions: 90 x 15 x 5.5.
   Engines 12" x 15" [L] 16 h.p.

7. *Enterprise.*

Sidewheeler; built at San Francisco in 1861; purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company and placed on the Fraser River run in 1862.
Dimensions: 134' x 27'7" x 6'9" [L].
Walking beam engines 30" x 72"; 75 h.p. [W].
Paddlewheels 19' in diameter [W].

8. *Enterprise.*

Sternwheeler; built at Four Mile Creek in 1863 for G. B. Wright and Tom Wright.
Dimensions: 110 x 20 [W].
Engines 12" x 36"; 60 h.p. [W].
2 boilers 36" in diameter and 10' long [W].
Diameter of sternwheel 15'6" [W].

9. *Flying Dutchman.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria September 26, 1860, for William Moore.
Dimensions: 92 x 17.5 x 4.3.
Engines 12" x 36" [L].

10. *Fort Yale.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 15, 1860, for the Yale Steam Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 110 x 22 x 4 [L].
Engines 14" x 54" [L].
Diameter of sternwheel 16' [L].

11. *Governor Douglas.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 30, 1858, for the Victoria Steam Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 144 x 26 x 4.
Engines 16" x 72" [L].

12. *Henrietta.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 17, 1859, for William Moore.
Dimensions: 73 x 14 x 3.5; lengthened 12' late in 1861.
Engines 8" x 26"; 25 h.p. [W].

13. *Hope.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria September 22, 1860, for Charles Millard.
Dimensions: 95 x 18 x 4 [W].
Lengthened to 105.0 x 17.5 x 4.7 in 1870 [R].
Gross tonnage after lengthening 166 [R].
Engines 13" x 42"; 70 h.p. [W].

14. *J. W. Moore.*
Originally a barge; later rebuilt as single screw steamer; built at Victoria in 1862 for William Moore.
Dimensions: No details available.

15. *Lady of the Lake.*
Sternwheeler; built on Anderson Lake in 1860 for Chapman & Company.
Dimensions: 72 x 15 x 4 [W].
Engines 6" x 24"; 14 h.p. [W].

16. *Lillooet.*
Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria September 12, 1863, for the Port Douglas Steam Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 130 x 28 x 5 [W].
Engines 17" x 60"; 115 h.p. [W].
2 boilers 46" in diameter and 16' long [W].

17. *Marten.*
Sternwheeler; built at Savona in 1866 for the Hudson's Bay Company.
Dimensions: 125 x 25 x 5.

18. *Marzelle.*
Sternwheeler; built on Lillooet Lake in 1860 for Goulding & Company.
Dimensions: 60 x 13 x 2.5 [W].
Engines 7" x 22"; 18 h.p. [W].
Boiler 36" in diameter and 12' long [W].
(Wrongly listed in *Lewis & Dryden* as *Marcella.*)

19. *Mumford.*
Sternwheeler; built on Puget Sound in 1866 for the Western Union Extension Telegraph Company.
Dimensions: 110 x 19 x 4.8.

20. *Onward.*
Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria on June 26, 1865, for William Irving.
Dimensions: 120.5 x 24.3 x 7.4 [V] [R].
Gross tonnage 283 [V].
Engines 14" x 54"; 90 h.p. [W].

21. *Prince of Wales.*
Sternwheeler; built on Lillooet Lake in 1863 for Goulding & Company.
Dimensions: 115 x 20 [W].
Engines 14" x 54"; 90 h.p. [W].
2 boilers 42" in diameter and 16' long [W].

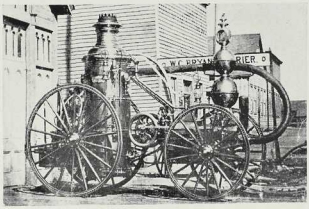
22. *Reliance.*
Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 8, 1862, for William Irving.
Dimensions: 126' x 26' x 4'5" [W].
Engines 16" x 54"; 110 h.p. [W].

23. *Seaton.*
Sidewheeler; built on Seton Lake in 1863 for Taylor & Company.
Dimensions: 100 x 22 x 5 [W].
Engines 12" x 36"; 60 h.p. [W].
Carrying capacity 80 tons [W].

24. *Union.*
Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria May 7, 1861, for Wright, Nelson & Company.
Dimensions: 66 x 17.5 x 3.

25. *Victoria.*
Sternwheeler; built at Quesnel in 1868 for G. B. Wright.
Dimensions: 116 x 23 x 4 [W].
Engines 14" x 54"; 90 h.p. [W]. (Engines and boilers both from the *Prince of Wales* [W].)
Diameter of sternwheel 17' 8" [W].

The building erected by the Union Hook and Ladder Company during the winter 1859–60. It occupied the north-west corner of the grounds of old Fort Victoria, visible in the picture.



Victoria's first steam fire-engine, purchased in 1868 by the Tiger Engine Co. No. 2.

Officers of the Tiger Engine Co. No. 2, 1864.
Back row, left to right: H. E. Levy, 2nd Assistant; S. L. Kelly, Foreman; S. Duck, 1st Assistant.
Front row, left to right: Chas. Gowen, President; Frank Sylvester, Secretary; P. S. Hall, Treasurer.

THE FIRE COMPANIES OF OLD VICTORIA.

1.

Fire, the good servant but the terrible master, has a certain fascination for us all. Nothing attracts a crowd more quickly than a fire, and most of us are gripped with a not unpleasant combination of excitement and apprehension when the alarm-bells ring and the sirens wail. Few stories are more colourful than the record of man's efforts to combat fires and make some provision against their ravages; yet it is a story that in great part still remains untold. Remarkably little, for example, has appeared in print about the fire brigades that contribute so much to the security of life in the highly inflammable cities of the Pacific Coast, and those of British Columbia are no exception to the rule.

As one would expect, the first fire brigade hereabouts was in Victoria. The gold-rush of 1858 was no more than a few weeks old when a group of anxious townspeople approached Governor Douglas with the request that something be done to protect the town from destruction by fire. Wooden buildings, shacks, and tents were springing up in considerable numbers, and the danger was very real. Douglas acted promptly, and equipment was ordered through the San Francisco firm of Truett, Jones & Arrington, which had an agency in Victoria.

Some of the original papers relating to the transaction are on file in the Provincial Archives. Two hand-operated pumping engines were secured, one of them new and one second-hand. The latter was purchased on July 14, 1858, from George H. Hossefross, and was described as follows in the indenture:—

> One Suction fire Engine recently used by the Monumental Fire Company of the said City of San Francisco, and familiarly known by the name of "Telegraph," complete
> Five hundred feet of Hose to suit said Engine
> One Hose Cart, heretofore used to serve the aforesaid Engine.[1]

The purchase price was $1,600. The "Telegraph" was a relatively small machine, later described as a third-class Balti-

(1) Indenture between George H. Hossefross and Truett, Jones & Arrington, San Francisco, July 14, 1858. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

more suction engine;[2] the cylinder seems to have measured 6 inches, with a stroke of no more than 8 or 9 inches.[3] The point cannot be proven, but it seems clear that the "Telegraph" was one of the three engines brought from Baltimore to San Francisco in 1850, when the Monumental Engine Company was first organized, and placed in reserve in 1854, when a much larger engine was secured. Clannish feeling was strong amongst the old volunteer companies, and it is interesting to note that the "Telegraph" had been built by John Rodgers, of Baltimore, a well-known manufacturer of fire-fighting equipment, and that the Monumental Company included a good many old Baltimorean firemen. George Hossefross, who arranged the sale, had been prominent in the Monumental Company since its founding, and had served in 1851–53 as San Francisco's Chief Engineer (as a Fire Chief was then called).[4]

The second engine purchased was a new second-class hand-engine manufactured by Hunneman & Company, of Boston. It had a 6-inch cylinder and a 14-inch stroke; the invoice forwarded to Douglas adds the details: "color carmine, gold stripe." The price, complete with hose-cart, was $1,750.[5] No doubt the engine was of the end-stroke type developed by William C. Hunneman, who at one time had been apprenticed to the celebrated Paul Revere.[6] To complete the order, 1,013 feet 11 inches of hose were secured from H. A. Cobb, an auctioneer, for $1,647.47.

(2) Report of John C. Keenan, Chief Engineer, Victoria Fire Department, to the Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1865. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

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

(4) On the organization of the Monumental Company *see* Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco . . .*, New York, 1855, pp. 621–2. The Monumental Company's bell was used to call together the famous Vigilance Committee. On Hossefross *see ibid.*, pp. 616–8, 621; also Mary Floyd Williams, *History of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851*, Berkeley, 1921, p. 199. On the organization of San Francisco fire companies generally *see* Pauline Jacobson, *City of the Golden 'Fifties*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941, pp. 45–77, 85–109.

(5) Details from invoice dated San Francisco, July 20, 1858. *MS.*, Archives of B.C. In Keenan's report for 1865 (*see* note 2, *supra*) the diameter of the cylinder is given as 7 inches. Engines were rated as first-, second-, or third-class according to the size and capacity of their pumps.

(6) Kenneth Holcomb Dunshee, *Enjine!-Enjine! A Story of Fire Protection*, New York, 1939, p. 12. The "more extensive study" that was intended to follow this most interesting brochure seems not yet to have been published.

Small items for labour and insurance brought the total cost of the entire shipment to $5,020.47.[7] The invoice was made out to James Douglas personally, but was paid in the first instance by the Hudson's Bay Company. At a later date the equipment was all transferred to the Government of the Colony of Vancouver Island, of which Douglas was Governor.

The engines arrived from San Francisco in the steamer *Oregon* on July 28. The same afternoon they were tested in the courtyard of old Fort Victoria, where water was drawn from a well. The account in the *Victoria Gazette* reads in part as follows:—

> The brakes[8] were manned by individuals volunteering promiscuously from the crowd drawn together to witness the throwing of the first water by a fire engine in our town, among whom we noticed several old San Francisco firemen. The machines are rather small, but sufficiently powerful to throw a full stream of water over any building in the town with ease. . . . The prompt manner in which Gov. Douglas has acted in this matter is worthy of special praise, and will cause our citizens to feel much more secure and safe in their property.[9]

Douglas placed the engines in the keeping of A. F. Pemberton, Commissioner of Police, as nothing had actually been done as yet about organizing a fire brigade. Within a day or two, however, he received a petition signed by "a large number of our principal shop keepers and property holders" asking that a volunteer brigade be formed at once. On July 31, without waiting for a reply, a public meeting was held in the Hudson's Bay Company warehouse, and two resolutions approved:—

> *Resolved*, That this meeting heartily approve of the immediate formation of Volunteer Fire Companies, and that a committee be appointed to receive the names of such citizens as are willing to join the Fire Department of this city, and to organize the separate Companies. . . .
>
> *Resolved*, That a committee of four be appointed to confer with Mr. Pemberton, Commissioner of Police, as to the intentions of His Excellency Gov. Douglas, relative to the organization of a Fire Department, to select sites for cisterns, and to obtain other information relative to carrying out the views of this meeting.

Later the meeting reconvened and proceeded to settle details. "On motion of Mr. Labatt, the Hunneman Engine Co. was

(7) Details from the invoice, July 20, 1858 (*see* note 5, *supra*).
(8) The rods or bars by means of which the hand-engines were operated.
(9) *Victoria Gazette*, July 29, 1858.

declared to be Fire Co. No. 1, and the Telegraph Co. No. 2." The membership of each company was to be limited to 100 men.[10]

Several meetings of the individual companies followed, in the first days of August. Officers were elected and committees appointed to get on with the work of organization; but at this point the whole movement suddenly languished. In part, the reasons are fairly obvious. By the middle of August the exodus from the Fraser River diggings was under way, and Victoria's first boom was at an end. Real estate ceased to move; building slowed down; population declined, and money was scarce. Added to this was the singular immunity from serious fires enjoyed by Victoria then and later. The fire brigade was required so seldom that it did not seem to be a pressing necessity.

Less apparent, but quite as important, was the discontent arising from Douglas's action in placing the two fire-engines under the jurisdiction of the police, and his evident expectation that the police would continue to oversee whatever fire brigade might be organized. Many of the men who later became most active in Victoria's fire companies had come from San Francisco. In background and experience, and in many instances in nationality, they were thoroughly American. As a consequence they thought in terms of the independent volunteer brigades upon which the great cities of the United States then depended for fire protection. These in many respects resembled brotherhoods; their membership included many prominent citizens, and they were no more anxious to be regulated by others than were the Masons or the Oddfellows. Nor did they welcome the suggestion that they might give place to a paid brigade. One writer thus described the situation in San Francisco in 1855, where, he declared, the fire department was " the right arm " of the city:—

> At the ring of the alarm-bell, it is not alone the errand-boy, the counter clerk, or the rowdy corner loafer that start for a scene of temporary excitement. But the merchant-millionaire springs from his cushioned seat; the judge leaves court and cases; the industrious mechanic drops his tools; editors, lawyers and doctors abandon quills, briefs and pills, and with pallid cheek but nervous sinews hurry their engines to the threatened spot. They are playing for a fearful stake. Men must be daring gamblers to foil the enemy they deal with. . . . These are men prouder of their leathern capes than though they were bedecked with the toddery [*sic*] uniform of a

(10) *Ibid.*, July 31, August 3, 1858.

militia general—men who have poured out their means with no stinting hand in the formation of the department. The volunteer system need not be abandoned for a *paid* fire organization. Nothing could replace the loss of an institution so highly valued. . . ."[11]

Douglas, of course, was not thinking in terms of anything so modern as a paid brigade. Neither London nor New York possessed such a thing until 1865. But the British, nevertheless, tended to accept some measure of control, public or private, much more readily than did the Americans. In England, parish brigades supported by parish rates were not unknown. True, the heart of London still placed its trust in the Fire Engine Establishment, which the larger insurance companies had united to organize and finance for reasons of their own; but to Douglas these companies doubtless seemed a sober and responsible lot compared to the boisterous if energetic independent fire companies of New York.

In Victoria interest revived somewhat in January, 1859, when the Grand Jury turned its attention to the need for protection against fire, and included the following paragraph in its report:—

> In relation to the formation of a Fire Department, from interviews had with the Police Magistrate [A. F. Pemberton], who alone is authorized to act in the premises, we have reason to believe that he is fully impressed with its urgency, and that he will carry out the necessary measures—such as the appointment of Fire Wardens and Engineers, the building of Cisterns, the storing of gunpowder, and other requirements—without further delay.[12]

Some action by the authorities followed immediately. On January 15 the *Gazette* reported that Douglas had "conferred the appointment of Chiefs or Captains of the Fire Department upon Messrs. C. S. Simpson and Edward Coker, with power to organize fire companies and make use of the two engines belonging to the H. B. Co."—meaning, of course, the two hand-engines purchased in San Francisco. As these would be useless if water were not available, contracts were let in April for two cisterns, one described as being on Store Street, and the other

(11) Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, pp. 615–6.
(12) *Victoria Gazette*, January 15, 1859.

on Government Street.[13] One of these was completed in June, when the chain-gang filled it with 25,000 gallons of water.[14]

On the vital matter of a fire brigade, however, little was actually accomplished, for in spite of the appointments made, control remained in the hands of the police. Both the *Gazette* and the more recently founded *British Colonist* discussed the matter from time to time, and by degrees the point at issue came to the surface. C. S. Simpson, one of the Chiefs, left the Colony, and the other, Edward Coker, was so inactive that the *Gazette* forgot his existence. When apologizing for the oversight, it is noteworthy that the paper, which was American owned and made a point of keeping clear of local politics, could not refrain from satirical comment:—

> We are assured that this gentleman has used every endeavor to organize companies and provide a suitable house for the engines; but so far his efforts, owing to the apathy—not to say opposition—of our authorities, have been attended by no satisfactory results. Thus, if we have a general conflagration we may be assured that it is "by authority"; and no doubt, after its occurrence, the matter of organizing companies and procuring hook and ladder apparatus will "receive serious consideration."[15]

Three days later matters suddenly came to a head when Victoria's first serious fire swept through a warehouse and did damage estimated at $13,350. Only by great good fortune was the blaze prevented from spreading throughout the business district. The *Colonist* at once struck out boldly for better fire-protection, and a fire brigade independent of police control. Editorially it accused the authorities of "unwisely rejecting all sensible and practical propositions to secure an efficient fire department."

> To us it seems the height of folly to place an engine in the hands of the Police. Its proper place is in the hands of a volunteer company, having the privilege of choosing its own members. The only veto reserved to the government should be the right to dissolve the Company in case of inefficiency.[16]

The *Colonist* undoubtedly expressed responsible public opinion on the question. The warehouse fire was no more than out when

(13) Victoria *Colonist*, August 17, 1859, in which are noted contracts reported the day before to the House of Assembly. These included: March 1, Trial shaft for cistern, $52; April 9, Cistern on Store Street, $400; April 4, Cistern on Government Street, $341.40.

(14) *Ibid.*, June 15, 1859.

(15) *Victoria Gazette*, October 15, 1859.

(16) Victoria *Colonist*, October 19, 1859.

two well-known citizens, J. J. Southgate and C. W. Wallace, Jr., began circulating subscription lists to raise funds to purchase an alarm-bell and apparatus for a hook and ladder company. The preamble to the lists read in part:—

> We the undersigned, property-holders, house-holders, and residents of the town of Victoria, alarmed by the late fire, and justly fearing a more extensive conflagration, and judging from the past apathy of the people and authorities, that it is now necessary for us to take immediate action for the preservation of our lives and property, herewith subscribe the sum set opposite our respective names. . . .[17]

A total of 142 subscriptions were reported in the *Colonist*, and the sum ultimately pledged totalled $1,958. There were ten subscriptions of $50 each, including one from the Hudson's Bay Company. Those donating $20 each included Dr. W. F. Tolmie, J. W. McKay, and Roderick Finlayson. At least four future Chief Engineers contributed—J. A. McCrea, J. S. Drummond, S. L. Kelly, and John Dickson.[18]

A public meeting was held on October 22, at which Amor De Cosmos, editor of the *Colonist*, was asked to take the chair. A committee of eleven was appointed to purchase equipment and draft a constitution for the new fire company. The members included J. J. Southgate, who is best remembered to-day as one of the founders of Free Masonry in British Columbia; A. H. Guild, who founded the first lodge of Oddfellows in the Province; Edward Coker, Douglas's Fire Captain, and J. W. McKay. It is interesting to note that two French-speaking members were added to the committee, but that a move to give similar representation to the negroes, who had responded generously to the appeal for funds, was defeated.[19]

By the end of October $1,300 had been actually collected, and the first orders for equipment sent off to San Francisco.[20] Early in November tenders were invited for the construction of a two-storied engine-house and meeting-hall. The building was to measure 20 by 65 feet, and was to be surmounted by a cupola for an alarm-bell. The cost was not to exceed $1,500.[21]

(17) *Ibid.*, October 19, 1859.
(18) *Ibid.*, October 19, 24, 1859.
(19) *Ibid.*, October 24, 1859.
(20) *Ibid.*, October 31, 1859.
(21) *Ibid.*, November 4, 7, 1859.

Tuesday, November 22, 1859, is a date of some historical interest, for it was at a meeting held that evening that the Union Hook and Ladder Company was formally organized. The officers elected were as follows: Foreman, W. Pickett; 1st Assistant, D. A. Edgar; 2nd Assistant, N. Hicks; Secretary, E. H. Jackson; Treasurer, C. W. Wallace, Jr.; Steward, J. D. Carroll; Standing Committee: R. Stewart, G. S. Gladwin, A. D. McDonald, J. A. McCrea, and W. H. Oliver.[22] This roster shows clearly that the intention was to parallel the form of organization used in San Francisco, which in turn was modelled upon that of New York; and it is probable that those at the meeting already envisaged a full-fledged fire department, composed of a number of fire companies, on the San Francisco model.

The Union Company seems to have gone into action for the first time on December 20. "An alarm of fire was given on Tuesday night," the *Colonist* records. "It was merely a stove-pipe a-fire, which was soon extinguished. The Engine under Capt. Coker and the Hook and Ladder under Capt. Pickett were promptly on the ground."[23] The "Hook and Ladder" can have done little upon this occasion except, perhaps, man the brakes for Captain Coker, for as yet it had no equipment of its own. The first item received seems to have been the 600-lb. alarm-bell, the arrival of which was noted in the *Colonist* for December 29. By that time the contract for the engine-house had been awarded to R. Lewis, the foundations were in, and the sides going up.[24] The building was at the corner of Bastion and Wharf streets, upon what was then the north-west corner of the grounds of old Fort Victoria. The site had been leased from the Hudson's Bay Company, to which the firemen paid $1 a year ground-rent.[25] The Union Company's hook and ladder apparatus finally arrived on January 6, 1860.[26] Some years later this equipment was described briefly, and the total cost of establishing the Company was indicated, in the report of the fire department's Chief Engineer:—

(22) *Ibid.*, November 23, 1859.
(23) *Ibid.*, December 22, 1859.
(24) *Ibid.*, December 27, 1859.
(25) The original lease, dated December 23, 1859, is in the Archives of B.C.
(26) Victoria *Colonist*, January 12, 1860.

First (1st) Class Truck with Ladders Hooks Axes &c &c complete manufactured in Sacramento Cal. by Messrs. Haworth & Ellis in 1854. This Company has incurred a heavy expense in purchasing their present Apparatus, which is [their] private property as is also the House both having cost them $2,776 50/100. . . .[27]

From another source we know that the alarm-bell had cost $389.59, and the hook and ladder apparatus $700.[28]

Uniforms were a source of much pride and joy to the old volunteer brigades, and the *Colonist* noted one of the Union Company's first full-dress practices:—

The men appeared in red shirts, black pants, and a leathern belt, on which was inscribed the insignia of the company. The truck was taken to the Union wharf where the men went through the exercise with a correctness worthy of veterans.[29]

Fire caps arrived soon after this, and were worn when the Company appeared in full uniform at a benefit tendered to them in March by the Colonial Theatre. Governor Douglas and several members of his family attended the performance, the net proceeds of which amounted to about $300.[30]

2.

Meanwhile the matter of manning the fire-engines efficiently had been under consideration, and plans were soon afoot for the organization of two volunteer companies to take charge of them. The first of these, known as Deluge Engine Company No. 1, came into being on March 5, 1860.[31] By March 21 it had enrolled forty members, and a full slate of officers—President, Foreman, Assistant Foremen, Secretary, and Treasurer—were elected that day. The best known of these first office-holders were John Dickson, the 1st Assistant Foreman, and Alfred Waddington, the Treasurer.[32] Edward Coker, still officially regarded as Fire

(27) Keenan to Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1865. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(28) Balance-sheet of the General Committee of the Fire Department. Victoria *Colonist*, May 3, 1860.

(29) *Ibid.*, February 28, 1860.

(30) *Ibid.*, March 24, 1860.

(31) This was the date embroidered on the Company's banner; *see*, for example, *ibid.*, May 3, 1860, and May 2, 1861. On the other hand, a letter from J. D. Churchill, the Company's Secretary, to the Colonial Secretary, states that the date of organization was March 15. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(32) Victoria *Colonist*, March 22, 1860.

Captain, handed over the Hunneman engine to the new Company, and a first drill was held on March 27. The brief notice of this event in the *Colonist* is amusing:—

> The trial of the Deluge Engine, on Tuesday evening, gave entire satisfaction. The "old box" worked well and performed some tall squirting.[33]

On April 9 Douglas was elected a life member of the Company.[34] This tactful move was followed by a request, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, that the transfer of the Hunneman engine be regularized and made permanent on suitable terms.[35]

The second Company, Tiger Engine Company No. 2, was founded on March 23, 1860, though the first officers were not elected until the 26th. John M. Thain was the first Foreman, and Thomas H. McCann the first President. The Tigers took possession of the old "Telegraph" engine on the 29th, and a satisfactory practice was held on April 4.[36] A fortnight later the Company had the misfortune to suffer an accident. While running to answer a call that proved to be a false alarm, two of the men tripped, fell beneath the engine, and were painfully hurt. The fact that the alarm proved to be false aroused much indignation, and both the Tigers themselves and the Union Hook and Ladder Company offered rewards for the arrest and conviction of the culprit responsible.[37]

The first quarters of the Deluge Company were in a rented building on Government Street, between Yates and Johnson streets. The Tiger Company leased premises on Johnson Street, between Government and Broad streets. The two were thus just around the corner from one another, which may have added to the rivalry that was a characteristic of volunteer companies in Victoria, as elsewhere. It is amusing to find that the official records and reports are careful to state which of the companies first poured water on any given fire, and old-timers tell us that if the alarm was false or the blaze a small one, the volunteers were not above turning their hoses on each other. Resorts to fisti-

(33) *Ibid.*, March 29, 1860.

(34) Churchill to Douglas, April 10, 1860. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(35) Churchill to the Colonial Secretary, April 12, 1860. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(36) Victoria *Colonist*, March 24, 29, April 5, 1860.

(37) *Ibid.*, April 19, 1860.

cuffs, however, seem to have been rare, whereas in some cities they were common enough. The following is one of the many stories told of early fire-fighting in New York City:—

> In the early days when water was scarce, there occurred many a fight for possession of a hydrant. One night two rival hose companies arriving at a fire, spotted the dim outline of a hydrant in a poorly lighted street at about the same moment. Angry disagreement between the foremen quickly led to blows and both companies soon were struggling in the darkness. The fast and furious fight was terminated when a bystander, scratching a match on the "hydrant" to light his cigar, discovered that the object for which they were contending was only a half-buried cannon used as a hitching post. As the burning building toppled to its doom, the lurid flare of flames briefly lighted up the bruised, battered and sheepish faces of the men.[38]

Soon after the Tiger Company moved into its engine-house T. H. McCann, the President, purchased a fine flagstaff that had formerly stood in front of the American Hotel, and presented it to the Company. Captain Alexander Murray, of the steamer *Governor Douglas*, at once donated a large flag to grace the new pole.[39] Ornament and display were dear to the hearts of the volunteers, and although lack of money prevented the Victoria brigade from acquiring engines bedecked with costly gilding, brasswork, painted panels, and the like, elaborate banners were amongst their treasured possessions, and as the years slipped by various showy items of attire and equipment came the way of the Chief Engineer. Some of these are now to be seen in the Provincial Archives. Most typical is one of the scarlet shirts that were worn by volunteer firemen everywhere. Two leather fire-fighting helmets, one from the Deluge Company and the other from the Tiger Company, are on display, along with belts from the Deluge and Union Hook and Ladder companies. Two silver dress helmets are included in the collection. The origin of one of these is not known; the other bears an inscription stating that it was "Presented to the Chief Engineer Victoria Fire Department by the Guardian Fire & Life Assurance Co. London, England." As noted above, it was not unusual for English insurance companies to take an interest in fire brigades. The presentation of the helmet took place as late as December 31, 1885, when C. J.

(38) Dunshee, *Enjine!—Enjine!* p. 27.—Quoted by kind permission of the Home Insurance Company.

(39) Victoria *Colonist*, April 28, 1860. A later item states that the height of the staff was 96 feet.

Phillips was Chief Engineer.[40] It was accompanied by a pair of silver epaulettes—probably those attached to the cream broadcloth coat, with pearl buttons and scarlet collar-band, now in the Archives museum. Phillips was evidently partial to ornament, for the museum also possesses two silver speaking-trumpets that he had made when he was Assistant Engineer and Chief Engineer respectively. That inscribed "Chief Engineer" dates from 1880, and was thus described by the *Colonist* at that time:—

> A few days since the Chief Engineer of the Fire Department received from the establishment of Messrs. Miller & Co., metallic workers, New York, a very handsome parade trumpet manufactured of heavily plated silver. The design of the insignia of office represents in well executed engraved work the various branches of the department apparatus, one portion being allotted to the steam and manual engines and another to the hose carriages and ladder trucks. On either side of the trumpet ladders reach almost to its top, coming in close contact with beautifully worked helmets through which silver cordings with golden tassels pass. The trumpet, of course, is only intended for use on special occasions. . . . And so it should be, for laid down here it cost the Chief Engineer nearly $75.[41]

Why Phillips felt it necessary to order this trumpet is somewhat of a mystery, as the Department already possessed a handsome one donated fifteen years previously. The inscription reads: "Presented by J. S. Keenan late Chief Engineer V.F.D. to the Victoria Fire Department to be held by the Chief Engineer for the time being. 2nd October 1865." We are told that upon occasion fire trumpets were used for other purposes than shouting directions. With the mouthpiece removed and the end stopped up with a cork, they became flagons of formidable capacity; and in addition they made excellent weapons in a fight!

The printed constitutions of the Deluge and Tiger companies are amongst the rarest of early British Columbia imprints.[42] The active membership of the Deluge Company was limited to seventy, and that of the Tiger Company to sixty-five. Honorary membership might be conferred upon members who rendered distinguished service, persons whom the companies wished to honour,

(40) *Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1892*, Victoria, 1892, p. 1119.

(41) Victoria *Colonist*, December 4, 1880.

(42) In the Provincial Archives are copies of the following: *Constitution and By-laws of Deluge Company, no. 1, Victoria, Vancouver Island*, Victoria, 1863; and *Constitution and By-laws of the Tiger Engine Company no. 2, of Victoria, V.I.*, Victoria, 1861.

or (in the case of the Tiger Company) upon persons who *contributed a stated sum* to the maintenance fund. Life and contributing memberships might likewise be conferred upon those making annual donations. Active members of the Deluge Company paid an initiation fee of $1 and a monthly fee of $1 thereafter. Fines and penalties were imposed upon members who neglected their duties, and provision was made for their impeachment and expulsion in extreme cases. Candidates for membership in the Deluge Company were to be "voted for by *ball ballot*—three black balls excluding." The Tiger Company strictly forbade "sectarian religion or party politics at any of its meetings." As these notes suggest, the old volunteer companies were a curious combination of brotherhood, service club, and fire department.

A ceremonial parade was held by the three fire companies on May Day, and the affair was such a success that it became an annual event. The advance notice in the press indicates that the idea originated with the Union Company.

> The first parade of the Union Hook and Ladder Company will take place on Tuesday next [May 1, 1860]. The Tiger and Deluge engine companies having been invited, will also turn *out, and* take part in the parade. The Hook and Ladder Company will dress in their uniform—plain red shirt, black pants, and New York fire caps. The Tigers will appear in red shirts, trimmed with black velvet, black pants, and glazed caps. The Deluge Company in red shirts, with a blue badge, (on which will be inscribed the insignia of the company,) black pants, and glazed caps. The apparatus of the respective companies will be drawn by the members. The procession will march through the principal streets, headed by the excellent brass band from H.M.S. Topaze, and the pioneers or axemen, and also a number of boys as torch-bearers. During the afternoon, the firemen will be reviewed by His Excellency the Governor, at his residence across James' Bay. . . .[43]

Elaborate accounts of the parade appeared in the Victoria newspapers. The description of the Deluge Company's display is typical.

> This company mustered 59 men, and were headed by three pioneers, who wore blue shirts, trimmed with black velvet, black pants and blue cloth caps. A beautiful satin banner, on the front side of which was inscribed in gilt letters—"Deluge Engine Co. No. 1."—with a representation of the Deluge in which appears the "Ark," and the last of the human race outside of that "vessel of safety," clinging to hill-tops, rocks, etc., and on the reverse:

(43) Victoria *Colonist*, April 28, 1860.

"Organized March 5th, 1860; We Strive to Save," followed. . . . The engine was tastefully decorated with flags and wreaths. Over the air-vessel, a canopy of flowers was erected, within which was seated a pretty little girl of some six summers, representing the "May Queen." Ten boys, carrying torches and flags, marched with this company. . . .[44]

A few days after the parade Douglas entertained a representative group of the volunteers at luncheon. His intentions were undoubtedly of the best, but the invitation list met with sharp criticism:—

. . . by some singuler slight, usually construed in court circles to mean snubbing, only a portion of the original Fire Committee were invited. . . . Then again, there were officers of the companies not invited, whilst high privates were honored by gubernatorial condescension. . . . His Excellency was merely enacting a state pageant in return for the Firemen's display, and should not have made such an invidious discrimination. . . .[45]

This distinctly petty fault-finding may have been indulged in because the vexed question of jurisdiction had once more reared its head. Exact dates and details are lacking, but it is clear that before May 1 the volunteer companies had organized themselves into a full-fledged fire department. Once again the model followed had been San Francisco, where "government of the department was intrusted to a chief engineer and assistants, and a board of delegates, to consist of two representatives from each company, which officers were to be elected by the members [of the various fire companies]."[46] Victoria's first Chief Engineer was J. A. McCrea, of the Union Hook and Ladder Company; the Assistant Chief was Nathan Koshland, of the Tigers. McCrea and Koshland had marched at the head of the parade on May Day, but their status—and, indeed, that of the fire companies themselves—had not yet been recognized officially. Thus when the firemen were preparing for the parade, the Deluge Company had wished

(44) *Ibid.*, May 3, 1860. The other two companies soon acquired banners to rival that carried so proudly by the Deluge Company. A white and blue silk banner was presented to the Union Hook and Ladder Company by the ladies of Victoria on June 23, 1860; and on May 1, 1861, before the May Day parade, the Tiger Company marched to the residence of Thomas Harris and there received from Miss Agnes Douglas, daughter of the Governor, a handsome banner decorated with the likeness of a large Bengal tiger and the motto: "Our Aim, the Public Good." *See ibid.*, May 2, 1861.

(45) *Ibid.*, May 8, 1860.

(46) Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, p. 616.

to move its apparatus, but Edward Coker had sent word that it was to be left where it was. Highly indignant, the President of the Company wrote to Douglas. No reply having been received, he sought and secured an interview, at which Douglas told him that A. F. Pemberton, the Police Magistrate, was still the official Chief Engineer.[47] This meant that Coker, in turn, was still the official Superintendent of Fire Engines.[48]

This and much more came to light in June, 1860, when the Bill which eventually became law as " An Act for the Protection of the Members of the Fire Companies of Victoria " was under debate in the House of Assembly. Alfred Waddington, a member of the Deluge Company, brought the question of jurisdiction to the fore, and the Attorney-General ruled that, since the fire-engines were the property of the Colony (to which they had by this time been transferred by the Hudson's Bay Company), Governor Douglas could do what he pleased about them. Distrust of the fire companies was evident throughout; their work was appreciated, but their future caused some uneasiness. Dr. Helmcken seems to have expressed a widely-held opinion when he said: " There is no doubt but these fire companies will end in political societies; but at present they are the most useful organizations in the colony."[49]

The " Fireman's Protection Act," as it was called, finally passed the House in July, and received the Governor's assent on August 28, 1860. Its provisions were as limited as they well could be, since it did nothing except extend the barest minimum of legal protection to the town's fire-fighters. To do this, however, it was necessary to recognize officially the existence of the volunteer companies and to provide for their registration. Once they were registered, a member could no longer be held " liable for damage done by him to the property of any other person, in the extinction, or attempted extinction, of fire, or in the removal of any erection, edifice, or building " that the safety of adjacent property made it " expedient to remove." Uneasiness about the

(47) *See* report of the debate in the House of Assembly, Victoria *Colonist*, June 26, 1860.

(48) This was the title used by Coker himself when signing a letter printed in the *Colonist*, October 21, 1859. He there states that " the entire [fire-fighting] apparatus has been placed in my charge."

(49) *Ibid.*, June 26, 1860.

future of the volunteers may have been responsible for the fact that the life of the Act was limited to one year.

October 1 was the date chosen for the election of the Chief and Assistant Chief Engineers, and the contest proved to be close and exciting. McCrea sought re-election as Chief, and was opposed by John M. Thain and Edward Coker, both members of the Tiger Company. The real fight was between McCrea, who polled sixty-three votes, and Thain, who polled sixty-one. Coker received only one vote, doubtless because he had been involved in the difficulties over jurisdiction. It was evidently not due to personal unpopularity, for he was elected Foreman of the Tigers ten days later. The old Assistant Chief, Nathan Koshland, also won re-election, but he defeated J. S. Drummond by a single vote.[50]

Evidence that the official status of the Fire Department was improving is found in the fact that the results of this election were referred to Douglas, and formally approved by him.[51] Indeed, only one further serious difference seems to have occurred over the question of official recognition. This arose in the spring of 1861, when McCrea not only had difficulty in securing any part of an appropriation of £150 that the Legislature had passed in 1860 to assist the firemen, but discovered that a goodly portion of it had been paid over to Coker without his knowledge or consent. Only the pleading of his friends kept McCrea from resigning in protest. Coker apparently used the money he received to pay debts outstanding from earlier days.[52]

By the time the "Fireman's Protection Act" of 1860 was due to expire, the good behaviour of the volunteer companies, together with the strength and popularity of their organization, had finally won for them full legal recognition. The "Fireman's Protection Act, 1861," signed by Douglas on September 10, 1861, included the constitution of the "Fire Department of the Town of Victoria." Some of the clauses read as follows:—

> (2) The Fire Department shall consist of the existing Fire Companies and such other Companies as may be from time to time

(50) J. S. Drummond to R. F. Pickett (Secretary of the Board of Delegates), October, 1860; *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Victoria *Colonist*, October 2, 1860.

(51) *Ibid.*, October 30, 1860.

(52) *Ibid.*, March 23, 1861.

admitted pursuant to the By-Laws for the time being regulating the Department.

(3) The officers of the Fire Department shall consist of a Chief Engineer, and an Assistant Engineer, a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

(4) There shall be a Board of Delegates consisting of three persons from each company; the first Delegates shall be elected within seven days after the passage of this Act; the Delegates shall be afterwards elected annually on some day to be fixed by a By-Law.

(6) The Board of Delegates shall have the power of passing By-Laws for the regulation of the Fire Department, which, after the approval, in writing, of the Governor for the time being, shall be binding and conclusive on all members of the Fire Department.

The Chief and Assistant Engineers were to be elected by the vote of all the members, subject to the approval of the Governor.

It will be noted that there was nothing new in these provisions; they simply recognized and gave legal status to the organization that was already in existence.

The Department at once set to work to draw up by-laws and regulations. These were of the most detailed description, and included provisions for a Charitable Fund, to be administered by three elected trustees. Constitution, by-laws, rules of order, and regulations were finally adopted by the Board of Delegates on November 6, and approved by Douglas on February 7, 1862.[53]

3.

Water-supply, finances, and new equipment were the chief worries of the volunteer fire companies once their organization was completed.

For a surprisingly long period after the start of the gold-rush Victoria depended upon wells and wagons for its water-supply. Various projects were talked about, but nothing was actually accomplished until 1863, when the firm of Coe & Martin, which had been prospecting for water in the Spring Ridge area, sank an artesian well that produced a generous flow. The Spring Ridge Water Works Company was incorporated in 1864, its purpose being to pipe this water into the town. The mains were formed of 12-foot logs, bored out to a diameter of about 6 inches, and

(53) *See* the *Constitution, By-laws, and Rules of Order of the Victoria Fire Department Victoria, Vancouver Island, B.C.*, Victoria, 1873; and the report of J. S. Drummond, then Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, January 30, 1866. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

buried with the bark on. As no hydrants were provided, this pioneer water system, which remained in use for about ten years, was of little or no assistance to the fire brigade. Indeed, it did not even solve the problem of a domestic water-supply, for as late as 1870 water was brought by schooner from Mill Stream and sold at the wharf to consumers.

Under the circumstances the town had to fall back on cisterns for protection against fire. Two of these were placed under contract by the Government in April, 1859, but apparently only the one at the corner of Johnson and Store streets, which was paid for by public subscription, was actually constructed. The other was intended to be in Government Street.[54] In March, 1860, the *Colonist* suggested that the chain-gang should be put to work "building a few more cisterns," and added: "At present we have but two, and they, we fear, would not be very reliable in case of a fire."[55] The second cistern here referred to appears to have been in Waddington Alley. A month later the Grand Jury in its report urged "the pressing necessity for the construction of at least four more cisterns." Its members pointed out that the town's "efficient Fire Brigade . . . would be comparatively useless without a plentiful supply of water."[56] In November a discussion in the *Colonist* revealed that there were by that time "two reservoirs on Waddington Alley, the one of large dimensions behind Mr. Harris' butcher-store, the other a smaller one built by Mr. [J. D.] Carroll, behind the Miner's Restaurant."[57]

Work on a new cistern at the corner of Yates and Government streets commenced in January, 1861.[58] Two more—"one at the corner of Johnson and Government streets and the other at the foot of Yates Street, near Wharf"—were begun in April, 1862, and completed in June.[59] A month later the town's cisterns were listed as follows in a report by John Dickson, then Chief Engineer of the Fire Department:—

(54) *See* note 13, *supra*.
(55) Victoria *Colonist*, March 27, 1860.
(56) *Ibid.*, April 14, 1860.
(57) *Ibid.*, November 1, 1860.
(58) *Ibid.*, January 16, 1861.
(59) *Ibid.*, April 25, June 24, 1862. Cost of the two was "about $1,400."

Location.	*Capacity.*
Yates and Wharf	32,000 gallons
Yates and Government	15,000 "
Johnson and Government	32,000 "
Johnson and Store	17,000 "
Langley Street, between Yates and Bastion	20,000 "

The combined capacity of the five cisterns was thus estimated at 116,000 gallons. As neither of the reservoirs in Waddington Alley is included, one must assume that they had fallen into disuse.[60]

Another two cisterns were built in 1863, at a cost of $677. They were located at Government and Fort streets and Yates and Douglas streets respectively. Each had a capacity of 20,000 gallons, and the Chief Engineer estimated that the seven cisterns then in use could hold a total of 170,000 gallons.[61] An eighth reservoir appears on a later list, dated June 30, 1865. This was a 10,000-gallon tank built by Alfred Waddington in Waddington Alley. Through the years these cisterns required repairs and even rebuilding. Their rated capacities changed from time to time, but the total quantity of water available remained fairly constant.[62] They and their successors remained in use for many years, and ten were still in active service in 1886.[63]

The volunteer companies were almost continuously in financial straits of one kind or another. In May, 1861, one of their leaders stated that ordinary running expenses amounted to between $25 and $30 per member per annum. This sum the firemen themselves supplied, but new equipment or new buildings were usually beyond their means. Frequent recourse was had to public subscriptions, and the response was usually generous. In the fall of 1860, for example, the Tiger Company collected $500 in this way to help defray debts incurred when the Company was

(60) John Dickson, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, July 30, 1862. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(61) Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, January 31, 1863. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(62) The eight cisterns are listed in the report of J. C. Keenan, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, covering the year ended June 30, 1865. Their total capacity is given as 180,000 gallons.

(63) Edward Mallandaine, *The British Columbia Directory . . . 1887*, Victoria, 1887, p. 6.

established.[64] It was to the Government, however, that the volunteers looked most frequently for assistance, though the response was uncertain and spasmodic. In this respect both 1860 and 1861 were lean years, but in 1862 the Fire Department received no less than £1,000. True, the need was urgent, for the "Telegraph" engine that had been assigned to the Tigers was so worn and old that it might fail at any time, and the Department was dangerously short of hose. The first grants received were £150 for general expenses and £350 for cisterns and hose; both were paid in February, 1862.[65] In May, a committee of the Board of Delegates, consisting of J. A. McCrea and others, appealed to Douglas for an additional £1,100, of which £500 was intended to buy a new engine for the Tiger Company. In justification of this request they wrote to the Governor:—

> We beg to represent to your Excellency, the necessity of immediate action in this matter, as our town is fast filling up with wooden buildings, and we are liable at any moment to a conflagration, that would be beyond the power of the Department, in its present condition to subdue.[66]

In response to this appeal the House of Assembly appropriated £350, but only £500 of this was actually paid over.[67] This was used for the purchase of a new engine for the Tigers. The order was placed through A. H. Titcomb, of San Francisco, and the machine supplied was a second-class hand-engine manufactured by Button & Blake, of Waterford, N.Y. It was described as having "a 7 inch stroke [and] 10 inch cylinder."[68] The engine arrived in Victoria in September, 1862,[69] and proved very satisfactory in service. The Tigers were elated, and the Chief Engineer noted in his report: "Their new apparatus answers every

(64) Victoria *Colonist*, August 31, September 4, 1860.

(65) *See* Colonial Secretary to John Dickson, February 1, 1862, and to J. A. McCrea, February 15, 1862. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(66) McCrea and others to Douglas, May 20, 1862. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(67) For the appropriation *see* Victoria *Colonist*, July 23, 1862; for the payment, Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, August 7, 1862, and marginal note thereon. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(68) It would seem as if this might be an error for a 7-inch cylinder with a 10-inch stroke. The details are from Keenan's report to the Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1865. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(69) Victoria *Colonist*, September 17, 1862.

expectation, both as regards simplicity and convenience in getting into service and capacity of execution."[70]

The next major requirement proved to be a new engine-house for the Deluge Company. For a time the Company was without quarters of its own, and its engine was moved first to the Tiger house and then to the house of the Union Hook and Ladder Company. Finally, a lot on Yates Street, between Broad and Douglas streets, was leased for a ground-rent of $15 per annum, and an engine-house erected thereon at a cost of $1,787.[71] "The front elevation," the *Colonist* reported when it was nearing completion, "is very neat and appropriate, and the belfry which surmounts the building in excellent keeping with the rest of the design. The bell, procured from San Francisco by Mr. J. Drummond, the zealous foreman of the company, is now in position. . . ."[72] The Deluge Company took possession, with due ceremony and celebration, towards the end of April, 1863. Much of the cost of the building had been met by public subscription.[73]

Two first-class "jumpers" (as two-wheeled hose-carts were called) were acquired in 1863. These were built locally by Messrs. Bunting & Dodds, Yates Street; the price was $250 each. The first of the two was ready in September, and was viewed by an admiring reporter from the *Colonist* just before it was delivered to the Tiger Company: "It is a light and elegant little vehicle, combining at the same time great strength, and the taste displayed in the painting and gilding reflects the highest credit upon the manipulator."[74] The second jumper went to the Deluge Company, and this new equipment enabled both companies to place their old and worn second-class hose-carts in semi-retirement.

New hose was urgently needed by the autumn of 1863. The best hose then available was made of leather, and in the reports of the Chief Engineers the Department's supply was carefully rated according to its condition. Thus in July, 1863, the Department had 500 feet of good quality hose, 300 feet of second quality,

(70) Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, report covering the year ended July 31, 1863. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(71) Keenan's 1865 report; *see* note 68, *supra*.

(72) Victoria *Colonist*, April 1, 1863.

(73) *Ibid.*, April 23, 1863.

(74) *Ibid.*, September 8, 1863.

and 400 feet of third, or 1,200 feet in all.[75] The amount of good quality available was much too low for safety, and a year later an additional thousand feet (20 lengths of 50 feet each) were ordered through J. H. Titcomb. J. C. Keenan was then Chief Engineer, and he stated his needs with great precision in a letter to the Colonial Secretary. He would accept only Button & Blake hose of the "best quality of Leather, Double Riveted," and he wanted it equipped with 2½-inch butts (couplings), "New York Patent." To avoid mistakes, Keenan went on to list the kinds of "objectionable Hose" that he did *not* want: "Gutta Percha, Web (wrapped in twine) Hemp, Canvass, California Hose, and a variety of single riveted Leather Hose. . . ." Both the Colonial Secretary and Titcomb evidently did their best to oblige him, for the new hose was found to be of excellent quality when it arrived. The cost, however, was higher than expected—$2.12½ per foot, whereas previous shipments had been secured for $1.87 per foot.[76]

Other important developments took place during these same years. On July 9, 1862, Douglas gave his assent to "An Act To Establish Fire Limits Within the Town of Victoria." The limits designated—Johnson Street, Broad Street, Fort Street, and the harbour—indicate how small an area the business district covered at that time. (Douglas Street, for example, was still in a suburban area.) Within these limits the construction of large wooden buildings was prohibited; no new wooden structure could be more than one story or 18 feet in height.

In August, 1862, the City of Victoria was incorporated; but as the Fire Department continued to function independently, this made little difference, except that modest grants seem to have been received now and then from the City Council. Of more immediate interest was the establishment of fire wards in December, 1863, a step apparently taken at the suggestion of the *Colonist*, which commented as follows:—

> We are glad to observe that the Fire Department have adopted our suggestion as to dividing the city into districts, and indicating the locality of fires by striking the number of the ward on the alarm bells. The city proper has been divided into four wards, formed by the intersection of Gov-

(75) Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, report for the year ended July 31, 1863. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(76) J. C. Keenan to Henry Wakeford, acting Colonial Secretary, July 27, 1864; November 18, 1864. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

ernment and Yates streets . . . After giving the alarm the bells will strike the number of the Ward slowly and distinctly. For fires outside of the city limits the bells will ring continuously.[77]

But the legislation that aroused most interest amongst the firemen was the "Fireman's Protection Act, 1864," to which Governor Kennedy gave his assent on July 7, 1864. In 1862–63 the membership of the volunteer companies had declined sharply. In January, 1863, for example, the Deluge Company had only thirty-two members, the Tiger Company forty, and the Union Hook and Ladder Company thirty-seven, or a total of 109 in all. This was about thirty members less than the strength required for efficiency. The decline was not surprising, for the duties of the firemen could be tiresome, the expense of belonging to the Department was considerable, and the grants received from the Government were distinguished neither by generosity nor regularity. Turning once more to San Francisco for a model, the Victoria firemen asked that they, like their Southern brothers, should be granted exemption from jury duty. John Dickson, Chief Engineer, made the request in a report submitted to the Colonial Secretary in January, 1863; and it is interesting to note that the original report bears a marginal note in Douglas's handwriting expressing approval of the idea. A general election was held in the summer of 1863, and many of the members of the new House pledged themselves to support the measure. In December, however, the House decided that exemption should not apply to coroner's inquests. Indignation amongst the firemen was great, for this service was, perhaps, the most irksome of all.[78] In spite of the most lively protests, nothing was done; but it may be significant that the new Fireman's Act neither passed the Council nor received the Governor's assent until after Kennedy had succeeded Douglas. In March, 1864, it may be added, the Fire Department presented Douglas with a farewell address, and the three fire companies marched in full-dress parade to the Government buildings, preceded by the firemen's brass band, to attend the ceremony.[79]

(77) Victoria *Colonist*, December 12, 1863.
(78) *Ibid.*, December 11, 1863.
(79) *Ibid.*, March 11, 1864.

One further provision of the Act of 1864 is of interest. It provided that, for the purposes of the Act, all the equipment of the three volunteer companies was to "be deemed . . . the property of the Victoria Fire Department, subject to the order and control of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Victoria." The change cannot have made any great difference in practice, for it was not until the Act was further amended, in 1873, that the Chief Engineer reported to the City instead of to the Government, and the Fire Department's by-laws, and the results of its elections, had to be approved by the City instead of by the Governor.

The most complete account of the Fire Department available is that given in the report of J. C. Keenan, Chief Engineer, covering its operations for the year ended June 30, 1865.[80] Quarters, personnel, equipment, cisterns, and finances are all dealt with in detail. The Deluge Company, with forty-two members, was housed in its new quarters on Yates Street. Its equipment consisted of the Hunneman engine purchased in 1858 (condition "passable"), the first-class "jumper" acquired in 1863, an old second-class hose-cart, and 750 feet of good quality hose. The Tiger Company, which had sixty members, still occupied a rented engine-house on Johnson Street, in which were housed its Button & Blake hand-engine, its new "jumper," an old hose-cart, and 750 feet of hose. The Union Hook and Ladder Company, with thirty-nine members, occupied the house on Bastion Street completed early in 1860. The location of the building was no longer convenient, and as the Company did not own the site, Keenan was anxious to have the house moved elsewhere—a suggestion finally acted upon in 1870. In addition to its own hook and ladder apparatus, the Union Company was giving house-room to the old "Telegraph" engine, which was described as being in "useless" condition. The hose-supply is not specified, but as the Department as a whole possessed 2,200 feet, presumably the Union Company had 700 feet, condition "middling" to "bad." The total membership of the Department was 141, as compared with 110 in July, 1864; the increase was credited to the new Fireman's Act, and the partial exemption from jury duty that it provided.

(80) The report, the original of which is in the Provincial Archives, is actually dated August 31, 1865.

Seventeen fires had been dealt with in the course of the year. Not one had spread beyond the premises in which it had originated, and the total damage suffered was estimated at no more than $9,910. The Deluge Company was credited with "first water" on ten occasions, and the Tiger Company upon six. Buckets had proven sufficient at the remaining fire.

The smallness of the fire loss was remarkable, and Keenan seized the occasion to make a lively attack upon the insurance companies for their failure to admit their indebtedness to the Department and act accordingly:—

> I beg to call your [the Colonial Secretary's] attention respectfully to the fact that since my last report, there has been but one Insurance Policy paid by the Insurance Companies, and that the Companies who are realising immense profits, do not contribute (but voluntarily) towards maintaining the Fire Department, or assisting the various Fire Companies to meet the expenses attending their organization; on one occasion "The Royal Insurance Company" contributed Three Hundred Dollars ($300) The Liverpool and London contributed Fifty Dollars ($50) The London and Lancashire Insurance Company Fifty Dollars ($50) and The North British American & Mercantile One Hundred & Fifty Dollars ($150.) other Companies residing among us, and equally wealthy have Not contributed one Dollar, and as I am informed have even declined to do so when requested. That the Fire Department by their exertions and self sacrifice of time, and loss of apparel, have been the means of saving said Companies Thousands of Dollars is an indisputable fact; and I earnestly request that you will call the attention of His Excellency to the same, and to the notice of the Legislative Assembly recommending to the Hon^ble^ Body the necessity of those Companies assisting by special appropriations towards the support of the Fire Department.

Not a great deal came of this appeal, but the names of various insurance companies do appear in the subscription lists circulated some years later.

The Department's estimates for 1865 amounted to $4,000, but as only $3,000 was being made available by the Government, it had been necessary to postpone repairs, hold nothing in reserve, and pay the three stewards, who looked after the engine-houses, no more than $30 a month. Even so, rent and salaries alone amounted to $1,680 per annum. Keenan felt that support simply must be forthcoming upon a larger scale. For one thing, more equipment was urgently needed. The Deluge Company required a new engine, and the eight cisterns listed did not give sufficient protection to the town. For another, the time had come when

the payment of salaries should begin, as the time and clothing that the officers were required to furnish amounted to more than they could well afford. Keenan suggested that the Chief Engineer should receive $500, the Assistant $300, and the Secretary of the Board of Delegates a like amount.

Instead of expansion, however, the Department was fated to experience great financial straits in the near future. The boom based on the great gold discoveries in the Cariboo was already declining. By 1866 times were definitely bad, and the years thereafter were a time of great depression. Instead of the $3,000 per annum to which it had become accustomed, the Department received nothing whatever from the Government in 1866. An appropriation of $1,000 was made in 1867, but as the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were by that time united, half the sum was paid to the New Westminster Fire Department. The Victoria Chief pointed out that as there were three companies in Victoria, and but one in New Westminster, a payment of $250 per company would have been a more equitable arrangement, but all in vain.[81] By August, 1868, the budget had been pared down to $2,400, and the Department reported that it was "totally without funds."[82] The lowest ebb was reached in February, 1869, when the Chief Engineer warned the Colonial Secretary that if some relief were not forthcoming "the department will be reluctantly compelled to disband."[83] This threat seems to have impressed the authorities, as a grant of $1,000 was paid over the same month.[84]

In spite of their difficulties, the morale of the firemen remained high. In 1866 they set to work to repair the veteran "Telegraph" engine, to provide against an emergency.[85] Then in 1867–68 the Tiger Company took to the war-path and raised sufficient money to enable them to purchase a steam fire-engine. Complete

(81) S. L. Kelly, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, January 15, 1868. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(82) Same to same, August 18, 1868. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(83) J. Kriemler, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, February 3, 1869. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(84) Kriemler to the Colonial Secretary, January 28, 1869; and the Colonial Secretary's reply, February 11, 1869. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(85) J. S. Drummond, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, January 30, 1866. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

details are lacking, but we know that the Company themselves contributed $1,000, and an old note-book in the Provincial Archives lists public subscriptions totalling $1,471.50, most of which are marked off as having been paid. In view of Keenan's remarks in 1865, it is interesting to find that the Royal Insurance Company is credited with having contributed $300, the Imperial Fire Insurance Company $200, the Builders' Insurance Company $100, and the Phoenix Insurance Company $50. The Hudson's Bay Company donated $50, while personal subscriptions included $50 from the Bishop of Columbia and $20 from Sir James Douglas.

The engine itself was manufactured by Button & Blake, of Waterford, N.Y., and two hand-written letters from L. Button to Frank Sylvester, then secretary of the Tiger Company, show that the head of the firm took a keen personal interest in the transaction. He believed the machine to be "as good a Steamer as ever was built," and forwarded the most detailed instructions for its care and operation. The engine was shipped from New York in October, and arrived in Victoria in December of 1868. Governor Seymour authorized the customs authorities to admit it duty free, and the Government contributed $750 towards its cost, which amounted in all to $4,005.40. Tests showed that it could be ready for action about eight minutes after the fire was lighted. With steam pressure at 120 lb. it could throw two streams of water about 140 feet, while at 80 lb. a single stream was thrown 200 feet.[86]

The engine arrived a few weeks after one of early Victoria's few serious fires. On November 4, 1868, the historic Hotel de France and the adjoining Lyceum Building, which together were insured for $15,200, were destroyed. A still more notable blaze followed in less than a year, for Christ Church was burned to the ground in October, 1869. Its destruction recalled its remarkable escape in February, 1861, when fire was discovered in the attic

(86) For the tests *see* Victoria *Colonist*, December 21, 1868. Some details of the cost of the engine may be of interest. The first item on the account was: "Bill of Engine at Factory in New York $3900.00 in Greenbacks which equals in cash $2847.00." Freight charges from New York to San Francisco were $642.55, and from San Francisco to Victoria $121.20. Collection charges were $24.40, expenses of fitting up $60, and "contingent expenses" $310.25. The Tigers greeted the engine with such exuberance that the celebration cost $390.62; of this $150 was for the dinner and $147.75 for liquor!

one Sunday during the morning service. While fighting this fire under the rafters, A. F. Pemberton, who at the time was still the official Fire Chief, broke through the plaster of the ceiling, and was only saved from crashing to the floor by the happy chance that his arms caught on the joists.[87]

The Deluge Company was not content to lag behind the Tigers for long, and in 1869 they, too, determined to acquire a steam-engine. Owing largely to the influence of Alfred Waddington, who contended that English engines had proven superior to American in tests, and were considerably cheaper into the bargain, it was decided to purchase a Merryweather engine in England. The order was placed through Sproat & Company, and the cost of the engine, including freight, fitting up, and testing, was $2,658.26. Public subscriptions, benefits, and the like, brought in $1,420, while the Victoria City Council voted $250. The balance, amounting to almost $1,000, was paid out of a loan advanced without interest by Captain Fleming. Details are not available beyond the point when this indebtedness was reported by the Deluge Steam Fire Engine Fund Committee to Governor Musgrave in November, 1870, with an appeal for a grant of $750 to help clear the debt.[88]

The Deluge Company's engine arrived in April, 1870, and was immediately subjected to public tests.

> The whistle was blown at 3 minutes 1 second, 20 lbs of steam were raised in 9½ minutes and water thrown. In 13 minutes 30 seconds there were 60 lbs of steam, and with 100 lbs of steam two powerful streams of water were thrown through inch nozzles many feet—some estimate 40—above the St. Nicholas Hotel staff.[89]

This last detail is amusing, as the paper had recorded a couple of days before that the Tiger engine had thrown water 30 feet above the same flagpole![90] "Although not so showy or so highly finished as the Tiger engine," the Deluge machine was "pronounced by competent engineers to be a fine and powerful engine . . . .[91]

(87) *Ibid.*, February 19, 1861.

(88) *See* the letter from the Committee to Musgrave, November 30, 1870. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(89) Victoria *Colonist*, April 26, 1870.

(90) *Ibid.*, April 24, 1870.

(91) *Ibid.*, April 17, 1870, reporting the first trials of the engine.

To operate their new acquisitions the two companies formed a corps of amateur engineers, who were sufficiently trained to handle the steam-engines safely and efficiently. The original recruits were six in number: Joshua Davies, Emanuel Levy (who contributed a few paragraphs to Edgar Fawcett's *Reminiscences of Old Victoria*), E. A. McQuade, David James, Joseph Buell, and Charles Taylor.[92]

The arrival of the steam-engines, which much increased the efficiency of the Department, virtually brings to an end the story of the old volunteer companies in Colonial days. Though British Columbia did not become part of Canada officially until July 20, 1871, it was characteristic of the firemen that they should decide to hold a celebration on Dominion Day, July 1. The three companies duly assembled in dress uniforms, were reviewed by the Chief Engineer and his Assistant, and then marched to the residence of Dr. I. W. Powell, "who presented the Chief Engineer—representing the Fire Department—with a handsome Dominion flag."[93] Dr. Powell, it may be added, had been surgeon of the Department, to which he gave his professional services free of charge, since August, 1863.[94]

4.

A few remarks relating to somewhat later days will suffice to bring these notes to a close.

Several developments of note occurred in 1873. It was in that year that an amended "Fireman's Act" directed that henceforth the by-laws of the Board of Delegates, and the results of the firemen's elections, required the approval of the City of Victoria, instead of the Governor. The "Victoria Water Works Act" paved the way for the modern water system of the present, and we read of hydrants for fire purposes being tested in 1877, and again in 1880.[95] Later records show that fifty-three hydrants had been installed by 1886.[96] It was also in 1873 that the city limits of Victoria were extended—a development that immediately pointed to the necessity of using horses to haul the fire-engines. At that time even the heavy steam fire-pumps were

(92) *Ibid.*, July 27, 1870.
(93) *Ibid.*, July 2, 1871.
(94) *Ibid.*, August 24, 1863.
(95) *Ibid.*, December 29, 1877; March 24, 1880.
(96) Mallandaine, *British Columbia Directory*, 1887, p. 6.

still being pulled to fires by hand, with the inevitable result that the firemen frequently arrived at a blaze in an exhausted state.[97] Finally, it was in 1873 that the old "Telegraph" hand-engine, a veteran of San Francisco in the days of the Vigilance Committee and of the gold-rush in Victoria, was sold to Captain Raymur and taken to Burrard Inlet to protect the Hastings mill.[98]

The question of salaries became pressing in the seventies, and the recommendations made by J. C. Keenan in his 1865 report were at last carried into effect. Modest allowances were provided for the Chief and Assistant Engineers and the Secretary of the Board of Delegates. Otherwise things continued much as before. Thus in 1877 an inventory of the Department's equipment shows that the only items that had been added were a bucket truck carrying thirteen buckets, an extension ladder, and a Babcock fire-extinguisher.[99] In 1882 the Department had four paid officers, who received the following amounts per annum: Chief Engineer, $700; Assistant Chief, $300; Secretary, Board of Delegates, $300; Steward, $900. Engine-houses and equipment were valued in all at $35,000.[100]

The old spirit of rivalry and love of display continued to the end of the volunteer days. Thus in 1874 the Tiger Company acquired a monster new alarm-bell that weighed no less than 1,500 lb. It was brought from England and cost, duty paid, about $750. Another $250 was spent on the tower required to accommodate it.[101] In 1879, when discussions about a paid department were taking place between the Department and the Council, the old spirit of independence appeared, and the Department made it clear that it was not prepared to consider any arrangements that involved the transfer of any of its equipment to the City.[102] As late as 1881 the biennial election for Chief Engineer resulted in a hard-fought battle, and a lawsuit over the eligibility of certain

(97) *See* the interesting comment in the Victoria *Colonist*, August 9, 1873.

(98) *Ibid.*, October 25, 1873.

(99) Report of J. Wriglesworth, Chief Engineer; printed in *ibid.*, September 13, 1877.

(100) R. T. Williams, *British Columbia Directory, 1882*, Victoria, 1882, p. 89.

(101) Victoria *Colonist*, August 6, December 18, 1874.

(102) *Ibid.*, May 28, 1879.

of the Union Hook and Ladder Company's voters preceded the contest.[103]

The inevitable happened, and the volunteers gave way to a paid fire department, as from January 1, 1886. In this first year there were twenty-six paid employees: the Chief Engineer and his Assistant, whose salaries continued to be $700 and $300 per annum respectively; three foremen, who received $16.25 per month; three engineers, who were paid $60 per month; and eighteen firemen (twelve hosemen and six hook and ladder men), who received $14 per month. Salaries thus amounted in all to somewhat less than $7,000 per annum, while the total expenditure of the Fire Department for the year was $14,759.20.[104]

F. W. LAING,
VICTORIA, B.C.

W. KAYE LAMB,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

(103) *Ibid.*, October 4, 1881.
(104) Mallandaine, *British Columbia Directory*, 1887, p. 6.

APPENDIX.

(*a.*) MEMBERSHIP OF THE VICTORIA FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Date.	Deluge Company.	Tiger Company.	Union Hook and Ladder Company.	Total.
1860—May Day	59	59	48	166
1862—July	42	39	40	121
1863—January	32	40	37	109
July	43	37	31	111
1864—July	39	33	38	110
1865—July	42	60	39	141
1866—January	35	40	38	113
1867—July	30	51	32	114
1868—January	42	59	40	141
August	46	56	41	143
1869—February	40	55	41	136

The figures for May Day, 1860, are taken from the account of the parade in the Victoria *Colonist*. All other figures are from the reports of the Chief Engineers, on file in the Provincial Archives. In September, 1877, membership in the Department was 195, which appears to be the record figure. In 1882 the total was 133, and in 1884, shortly before the volunteer companies gave way to a paid brigade, membership totalled 131.

(*b.*) ENGINEERS OF THE VICTORIA FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The firemen's elections were held annually, early in October, from 1860 until 1873, and biennially thereafter. The successful candidates in Colonial days were as follows:—

Chief Engineer.	*Assistant Engineer.*
1860 James A. McCrea	Nathan Koshland.
1861 John Dickson	John Malowanski.
1862 John Dickson	John Malowanski.
1863 John C. Keenan	J. S. Abbott.
1864 John C. Keenan	Henry Pickett.
1865 James S. Drummond	Thomas J. Burnes.
1866 John C. Keenan	Thomas J. Burnes.
1867 Samuel L. Kelly	John Kriemler.
1868 John Kriemler	John Vogel.
1869 John Kriemler	John Vogel.
1870 Simeon Duck	Frank G. Richards, Sr.

Later Chief Engineers were: Frank G. Richards, Sr. (1871); William Lohse (1872; re-elected 1873); Joseph Wriglesworth (1875); Frank Saunders (1877); C. J. Phillips (1879; re-elected 1883, 1885); August Borde (1881).

The early Chief Engineers were for the most part vigorous and interesting personalities, and one wishes that we knew more about some of them. James A. McCrea was an auctioneer and commission agent; his advertisements will catch the eye of any one using the early files of the *Colonist*. He was much interested in sport. McCrea seems to have been an American by birth. His successor, John Dickson, was one by adoption. He claimed American citizenship in 1862, but we know that he was born in Dungannon, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1827. Like several of the early Chiefs, he was a tinsmith and hardware dealer. In later years he became purser and part owner of the Stikine River steamer *Glenora*, and he died in Wrangel, Alaska, in June, 1875. John C. Keenan, another American, held office for three terms, and was referred to by the *Colonist* as being "the city's favorite fireman." He was proprietor of the Fashion Hotel, which, according to Edgar Fawcett's *Reminiscences of Old Victoria* was "a first-class gambling house and dancing hall. High play was the order, and many a Cariboo miner in the winter months threw away his easily-got gold by the hundreds here." Keenan died in Victoria about June 1, 1869. Like Dickson, James S. Drummond was a hardware dealer, and so was Samuel L. Kelly, who was listed in one of the early directories as a "tinsmith and coppersmith." Kelly was still living in 1910. John Kriemler was a native of Switzerland who was in Victoria as early as 1862. He was the partner of Joseph Spratt in the foundry and machine-shop that grew into the Albion Iron Works. Later he went to Germany, where he died in June, 1889. Simeon Duck was born in St. Catherines, Ontario, in 1834, and came to British Columbia in 1859. After a brief try at gold-mining he settled in Victoria and founded a wagon and carriage factory. He is reputed to have built the first wagon made in Victoria, and supplied most of the vehicles used on the Cariboo Road in its most colourful days. He was elected to the Legislature in 1872, and served briefly as Minister of Finance in 1885–6.

Two other early names deserve notice. Thomas J. Burnes, elected Assistant Chief in 1865 and 1866, was Acting Chief Engineer for a time in 1867. He arrived in Victoria in May, 1858, and after a long career as a hotel-keeper entered the Customs service. Edward Coker, the Chief appointed by Governor Douglas before the volunteer companies were fully organized and officially recognized, described himself in 1867 as a "ship and steamboat smith," and advertised his readiness to manufacture boilers, iron doors, and fireproof vaults.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Library, Victoria, on Friday, January 18. More than sixty members were present. The reports presented showed once again that the Association had had an active and interesting year. Paid-up membership at the end of 1945 was 497; of these, 186 belonged to the Victoria Section, 179 to the Vancouver Section, and 132 were members-at-large. The Association was in a strong position financially, and the balance carried forward into the new year was $244.65. In presenting her report the Treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden, expressed her thanks to Mrs. Garnet Fay, of the staff of the Provincial Archives, who had been of the greatest assistance to her throughout the year.

Points touched upon in the Secretary's report included the revision of the constitution and the proposed celebration, in June next, of the centenary of the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute. Various amendments to the constitution, relating chiefly to the election of the Council and the date of the annual meeting, had been submitted to the membership in November and unanimously approved. (The amended constitution is printed elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*.) Plans for the celebration of the Oregon boundary centenary had not yet been carried very far, but it was expected that the main details would be settled in the near future. The Association had approached the Postmaster-General with the request that a special stamp be issued to mark the occasion, and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada had under consideration the erection of a cairn at or near the Peace Arch, at Blaine. A delegate from the Association would attend the annual meeting of the Washington State Historical Society, to be held in Tacoma early in February, when plans for joint action by the two societies would be worked out.

Dr. W. Kaye Lamb reported to the meeting in his capacity as editor of the *Quarterly*, the paid circulation of which had reached 524, as compared with 483 in 1944. The increase had been somewhat greater than expected, and three of the four issues for 1945 were already out of print. In the nine years of its existence the *Quarterly* had had eighty-eight contributors, and there was reason to believe that at least half a dozen new writers would be represented in the tenth volume. Dr. Lamb stated that, owing to the pressure of other duties, it was his intention to ask to be relieved of the editorship at the end of 1946.

Major F. V. Longstaff submitted the report of the Marine Committee, which outlined some of the questions that had been dealt with during the year, and reviewed recent naval happenings in this region.

Miss Helen R. Boutilier then delivered her presidential address, which, in view of the fact that the City of Vancouver will celebrate its sixtieth

anniversary in 1946, she had decided should chronicle the amusing story of *Vancouver's Earliest Days*. The period dealt with extended from 1859, when coal deposits were first prospected on Burrard Inlet, to the arrival of the first transcontinental train in Vancouver in May, 1887. The story was told with humour and imagination, and was much enjoyed by those present. The text of the address will be printed in the April number of this *Quarterly*, which is being planned as a Vancouver anniversary issue.

Mr. Willard E. Ireland submitted the report of the scrutineers. The new Council met at the Union Club immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting, when the following officers were elected for 1946:—

Hon. G. M. Weir	Honorary President.
Miss Madge Wolfenden	Honorary President.
Mr. E. G. Baynes	1st Vice-President.
Major H. C. Holmes	2nd Vice-President.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland	Honorary Secretary.
Mrs. M. R. Cree	Honorary Treasurer.

Members of the Council:—

Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.
Mr. Louis LeBourdais.
Mr. E. G. Rowebottom.
Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Miss Alma Russell.
Dr. W. N. Sage.

Councillors ex officio:—

Major H. C. Holmes, Chairman, Victoria Section.
Mr. G. B. White, Chairman, Vancouver Section.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist.
Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Editor, *Quarterly*.

The Council completed arrangements for an essay contest to be held as part of the celebration of the Oregon boundary centenary. Three prizes of $25, $15, and $10 respectively will be offered, and students in attendance at the University of British Columbia, Victoria College, and Royal Roads will be invited to submit essays on suitable topics. The committee in charge consists of Mr. W. E. Ireland, Miss Alma Russell, and Mr. H. D. Dee.

The Council also appointed a new Historic Monuments Committee, the intention being that all inquiries as to monuments and requests for the erection of markers should be referred to it for report. Mr. E. G. Rowebottom was named convener, with power to add.

VICTORIA SECTION.

Canada's Eastern Arctic was the subject of an address by Major D. L. McKeand, M.C., before the Section at a meeting held in the Provincial Library on Thursday, November 22. Major McKeand had just recently retired as Secretary of the North West Territories' Council and as Superintendent of Eastern Arctic for the Federal Department of Mines and Resources, and was, consequently, able to draw upon his extensive personal knowledge of Canada's Northland. In a rapid survey key-points in the history of the Canadian Arctic from the time of the ill-fated Franklin expedition in 1845 to the war-time activities of the Permanent Joint Board

on Defence for Canada and the United States were outlined. The tremendous strides in the realm of transportation and communication during the past one hundred years were graphically illustrated. The advent of the aeroplane and radio is gradually transforming the lonely lives of the 150 white men, women, and children and 6,300 Eskimos inhabiting the Eastern Arctic, to say nothing of the effect of the historic trip of the *St. Roch* through the Northwest Passage in 1944. Particular mention was made of such important places as Frobisher Bay, Southampton Island, Fort Chemo, and Fort Ross, from which post the speaker in 1937 made the first radio telephone broadcast from the Far North. Interesting anecdotes, illustrative of the daily lives of the inhabitants of the territory were interjected, and made more realistic Stefánsson's concept of "the friendly Arctic." High tribute was paid to the Eskimo population of the region. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to the speaker by Archdeacon H. C. Collison.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of Monday, December 17, with the vice-chairman, Mr. E. W. McMullen, presiding, when some fifty members were present. The unfortunate illness of the chairman, Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, prevented the reading of a presidential address, and in its stead two beautiful and interesting technicolor films were shown through the courtesy of the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau.

Reports were submitted by Mrs. M. R. Cree, Honorary Secretary, and Mr. John Goldie, Honorary Treasurer. Miss Alma Russell presented a report from the Necrology Committee noting the passing of no less than eighty-nine old-timers, residents of the Province for sixty years or more. Mr. E. G. Rowebottom reported on the Historic Sites Committee, whose principal effort had been the placing of the plaque on the bastion at Nanaimo in memory of Joseph William McKay.

Captain Ernest Haskett-Smith submitted the report of the scrutineers. The inaugural meeting of the new Council was held in the Provincial Archives on Thursday, December 27, when the executive for 1946 was elected.

Chairman - - - - - Major H. Cuthbert Holmes.
Vice-chairman - - - Mr. J. A. Heritage.
Honorary Secretary - - - Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Honorary Treasurer - - Mr. R. H. Hiscocks.
Members of the Council:—

Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Miss Muriel Galt.
Mr. John Goldie.	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Major Harold Nation.	Dr. T. A. Rickard.
Mr. E. G. Rowebottom.	Miss A. M. Russell.
Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson.	Miss M. Wolfenden.

Mr. W. E. Ireland (ex officio).

VANCOUVER SECTION.

Sixty members attended the meeting of the Section held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Monday, October 29, when Mr. George Green spoke on *The Early History of Burnaby*. After referring briefly to the geology of the region and its chief geographical features, Mr. Green told of the coming of the Royal Engineers and the establishment of the famous camp at Sapperton, in 1859. Robert Burnaby, after whom the municipality was named, had arrived from England with letters of recommendation from Lytton, and his first connection with the region came when Colonel Moody made him his private secretary for a time. It was while Burnaby was serving in this capacity that Burnaby Lake was named. Its existence had been well known previously but no name had been bestowed upon it, and one can well imagine how it came to be called after the man who was virtually head of the Colonel's office staff at the camp. Passing on to the history of settlement, Mr. Green stated that William Holmes was the first settler, and it was fitting that his property should have been designated Lot 1, Block 1, by the land surveyors. He settled near the Brunette River, and it was generally thought that Mrs. Holmes had named the river. However, an old map drawn before she arrived to join her husband shows the Brunette River, name and all, so it must have been so designated by Holmes himself. The original log cabin erected on the property remained standing until the early 90's, when it was used as a hospital during a smallpox epidemic, and afterwards burned as a precautionary measure. A fine old ash tree planted on the property by Colonel Moody in 1861 is still flourishing. Mr. Green devoted considerable attention to the interesting story of the original interurban line between New Westminster and Vancouver, now the Central Park line of the British Columbia Electric Railway. The route chosen was one of four considered. Chief credit for the project should, in Mr. Green's opinion, go to J. H. Webster and H. V. Edmonds, of New Westminster, rather than to Oppenheimer and others in Vancouver. Some Burnaby place-names, the amusing story of Burnaby's first schools, and details of the actual organization of the municipality were other topics discussed by the speaker. An unofficial council, elected by a show of hands in October, 1892, arranged preliminaries and cleared the way for the first regularly constituted municipal council, which took over in 1893. Judge Forin, who had acted as legal adviser to many of the well-known pioneers mentioned, thanked Mr. Green and contributed reminiscences of his own relating to the interurban line and the incorporation of the municipality.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Monday, November 26, when some fifty members were in attendance. The speaker was Rev. A. M. Sanford, who described *Rossland as I Knew It*. Mr. Sanford first sketched the early history of the city from the time when Ross Thompson secured a Crown grant to its site in 1894, until his own arrival there on June 1, 1901. He remarked, in passing, upon the number of men who had been active there and had later become prominent elsewhere. Judge Forin, for instance, had been a lawyer in Rossland before his appointment to the Bench in 1896; William McQueen, City Clerk of

Rossland, later served the City of Vancouver in a similar capacity for many years; J. S. Clute, one of Rossland's early mayors, was later Magistrate Clute, of New Westminster; while Chief of Police Bradshaw, after serving as Police Chief in New Westminster for many years, was now living in Vancouver, having attained the ripe old age of 91. Mr. Sanford's own first days in Rossland were none too comfortable, for he arrived at a time when there was serious labour trouble brewing in the mines. A strike followed in July, 1901, and the importation of 600 strike-breakers made tension run dangerously high. Fortunately the men were wisely and skilfully led by Mr. Frank Woodside, and the days passed with a minimum of disturbance and violence. In the end a new manager arrived to take over the mine, and happier relations with labour followed. Other highlights recalled by Mr. Sanford were the memorial service for President McKinley, held in September, 1901, at the request of the many Americans in the community, and the fire of August, 1902, which it was feared for a time would wipe out the whole city. Then came the civic elections, late in 1902, in which Mr. Sanford took an active part. The town was practically wide open, and he and many others felt compelled to make some attempt to better conditions. However, the motives that bred reformers varied; they were, in the speaker's own words, "a motley lot," and included small gamblers who thought the big gamblers were getting an undue share of the business, several brewers, and a bartender or two. Nevertheless, to the general surprise they carried the day, and in a measure the town was cleaned up. Dullness was certainly not a characteristic of Mr. Sanford's two years in Rossland, at the conclusion of which he was transferred to Nanaimo.

The election of officers resulted in the return of the following slate for 1946:—

Honorary President - - - - - - Mr. E. G. Baynes.
President - - - - - - - - Mr. G. B. White.
Vice-President - - - - - - - Rev. W. Stott.
Honorary Secretary - - - - - Miss Bessie Lamb.
Honorary Treasurer - - - - - Mr. L. S. Grant.
Members of the Council:—

Mr. E. M. Cotton.	Mrs. James Curr.	Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop.
Mr. J. W. Eastham.	Mr. George Green.	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Mr. R. A. Hood.	Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.	Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Dr. W. N. Sage.	Mr. Thomas Stephen.	

The first meeting in the New Year was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Thursday, January 17. The speaker was one of Vancouver's best-known journalists, Mr. Roy Brown, who, after serving for more than thirty-five years on the staff of the *Vancouver Daily Province*, became Editorial Director of the *Vancouver Sun*. The history of our Province, Mr. Brown noted, fell roughly into three periods: the old Colonial days, a picturesque time of pioneering, gold-rushes, and stage-coaches; the horse and buggy era, known also as the gay nineties, though they were not so gay for British Columbia, in view of the economic distress through which she passed before the start of the Klondike excitement; and, finally, the "era

of the two World Wars." It was with the second of these three periods that Mr. Brown was chiefly concerned, and he first sketched the political scene, in which Laurier was a dazzling and dominating figure. Campaign days were still colourful, and the speaker recalled many interesting and amusing incidents of the time. Turning next to the newspaper world, he described the period largely in terms of the leading personalities of the time. He did so because he felt that it was these personalities that made our newspaper history. The *Province*, for example, in earlier days " coincided with and was the life of Walter Nichol." J. C. McLagan and J. M. O'Brien of the *World*, and Dr. Reynolds, of Ashcroft, who attempted to found a morning paper in the city years ago, were other personalities dealt with.

The vote of thanks to the speaker was moved by Mr. D. A. McGregor, who added amusing incidents of his experiences with Mr. McLagan, and seconded by Mr. Noel Robinson.

The Honorary Secretary was requested to send a letter of regret and wishes for a speedy recovery to Judge J. A. Forin, who was injured in an automobile accident on January 6.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

NAME.

The name of the Society is The British Columbia Historical Association.

OBJECTS.

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

MEMBERSHIP AND FEES.

1. The membership shall consist of two classes, namely, Ordinary members and Honorary members.

2. Ordinary members shall pay a fee of $2 annually in advance; the fiscal year shall commence on the first day of January.

3. Honorary members shall be persons specially distinguished for their attainments in history and historical research, or otherwise deemed worthy of the honour, who shall be duly elected as Honorary members of the Association by the Council.

4. Fees shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Council, and upon the organization of a local section the Council shall make an appropriation of 50 cents per member in good standing annually towards its expenses; the remainder of the fees being devoted to the general purposes and publication fund of the Association.

5. The name of any Ordinary member that has failed to pay the fees for two consecutive years shall be struck from the roll and notice thereof shall

be mailed to such member, addressed to the place stated in the membership roll. Such member may be reinstated on payment of the fees due from him.

ORGANIZATION.

1. The headquarters of the Association shall be at Victoria, in the Provincial Archives; and the affairs of the Association shall be administered by a Council elected annually by ballot.

2. If five or more members desire to form a section of the Association in any centre within the Province, the Council may, upon receipt of a petition duly signed by five or more members, authorize the formation of a section; and such section shall have an annually elected executive, composed of such officers and others as the section may decide, which shall have full control over its programme and local business.

3. Such sections shall have such powers not exceeding the powers of the Society as the Society may from time to time confer.

4. The Victoria section shall rank as the senior section of the Association.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Association shall be a Patron, an Honorary President, a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall consist of ten elected members. In addition, the Immediate Past President, the Presiding Officer of each section, the Provincial Archivist, and the Editor of the British Columbia Historical Quarterly shall also be members of the Council ex officio.

2. A ballot-paper shall be sent by the Secretary to each member in good standing at least two weeks before the annual meeting. Each such ballot-paper shall contain fifteen or more names, including names proposed by the Council, as well as the names of any that may have been nominated by three members in good standing at least three weeks prior to the annual meeting; and to be valid the ballot must be received by the Secretary before the time of closing the poll at the annual meeting.

4. As soon as convenient after the election the Council shall meet, and from amongst its members shall select the officers of the Association for the ensuing year.

5. Should an office for any reason become vacant, or should any elected member of the Council die or resign before the expiration of his term, the vacancy for the unexpired portion of the term shall be filled by vote of the Council.

MEETINGS.

1. The annual meeting shall be held in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, or elsewhere at the discretion of the Council, on the third Friday of January in each year. Further meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council.

2. Fifteen members present shall constitute a quorum at any general meeting and five shall constitute a quorum at a meeting of the Council.

3. The annual meeting of any section must precede the annual meeting of the Provincial organization by at least thirty days.

4. The officers and Council of the Association now holding office are hereby constituted the officers and Council until the annual meeting of the Association hereinbefore provided to be held on the second Friday of October this year (1936), and all business and purposes of the Association shall be carried on as if constituted under the provisions of these by-laws.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

1. (*a.*) The Association may become a member of, affiliate with, and co-operate with any other society or association, whether incorporated or not, whose objects are in whole or in part similar to its own.

(*b.*) Any incorporated or unincorporated society or association in sympathy with the objects of this Association may become affiliated with this Association upon the payment of an annual fee of $2, and shall be entitled to two representatives at general meetings of the Association.

2. (*a.*) The by-laws of the Association shall not be altered, added to, or amended except by an extraordinary resolution of the Association passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of such members entitled to vote as shall exercise their franchise, notification specifying the intention to propose the resolution having been given by lodging with the Secretary a copy of the resolution showing the proposed alterations, additions, or amendments. This notification must be signed by a proposer and a seconder, who must be members in good standing.

(*b.*) Not later than two weeks before the annual meetings of the sections the Secretary shall mail a copy of the proposed resolution, alterations, additions, or amendments to each Ordinary member in good standing addressed to the member at the address given on the roll. If, in the opinion of the Council, it is desirable to submit any duly proposed and seconded resolution, alterations, additions, or amendments at an earlier date than two weeks before the annual meetings of the sections, the Council may instruct the Secretary to mail a copy to each Ordinary member in good standing at such time as the Council may direct.

(*c.*) Members of sections shall vote upon proposed alterations, additions, or amendments at a section meeting. The result of such voting shall be recorded and forwarded to the Secretary within seven days of the date of voting. This record shall show the number of members who voted "aye" and the number of members who voted "nay." Members-at-large shall vote by mail; and to be valid the ballot must be received by the Secretary within three weeks of the time of its dispatch by the Secretary.

3. Any officer or member whose fees shall have been fully paid, desiring to withdraw from the Association shall tender his resignation to the Secretary, and the Council shall have power to deal with the same.

4. Any officer of the Association or any member that in the opinion of the Council shall be no longer worthy of holding office in or being a member of the Association may be expelled by a majority vote of the Council passed at a meeting of the Council. Notice of expulsion shall be mailed to the

officer or member expelled and addressed to his address as given on the roll. The officer or member expelled may at the next ordinary meeting of the Association appeal against such expulsion. The question of such expulsion shall then be put from the Chair and decided by a majority vote of the members present, and such decision shall be final.

5. The Association shall exercise no borrowing-powers.

6. The accounts of the Association shall be annually audited by auditors appointed by the Council.

7. An official seal shall be provided by the Council, which shall have the power from time to time to change the same and substitute a new seal in lieu thereof. The seal shall be used in manner to be provided by the Council.

8. The books, papers, records, official seal, and other property of the Association shall be in the custody of the Secretary and shall be open to inspection by the members upon demand at any reasonable time.

9. Roberts' Rules of Order shall, so far as applicable, apply to all meetings of the Association.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Following the death of Mr. Leonard Norris, who founded the Society in 1925 and was its mainstay until he died, the President, Captain J. B. Weeks, called the officers and directors together in Kelowna on July 23, 1945, to consider the publication of the *Eleventh Report* and the future of the Society. In addition to the President, those present were: Dr. F. W. Andrew, Summerland; Dr. B. F. Boyce, Kelowna; Mr. J. G. Simms, Mr. H. R. Denison, and Mr. James Goldie, of Vernon; Mrs. David Gellatly, Westbank; and Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, of Princeton, who was asked to act as Secretary.

Arrangements were made with the bank, and with Mr. L. N. Leathley, of the Kelowna Printing Company, for financing and printing the *Report*. The following officers were elected for 1945–46:—

President	Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton.
1st Vice-President	Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank.
2nd Vice-President	Mr. A. E. Sage, Armstrong.
Treasurer	Mr. H. R. Denison, Vernon.
Secretary	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton.
Auditor	Mr. A. E. Berry, Vernon.
Librarian	Mr. J. G. Simms, Vernon.
Editor	Mr. G. C. Tassie.
Assistant Editor	Miss Elsie Foote.

On the motion of Mr. Denison, seconded by Captain Weeks, it was agreed to affiliate with the British Columbia Historical Association. Mrs. Gellatly and Dr. Andrew were named a committee to draft by-laws for presentation at the next annual meeting, which is scheduled to be held in the Royal Anne Hotel, Kelowna, on May 2, 1946. [J. C. GOODFELLOW, Secretary.]

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Kamloops Museum Association was held in the museum on Friday, January 11, with the President, Burt R. Campbell, in the chair. Last year's officers and executive were re-elected with the exception of Mrs. Isaac Oakley, Vice-President, who resigned owing to ill-health. The officers for 1946 are as follows:—

President - - - - - - -	Burt R. Campbell.
Vice-President - - - - - -	J. J. Morse.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - -	Miss Melva Dwyer.
Chairman, nature and science committee	T. S. Keyes.
Chairman, Indian lore committee - -	Angus MacDonald.
Chairman, literature committee - -	W. H. Gurney.

All departments were able to report considerable progress; many interesting and valuable additions had been made to the permanent collection. It was hoped that special financial assistance would be obtained from the city council which might enable the project for copying of old photographs and acquisition of additional ones to be carried out. The great need for a fire-proof structure to house the important historical exhibits was stressed throughout the meeting. While the museum has been open to the public only for a short period weekly, nevertheless, the attendance has been encouraging and with better facilities a great service could be rendered the community.

JAMES BUIE LEIGHTON: 1851–1946.

The last of the grand old pioneers of the Golden Cariboo died on December 2, 1945, at the age of 94 years. James Buie Leighton, who for many years had made his home at Savona, was born on November 8, 1851, and arrived in Victoria on September 14, 1863. There he attended South Park School for a time, and he delighted to recall that while he was doing so he made the acquaintance of one of the famous camels that had been brought to the Northwest in the hope that they would prove their worth as freighting animals on the Cariboo Road. One of them, apparently because of lameness, was left in Victoria, and the school children frequently teased it and chased it around Beacon Hill Park. Mr. Leighton was to see the camels again in June, 1865, near the 144-Mile House, when he was on his way to Barkerville; and upon another occasion, as late as 1883, he saw three of the survivors of the herd at Grand Prairie.

He left school in 1864, and the following year, as noted above, paid his first visit to the Cariboo and its metropolis, Barkerville. When the Collins Overland Telegraph line was constructed through the Cariboo in 1866, he decided to study telegraphy. In 1868 he helped build the branch line that carried the telegraph from Quesnel into Barkerville. In September of the same year the great Barkerville fire occurred, and Mr. Leighton left the town the following month. For the next few years he was employed here and there along the telegraph line, which, after the collapse of the Collins Overland scheme, was taken over first by the Government of British Columbia and then by the Dominion Government. His last post was at Clinton,

in 1872. It was in Clinton, too, that he was married in 1882 to Elizabeth Jane Uren, who had become postmistress and telegraph operator at Savona the year before. By that time Mr. Leighton had a contract for the carriage of the mails in the Savona region, and this he held until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885.

Mr. Leighton's phenomenally active and accurate memory made him a living storehouse of the lore of the old days in the Cariboo, and fortunately he has both written many articles himself and been questioned fairly systematically by interested students of history. It was his pride to recall that in spite of the thousand and one temptations that came in the way of a youngster in the Cariboo in the 'sixties, he came through it all "without a scratch and [with] no booze and no tobacco." This is not to say that he was averse to either a good time or a little excitement. His two favourite recreations were horse-racing and poker. He told the writer that only once or twice in his life had he left a poker game, and that was for a horse race!

One of the most vivid and interesting personalities in the whole history of British Columbia, and the last man who knew the Cariboo of eighty years ago, and saw Barkerville before the fire, is gone. [W. K. L.]

HISTORICAL COMMITTEE, B.C. DIVISION, CANADIAN WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS ASSOCIATION.

At its annual convention in 1944 the B.C. Division of the Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association appointed an Historical Committee, composed of Mr. A. W. Lundell, of Revelstoke, Chairman; Mr. Hugh Savage, of Duncan; and Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, of Princeton. Mr. Lundell presented his first report to the convention held in the Hotel Vancouver on November 2, 1945, and outlined the work of the Committee under four heads: collecting, biographical, Association, and general.

The first objective was to prepare a chart showing the place and date of origin of all Provincial papers. In this work the Committee had been greatly assisted by the Provincial Archives, which had provided data from the *Union List of Newspapers*. In the preparation and collection of biographical notices Mr. Lundell said that "the proverbial modesty of the newspaper fraternity presented a formidable barrier," but, nevertheless, progress had been made. To compile the history of the Association proved easy in comparison, for records were available that contained details and photographs of preceding conventions. One paragraph of this section of the report is worth quoting for purposes of record:—

"It may be of interest to recall that the Association is entering upon the 30th year of its existence. Composed originally of weekly and daily newspapers it was formed on August 17, 1916, 'pursuant to notice sent out by John Nelson, *Vancouver World*,' in the Administration Hall of the Vancouver Exhibition Association, Hastings Park. Present at the meeting were: James Hill, *British Columbian*, New Westminster; J. W. Hamilton, *Industrial Progress*, Vancouver; J. P. Markey, *Fruit and Farm*, Vancouver; H. A. Stein, *Sun*, Vancouver; F. E. Simpson, *Standard Sentinel*, Kamloops; H. W. Power, *Kootenaian*, Kaslo; W. C. Morris, *Garden Magazine*, Vancou-

ver; Robert Dunn, *Times*, Victoria; J. L. Tait, *Colonist*, Victoria; A. Lineham, *News-Advertiser*, Vancouver; R. R. Hindmarch, *Daily Herald*, Nanaimo; George E. Norris, *Free Press*, Nanaimo; F. J. Burd, *Province*, Vancouver; Robb Sutherland, *Daily News*, Nelson; George M. Murray, *Standard*, Vancouver; John Nelson, *World*, Vancouver; and S. M. Reed, *Sun*, Vancouver."

The Association was first known as the British Columbia Division of the Canadian Press Association.

Speaking on the fourth topic—"things in general"—Mr. Lundell said: "I would like to commend the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* for publishing two excellent articles in the July issue of interest to the newspaper fraternity: 'From *Tickler* to *Telegram*,' and 'Pioneer Days in Pulp and Paper.'" Generous tribute was paid to Dr. Lamb and to the Provincial Archives for assistance given. [J. C. GOODFELLOW.]

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Norman R. Hacking, recently released from the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve, has rejoined the staff of the *Vancouver Daily Province*. Long interested in the maritime history of the Pacific Northwest, Mr. Hacking has been a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*. The present article, like many of its predecessors, is an expansion of a chapter from his graduating essay at the University of British Columbia on *The Early Marine History of British Columbia*.

F. W. Laing, for many years Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture, Victoria, has long been a diligent researcher in the Archives of British Columbia. Two phases of the agricultural history of the Province—early flour-mills and the early cattle industry—have already appeared as articles in the *Quarterly*.

Rev. J. C. Goodfellow is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association and an active member of its Council for 1946.

Anne M. Smith is Reference Librarian at the Library of the University of British Columbia.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

PATRON.

His Honour W. C. WOODWARD, *Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.*

OFFICERS, 1946.

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OBJECTS.

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

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APRIL, 1946

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

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ADVENTURES OF VANCOUVER NEWSPAPERS: 1892-1926.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article forms a sequel to that by Miss Bessie Lamb, entitled "From 'Tickler' to 'Telegram': Notes on Early Vancouver Newspapers," that appeared in the July, 1945, issue of this *Quarterly*. Miss Lamb's account ended with the demise of the *Daily Telegram*, and Mr. McGregor picks up the threads at that point.

When the *Daily Telegram* suspended publication in the fall of 1892[1] Vancouver was left with two daily newspapers, the *News-Advertiser* in the morning field and the Vancouver *Daily World* in the evening. The *World* was owned and edited by J. C. McLagan and was published from the building on Homer Street, near Pender, now occupied by the *News-Herald*. The *News-Advertiser* was owned and edited by F. L. Carter-Cotton, and had its offices on the Pender and Cambie Street lot now occupied by the editorial and mechanical departments of the Vancouver *Daily Province*.

Judged by any modern standards, neither paper was a very good newspaper. There was a lack of balance about them, a lack of variety, and a lack of the features which are considered necessary to-day to attract and maintain reader interest. There was very little world news in either of them, and the local news ran quite largely to politics with appallingly long reports of political meetings and City Council meetings and sessions of the Legislature and, quite often, of Court proceedings. Party lines were not drawn in Provincial politics at the time, but the two newspapers contrived to take opposite sides on most issues and to make a fight of it. In Federal politics, the *News-Advertiser* was staunchly Conservative while the *World* was Liberal, but not consistently so.

The two newspapers were hardly in competition, seeing that each had a field so clearly its own, and there was no outside rivalry to cloud the clear journalistic skies. All the same, for

(1) Bessie Lamb, "From 'Tickler' to 'Telegram': Notes on Early Vancouver Newspapers," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IX. (1945), p. 198.

one of the newspapers there was worry enough and it arose within its own domestic circle. When Carter-Cotton assumed control of the *News-Advertiser* in 1887 he had as partner R. W. Gordon, a Scotsman of some means who had not been long in Canada.[2] The two men were also partners in the San Juan Lime Company, which owned a valuable piece of land fronting on Burrard Inlet, near where the sugar refinery stands. In 1888 Gordon went off to the Old Country, leaving Cotton in charge of his interests. When he returned several years later he found that the water-front lot no longer belonged to the San Juan Lime Company, and that 20,000 shares of *News-Advertiser* stock had been sold. He claimed $15,000 from his partner, but Cotton could not pay and Gordon entered suit against him. When the case came to trial Cotton refused to tell to whom he had sold the stock, and Mr. Justice Drake sentenced him to three months in jail for contempt of Court.

The jail was in New Westminster and thither Cotton was taken, and from his cell there he conducted his newspaper for several weeks. Each morning some member of the newspaper staff had to visit the jail to receive the publisher's instructions, and usually it was the junior reporter who had to go.[3]

Finally, as a result of an out-of-Court arrangement, Cotton was released, but not before the Provincial election of 1894 had taken place. Cotton had been elected to the Legislature from Vancouver in 1890, along with J. W. Horne, one of his particular political enemies, and was now a candidate again. Despite the handicap which kept him behind the bars during most of the election campaign he was re-elected, his associates, this time, being Adolphus Williams and Robert McPherson. His plight played quite a part in the election, but the incarcerated editor

(2) *See ibid.*, p. 191, where Gordon is described as "an Edinburgh-born financier of large means." It would perhaps be more correct to describe him as being comfortably off, rather than wealthy. He was a successful Scottish farmer, who had left Scotland because his landlord had refused to renew his lease to lands upon which he had made extensive improvements. After spending some time in England, he came to Canada. He settled first in Winnipeg, where he lost heavily in real estate, and then moved on to Vancouver.

(3) The junior reporter was Roy W. Brown, now editorial director of the Vancouver *Sun*.

received very little sympathy from the press in either Vancouver or Victoria.[4]

So far as is known, Cotton never gave any one the information he refused to give the Court. His story was that part of the Inlet lot was required for trackage for the new sugar refinery, to which the city had donated a site by way of bonus, and that he had entered into a bargain with the city and the Canadian Pacific Railway through which he was to get title to another water-front lot. In the end he did not get title because the C.P.R. itself did not get title. Meanwhile the bank from which he and his partner had borrowed substantial sums was pressing for a reduction of the loan. He had to sell some of the *News-Advertiser* shares, and as there was no ready market for such securities was compelled to appeal to friends. These had accommodated him, but on the understanding that he would not reveal their identity.[5]

For six years the *News-Advertiser* and the *World* had the daily newspaper field to themselves. Their circulation was small —about 1,500 each[6]—but the city was small, too. The 1891 census gave the population as 13,685, but the boosters, of course, claimed more, some of them going even to 20,000. During these six years no rival threatened the peace of mind of either publisher. *Light*, a weekly journal of political comment started in the spring of 1894, changed its name to the *Mainlander* in the following September, and in March, 1895, came out as the *B.C. Budget*. There were rumours from time to time that its publishers intended to issue an evening daily, but the *Mainlander* scotched these with a denial. The *World*, it said, "as a purveyor of news is exceptionally efficient, even if its editorial notions are exceptionally eccentric."[7] John A. Fulton and N. C. Schou, ex-alderman, were the moving spirits in the *Mainlander*,

(4) *See Province*, June 9, 1894; Victoria *Times*, June 5, 1894.

(5) Gordon's side of the case is presented in a letter published in the *World* on June 19, 1894. Cotton gave his side in a speech in Vancouver on April 28, 1894.

(6) *Canadian Newspaper Directory*, Montreal, 1892, pp. 185–6.

(7) *Mainlander*, February 23, 1895.

while William Baillie, William Wilson, and T. H. Hawson were the men behind the *B.C. Budget*.[8]

All was not, however, as serene as it seemed. While the *World* and *News-Advertiser* were congratulating themselves that all was safe and secure, a new competitor was trying its wings in Victoria. This was the *Province*, whose first number was offered to the public on March 3, 1894, just three weeks before *Light* began to shine in Vancouver. The *Province* was a weekly journal built somewhat on the lines of Labouchere's *Truth*, with some features adapted from the *Spectator*. "In the strict sense of the word," it said in a later issue, "the *Province* is not a newspaper. It is intended to be a journal of critical comment and a vehicle for the expression of independent thought."[9]

It was a small paper, 9 by 12 inches in size. Its founder was Hewitt Bostock; its first editor A. H. Scaife, who, when he was contributing fiction, as he frequently did, used the pseudonym "Kim Balir." There were three directors—Mr. Scaife, Mr. Bostock, and Archer Martin, a rising Victoria lawyer. Later Mr. Scaife and Mr. Martin retired from the board and Walter Nichol and Ian Coltart took their places.

The *Province* explained its mission in its salutatory editorial:—

> We have entered the lists prepared and determined to win our way to public approval, if necessary through many encounters.
>
> We venture to hope that we may in some measure be successful in filling a want which to our own and other minds has been apparent for some time past.
>
> No weekly journal, precisely on the lines laid down by our paper, is published on this side of the Rocky Mountains. We think that there is room, and further that there is need for such a publication. The outcome of our opinion is the present issue of THE PROVINCE.

(8) Nicolai C. Schou had come from England to British Columbia about 1888. He was associated with the *Commonwealth* and the *Ledger* in New Westminster, and joined the *News-Advertiser* staff in the early nineties. He remained with the *News-Advertiser* eleven years and died on Christmas Eve, 1903, a few weeks after becoming assistant editor of the Victoria *Colonist*. He was the first Reeve of Burnaby, and was re-elected ten times. He served one term as a Vancouver alderman. William Baillie bought the plant of the New Westminster *Ledger*, when it went out of business, and brought it to Vancouver.

(9) *Province*, October 23, 1897.

Untrammeled as we are by ties of party, uninfluenced by vested or other interests, bound to no special denomination, we trust that our pages may prove of general utility, and offer a medium for the ventilation of opinions, from whatever source they may emanate, provided only that they are put forward with a view to the advancement of British Columbia.

There is however one point upon which we desire that there should be no mistake as to our views.

We are opposed to protection in every shape and form, and we advocate the adoption of free trade, or as near an approach to it as may be consistent with the requirements of revenue on a basis of the greatest economy.[10]

A little later the young periodical amplified its attitude on the tariff in this wise:—

British Columbia is truly a patient ass, so far as the tariff is concerned, for it bears uncomplainingly the heavy burden of a high impost from which it receives no benefit, but only ill, receiving in return an occasional carrot in the shape of a niggardly grant from Ottawa, doled out with a sparing hand. . . . But to ask a British Columbian to vote for the tariff because it is going to benefit some hot-house monopolist two thousand miles away, is like asking a man to sand-bag his mother in order that the undertaker in the next street may swell his bank account from the profits of the funeral.[11]

Mr. Hewitt Bostock, founder of the *Province*, was a young Englishman of means. He was born in 1864, graduated in 1885 from Trinity College, Cambridge, was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, and came to British Columbia in 1888.[12] He bought a ranch at Monte Creek, near Kamloops, and returned to England to be married. By 1893 he was back in British Columbia, and the following year started the *Province*. His experience in the Interior and on the Coast had convinced him that there were various abuses to be righted, and he offered himself to help right them. He decided to go into politics for the sake of the service he might render and thought a newspaper might help him. Hence the *Province*.

The *Province* did help, too. It started out by making itself a readable weekly journal. It had departments dealing with such topics as politics, the Courts, books, music and drama, men and affairs. Gradually it developed correspondence from near and far—from Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Quebec, London, and Paris. There were budgets of news and comment, too, from

(10) *Ibid.*, March 3, 1894.
(11) *Ibid.*, March 31, 1894.
(12) *Encyclopedia of Canada*, Toronto, 1935, I., p. 259.

Vancouver Island points and Interior towns. Interesting letters were published and particular attention was paid to mining.

Though the *Province* had no politics it took a stand on all sorts of local and national issues. It adopted the slogan, "Free Trade and Direct Taxation," and nailed this motto to its masthead.[13]. By free trade it said it "meant exactly that and not the partial free trade in operation in England." No legislature, it added, "had as yet adopted the one common sense and practical method of raising revenue, viz. by direct taxation."

Quite early in its career the *Province* organized an expedition to explore Vancouver Island from Carmanah Point southward. The expedition failed to complete its journey the first year, but went back reinforced a second time and pushed its way through. The *Province* published the diary of the trip.

It took an active part in Victoria municipal elections, calling for a specific statement of a definite civic policy to be laid down in black and white. There should be an end, it insisted, to "vague and indefinite assurances of general present good intentions to be later followed by particular failures. . . ."[14]

It opposed the guarantee of bonds for the Nakusp & Slocan Railway.[15] In a series of articles it suggested a trade policy for British Columbia.[16] It took strong exception to the Dominion Government's policy on representation for the West. The West, it said, had been practically without representation in Parliament since 1878. The Government had used it as a storehouse for needy partisans, most of the members from western constituencies being merely echoes of Ottawa. Also, there had been no proper cabinet representation.[17]

The paper showed an interest in harbour improvements, parks, playing fields, boulevards, fishing regulations, voters lists, architecture, mail service, freight rates, cheaper gas. It devoted a lot of space to cycling, campaigned for good roads, and published maps of the environs of Victoria and Vancouver. As early

(13) *Province*, November 2, 1895.
(14) *Ibid.*, January 11, 1896.
(15) *Ibid.*, January 18, 1896.
(16) *Ibid.*, January 18, 25, and February 1, 1896.
(17) *Ibid.*, April 25, 1896.

as June, 1897, it was asking why British Columbia did not have a university.[18]

When the authorities were remiss, it criticized them; when the citizen neglected his duties as in failing to shovel snow, it did the same for him. It took Canon Beanlands, of Christ Church Cathedral, to task for preaching a political sermon.[19] It found fault with the ladies of Victoria when they "plumped" on election day for two women candidates for the school board.[20] It called the attention of the Government to the streets of Rossland which, it said, were in a disgraceful condition.[21]

It protested that it was time the steamer *Charmer* was replaced on the Victoria–Vancouver run by a vessel better suited to the requirements of modern civilization.[22] Later it complained of the insanitary conditions on the *Charmer:* "There is surely enough water between here and Vancouver to keep a steamer clean."[23]

The *Province* took an active part in the Federal by-election in Victoria in January, 1896, supporting William Templeman, Liberal, against Col. Prior, Conservative. The issue was the Manitoba School question, and the campaign was notable for the appearance for the first time on the Pacific Coast of Hon. Joseph Martin, who, before the century was out, was to cut quite a figure in British Columbia politics.

In the general election of June, 1896, Mr. Bostock, who ran as a Liberal, was elected in Yale-Cariboo. The victory was considered a resounding one, for Cariboo had gone Conservative through nine previous elections and Yale through eight. It was also the beginning of Mr. Bostock's political career. In that election of 1896 every British Columbia constituency, save Victoria, returned Liberal members. Victoria elected Col. E. G. Prior and Thomas Earle. Mr. Templeman suffered defeat for the third time. In Winnipeg, Joseph Martin, who had championed British Columbia in the previous Parliament, also went down to defeat, and it was this circumstance, coupled with his

(18) *Ibid.*, June 26, 1897.
(19) *Ibid.*, January 11, 1896.
(20) *Ibid.*, January 18, 1896.
(21) *Ibid.*, January 18, 1896.
(22) *Ibid.*, August 29, 1896.
(23) *Ibid.*, July 10, 1897.

failure to get a post in the Laurier cabinet, that turned him to British Columbia.

After the election the *Province* spoke critically of the Dominion Franchise Act, pointing out that on June 23 there had been only two qualified voters in Trail, which had a population of 1,000 to 1,200, and only seventeen in Rossland, which had over 4,000 people.[24]

It took exception to the practice of putting men who held prominent official positions on the directorates or advisory boards of private corporations, and named specifically Hon. F. G. Vernon, Agent-General in London, Premier Turner, and Hon. C. E. Pooley, President of the Council.[25] It criticized the action of Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant-Governor, in going to London to help F. Augustus Heinze raise money to build the Columbia & Western Railway.[26]

Vancouver, a raw town with many growing pains, received weekly attention from the *Province*. If there was anything in the Mainland city like a musicale or dramatic entertainment that merited mention, the event was duly reported with encouragement and discriminating praise. But there were frequent prods, too. For instance: "When is the City Council of Vancouver going to put Georgia Street in proper order? This sounds rather like the problem, 'What are the wild waves saying?' both being apparently incapable of solution."[27]

On another occasion, the Vancouver correspondent took exception to the "miserable little houses," the "architectural monstrosities," the "row of mustard-pots" on Georgia Hill. "At the bottom is a pepper-box (of dirty white shade), then come the mustard-pots, of colour violent enough to knock you down, save at the top of the row where the condiment has evidently become a trifle dry and consequently of a duller hue; truly 'every prospect pleases' and only this cruet-stand (and such like enormities) are vile!"[28]

There were two *Province* companies at this time, the one which owned and operated the *Province*, known as "The Prov-

(24) *Ibid.*, August 15, 1896.
(25) *Ibid.*, August 15, 1896; November 27, 1897.
(26) *Ibid.*, August 22, 1896.
(27) *Ibid.*, September 4, 1897.
(28) *Ibid.*, March 14, 1896.

ince Limited Liability," and "The Province Publishing Company," which operated job printing plants in both Victoria and Vancouver. Early in 1897, the *Vancouver World* published a letter casting reflections on the Province Publishing Company, stating that the Company was discharging its white workmen and replacing them with cheap Japanese labour. The Company issued a writ for libel, the *World* expressed regrets and published a denial of the truth of the charge, and the suit was withdrawn.[29]

Starting from zero, the *Province* built circulation rapidly. By May 25, 1895, it had a circulation of 1,450. By May 23, 1896, the circulation was 3,508. By November 6, 1897, it was possible to announce that the weekly had a larger circulation than any other paper, daily or weekly, published in British Columbia.[30]

Late in 1896, Arthur Hodgkin Scaife, who had been editor of the *Province* since its inception, and who had taken some part in Victoria's civic affairs as well, suffered a break-down in health and, during his absence, Clive Phillipps-Wolley took charge.[31] Mr. Scaife returned for a few months, but finally it was decided that he should go on a trip to England, and on October 2 it was announced that, during Mr. Scaife's absence, the editorial chair would be filled by Mr. W. C. Nichol, late of the Hamilton *Herald*. Thus a new era began for the litt'e weekly.

Walter Cameron Nichol was 31 at the time. He had been born in Ontario, son of a small-town lawyer and grandson of Col. Robert Nichol, who had been quartermaster-general of militia through the war of 1812.[32] He had served his time on Hamilton, London, and Toronto papers, and had been one of the founders of *Saturday Night*, working with E. E. Shepherd. He

(29) Vancouver *World*, April 22, 1897.

(30) *Province*, November 6, 1897.

(31) Captain Clive Oldnall Long Phillipps-Wolley, born in Dorsetshire on April 3, 1854, served for some years as British consul at Kertch, in the Crimea, published a book on *Sport in the Crimea and Caucasus*, studied law, was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, published several other books, including a novel, *Gold, Gold in Cariboo* (1893), came to British Columbia in 1896, and spent the remainder of his life in the Province. He was knighted in 1915, and died at Somenos on July 8, 1918. His later books included *The Chieftain Stone*, a story of the Cassiar, *Songs of an English Esau*, and *Songs from a Young Man's Land.—Encyclopedia of Canada*, Toronto, 1937, V., p. 115.

(32) *See ibid.*, p. 4.

was thoroughly trained in newspaper work, had a quick, intelligent mind, and was master of a tantalizing, incisive style.

Mr. Nichol had come West, as so many thousands of others had done, hoping to make his fortune. From the East there seemed several possibilities: the Kootenay country, in which there was great mining activity and excitement; the Yukon, just opening up and with a strong appeal to the young and adventurous; and the Coast cities. Mr. Nichol tried the Kootenays first; had a look at Rossland, and passed it up; spent some months at Kaslo working on the *Kootenaian*, and came on to the Coast. Before he left the East he had received from the Canadian Pacific Railway the promise of financial assistance if he should find some spot in which to found or buy into a newspaper. His job at Victoria gave him an opportunity to look round.

On the *Province* he took hold at once and the weekly became a brighter though perhaps less dignified journal than it had been under the scholarly Mr. Scaife. Mr. Scaife was sometimes severe in his criticisms, but always mature, always the gentleman. Mr. Nichol was not infrequently the small boy with a pea-shooter. Usually he hit lightly, but he hit repeatedly with a puckish persistence not untouched with malice. He flicked until he created a wound, then kept on flicking until his victim writhed and fumed.

He liked to goad J. C. McLagan, of the Vancouver *World*. Mr. McLagan had hoped to get a senatorship, but the prize had gone to William Templeman of the Victoria *Times*, and the *World*, as a consequence, was a bit cold toward the Laurier Government. The *Province* was sympathetic. It called Mr. McLagan "Senator" anyway, and made out that Laurier had "jilted" him. The *World* spoke of the *Province* as "an obscure and very puerile weekly publication in Victoria," and Mr. Nichol replied:—

> . . . when Senator McLagan, of the esteemed Vancouver *World*, smites *The Province* hip and thigh with the editorial jawbone it is distressing indeed. . . . Does he suppose for one moment that the Liberals of this province are prepared to bow down to the *World*, its man servants, its maid servants, its ox and its—Senator McLagan?[33]

(33) *Province*, January 8, 1898.

The next week he went after the Senator again:—

. . . *The Province* must confess to a very genuine admiration for *him* both as a man and as a journalist, and especially as a journalist. The Senator always appeals to *The Province* as being a combination of the Walters family, Henry Labouchere, Sir George Newnes, Ltd., James Gordon Bennett, C. P. Woolley, the late George Brown, and the later Charles A. Dana rolled into one. What can one do other than place him on a pedestal and worship him from afar with looks of tremulous ecstasy and feelings that almost compel tears, even if he does rush around like a mad bull at the sight of the red flag.[34]

But Mr. Nichol did not always mock. Sometimes he lashed out savagely:—

But why should the Senator plume himself as he does on being a life-long Liberal? It is not so very long ago that he was supporting the Conservatives tooth and nail through a Dominion campaign and everybody knows that he is willing to black the Legislature's boots as long as Premier Turner and his associates are willing to toss him odd coppers for the job.[35]

Captain Wolley was treated more urbanely but no less effectively:—

Speaking of versatility, Capt. Clive Phillipps-Wolley seems to have a full share of it. What with acting as an expert witness in prosecutions for criminal libel, refereeing mounted sword contests and flooding the market with novels and poems of marked ability, the Captain must find his time fairly well occupied, to say nothing of his having to keep a watchful eye and nose on the drains and cesspits of the province. It is not every man who knows how to go blithely through life scattering the buds and blossoms of soulful poesy with one hand and chloride of lime with the other.[36]

The reference was to Captain Wolley's position as sanitary inspector for the Province.

Mr. Nichol had a flair for brief and vivid description and was fond of affixing nicknames and using them till they stuck. He referred to the *Colonist* frequently as "the Daily Dunsmuir."[37] Hon. G. B. Martin was "G. Bologna Martin" at first, afterwards "Chinese Martin." Hon. C. E. Pooley was "Christian Endeavor Pooley." There were references in the *Province* to "the blighting influence of the Dunsmuirs." The passenger coaches of the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway were described as "vestibuled box cars."[38]

(34) *Ibid.*, January 15, 1898.
(35) *Ibid.*
(36) *Ibid.*, January 8, 1898.
(37) *Ibid.*, January 1, 1898.
(38) *Ibid.*, January 8, 1898.

Mr. Nichol had not been much more than a month with the *Province* before he involved himself and his associates in a suit for criminal libel which ran on for a considerable time, and became famous in the legal annals of the Province. He revived Mr. Scaife's old charge that Hon. J. H. Turner, the Premier, and Hon. C. E. Pooley—Mr. Nichol liked to refer to him as "the equally Hon. C. E. Pooley"—had been using their official positions for the purpose of inducing the investing public of Great Britain to buy mining stocks. But he went considerably further than Mr. Scaife had ventured to go. In a lengthy article he charged that the two ministers were trading on their portfolios for personal gain; that they were "posing as decoy ducks to bring the dollars into the game bags of the needy promoters hiding behind the weeds"; that either they were making the Government of British Columbia subservient to their own private interests, and the interests of their company associates, or they were obtaining money from the British public under false pretenses. Either alternative, he said, was sufficiently discreditable to damn them for ever.[39]

The article was a deliberate challenge and the ministers took it up, laying a charge of criminal libel against the three directors, Mr. Bostock, Mr. Nichol, and Mr. Ian Coltart, and against Senator Templeman, publisher of the *Victoria Times*, which had reprinted the article.

The case came up in Police Court before Magistrate Farquhar Macrae for preliminary hearing, and Archer Martin, who was appearing for Mr. Nichol and Mr. Coltart, tried to put the complainants on the witness stand. Mr. Robert Cassidy, who appeared for Messrs. Turner and Pooley, objected and the magistrate sustained him, committing the accused for trial. When Mr. Bostock's case was called later, Mr. Martin created quite a sensation by throwing up his brief because, he said, he could get no justice for his client in that Court.[40]

Magistrate Macrae had before him in this one case, had he only known it, four young men who were to make great names for themselves and fill important positions in Canada. Mr. Tem-

(39) *Ibid.*, December 11, 1897.

(40) *Ibid.*, January 15, 1898; *see also ibid.*, February 12, 1898, supplement.

pleman was to be for nine years a member of the Laurier Government; Mr. Bostock was to become a member of the King Government, and Speaker of the Senate; Mr. Martin was to become Chief Justice of British Columbia; and Mr. Nichol Lieutenant-Governor.

The object of the libel suit, apparently, was not so much to convict the accused as to stop comment on the charges which the *Province* had made against the two ministers and to prevent discussion in the Legislature, which was about to meet. Discussion was prevented in the Legislature, but, though the case was *sub judice* for months, Mr. Nichol found the means of discussing it obliquely whenever he felt inclined to do so. On one occasion he draped the front page of the *Province* in black, and announced in lugubrious language that the Hon. J. H. Turner "and the equally Hon. C. E. Pooley" had died of broken hearts because Magistrate Macrae and Mr. Cassidy, their counsel, would not allow them to tell in Court what they knew about the rewards that come to politicians when they lend or sell their names to mining stock promoters.

"Drape the world in black," ran the dirge, "and let the dread signals fluttering from the doorposts tell their solemn story to the winds that sigh a requiem as they pass. . . ." And so on for a column and a half of mockery till the page ended. Then on page 2 it was recorded that, just as the *Province* was going to press, word had come that the men were not dead. And this gave an opportunity for more quick slashes and sly stabs.[41]

It was in an atmosphere of high comedy such as this that the decision was made to transfer the *Province* to Vancouver and turn it into a daily. There were good reasons for the move. Mr. Bostock had been losing money on the weekly and was growing tired of meeting bills. He already had a building and a printing business in Vancouver, and could publish a daily newspaper without much additional expenditure except for a newspaper press. There was a growing excitement in the Yukon, and a developing trade in Vancouver, with the promise of more trade and more population. Obviously, if a daily was to be started, Vancouver was the place.

(41) *Ibid.*, January 29, 1898.

The venture was interesting to Mr. Bostock; it promised to help him cut his losses, and he realized that a daily in Vancouver could probably help him more politically than a weekly in Victoria. It was interesting to Mr. Nichol, too. This was the opportunity he had visioned when he came West. And he must have thrilled a little in anticipation as he thought of the many battles he would have at short range with his irrascible friend, "Senator" McLagan.

Mr. Bostock and Mr. Nichol no doubt had an understanding that the latter should have an opportunity to buy into the property they were founding, and that agreement was implemented within eighteen months. The first number of the daily was issued on March 26, 1898, from the plant on Hastings Street of the B.C. Printing and Engraving Corporation. The building still stands on the south side of the street, midway between Abbott and Cambie. The corporation still exists, too. It is now the B.C. Printing and Lithographing Company, located at Homer and Smithe.

There is always excitement when a new publication is launched and Volume 1, Number 1, is sent out to take its chances with the fickle public. What thought goes into its writing, into its composition, into its dress! What hopes are attached to it! what dreads! How will the public take it? What will other publications say? How will the competitors react? Will it survive a month—six months—a year? Will it make a fortune or will it be a flop? The odds against the survival of a baby periodical may be appreciated when it is stated that something in the neighbourhood of 300 such infants have seen the light in Vancouver since the charter was granted sixty years ago.

There are a few men still about who were present at the birth of the *Vancouver Daily Province*, and though forty-eight years have passed since then, they can still recall something of the excitement. Everybody present at the cradle had something to do; everybody wanted to do something. Mr. Nichol, in spite of his years of experience in "putting the paper to bed," was all nerves—so the story runs—and when the foreman, W. B. Hughes, thrust a roll of proofs into his hand and bade him read them, he was too excited to concentrate, and made such a mess of the job that the foreman was disgusted and called George

Perry, temporarily in charge of circulation, to revise the poor work of the boss. History does not say anything of the language Mr. Hughes used as he transferred the proofs, but one may guess. Bernard McEvoy, who joined the *Province* staff a few years later, wrote on one occasion of the unspoken profanity and malediction he sometimes found filling Mr. Hughes' dark eyes. One could travel far without finding a more kindly heart than that of Bill Hughes. But patience and equanimity were not among his virtues. He believed in speaking his mind, and Mr. McEvoy must have been the only one about the office to whom his maledictions were unspoken.

For a year or so the *Daily Province* experimented with formats and presses. It first came out as a seven-column four-page sheet, printed on a flat-bed press that would not print more than four pages at a time. The original intention was to publish only four pages, with eight pages on Saturday; but too much advertising offered to pursue that policy and, after a few weeks, a Goss press capable of printing four or eight pages was installed, and soon a Potter press, which was sold to the *Seattle Star* about 1910, when two Duplex, Battle Creek tubular presses were installed.

For fourteen years after the advent of the *Province* the three Vancouver dailies ran along unchallenged by any formidable rival; the *News-Advertiser* appearing each morning except Monday, the *World* and the *Province* coming out every evening except Sunday. In Victoria, where the *Colonist* has for many years published a Sunday morning edition but has taken Monday off, the blank Monday morning never seems to worry any one. But it did worry Vancouver, and it was an attempt to fill the blank that brought the *Vancouver Daily Ledger* into the world.

During most of 1902 the *Ledger* was issued as a weekly, coming out on Mondays before noon. Its editor and manager was Dr. F. J. Reynolds, an American by birth and a veterinary surgeon who had practised in several Interior mining camps, and had for a time published the *Ashcroft Journal*. On December 29, 1902, the *Ledger* became a morning daily. In the first number the publisher announced that the newspaper would give general support to the Liberal-Conservative party, and would pay particular attention to the mining industry. It carried a

good deal of local news but not much telegraph. George Perry, who served the Greater Vancouver Water Board for many years as secretary, and has now retired, was managing editor, and other members of the staff were Bruce Bennett and Lawrence McRae, afterwards Sir Richard McBride's private secretary.

John Hendry, moving spirit in the old Hastings Mill, was Reynolds' financial backer, and was represented on the directorate by Thomas Wilson, his confidential secretary. Wilson's Scottish conscience compelled him to do thoroughly any job he undertook, and this involved a constraint upon the publisher of the *Ledger* which that gentleman did not like. By some means or other he succeeded in ousting Wilson from the directorate, and moved the newspaper plant from the basement of the Flack Block, where it had been installed at the outset, to a building on the west side of Granville Street a little south of Pender. There, one day, he was visited by Hendry's lawyer and a bailiff. The door was padlocked, and the *Ledger* was through. The last number in the British Columbia Archives is that of March 31, 1903.

From Vancouver, Dr. Reynolds went to Ladysmith where he published the *Ladysmith Ledger*. Later he started the *Nanaimo Herald*, carried it on for a time and sold it, about 1910, to J. S. H. Matson, of the *Victoria Colonist*.

The *Ledger* ran as a daily only a little over three months. Then Vancouver settled back to its three dailies again. The *Province* had, in the interval, established itself quite firmly. It got its first foothold by cutting subscription rates. The *World* and the *News-Advertiser* had been selling at a dollar a month. The *Province* started out at ten cents a week, and the *World* immediately cut its rate to that figure. "See," jeered the *Province*, "because the *Province* has come to you, you can now get two newspapers for less than you formerly paid for one."

The man in charge of the *Province's* circulation during most of the first seven years was Louis D. Taylor, who was also for a time business manager and secretary of the Company. "I built that paper up," said Mr. Taylor not long ago, in a reminiscent mood. "I helped to make it pay."

The *Province* ran for eighteen months under the ownership of Mr. Bostock and the editorship of Mr. Nichol. Then the latter

achieved his ambition. He was allowed to buy into the property. On September 30, 1899,[42] the business was incorporated as the Vancouver Printing and Publishing Company, with a capital of $100,000, divided into 1,000 shares. Mr. Bostock transferred the business and all its assets to the Company, and also advanced enough money to purchase the newspaper press and other plant from the B.C. Printing and Engraving Corporation. For this he received 496 paid-up shares in the Company, and agreed to sell half of these to Mr. Nichol for $10,325. The other shares, save for a few qualifying shares to directors and potential directors, were unissued. On February 1, 1900, L. D. Taylor was appointed secretary of the Company.

Though the newspaper built up circulation and made money from the start, it appears at first to have had some trouble with financing. In its first thirteen months it had three different bankers, coming finally to the Bank of Montreal. Mr. Bostock had other interests which were more important to him than the *Province*. He was in Parliament. He had his ranch at Ducks, and the printing and engraving business in Vancouver. He needed money, and this was Mr. Nichol's opportunity. He made a trip to Montreal in the late summer of 1901 and saw Thomas Shaughnessy. The promise made several years before was kept, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, through the Royal Trust Company, furnished enough money to buy out the Bostock interest in the newspaper. Shares of the Company were issued to the trust company as collateral for the loan, and Mr. Nichol was given an option to purchase them any time within seven years. He purchased them in less time than that, and became sole owner of the newspaper property. It is interesting to note that the witness to Mr. Nichol's signature on the agreement was George McLaren Brown, an old friend of Hamilton days who had already risen high in the service and confidence of the Canadian Pacific, and was to rise still higher.

Vancouver's three newspapers in the last couple of years of the old century and the first three or four of the new formed an interesting study in contrasts. They were as unlike one another as the three men who dominated them—three men of

(42) Date of incorporation taken from the original minute book of the Company.

quite different backgrounds, who had come to the publisher's desk along quite different routes.

F. L. Carter-Cotton, publisher of the oldest paper, the *News-Advertiser*, was an Englishman who had had some experience in the diplomatic service and in India before coming to this continent, and had reached British Columbia by way of the United States. He had lived in no other part of Canada. He was a scholarly man, well-read in the English classics. He knew finance, and wrote in a polished and vigorous style consciously modelled on that of the English essayists. His attitude to problems was judicial. He liked to discuss questions of public interest, balancing the pros and cons, tipping the scales a little to his own side, perhaps, but was rarely violently partisan in any controversy. His weakness was that he had come into newspaper work at the top, and had had no experience of reporting or selecting or editing news. His great interest was politics, and the best news story to him was a detailed report of a session of the Legislature or of a public meeting. The report had to be detailed and accurate or it was no good.

One of his old reporters used to tell of being censured by Mr. Cotton because he had not ended a report of a City Council session with the sentence, "The meeting then adjourned." "Is the meeting still in session?" asked the old Chief, bringing the copy to the reporter's desk. "No, of course not," answered the reporter. "Then you should say so," was the tart reply.

Another story relates to the economy practised in the *News-Advertiser* office:—

"With exemplary economy he took all the disused envelopes in the office, pasted them out in long strips like rolls of ancient papyrus, and on the backs wrote his editorials in a hand like copperplate engraving."[43]

In such things as sport, social chit-chat, and the light and frivolous things which newspapers depend upon to-day to attract readers, Mr. Cotton had no interest. It used to be said of the *News-Advertiser* about the turn of the century, when Harry Cotton was city editor and Sheldon Williams telegraph editor, that the only way to get a local news story a front-page position

(43) James Morton in Vancouver *Sun*, magazine section, February 17, 1945.

was to take it out to Hastings or New Westminster and have it wired in. When the steamer *Islander* went down in 1901 with some fifty passengers and crew, largely British Columbians, aboard, Mr. Cotton, who had the story exclusively, did not think it worth an "extra," and his business manager left him in protest.

J. C. McLagan, one of the founders of the *World* and its principal owner, was a Scotsman by birth. He had come to Canada with his family when 15, and had been apprenticed shortly after to the printing trade in the office of the *Sentinel* at Woodstock, Ontario. When he was 23, he was foreman in the office of the *Guelph Advertiser*, and the next year he and James Innes, afterwards Member of Parliament for South Wellington, bought the *Guelph Mercury*, a weekly. The partners carried on the *Mercury* for seven years, and then Mr. McLagan withdrew and went into other business. He sat for several years on the Guelph City Council, and suffered the loss of four of his children in nine days in a diphtheria epidemic. He was in British Columbia in 1881, but found nothing interesting and returned to Winnipeg. He was part-owner of the *Winnipeg Sun* for a time, then with the *Free Press*. In the fall of 1883 he was back in British Columbia again, in the real-estate business at Victoria, but doing some writing on the side for eastern newspapers, notably the Toronto *Globe*.[44]

When the first number of the *Victoria Times* was published on June 9, 1884, the manager was Thomas Gardiner. On August 25 Mr. Gardiner announced that, owing to the continued severe affection of his eyesight, he was compelled to desist from active duties and that "Mr. J. C. McLagan, a gentleman of rare journalistic ability and of great experience," would take the management until further notice.

Mr. McLagan's "great experience," it will be noted from this sketch, had been attained chiefly as a foreman printer, and his real experience as a journalist began when he joined the *Victoria Times*. He remained with the *Times* for four years, then disposed of his interests, and in September, 1888, began

(44) The *Port Moody Gazette* of April 5, 1884, tells of the visit to Port Moody of "Mr. J. C. McLagan, travelling correspondent for the Toronto *Globe*."

the publication of the *Vancouver Daily World*. While he was in Winnipeg his wife died in Guelph, and shortly after he became manager of the *Victoria Times* he married Sara Anne Maclure, member of a well-known Matsqui family.[45]

An able newspaperman who worked in Vancouver during practically all of Mr. McLagan's years with the *World*, and for long after, has given his opinion of the venture:—

> Room for the *World* there was, and as time passed and population increased it attained a reasonable measure of prosperity. But the *World* under Mr. McLaglan's management failed utterly to grasp its opportunity. As a newspaper it was even less enterprising and far less conscientious than the *News-Advertiser*, and in comparison with those of the morning paper its editorial utterances, on which it relied for much of its influence, were utterly puerile.[46]

Walter Nichol, of the *Province*, was born in Canada, went to Canadian schools, grew up in a Canadian atmosphere, learned his trade on Canadian newspapers. He had a sharp nose for news, a good idea of what people wanted to read, and a desire to give them what they wanted. He was interested in politics only in so far as politics was news. He was interested in politicians because they were figures in the public eye, and people knew them and wished to read about them. But he had decided notions as to how much politics, and how much about politicians, the people would stand for. He had an idea that his readers had other interests and set out to create demands and satisfy them. In his first editorial in the *Daily Province* he told his readers frankly that his newspaper was to be, "first and last, a business enterprise." It would endeavour to print the news of the day brightly and attractively, and to "take the world philosophically and good-naturedly as it finds it." He made no declaration of principles, set himself no elaborate programme.[47]

In his paper he devoted a good deal of space to sports. He developed the social page. He published special features about Vancouver churches, Vancouver people, ships that plied the Coast waters. He had a number of clever young writers, and gave

(45) Bessie Lamb, "From 'Tickler' to 'Telegram,'" *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IX. (1945), p. 190.

(46) J. B. Kerr, "Journalism in Vancouver," *British Columbia Magazine*, VII. (1911), p. 578.

(47) *Daily Province*, March 26, 1898.

them considerable scope. He published all the news he could get, but he wanted it written brightly and lightly. If there was any humour in an incident, he wanted that humour brought out. The space he saved by cutting down long reports he devoted to stories by George Ade and Mr. Dooley and Ella Wheeler Wilcox and others. He could write light prose himself, and light verse, and for a time did so. While Cotton and McLagan were always pontificating, or thundering, or arguing, Nichol preferred to entertain. For a considerable time there was a poker story in the paper every few days. He told his readers he had no desire to influence their decisions or their actions. When a problem arose which he thought was of public interest, he would elucidate it if he could and leave the public to do what they would about it.

He had a fondness for the indirect approach and used several devices to attain it. At first the *Province* reported the morning "caw-cus" of the Haro Street crows, which had a habit of discussing civic and Provincial questions. It was this "caw-cus" that first suggested that Joseph Martin be asked to be a candidate in Vancouver for legislative honours.[48] A short column on the front page, "What the Dickie Bird Says," gave bits of wisdom in brief compass. It was probably the work of J. R. Burde, the newspaper's first city editor. The most successful of the devices was the *False Creek Record*, an imaginary newspaper conducted by Shad Farron, and from which the *Province* made a practice of quoting. Shad had a mild and ready but penetrating wit, and an urbane impertinence that provoked laughter but did not offend. His "With Worsnop to Steveston," a war correspondent's story of the dispatch of the militia to keep order in a fishermen's strike, was a *tour de force* that old-timers still talk about after forty-six years. The *False Creek Record* claimed to be the only newspaper that knew things about people that they did not know themselves. So, its information was always exclusive.

But the *Province* did not always follow oblique courses. It could be direct enough and persistent enough when it chose.

(48) *Ibid.*, May 9, 1898. The following day the *Province* discussed the suggestion of the crows seriously. Liberals and Conservatives alike, it said, were disgusted with the Government. "From the point of view of the Province the solution of the problem lies in inducing Joseph Martin to come out and lead the opposition forces."

There is no parallel in British Columbia journalism to the venom and ridicule with which it pursued Hon. G. B. Martin, Commissioner of Land and Works in the Turner Government, until he was defeated in the election of 1898. In a speech in the Legislature, Mr. Martin had stated that he had employed all sorts of men on his ranch but that the best he had ever had was a Chinaman who had worked for $15 a month. That was all that was needed. The *Province* dubbed the minister "Chinese Martin," and took after him full cry with such barbs as these:—

"Chinese Martin ought to run as member for Chinatown."

"They say Hon. Chinese Martin means to wear a pigtail, now."

"If Hon. Chinese Martin gets elected in North Yale it will be by the Chinese vote."

"Everybody knows where to place Chinese Martin, now. He has given the world a queue."

"If that $500 poll tax is clapped on the Chinese, where is Hon. G. B. Martin going to be at?"

"They say there is no truth in the rumor that Hon. G. B. Martin is about to open a Chinese laundry."

"The *Province* owes an apology to its readers. It forgot to say anything about G. B. Martin on Saturday."

Mr. Nichol's somewhat frivolous attitude toward politics and politicians as contrasted with the serious attitude adopted by his competitors is demonstrated in a report from the Legislature in one of the early numbers of his daily—that of April 2, 1898. It is given complete, heading and all:—

WINDY WALKEM TALKS

His Breezy Words Blew through Booth's Whiskers and Ruffled the Draperies of the Plaster Couchee Couchee Dancers in the Legislature, Yesterday.

Victoria, April 1 (special).—This was Walkem Day in the local Legislature. The hon. member for South Nanaimo furnished solid fun for nearly two hours. He succeeded splendidly in maintaining his reputation as an irresponsible talker, beslavered the Government with his nauseating praise and finally presented his masters with numerous rhetorical bouquets and a certificate of character.[49]

(49) The "Booth" referred to was J. P. Booth, Member for North Victoria and Speaker of the Legislature from 1898 to 1902. The "Walkem" was Dr. William Wymond Walkem, brother of Hon. G. A. Walkem, third Premier of the Province. He sat for Nanaimo District through the 7th Legislature, and was a well-known physician of pioneer days.

The years at the end of the century were years of political turmoil in British Columbia, and there was exciting political news. The Yukon was opening up, and there were stories of hardship and adventure and tragedy and of mines fabulously rich. There was development in the Kootenay and Okanagan, in the Cariboo and Cassiar. Someone always had a plan to build a railway from somewhere to somewhere else. For much of their news the Vancouver newspapers were thrown on their own resources. The telegraph service was costly and meagre, but that did not mean that Vancouver was cut off from the rest of the world. The city was at a cross-roads on a new world highway, and world travellers were constantly passing through it. Travellers from the East, ships from the Orient, ships from the North, all brought stories and Vancouver reporters were under pressure to get them. So they interviewed everybody above decks and below, and the interview, because of Vancouver newspapers' necessities, took on a new importance in Vancouver.[50]

In the matter of circulation the *Province* rapidly outstripped its two rivals. It was not a month old before it was challenging the *News-Advertiser* and *World* to produce their circulation figures and allow them to be examined by a committee of leading business-men.[51] Before the year was up it was claiming a circulation greater than that of its two competitors combined. In an affidavit, Mr. Nichol gave the circulation as in excess of 4,300, and the South African War added nearly 2,000 more.

Williams' *Directory* for 1899 gives the personnel operating the three daily papers as follows:—

News-Advertiser:
Managing Editor, Hon. F. L. Carter-Cotton.
City Editor, A. H. Cotton.
Business Manager, C. F. Cotton.
Circulation Manager, E. Whitaker.
Collector, F. Hodgson.
Reporters, R. S. Williams, H. P. Sands, E. Sands.
Foreman, John Powell.
Night Foreman, T. Spink.

(50) J. B. Kerr, "Journalism in Vancouver," *British Columbia Magazine*, VII. (1911), pp. 578–9.
(51) *Daily Province*, April 25, 1898.

Composing Room: E. L. Woodruff, compositor; William Pond, —. Blackwood and Gus Dunn, operators, and Joseph Bonneau, machinist.
Pressman, G. H. Pound.

World:
Manager, J. C. McLagan, Sr.
Sec.-Treas., J. C. McLagan, Jr.
Editor, J. M. O'Brien.
City Editor, S. R. Robb.
Journalists, R. Brown, F. A. Hicks, T. F. Paterson.
Accountant, W. A. Gillis.
Sporting Editor, Mat Peard.
Clerk, G. W. Bayley.
Operators, George Bartley, D. E. VanDyke, E. Whitworth.
Pressman, William Bayley.
Asst.-Pressman, Charles Bayley.
Apprentice, William Weiss.

Province:
Editor, W. C. Nichol.
Subscription Manager, L. D. Taylor.
City Editor, J. R. Burde.
Advertising, B. F. Dickens.
Reporters: T. M. Bowerman, A. M. Burns, Carlyle Ellis.
Accountant, W. A. Cox.
Clerks, R. Doherty, C. Sawers.
Foreman Composing Room, W. B. Hughes.
Compositors, R. Langdale, A. C. Campbell, W. H. Lewis, C. S. Campbell, J. H. Watkins, J. H. Browne.
Press Room: J. Howard, Foreman, B. Cook, and Frank McCanna, stereotyper.

In the spring of 1901 J. C. McLagan died. He had been in poor health for some years, but had worked indefatigably. When he could no longer go to the office he conducted the business as well as he could from his bed at home. After his death the paper was conducted by Mrs. McLagan and her brother, Fred Maclure. For some years L. D. Taylor had been handling the *Province* circulation on a contract basis. In 1905 his contract expired, and when it was not renewed he and B. F. Dickens, who had been advertising manager of the *Province* some years before, made an offer for the *World* and it was accepted. Victor W. Odlum, who had returned not long before after serving in the South African War, was a junior partner. He did not put any money into the business, however, and withdrew before long.

Indeed, nobody put up much money because nobody had much to put up. The purchase price was $65,000, of which $35,000 was represented by a chattel mortgage held by Hon. James Sutherland, of Woodstock, Ontario. The partners bought the property on a shoestring. They even bought a new press, agreeing to pay $5,000 on it when the press was installed and running. The chattel mortgage was due, and Mr. Taylor thought he ought to go East to see about it, but there was no money in the treasury for travelling expenses.

"L. D." was not the man to allow a little thing like that to baffle him. He went to the Canadian Pacific Railway. He had a new press coming from New York, he said. Would the Company like the business of transporting it? The Company would. So "L. D." made an offer. If the C.P.R. would give him transportation to Woodstock and return, he would have the press shipped C.P.R. The bargain was struck, and the ingenious publisher saw Mr. Sutherland, who agreed to extend the mortgage on condition that the *World* would support the Laurier Government.[52] That did not worry Mr. Taylor. He was a Laurier man anyway, and supporting the Liberal Government would put him on the opposite side of the fence to the *Province*, which, Liberal at first, had swung into the Conservative camp not long before when Richard McBride became Premier.

Thus began a newspaper rivalry which ran for a full ten years, and gave rise in its course to much excitement and no little bitterness, and many an amusing incident. Mr. Taylor, who had been secretary of the *Province*, was succeeded in that position by R. G. Nichol, and on the latter's death in 1909, by F. J. Burd, who, after coming down from the Yukon in 1901, had spent two years with the *News-Advertiser*, and then joined the *Province* as business manager. The circulation of the *World* at the time of the sale was 3,000, and that of the *Province* 8,000.

Mr. Taylor's first editor was the redoubtable D. W. Higgins, who had founded the *Victoria Chronicle* more than forty years before, had later owned the *Colonist*, and used it to fight his old enemy, Amor de Cosmos, and had presided over the Legislature

(52) Information given by L. D. Taylor to Ronald Kenvyn, and published by the *Daily Province* in an account of "L. D.'s" life, February 27–March 16, 1939.

in the time of the Turner Government.[53] Later the editorial work was shared by J. Edward Norcross, who had come to the *World* from Nanaimo, by R. H. Hill, afterwards a war correspondent in the First World War, and by T. B. Cockburn. The newspaper needed money, and some came in from the Jonathan Miller estate, and with it came F. J. Miller, who acted as secretary-treasurer, and his sister, Mrs. A. H. Berry, who was assistant manager. Mrs. Berry afterwards married Mr. Taylor.

The rivalry of the two evening papers was as keen as it is possible to imagine. Not only did the *World* set out deliberately to oust the *Province* from its leading position, and the *Province* to hold all it had won, but there was a clash of personalities between the two publishers. In spite of the fact that they had worked together more or less closely for seven years, neither liked the other.

It was well known in the city that the money with which Mr. Nichol had bought out Mr. Bostock had come to him from the Canadian Pacific, and there were rumours to the effect that the C.P.R. was the real owner of the *Province* and dominated its policies. The C.P.R. was not very popular in Vancouver at the time, for it had had a long and costly lawsuit with the city, which had gone to the Privy Council, and had cost the city the loss of all its street-ends on Burrard Inlet from Burrard Street to Gore Avenue. The *Province* was friendly to the C.P.R., but the railway had no financial interest in the newspaper, and Mr. Taylor, who had been secretary of the Vancouver Printing and Publishing Company, knew this. All the same, the *World* gave currency to the rumours, and Mr. Nichol, who had pretty much given up writing by this time, sat down and himself penned a scorching editorial in which he said a number of blunt and bitter things about his rival. The result was a libel suit, vigorously prosecuted and stubbornly defended. The jury found that the *Province's* statements were not libellous, and assessed costs of $900 against Mr. Taylor. The *Province* had won a victory, but it did

(53) Higgins was a Nova Scotian who had reached British Columbia via California in 1858, and had taken part in the Fraser River gold-rush. From 1886 to 1898 he had represented Esquimalt in the Legislature, and for the last eight years of that period had been Speaker of the House. He retired from the *World* in 1907, and died in Victoria, November 30, 1917. He was the author of *The Mystic Spring* and *The Passing of a Race.*

not like it very much, for the legal costs were very high. That experience, coupled with his earlier experience in the suit Premier Turner and Hon. C. E. Pooley had prosecuted against him, soured the *Province* publisher on libel suits, and he rarely went into Court afterwards. His staff was enjoined to be particularly careful and when, through error or inadvertence, actionable statements were made, as they are made on every newspaper occasionally, they were almost invariably settled out of Court.

The libel suit formed the subject of an editorial in an early number of the *B.C. Saturday Sunset*, a weekly journal which had been started in the summer of 1907 by John P. McConnell and Richard S. Ford, his brother-in-law. As it sums up the two contestants rather neatly, it may be quoted:—

> Now that the cruel libel war is over and both the *Province* and the *World* claim victory, I trust that those two eminent journals will forget their spat and settle down to the business of giving the public all the news and of illuminating the atmosphere of British Columbia with trenchant editorial utterances of which each is so capable. . . .
>
> Both are good papers, and in this respect Vancouver is better equipped than any other city of its size in Canada. Each has a constituency that swears by it, and all that either needs to do is to keep on publishing all the news and making for itself a reputation for fairness and reliability to be and become all that any newspaper man with ideals could wish it to be.[54]

There was a good deal of money afloat in Vancouver during the boom days and, as real-estate advertising was on a lavish scale, the newspapers reaped a harvest. With the profits that came to them they built up their properties. They enlarged their staffs, they improved their plants, they bought features and services, they used more and better pictures.

At first the only news service available was that provided by the two telegraph companies. It was rather meagre at best, and had to be supplemented by special dispatches, which were costly. In 1907, the western dailies joined to form a co-operative service, the Western Associated Press, which was much better, and, three years later, the Canadian Press was founded, a co-operative service to which all the dailies in Canada contributed and from which they drew. This service, like the Western Associated Press before it, was a subscriber to the Associated Press service of the United States. It is still serving Canadian newspapers

(54) *B.C. Saturday Sunset*, July 13, 1907.

and has, with the years, been greatly expanded. Papers which wished to be individual had still, of course, to depend upon special dispatches or subscribe to supplementary services like the United Press, which Mr. Taylor secured for the *World*, or the International News Service, which the *Province* used for a time.

Mr. Taylor's political ambitions were both an advantage to him and a handicap. They kept him constantly in the public eye in contrast to Mr. Nichol, who preferred to remain in the background. But they offered his rival numerous targets to shoot at, which he would not have had if "L. D." had confined himself to operating a newspaper. While he was still in charge of the *Province's* circulation Mr. Taylor had been elected Licence Commissioner, and had a plan for the reform of the liquor business which the *Province* opposed as too extreme. He ran for alderman but was defeated, and in 1910 announced that he was a candidate for the mayor's chair.

"Don't you do it, L. D.," warned a candid friend who met the candidate on the street just before the announcement of his candidacy. "The man who controls a Vancouver newspaper of good circulation has more influence than any mayor—more even than the Premier." But "L. D." would not listen. He was a candidate and he won, and from that he went on. Sixteen times he ran for mayor, and eight times he was elected, serving eleven years in all.

In 1910 Mr. Cotton sold the *News-Advertiser* to J. S. H. Matson, owner of the Victoria *Colonist*. The price was a boom price, $500,000. Mr. Matson placed the management in the hands of John Nelson, former manager of the *Victoria Times*, and brought from the East as editor Dr. S. D. Scott, who had been editor of the *St. John Sun* for many years and had represented various Maritime newspapers in the Press Gallery at Ottawa.

It was the custom of the day in Vancouver, as in other places, for new newspapers to spring up at election times, shine brightly for a time, then, when the voting was over, fade quickly out of sight. Such a paper was the *Morning Guardian*, started in Vancouver in 1907 by Joseph Martin, with the assistance of Sam Gothard, who had, not long before, been publisher of a short-

lived labour paper, the *Trades Unionist*, and was afterwards to publish *Truth*.

Mr. Martin had been Attorney-General of Manitoba, and had sat in the House of Commons. After his defeat in Winnipeg in 1896 he had come to British Columbia and, after a clash with the benchers of the Law Society, had started to practise law and interest himself in Provincial politics. The *Province* had encouraged him to become a candidate in Vancouver in the election of 1898, printing among other pleas this editorial note: "To Mr. Joseph Martin, Dear Sir: Please run. Yours truly, The People."[55]

The *Province* had supported him in the election, and he had been elected with three other city members, F. L. Carter-Cotton, Robert McPherson, and C. E. Tisdall. The Turner Government had been defeated at this election and the Semlin Government had succeeded. Mr. Martin and Mr. Cotton had both been taken into the cabinet, the former as Attorney-General and the latter as Minister of Finance. The two, however, had proven unable to agree, and Mr. Martin had been ousted and had gone into opposition. When the Semlin Government was dismissed by Lieutenant-Governor T. R. E. MacInnis, in February, 1900, Mr. Martin had been asked to form a ministry, and had done so over the protests of the Legislature. In the election of 1900 he had been re-elected in Vancouver, while his enemy, Mr. Cotton, had been defeated. His ministry, however, had been defeated after a little over three months in office. Mr. Martin remained in the Legislature until it was dissolved in 1903. He never returned to the House after that, but did not lose his desire to do so, and the *Morning Guardian* was his bid for election. It did not succeed, and soon petered out.

Mr. Martin started another paper, the *Evening Journal*, in 1915, after returning to Vancouver from his adventure into British politics. George M. Murray was his editor. Martin was a disillusioned and rather pathetic old man by this time, but one in whom the fires of ambition still burned. There was no reason for the *Journal* except that Joseph Martin wished to assert himself. Vancouver had grown and changed, however. It didn't

(55) *Daily Province*, May 10, 1898.

know Joe Martin any more, and showed no enthusiasm for his newspaper.

The *Evening Journal* carried on for some time, building up a considerable circulation but losing money steadily. At last—so the story runs—Mr. Martin sought the assistance of B. T. Rogers, principal owner of the B.C. Sugar Refining Company. Mr. Rogers was interested. He admired the *Journal*, he said, and would be glad to buy the *World* and let Mr. Martin operate the two newspapers together. There was only one consideration. Mr. Rogers would, of course, have to have full say as to the paper's policy.[56]

One can imagine "Fighting Joe," old as he then was, agreeing to any such proposition as that. One can also imagine the explosion that ended the interview. Another short-lived newspaper about this time was the *Evening Times*, managed by J. C. Charlesworth.

But the *Times* and the *Journal* are carrying us ahead of our story. A number of things had, in the meantime, happened in Vancouver. The boom had collapsed, and with it had gone the easy money from real-estate advertising. The *World* had felt itself cramped in its quarters on Homer Street, and had built itself a new and elaborate home at Pender and Beatty, overlooking the old Great Northern station. The war had come, throwing new responsibilities on newspapers, and offering them vast opportunities for service to their public. Also, a new luminary, the *Sun*, had risen on the newspaper horizon.

The collapse of the boom had found various Vancouver businesses overextended, the *World* among them. The new building had been a costly affair and there were several mortgages on it, the principal being held by James J. Hill, of the Great Northern Railway. The investment did not turn out at all well. The newspaper was committed to payments amounting to $18,000 a year for rent.[57] It had hoped to clear enough from renting offices and loft space to meet its bills, but the war and the collapse of the boom quenched its hopes. The bondholders pressed for the sale of the *World's* assets, and the Court issued an order to that

(56) J. B. Williams in *Daily Province* (magazine section), May 30, 1936.
(57) L. D. Taylor to Ronald Kenvyn. *See* note 52 *supra*.

effect. The purchaser was John Nelson, who had been manager of the *News-Advertiser* for the previous five years.

But buying the assets of the *World* and getting them were two different things. The World Building Company had a bill against the *World* for arrears of rent, and the new owners were afraid that the building company would hold the machinery until its account was met. They had no intention of meeting the account, and wished to hasten the establishment of the *World* in its new quarters as much as possible. So they decided to take out as much of the plant as they could during a quiet week-end, while no one was looking. They had not bought the press, but the office furniture, the stereotyping plant, the linotypes, and the various forms and fonts and miscellaneous gear in a newspaper composing-room were theirs—if they could get them. The removal, as it turned out, was quite spectacular. Somehow, the news got abroad and a crowd gathered. L. D. Taylor, who had no intention of losing his paper if he could avoid it, hired an electrician to put the freight elevator out of business. But the new owners had an electrician in their party; the lift was repaired, and the work went on.[58] The plant was removed to the building on the north-east corner of Richards and Hastings streets, where Woolworth's store now stands. Later, the *World* moved to Richards and Pender streets, its last home.

The *World's* difficulties were the *Province's* opportunities, and it did not hesitate to take advantage of them. The war was Canada's war and there was an instant and insistent demand for news and more news from the fighting fronts. The *World*, with its troubles, lacked the funds to buy services and special stories and pictures. The *Province* had the money and spent it. The result was that the *Province* built up a great circulation of its own, and cut seriously into that of its rival's.

The *Sun*, like the *Province*, was a development from a weekly. The *B.C. Saturday Sunset* has already been mentioned. It was started in mid-June, 1907, and was issued first from a basement on Hastings Street, later moving to good offices on the west side of Seymour Street, just south of Pender. Its moving spirit was John P. McConnell, who had come west from Toronto some years before, riding through the mountains with John Innes, the

(58) *Ibid.*

artist.[59] The paper was frankly modelled on *Saturday Night*, on which McConnell had been employed, and its pungent, front-page comment, written by McConnell, was signed "Bruce," as that in *Saturday Night* was signed "Don." E. E. Shepherd, founder of *Saturday Night*, is said to have suggested the pseudonym as McConnell had been born in Bruce County.

John McConnell was a romantic. He liked the West and its picturesque, outdoor people. He gloried in the great open spaces and liked to write about them. He had a ready pen and a rich vocabulary, plentifully larded with terms of abuse. He was a writer rather than a manager or editor, but he made the *Saturday Sunset* an interesting and readable weekly newspaper with various attractive departments. Chiefly, however, the weekly was a journal of comment, and its great attraction was Bruce's own uninhibited comment on page 1.

The *Saturday Sunset* was a success from the first and, besides their newspaper, the partners built up a substantial job-printing business. So they were quite prosperous. Within a year their circulation was 5,000.[60] The *Sunset* claimed to have no political affiliations, and obviously it had none, for it boxed the compass in its political comment. The year of its founding was the year of the anti-Oriental riots in Vancouver, and the *Sunset* was accused by the *Province* of inciting those who took the law into their own hands. Almost at the outset Bruce launched two campaigns, one for a white British Columbia, opposing particularly the influx of the Japanese, the other for pure milk, supporting Dr. Underhill, the city medical health officer.

The Legislature had passed the "Natal Act" unanimously, and Lieutenant-Governor Dunsmuir, who employed Orientals in his Vancouver Island coal mines, had refused his assent. "If ever the will of the people . . . were brazenly set at defiance," Bruce asserted, "it is being done by Lieutenant-Governor Dunsmuir."[61] He attacked the McBride Government for "its placid acquiescence to Dunsmuir rule."[62] He didn't even spare the Laurier Government. In refusing to modify the agreement with

(59) J. B. Cowan, *John Innes, Painter of the Canadian West*, p. 14.
(60) *B.C. Saturday Sunset*, June 6, 1908.
(61) *Ibid.*, August 10, 1907.
(62) *Ibid.*, October 12, 1907.

Japan, "Sir Wilfrid," he said, "is recreant to his duty as Premier of Canada . . . and is prepared to drive to the verge of sedition a province which has always been among the most loyal in the British Empire."[63]

Of the *Province*, which was by no means pro-Oriental, but which did not follow Bruce in his double-barrelled policy of white immigration and Oriental exclusion, Bruce said:—

The *Vancouver Daily Province* stands for nothing. Instead of being a leader of public opinion, a journal with courage, stamina and virility, it is a servile, spineless laggard behind popular opinion, a jellified adapter to the conditions in which it and its alleged proprietor may find themselves."[64]

A week later it published a cartoon by Norman H. Hawkins showing a jumping-jack hanging on a fence. The limbs were labelled "*Vancouver Daily Province*," and the face more or less resembled that of W. C. Nichol. The caption read: "Pertinent Query: If a jumping-jack sits on a fence, which side will it fall on when the strings are pulled?"[65]

The *Province* replied, and Bruce came down on it again, repeating the old rumours about subserviency to the C.P.R. The *Province*, he said, was "a rubber-spined, napkin-carrying, tip-seeking, knee-bending advocate . . . of the C.P.R. . . . willing to swallow a diet of railroad spikes and wheel-grease." It was a "journalistic jumping-jack and weather cock, with its ear to the ground or a wet finger in the air" to measure "the strength and direction of coming winds and trims its sails accordingly."[66]

But the *Province* was not alone in being spattered with the vitriol from Bruce's pen. Here is another example of his forthright style:—

Magistrate Williams has given another exhibition of his usual fatheaded method of dealing out justice in the Police Court. A boy who comes before this pompous misfit of the bench is almost certain to be railroaded into jail on the most trivial charge. The latest example of his perverted ideas of enforcing law and order is the sentence of a sixteen-year-old boy to six months in prison for misappropriating $1.85. The boy should never have been brought up in a Police Court to begin with. He might as well have

(63) *Ibid.*, October 12, 1907.

(64) *Ibid.*

(65) *Ibid.*, October 19, 1907. Norman Hawkins, besides being a cartoonist, was an architect and an authority on heraldry and freemasonry.

(66) *B.C. Saturday Sunset*, October 19, 1907.

appeared before a dragon as before Magistrate Williams, whose dealing with juvenile cases is notorious for eccentricity and disproportionate sentences. Magistrate Williams appears to lack even an elemental understanding of a boy's nature.[67]

Bruce met W. L. Mackenzie King when the latter, as Deputy Minister of Labour, came to Vancouver in the fall of 1907 to investigate the circumstances surrounding the anti-Oriental riots. The two had some disagreements, and at first Bruce was highly critical; but later he came to think highly of the young administrator and wrote in his paper:—

> One of the outstanding figures in Canadian affairs today is W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G. No young man in public office in this country has behind him a more distinguished record of useful public service than he has. He has been entrusted with many delicate and difficult tasks, all of which he has discharged with credit to himself and to the advantage of the interests involved, and of the country. As deputy minister of labor Mr. King has done more, perhaps, than any other man in Canada to bring about a good understanding between employer and employe and to settle disputes which have arisen from time to time, since his incumbency. I do not recall a single instance of dissatisfaction with his methods of handling disputes, either on the part of employer or employe.
>
> What we have seen of his work in Vancouver has commanded a growing admiration and respect for his ability, fairness, and his ability to seize the salient facts in the Asiatic problem, not only from the point of view of this province, but from that of the empire. It is regrettable that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has not always availed himself of the experience and grasp of the subject which Mr. King possesses.[68]

Saturday Sunset devoted a great deal of space to the discussion of railway problems, then stirring British Columbia. It paid serious attention to the developing fruit industry of the Okanagan, and to the municipal growing pains of Vancouver. Ethel Cody Stoddard, who, under the pseudonym "Lady Van," conducted a column of miscellany "About Things in General," wrote strongly against the limp building regulations and lack of zoning which permitted the erection anywhere of those long rows of cabins which were Vancouver's first apartment-houses. That was twenty years before Vancouver had a zoning by-law.[69]

In the Dominion election of 1911 the Liberal party received a terrible beating in British Columbia, every candidate in the

(67) *Ibid.*, September 12, 1908.
(68) *Ibid.*, June 20, 1908.
(69) *Ibid.*, March 28, 1908.

Province being defeated. In the post-mortem it was decided that the reason for this disaster was lack of adequate newspaper support. So it was resolved that Liberalism must have a daily paper on which it could depend. The evening field in Vancouver was already occupied by the *World* and the *Province*, both of which had substantial circulations. The *News-Advertiser's* circulation had never been large, so it was felt there was an opportunity to shoulder into the morning field. The first issue of the new daily was published on February 12, 1912. The birthday was a Monday, and the *Sun* rose auspiciously to fill Vancouver's Monday morning blank. The first issue tells the story of the newspaper's birth:—

> Last spring a number of Liberals in this city took steps looking toward the establishment of a daily newspaper. The necessity for a paper to consistently advocate the principles of Liberalism had been making itself felt for some time. There was no paper in the city that could be considered as consistently Liberal and it was felt that the first step toward rehabilitating the party in British Columbia should be the establishment of a daily newspaper. Efforts were made to buy out one of the existing newspapers, but it was found that newspapers, like Hastings Street real estate, had grown immensely in value during the last few years and that the cost of acquiring one of the two papers which ought [to] have been turned into a Liberal organ would have been prohibitive, even had they been for sale.
>
> Overtures were made to the owners of the *Saturday Sunset* to establish a morning newspaper and in due course an agreement was reached. A company [The Burrard Publishing Company, Limited] was organized and stock was sold. . . . The printing business established and owned by Messrs. Ford and McConnell was taken over strictly on its merits as a business proposition and it was at that time earning twelve per cent. on its valuation, with every promise of a considerable increase in the immediate future.[70]

The Ford-McConnell plant contained practically all the machinery needed for publishing a daily newspaper, except a newspaper press. It went into the company, it is understood, at a valuation of $80,000. A press was found in San Francisco. It had been through the fire, but had been rehabilitated and was adequate. The directorate of the new company consisted of the following:—

President—F. C. Wade, K.C.
Vice-president—E. B. McMaster.
Directors—Richard S. Ford, John P. McConnell, T. F. Paterson, George E. McCrossan, and G. F. Risteen.

(70) Vancouver *Sun*, February 12, 1912.

R. S. Ford was named general manager and J. P. McConnell editor. John Henry Gerrie was brought from New York to act as managing editor. John B. Kerr, an old-time newspaperman who had been city editor of the *News-Advertiser* and for many years editorial writer on the *Province*, was engaged to write editorials. Arthur M. Burns was the first city editor, but died not long after the start, and was succeeded by Ned Sheppard. Bert Coleman looked after marine; Wilbur Bryan after sports; John Linkie was telegraph editor; Bradford Hyer financial editor. Pollough Pogue wrote feature stories and assisted with the editorial page. Graham Hyde drew cartoons and was succeeded by John Innes. William Carswell was advertising manager. Altogether, it was a very capable and well-trained staff.

There is an interesting story of the way the *Sun* got its name. McConnell had worked on the Toronto *Globe* in his younger days and, remembering its influence in Ontario, was ambitious to make his paper the *Globe* of the Pacific Coast. J. C. McLagan had had the same hope in starting the *World* twenty-four years before. McConnell thought it would be a good idea to call the new paper the *Vancouver Globe*. Thus it would carry prestige from the start. Others suggested other names. To a working member of the staff who heard some of the discussion they all seemed equally bad. They had no meaning. "You have the *Sunset*," he said. "You are going to have a morning paper. Why not call it the *Morning Sun?*" So the *Sun* it was. It did not become the *Morning Sun* in name for another twelve years.

The *Sun* started out as a very good newspaper with great enthusiasm among the owners and the members of the staff. It did not have much advertising at the beginning, and so had plenty of space for news and features. It had good writers, and these made a very good selection, and turned out a readable and interesting journal. Had the paper been started earlier, when business was better, it might have had greater success. But the boom had passed its height in 1912, and financing became more and more difficult. Then came the war, which reduced revenues and increased expenses.

In 1914 the Burrard Publishing Company was placed in the hands of a trustee under a mortgage, and early in 1915 the mortgage was foreclosed. Ford and McConnell were out. In July,

1915, the *B.C. Saturday Sunset*, which the trustee had carried on for six months, suspended. In its valedictory it said:—

> Let it not be thought, however, that we feel disappointed in the real work that has been accomplished by the *Saturday Sunset*. By sincere criticism we believe that it has righted many wrongs and has served a useful purpose in many ways. It has been essentially a British Columbia weekly and has given the people outside of the province much valuable information about British Columbia. It has ever been on the side of justice and right. Were it not for the fact that the publishers have another medium for carrying on the same work, the *Saturday Sunset* would remain in the field. Today the daily newspaper carries its message into every home and it is a message straight from the battlefront. That is what the people demand above all things.[71]

So the *Sunset* set, and left the *Sun* to carry on. Ford went into business in Vancouver, importing goods from the Orient. McConnell bought the *Western Call*, a weekly which H. H. Stevens and Professor E. Odlum had been carrying on for six and a half years, and at the beginning of 1916 began the publication of *J.P.'s Weekly*. He thought he could re-establish himself and perhaps create another *Sunset;* but something was missing. Either the old fire was not there or the demand was absent. *J.P.'s Weekly* sputtered along for nine months and then went out, and "J. P." himself went placer-mining in the Cariboo.

Among other things in his active life, he had tried his hand at politics, running as a Liberal in Yale in the Provincial election of 1912—the same election in which L. D. Taylor contested Rossland, also as a Liberal. Both were badly beaten. The contest in Yale is significant only for one of Bruce's snappy bits of repartee. Hon. W. J. Bowser, then Attorney-General in the McBride cabinet, was making a speaking tour of the Province, and invited "J. P." to meet him on the platform at Hope and discuss public issues. "J. P." replied that he was too hoarse with much speaking to meet the Attorney-General. Bowser accepted the excuse but, wishing to make a bit of capital out of it if he could, turned to the gallery of reporters accompanying him and asked, "Can't one of you fellows write me a verse about Bruce and his throat?" The prize went to Jim Morton of the *News-Advertiser*, who produced this gem which Bowser read from the platform:—

(71) *B.C. Saturday Sunset*, July 17, 1915.

Because his words are loud and coarse,
Poor Bruce's throat is sore and hoarse.
And now, it seems, his *Sun* has set
Although the *World* is wobbling yet.

Bruce flared up instantly when the verse was brought to his attention. "Bowser's poetry is like his politics and his administration," he said. "They are all equally rotten."[72]

The syndicate which took control of the *Sun* after the foreclosure of the mortgage was headed by F. C. Wade. Mr. Wade was a lawyer who had made good in the Yukon and, like so many Yukoners, had come to Vancouver to live. He had an important practice in the city, but his interests were wider than law. He was deep in politics. He was well-read in legal lore, history, and the English classics, and liked to write. He wrote very well, too, in a balanced style, but his articles were too detailed, too lengthy, too diffuse, too completely documented for these modern days, when men must read and run.

Early in 1916 Sir Richard McBride, who had been Premier for nearly twelve years, retired from the premiership and went to England as Agent-General. Hon. W. J. Bowser, who succeeded him, undertook to recast the Government and appointed two new ministers—A. C. Flummerfelt of Victoria, as Minister of Finance, and C. E. Tisdall of Vancouver, as Minister of Public Works. Mr. Tisdall was already a member of the Legislature but, under the law of the time, had to return to his constituents for re-endorsement. At the by-election he was opposed by M. A. Macdonald, afterwards Chief Justice of the Province. Mr. Wade and the *Sun* took an active part in the contest:—

> The present contest is not purely political. It is a critical period in the history of a great province and will have a great deal to do with the future prosperity of British Columbia. Mr. Macdonald is young and has a splendid record. Mr. Tisdall, older and perhaps more versed in so-called practical politics, has an even longer record, but it is one of abysmal silence whenever a government policy came under criticism. Throughout his political life Mr. Tisdall has been a hanger-on, following his leaders with dog-like fidelity that is more pathetic than amusing. Without individuality of any kind, he has been a pliable instrument in the hands of men who did not scruple to use him. Mr. Macdonald is a man; Mr. Tisdall merely a well regulated machine.[73]

(72) Details related to the writer personally by James Morton.
(73) Vancouver *Sun*, January 24, 1916.

This by-election was merely a preliminary canter for Mr. Wade. He helped defeat Mr. Tisdall, and in the general election which followed later in the year he played a major part in defeating the Bowser Government and in bringing the Brewster Government into power. Of his effort in this connection, General V. W. Odlum was later to say:—

> But it was the F. C. Wade pen that made *The Sun* become a power. Steeped in Canadian history and constitutional lore, and gifted with a ready and musical flow of language, Mr. Wade proved himself the outstanding British Columbia editorial writer of his time. . . . Mr. Wade, like Mr. Carter-Cotton, was a scholar; but he did not have the Carter-Cotton reticence. *The Sun* under Mr. Wade, was largely responsible for destroying public confidence in the Bowser Conservative government and for bringing about the changes which took place in 1916.[74]

The Bowser Government was destroyed, but the victory was won at great cost to the victor. While the campaign lasted and the party needed its support, the *Sun* had to be kept going and Mr. Wade, who was already deeply committed, not only borrowed heavily for the *Sun* but issued his own personal checks to meet pressing bills. When the smoke of the campaign cleared away, he was some $30,000 behind. He hoped that in some way the new Liberal Government would be able to reimburse him for his losses. But no way was found. Premier Brewster died after less than sixteen months in office, and Hon. John Oliver, who succeeded, admitted the value of Mr. Wade's services but not the obligation of the Government to reimburse him for his losses. He did do something, however. He appointed Mr. Wade Agent-General in London. Mr. William Braid, who knew Mr. Wade's losses and the cause for which they had been incurred, left his old friend $30,000 in his will. The legacy, however, was seized by Mr. Wade's creditors, and not a dollar of it ever reached the man it was intended to benefit.[75]

In London, Mr. Wade became a very good Agent-General. He threw himself into the duties of his office with great enthusiasm. He had a wide and detailed knowledge of British Columbia, its resources, its beauties, and its needs, and it was his pleasure to make these known. In his spare time he found re-

(74) Vancouver *Morning Star*, February 1, 1926.

(75) Information given by Mrs. Marjorie Wade, daughter of F. C. Wade, to Vancouver City Archives.

laxation hunting up the haunts of famous Londoners of by-gone days like Dr. Samuel Johnson and Charles Dickens and, on occasion, telling Londoners things they did not know about London. Strangely enough, he and Premier Oliver never seemed to hit it off. "Honest John" would never communicate with his Agent-General directly, but would instruct his secretary to write: "I am directed to write you as follows:"

Mr. Wade was a man of strong personality, great ability, and sound scholarship. One wonders what he would have made of himself had he been content to concentrate his efforts in any one of the three fields in which he played notable parts, the law, politics, and journalism.

When Mr. Wade relinquished control of the *Sun* in 1917, Mr. R. J. Cromie stepped into his shoes. Mr. Cromie entered the newspaper field as the confidential secretary of Colonel J. W. Stewart. Colonel Stewart was a famous railroad-builder, member of the firm of Foley, Welch & Stewart. He had had important contracts on the Canadian Northern Railway in British Columbia, and his firm had the contract for the construction of the Pacific Great Eastern. Just what his relations with the *Sun* were has never been disclosed. The *Sun*, practically from its inception, needed money. Colonel Stewart had money and, as his contracts were the subject of public investigation he also needed, or thought he needed, a newspaper that would be friendly. At any rate, he put a good deal of money into the *Sun* and eventually took the paper over, placing Mr. Cromie in charge. Then he went off to the First World War, in which he served with considerable distinction, and returned a Major-General. How the newspaper passed permanently into the possession of Mr. Cromie is another of the mysteries of Vancouver newspaperdom.

Mr. Cromie knew nothing of the newspaper business when he took hold of the *Sun*, but he set himself to learn and he learned rapidly. He was a great reader and had an infinite curiosity. He liked to travel and talk to people and ask questions. He was fond of making experiments. He was never afraid of making mistakes or of getting his feet muddied. He was somewhat erratic at first, and had a procession of managing editors. But he learned something from each and at last knew what he could

do and what he wanted to do. He upset the somewhat comfortable traditions that had developed in Vancouver newspaper circles. The *Sun* under F. C. Wade had been aggressive enough politically. Under Mr. Cromie it adopted aggressive news policies and sales policies as well. It put up a strong fight for circulation and advertising. It posed as the champion of British Columbia against what it called selfish eastern interests. It took up the fight for more equitable freight rates, for better rail connection with the Interior. Mr. Cromie had little interest in playing the game of party politics, but he had a deep and consistent interest in building up his newspaper, and no scruples about using politics and parties to do it.

On September 1, 1917, the *Sun* took over the *News-Advertiser*, paying J. S. H. Matson only $100,000 for it, it was said. At one stroke Mr. Cromie did two good pieces of business. He eliminated a rival, which, though not very aggressive at the time, might any day become an aggressive rival; and he added that rival's circulation to his own. The circulation of the *News-Advertiser* at the time was 8,000, that claimed by the *Sun* 10,000. On the morning of the amalgamation the *Sun* had this to say of its new venture:—

> In the past the two journals have been lavish beyond their means in supplying the public demand for news. Owing to the war and the greatly increased demand for information from all parts of the world, the tax on them has been much greater than ever before. In addition to supplying the news, the two journals have in their editorial utterances appealed to two separate and distinct schools of thought, sometimes, doubtless, adopting views which could not but be regarded as extreme. Now that the *Sun* has undertaken to serve all classes, it will endeavor more than ever before to present only those views which will commend themselves to an intelligent public. At the same time, nothing but an aggressive policy can be promised or need be expected.[76]

The extinction of the *News-Advertiser* left Vancouver with three daily newspapers. The *Sun*, which had adopted the name *The Vancouver Sun with which is incorporated the News-Advertiser*, was published every morning, Sunday included. The *Province*, owned by W. C. Nichol, and with Frank Burd as business manager and Roy Brown as editor, was issued six days in the week in the evening. The *World*, under the management of John

(76) Mr. Carter-Cotton survived the extinction of his old newspaper by about two years. His death occurred on November 20, 1919.

Nelson, and with J. E. Norcross as editor, was also issued in the evening. When Mr. Cromie took over the *Sun*, Pollough Pogue, who had been Mr. Wade's assistant, remained as editorial writer. He was succeeded by Frank McNamara and he, in turn, by Harold Weir. After J. B. Kerr left the *Province* for the *Sun* in 1912, the *Province* editorials were written by L. W. Makovski until the disappearance of the *News-Advertiser*. Then Dr. S. D. Scott transferred his activities to the *Province*, and continued there until his death. Dr. Scott conducted also a weekly column of miscellany, "The Week-End," in which he discussed men, affairs, and literature. He had begun this on the *News-Advertiser* and took it with him to the *Province*. Bernard McEvoy assisted Dr. Scott, reviewed books and wrote a column, "Street Corners," using the pseudonym "Diogenes." On coming back from the war, James Butterfield tried his hand at various things, then, on the suggestion of Ernest Paige, editor of the *Veterans' Weekly*, started his "Common Round," which he continued for many years. The *World's* editorial writer in John Nelson's time was Arthur C. Cummings, now editor of the Ottawa *Citizen*, while its columnist was Francis Bursill, whose pseudonym was "Felix Penne." All three papers claimed to be independent in politics, but the *Province* leaned to the Conservative side and the *Sun* to the Liberal, while the *World* supported the Prohibition Party.

In his younger days in Vancouver, Mr. Nichol of the *Province* had voiced his opinions quite freely on local and political issues, but as his wealth grew and his newspaper became prosperous he became more and more cautious. Not only did he cease to write vigorously himself, but he watered down the enthusiasm of his staff. It was his argument that he was conducting a business, and that in business it was foolish to say things that might offend a lot of one's customers. Dr. Scott, who had been trained in the Maritime Provinces, where they take their politics straight, and who had had a completely free hand on the *News-Advertiser*, must have wondered at times what he was doing in this particular set-up. But he was a first-class newspaperman of long experience, and managed to walk the tight rope easily and give a finished performance. The editorial in which he commented on the creation, late in December, 1921, of the first Mackenzie

King Cabinet was a little masterpiece in the difficult art of rounding a political corner:—

"It will be agreed by most reasonable men," wrote Dr. Scott, "that Mr. Mackenzie King has performed the first public task in his new position with some credit to himself and his party." Each of the new cabinet members was accorded a brief mention and the editorial concludes:—

> Not many months ago we were called upon to announce a new ministry under Mr. Meighen. Mr. Mackenzie King brings his administration into being under somewhat safer auspices. But he, too, is called upon to face a situation of great difficulty and delicacy. The Prime Minister is entitled to the courtesy of a generous welcome and the compliments of the season.[77]

As for Mr. Nichol, it is necessary, in giving him his due, to record that he was much less cold-blooded than his theories. He liked to think of himself as a James Gordon Bennett, but he was not ruthless enough to act the part. He often said that the proper way to run a newspaper was to engage bright young fellows, use their brains and their legs while they were active and fresh, and discharge them when their usefulness began to wane. But he never followed his own precepts. Either he couldn't bring himself to do so, or his business manager and editor, both of whom had quite contrary ideas, and who really had more to do with giving the *Province* its character than the owner had, would not let him. At any rate, when he severed his connection with the paper there were several men on the staff who had been on it for many years, and in the mechanical department a few who had been there from the beginning.

The first major change in Vancouver newspapers in the post-war years came in 1921, when John Nelson and his associates sold the *World* to Charles Campbell. It was not that Mr. Nelson wished to sell. He was conducting a good newspaper, though under difficulties, and would gladly have gone on. But the *World* was not making any money. The *Province* had gained too great a lead during the war, and had forged still further ahead during the blank period between Mr. Taylor and Mr. Nelson. For a time the *Province* actually subsidized the *World* to keep it going. At length, Mr. Nelson's chief financial backer, John Davidson,

(77) Vancouver *Daily Province*, December 30, 1921.

a well-known contractor, grew weary of the burden and insisted that the property be liquidated.[78]

Charles Campbell at the time knew nothing of the details of operating a newspaper. As a boy he had sold newspapers on Vancouver streets, and as a prominent Liberal had had some connection with the organization of the *Sun* in 1912. He may have been in the background in later deals, but it was as the proprietor of a storage and warehouse business that he was known. He had recently sold his warehouse to the Provincial Government for use in connection with Provincial liquor control. The price was regarded as a handsome one. So Mr. Campbell had a considerable sum of ready money.

His father used to tell the story of the purchase of the *World* in this way:—

> Charlie came to me, one day, and said, "Father, I want to buy the *World*. Will you help me?"
>
> "Charlie," I said, "What do you know about running a newspaper?"
>
> "Father," Charlie answered, "I don't know a thing."
>
> "Very well, Charlie," I said to him, "I'll help you." It seemed to me that when a man admitted frankly that he knew nothing about a business and yet was willing to risk considerable capital in it, it was safe to go along with him. He would learn. So we bought the *World*.

The price was $250,000. To help him with his new property and teach him something of the business he admitted he did not know, Mr. Campbell brought C. F. Crandall from Montreal. Mr. Crandall had been managing editor of the Montreal *Star* and for a time had an option on the *World*. After leaving Vancouver he became general manager of the United Press.

The next Vancouver newspaper to change hands was the *Province*. W. C. Nichol, who may properly be referred to as the founder, seeing that it was his idea and his energy that started the daily on its way in 1898, had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1920. During his term of office he had developed a fondness for Victoria, and did not wish to return to Vancouver.

(78) After selling the *World*, Mr. Nelson devoted himself to magazine writing for a time, then joined the staff of the Sun Life Assurance Company as a public relations officer. He became interested in promoting better relations among the Canadian Provinces, then in fostering international friendships. His interests took him into the Institute of Pacific Relations, and into Rotary. He became president of Rotary International, and did a great deal of travelling. He died in Chicago on January 24, 1936.

The *Province* and his other business interests had made him a very wealthy man, and he had been thinking for some time of disposing of his newspaper property if he could get a suitable offer. The offer came in 1923. William Southam & Sons, a company which owned large job-printing plants in Eastern Canada, as well as newspapers in five Canadian cities, were desirous of extending their operations to the Pacific Coast and entered into negotiations. Before the end of the year the deal was completed, the figure a little short of $3,500,000. The new company was known as The Vancouver Daily Province, Limited. Mr. F. J. Burd became managing director, and Mr. R. W. Brown continued as editor. Some years before, the *Province* had outgrown the old building in which it had started in Hastings Street, and had taken over the E. W. MacLean Building, immediately to the west, to house the overflow. It had now outgrown the two buildings, and it was decided to seek larger quarters. The Pender Street lot immediately to the rear of the Hastings Street property was purchased, and some consideration was given to plans for a new building which would run from Hastings through to Pender, leaping the lane. Finally, the two buildings which had been erected some years before by F. L. Carter-Cotton, on the east side of Victory Square, were purchased and adapted to newspaper purposes. The move was made on January 17, 1925, and was celebrated by J. B. Fitzmaurice in a half-page sketch of "the great trek." In purchasing these two buildings the *Province* established itself on the sites occupied by two of Vancouver's pioneer newspapers. The *Weekly Herald*, published by William Brown from June 1, 1887, to June 30, 1888, had been issued from the Hastings-Cambie corner, and the *News-Advertiser* was issued from the Pender-Cambie corner for several years after 1890. Then it moved across the square to the north-east corner of Pender and Hamilton.

After conducting the *World* for three years, Mr. Charles Campbell announced, on March 11, 1924, that he had sold the property to the *Sun*, that is, to R. J. Cromie. The price mentioned was $475,000. The *World's* circulation at the time was 17,000. On purchasing the *World*, the *Sun* split its personality. In the morning, the *Morning Sun* came out, and in the evening the "*Evening Sun with which is incorporated the Daily World.*"

The *Evening Sun's* first issue was on March 12. The sub-title was retained until June 20, after which the *World* was seen no more. After the amalgamation, in the second quarter of 1924, the Audit Bureau of Circulation gave the *Morning Sun's* circulation as 21,537, that of the *Evening Sun* as 16,256, that of the *Sunday Sun* as 41,751, and that of the Saturday edition of the *Evening Sun* as 24,147.

It is often asked how it was that the *News-Advertiser*, which had a start of eleven years over the *Province*, and the *World*, which had a start of ten, failed to hold their lead and failed even to stay in the field, while the *Province* went on and prospered. There are several reasons.

The *News-Advertiser* suffered under the handicap of being a morning newspaper, and a morning newspaper has a hard time unless it serves a large community. No matter what a morning paper's excellences may be, the majority of the people in its community have no time to read it while its news is fresh. They have their jobs to attend to. Their reading time is in the evening. So they prefer an evening paper. The *New York Times* and the *Toronto Globe and Mail* are sometimes cited as evidence supporting a contrary theory. But the *New York Times* has a very large and select local constituency, and sufficient prestige to make people outside its local constituency willing to wait for it. The *Globe and Mail* is read in the morning in Toronto and Hamilton, and in the evening over a great section of rural and industrial Ontario. The *News-Advertiser* had no such advantages, and was under the additional handicap which all Pacific Coast morning papers endure. The time element was against it.

The *Province* made its first inroads on newspaper circulation in Vancouver by cutting the price. It sold for 10 cents a week while its rivals were charging $1 a month. The *World* cut its price, but the damage was done. The *Province* published a different sort of paper when it was apparent a different sort of paper was in demand. Its publisher was a trained newspaperman, while the publisher of the *World* in the beginning was a printer, and the publisher of the *News-Advertiser* a financier and politician. Later, when Mr. L. D. Taylor took over the *World*, he dissipated a lot of his energies in civic politics and in governing the city. Mr. Carter-Cotton was, through most of his news-

paper career, a member of the Legislature, and held posts in two Governments. Mr. Nichol, in contrast, devoted himself to the conduct of his newspaper.

A further reason for the *Province's* success is that it has always had the money to make whatever improvements, whether mechanical or in the matter of services, the circumstances seemed to call for. From the time Mr. Nichol negotiated his loan from the Royal Trust Company for the purchase of the Bostock interest, he was never in difficulties. His rivals, on the other hand, had to watch the pennies much more closely than he, and were in a poorer position to watch.

In purchasing the *World*, Mr. Cromie apparently neglected to stipulate that Mr. Campbell should stay out of the Vancouver newspaper field. At any rate, Mr. Campbell did not stay out. On June 2, 1924, he started publication of the *Evening Star*, invading the very portion of the field on which Mr. Cromie was pinning his greatest hopes. The *Evening Star* was a six-day paper with a reduced news service, selling at 1 cent a copy on the street and at 30 cents a month delivered. The *Star*, its publisher announced, would cover the news of the world in condensed form. Its slogan would be: "If it will help make a greater Vancouver, the *Star* is for it."

The *Province* at the time was selling at 75 cents a month, delivered, and the *Evening Sun* at 50 cents. The *Star's* cut rate was real competition, and a sort of newspaper war began. The *Province* and *Sun* wholesalers tried to prevent the street vendors who were members of their organization from selling the 1-cent paper, and the *Star* took full advantage of this, proclaiming itself the champion of the under-dog.

The *Evening Star* was not much more than six weeks old when its publisher sold it to General Victor W. Odlum and his father, Professor Edward Odlum. Professor Odlum became president of the company, and contributed a column largely on philosophical and religious lines. General Odlum became publisher and J. E. Norcross, who had been for many years with the *World*, took charge of the editorial page. The newspaper's slogan became: "If it makes for a greater, a better and a cleaner Vancouver, the *Star* is for it."

With three newspapers dividing the evening field, competition in Vancouver was keen. The *Sun* cut its rate to 25 cents a week, but later made an arrangement with the *Star* by which both adopted a 40-cent rate. The *Province* maintained its 75-cent rate, but in October added a magazine section edited by Lukin Johnston to its Saturday edition. On February 1, 1925, after moving to its new building and acquiring an elaborate outfit of new machinery, it began the publication of a Sunday edition, and continued on a seven-day basis until June 1, 1933.

In January, 1926, General Odlum and Mr. Cromie made a deal which stabilized the newspaper situation and had the effect of eliminating a lot of senseless and profitless competition. The *Evening Star* became the *Morning Star*, taking over the *Morning Sun's* circulation, while the *Sun* acquired the *Star's* evening circulation and withdrew from the morning field altogether. At the same time, the *Sunday Sun*, which was a relic of the Sunday morning edition of the old *News-Advertiser*, ceased publication as a Sunday newspaper, and became the Saturday edition of the *Evening Sun*.

Announcing the change, the *Morning Star* went into journalistic genealogies:—

> Through the purchase of *The Morning Sun*, *The Star* inherits the historic associations of the old *News-Advertiser*, of respected memory, and of *The Sun* itself, both as it was when in the hands of Messrs. Ford, McConnell and Wade, and as it became after it was acquired by Mr. R. J. Cromie and by him consolidated with the *News-Advertiser*. . . .
>
> *The Star* is pleased to take over *The Sun's* rich inheritance; by so doing it has acquired a mixed family tree. In its veins now run traces of puritanism and of "black sheep." Some of its antecedents have been loved because they have been so good; others because they have been so bad. Taken all in all, they have formed a very interesting and decidedly able family and they have played considerable part in shaping the history of British Columbia.[79]

Thus, in 1926, Vancouver, at forty, found itself again, as it had been through so many years, with three daily newspapers, one issued in the morning, two in the evening. But the papers, whatever ancestry and inheritances they might claim, were not the same as those that had served the pioneers. The *News-Advertiser* and the *World* were gone, and in their stead were the

(79) Vancouver *Morning Star*, February 1, 1926.

Province, founded in 1898, the *Sun*, founded in 1912, and the *Star*, a 2-year-old baby.

This story of the adventures of Vancouver newspapers can not go on indefinitely, and this seems as good a point as any at which to stop. But first there are a number of loose ends to tie up.

The dailies are not the only newspapers that have served or tried to serve Vancouver's needs. The weeklies and monthlies —there have been hundreds of these—are worthy of an article of their own. Only a few of them can be mentioned here. They fall into several categories, according to the need they have tried to fill. Most numerous, perhaps, have been the community weeklies: George Murray's *Chinook*, which was published in South Vancouver and ran for many years; the *Western Call*, which H. H. Stevens published in Mount Pleasant in the days before he went to Parliament; the *Gazette*, which served Point Grey under the management of J. A. Paton, and which is still serving it as the *News-Gazette;* the *Citizen*, which merged with the *Gazette;* the *Express*, which George Bartley started in North Vancouver, and which became the *North Shore Press*.

There are the old-time journals of comment like *Light* and the *Mainlander*, the *B.C. Budget*, the *Monitor*, the *Two Voices*, and *Public Opinion*, which described itself confidently as "Canada's Best Weekly." There are more modern periodicals of somewhat the same nature like *J.P.'s Weekly*, the *Western Idea*, and the *Vancouver Eye Opener*. There were more ambitious publications like the *Globe*, the *New Deal*, and the *Critic*, all three run by L. D. Taylor, and the *Hook* and the *Saturday Tribune*, published by J. S. Cowper.

There are more than a score of labour journals, one rivalling another, and one growing out of another until it is nearly impossible to determine the line of descent. They run from George Bartley's *Independent*, and R. P. Pettipiece's *Western Clarion*, through the old *Federationist* to the *Labor Statesman* of to-day.

There are trade papers and papers devoted to special interests, like the *B.C. Lumberman*, the *Western Canada Mining News*, *Harbor and Shipping*, the *Garden Beautiful*, *Sea Lore*, the *Veterans' Weekly*, and the *Masonic Bulletin*. There are financial and commercial papers like the *Building Record*, the *B.C. Finan-*

cial News, the *B.C. Financial Times*, and the *Journal of Commerce*. There are papers devoted specially to women, like the *Chronicle*, the *Ladies' Mirror*, the *Western Women's Weekly*, and *About Town*. There are religious papers like the *Bulletin* and the *B.C. Catholic;* house organs like *Nabob* and *Telephone Talk;* comic journals like the *Klondyke Liar*, the *Ozonogram*, and *Ye Hornet;* sporting sheets like the *Sporting News* and *Al Hardy's Green Sheet*.

A special word about the comic journals should be in order. *Ye Hornet* was started by two men each of whom had special talent in his own field; by A. M. R. Gordon, who achieved some fame later by writing the poem on Kaiser Wilhelm, "Meinself Und Gott," and John Innes, the painter of Western Canada. *Ozonogram* was the brain-child of two old-time printer-journalists, R. T. Lowery and W. McAdam. Both were better known in Interior mining camps than on the Coast. Lowery ran the *New Denver Ledge*, the *Greenwood Ledge*, and other papers. McAdam issued the *Sandon Paystreak*. The *Klondyke Liar* was published about the turn of the century by Jack Lawson, who went afterwards to Texada Island, where he published the *Coast Miner*, the pioneer newspaper north of Vancouver.

There have been magazines, too, in Vancouver, some of them ambitious and quite substantial. There was *Westward Ho*, started by Percy Godenrath, who afterwards founded the *Portland Canal Miner*. The *Man to Man Magazine*, operated by Dr. Elliott Rowe, secretary of Vancouver's 100,000 Club in the days when the city was much smaller than it is now, was taken over by the *Saturday Sunset* for a printing bill, and put in charge of Pollough Pogue, who changed the name to the *B.C. Magazine*. It was an interesting periodical and might have succeeded, but it starved to death. The business office at the *Sunset* developed the idea that any contributor to the magazine whose name was printed over his contribution was unreasonable to seek any other remuneration. The publicity was reward enough. The *Outpost*, a magazine edited by S. N. Dancy, lasted only one issue. More fortunate was the annual *Scarlet and Gold*. It is still running. The *B.C. Monthly*, edited by D. A. Chalmers, started in 1911 and ran on to the end of 1927.

All these scores of publications did not come off the presses day after day and week after week without the devotion, attention, and hard work of scores of newspapermen and printers. Some of these have been mentioned in the pages that have preceded. There are many more, and good stories are told about a lot of them.

Vancouver's youth corresponded with the time of the printer-journalists and the tramp printers. It was not difficult to start a newspaper of sorts in those days. All that was needed was some type and a press, and often one or the other could be borrowed. Early presses passed round and round, and some of them had quite a history of their own.

The tramp printers roamed from city to city, worked a few days or weeks, and passed on. Some of them had regular or irregular circuits. They would follow the sun, working in the north in the summer, and managing to get to California for the winter months. In spring they would start north again. One of these was Seneca G. Ketchum, known as the "minstrel printer." Some time in the nineties he and Percy Whitworth started a comic weekly in Vancouver, boasting that their joint capital at the time of commencement was $3.50. Their paper was *The Idea*. According to reports, it was quite a brilliant effort, but no one seems to have thought of preserving a copy of it. It did not last long.

Another of the itinerant printers was "Dummy" Campbell, who was quite a dandy in his way. He made a point of spending his winters in Honolulu.

Shad Farron and his *False Creek Record* have been mentioned. Shad had a hand with Bill McAdam and T. A. McDonald in founding a short-lived daily, the *Mainland News*. Nothing is remembered of it now except that it succeeded in scooping all the other Vancouver newspapers on the story of the attempted relief of Port Arthur in the Russo-Japanese War. Shad was in poor health—he died of tuberculosis at a fairly early age—and the other reporters used to do what they could to save him "legwork." The writing he could look after himself. One stormy night, Shad had a dispute with John Grady, the city jailer, and was thrown out of the police station. It was many a day after that before any reporter could be persuaded to write a good word

about Grady. Do what he would, the jailer was always getting a " bad press."

One night Shad turned up at the *Province* office after having visited rather many bars in his search for news. He realized his condition, but was not worried as he could always write best when he had had a few drinks. He sat down at his typewriter and, as his custom was, pounded out his story without looking at the copy. When the story was completed, he pulled the last page out of the machine and glanced over his product. Then he *was* worried. He could not read a word of what he had written. The letters were there but the words made no sense. Sadly he pondered the situation for a time, then carried the copy to the man in charge of the night desk.

" See what I have written," he said. " Do you think there is anything wrong with me? "

The night editor gave him no consolation, but in a few days Shad learned that one of his colleagues had purposely unscrewed the letters on the typewriter and scrambled them, hoping to give Shad a scare.

Sam Rob was one of the brilliant young men of the early days. He held various positions on the *World* in the time of J. C. McLagan and later, ending up as market reporter for the *Province*. When Rudyard Kipling paid his first visit to Vancouver, Sam was assigned the job of interviewing him. When Kipling's train came in in the evening, Sam was on hand, but the poet did not get off, and Sam was told that he intended to spend the night in his compartment, and had given the porter orders that nobody was to be allowed to see him.

Sam thought he would try persuasion and wrote a little note, which he bribed the porter to deliver. In the note he pointed out that he had been specially assigned to see Mr. Kipling, who had been granting interviews in Winnipeg. He suggested that if he were refused an interview terrible things would happen to him when he went back and reported his lack of success to his city editor. Before long the reply came, something like this:—

Dear Mr. Rob:

I am very sorry to disappoint you with your city editor, but the Winnipeg interviews you mention were the product of the fertile imagination of Winnipeg newspapermen, and, as a humble worker in the field of fiction

I have no doubt I shall read with interest in *The World* tomorrow of your interview with me tonight.

RUDYARD KIPLING.[80]

Bill Harkin had come to Vancouver after years with the Montreal *Star*. He had had a wide experience, and among his assignments for the *Star* had been that of reporting the trial of Louis Riel at Regina. In Vancouver he took down the story of Sir Charles Tupper's life from the old statesman's dictation, and it was afterwards published in book form. In the days of the railway building excitement on the Coast, Bill did a lot of publicity work for the Canadian Northern magnates. He had his reward, too. He was given a receipt for the first payment on a couple of lots in the Port Mann townsite.

J. T. Wilkinson, popularly known as "Wings," worked first for the *Province*, then for the *World*, but it was as the *World's* "Man on the Wing" that he achieved his reputation as a traveller and writer. "Wings" was always going somewhere or getting back, and in between he told the story of his experiences. Even after he retired from newspaper work and became a top-notch life insurance salesman, he continued his flights abroad. The last of them was to South America.

J. B. Fitzmaurice started cartooning as a youngster on the *Province*, and came back to the *Province* after some years in the East. He never pretended to be an expert draughtsman, but had few equals in his ability to find the humour in a situation. One of his most famous efforts showed Joe Martin addressing an audience made up entirely of Joe Martins. In the first World War, when emphasis was laid on victory gardens and the home production of vegetables, eggs, and meat, "Fitz" ran a useful and hilarious series featuring "Horace, the pig." A later cartoon, showing Professor Odlum taking his son Victor across his knee, roused even the applause of the victim.

J. Francis Bursill, who wrote under the name "Felix Penne," was an old Fleet Street character transplanted by some happy accident to the Pacific Coast. He brought quite a large library with him when he came from England, and was the founder of the Bursill Institute, at Collingwood. He was interested in literature and art, had a vast fund of stories, and wrote on books

(80) James Morton in the Vancouver *Sun* (magazine section), February 17, 1945.

for the *News-Advertiser*, and later conducted a column, "The World's Window," for the *World*. With his straggly grey beard and armful of newspapers he was a striking figure about town, and added an interesting Bohemian touch to Vancouver newspaper life. For a time he maintained a sort of salon on Pender Street near Cambie—a great room cluttered up with old furniture and books. Here he would entertain his friends, and occasionally would add to his meagre earnings by renting the place to such organizations as favoured it for a meeting. The Vagabond's Club, which claimed Felix Penne as its father, held its fortnightly gatherings there in its best days.

Time and mortality have sadly riddled the ranks of the men —printers and reporters, editors and publishers—who supplied Vancouver with its news and opinion in the dozen years or so about the turn of the century. Most of them are gone, but a few remain, their heads grey, their shoulders bowed, and their legs a bit doddery.

L. D. Taylor comes out on rare occasions, jaunty as ever with his red tie. J. F. Bledsoe, who has been mining engineer and fisheries inspector as well as editor and reporter, lives at Victoria and pursues his hobby of polishing stones. At Victoria, too, and still contributing occasional pieces to the papers, is James Morton, long political reporter for the *News-Advertiser*, and later secretary to Hon. John Oliver and author of Honest John's biography.

In Vancouver, Noel Robinson, first of the biographers of the old-timers, is a happy survivor of times fast receding. So is Bert Greenwood, long night-editor of the *Province*, and sworn enemy of all whistling newsboys and telegraph messengers. Lew Gordon, long city editor of the *Province*, and British Columbia's first moving picture censor, is raising mink in Langley. R. J. MacDougall, another city editor, after years of publishing the *Herald* at Penticton, now rules the town as mayor. Hugh Savage, who explored the Peace River country as a reporter in days before there were airplanes or railroads or an Alaska Highway there, and afterwards helped in a cougar hunt in Stanley Park, keeps a fatherly eye on the fortunes of the *Cowichan Leader*, and has adopted the Canadian flag as his hobby.

D. A. McGREGOR.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

The arms of the family of Burrard of Walhampton.

THE NAMING OF BURRARD INLET.

The name of Burrard was given by Captain George Vancouver, the great explorer, to the well-known Inlet in 1792. How could he have guessed that a great city would there arise, and that arm of the sea become its harbour, perpetuating alongside his own name, in so conspicuous a manner, the name of Burrard, endeared to him by the ties of a close friendship?

He thus began an association of the two names which has ever been a source of intense pride to the members of the Burrard family, the tradition of which they have preserved and handed down through four generations since Vancouver's death in 1798.

That tradition has unwaveringly associated the name of Burrard Inlet with that of Sir Harry Burrard, the first Baronet, who was born in 1707 and died in 1791.

I confess, therefore, to have been surprised to discover that the belief is now widely held that Vancouver's intention was to honour the second Baronet, Admiral Sir Harry Burrard-Neale, because the explorer stated in his journal that he had named the channel after "Sir Harry Burrard of the Navy."

It is true that at first sight this statement seems to suggest conclusively that Vancouver had in mind at the time the second Baronet, a young naval officer who later became Admiral Sir Harry Burrard-Neale, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. But I think that impartial consideration of contemporary history must show that this conclusion is not quite so unquestionable as it may seem.

In the 1770's Vancouver was a young officer of great ability who had undoubtedly gained invaluable experience and considerable credit from having served as an "A.B." and midshipman under Captain Cook. He had risen from the lower deck—all the more honour to him—and on the return of Cook's third expedition, in 1780, Vancouver must have had a hard task to make his way in the service, in which an officer's chances of appointments and promotion depended in fact more on the influence of some friendly patron than upon professional zeal and personal merit. In this respect the Navy differed in no way from other Govern-

ment services: the patron was a product of the times, now happily long dead.

I would make it quite clear that I do not wish to suggest anything which might appear to belittle Vancouver's memory or reputation. We must accept facts as they were, and there can be no doubt that a young naval officer without some sort of influence had a very poor start in the race for promotion when his competitors mostly had "friends at Court." To have ignored the chance of a useful word spoken in the right place by the right man would have been merely foolish, and Vancouver was certainly not that.

It is a fact that about this time Vancouver used to stay regularly at Walhampton, on the Hampshire coast, the seat of Sir Harry Burrard, the first Baronet, and it is safe to state that the friendship to which I have already alluded began then.

Now Sir Harry Burrard was a person of considerable influence. Born in 1707, he was associated with Court circles at a very early age. Later he was Member of Parliament for Lymington, the borough close to which he lived, for forty-four years. Members of his family had represented Lymington in Parliament regularly since 1679. Among other offices he held were those of Gentleman Usher to Frederick, Prince of Wales (father of George III.), Ranger and Warden of the New Forest, a Commissioner of Customs for the Port of London, Bow Bearer to the King, and Governor of Calshot Castle. He was, in fact, just the man who *could* have spoken a word in the right quarter on behalf of his young friend George Vancouver.

There is no evidence that he ever did, but when one remembers the times and the first Sir Harry Burrard's opportunities to serve a young friend, I think that it will be agreed that he would have been distinctly ungenerous if he did not. At any rate the possibility must be accepted.

Next let us consider his nephew, young Harry Burrard, the elder son of Colonel William Burrard, the first Baronet's bother. Young Harry was born in 1765, and so was quite a boy when Vancouver first came to stay at Walhampton. I do not think it far fetched to suggest that Vancouver's tales of his voyages with Captain Cook may have influenced young Harry in his choice of a naval career, and my father always subscribed to this view.

When Vancouver sailed on his own great voyage of exploration in 1791, young Harry was only 25, and although his career was already full of promise he had yet to win his spurs, if such an expression is permissible in the case of a sailor.

Which of these two Harrys is the more likely to have been in Vancouver's mind when he named Burrard Inlet? The elder, who had certainly been his host for considerable periods, and who had possibly been of service to him, or the younger, then a comparatively unknown officer and considerably younger than himself?

Then as to Vancouver's entry in his journal: ". . . after Sir Harry Burrard . . ."

Vancouver sailed from Deptford on his memorable voyage on January 7, 1791. The first Sir Harry Burrard was then an old man of nearly 84, but very much alive apart from failing eyesight.

There were heavy gales in the English Channel, and Vancouver's voyage was considerably delayed, so that he did not leave England finally behind until he sailed from Falmouth on April 1, 1791.

Old Sir Harry was still alive, although he died eleven days later, on April 12. But although eleven days is not a big margin, it is more than enough to ensure that Vancouver could not possibly have known of his death before leaving England for good.

It has, I know, been suggested that old Sir Harry was suffering from a long illness of which Vancouver knew before he sailed, and so knew also that this illness could only mean death in a short time. There has never been a shadow of evidence to support this suggestion. In fact, family papers which survive indicate that the first Baronet's death was a sudden one (like that of his younger brother, Colonel William Burrard, who died one afternoon in 1780 after spending the morning fishing for pike), and that he retained a remarkable degree of vigour to the end.

It has also been suggested that since the first Baronet was so old, Vancouver assumed that he must be dead when he named Burrard Inlet in 1792. Such a suggestion is an insult to Vancouver's memory. It is true that 84 is a good age, but it is not phenomenal. For example, in my own family alone, both the

third and sixth Baronets lived to be over 87. Vancouver naturally knew that the younger Harry was the heir, and that with the ordinary expectation of life he was bound to succeed his uncle. But the argument that Vancouver was so completely lacking in all the canons and customs of good taste as to give the younger Harry the title before receiving definite news of the elder's death can not be regarded seriously.

And there is another point of importance. When Vancouver left England for good the younger Harry was plain Harry Burrard. When he returned this same younger Harry had become Sir Harry Burrard-Neale, since he had assumed the additional surname of Neale on his marriage with Miss Grace Neale. So it will be realized that Vancouver never personally knew the younger Harry as Sir Harry Burrard.

Thus it will be seen that if Burrard Inlet was so called after the younger Harry, Vancouver must somehow have been informed of the elder's death during his historic voyage.

Next there is the problem of the entry in Vancouver's journal: " . . . after Sir Harry Burrard *of the Navy*."

Actually this is the sole definite evidence to support the belief that Vancouver had the younger Harry in mind when he entered up his journal. But it is strong evidence and needs investigation.

I have already stated that the elder Harry held many positions of influence, and that among them was that of Governor of Calshot Castle. The western entrance to the Solent was guarded in those days by three dominating forts, all built by Henry VIII., namely, the Castles of Hurst and Calshot on the mainland, and that of Yarmouth on the Isle of Wight. I have no knowledge as to who was then Governor of Hurst Castle, but the elder Harry was Governor of Calshot and his younger brother, Colonel William Burrard, whom I have already mentioned, was Governor of Yarmouth. These positions were then of importance—it was not so very long before that a French squadron had sailed into the Solent and bombarded Yarmouth—and it seemed possible to members of my family that the Governors of these three forts may have exercised some sort of limited control over naval vessels sailing in those waters, and that it was also possible that the elder Harry may have stressed this authority when talk-

ing to young Vancouver, and that the latter used to humour the former.

It seemed equally possible that the elder Harry may have held other offices, or honorary ranks and titles, of which there is now no record, for unfortunately when the family home was sold many old papers and documents were lost. It *is* recorded, however, that John Burrard, an uncle of the elder Harry's, held the ranks both of Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry and Vice-Admiral of Hampshire. This latter office entailed the responsibility for the defence of the Hampshire coast, and if the elder Harry had followed John Burrard the same responsibility would have fallen on his shoulders before the Navy had crystallized into its fully professional state, which it did in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

It must be remembered that Sir Harry Burrard, the first Baronet, belonged to the generation before Vancouver's and that he may easily have been somewhat pompous and obstinate in his adherence to the conditions prevailing when he was a young man, and that Vancouver, certainly out of politeness and possibly out of gratitude, humoured the old man.

So it will be realized that the solution of the problem depends on the answers to two questions:—

(1.) Did the elder Sir Harry hold any office which could justify the description " of the Navy "?

(2.) Did Vancouver get news of the elder Sir Harry's death after sailing from Falmouth on April 1, 1791?

Accordingly I sought the help of a friend at the Admiralty. He in turn appealed to Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, the Admiralty Librarian, whose knowledge of all that pertains to naval history needs no emphasis from me. Mr. Carr Laughton was kind enough to become deeply interested in the story and made all possible researches. He found no record of the elder Sir Harry having held any office to justify the description " of the Navy," and his remarks on the second question interested me so much that I am taking the liberty of quoting them in full.

Mr. Carr Laughton writes:—

Sir Harry Burrard died on 12th. April 1791, and was succeeded by Commander Harry Burrard, R.N., who since November 1790 had been in

command of the sloop *Orestes*, and was also M.P. for Lymington. The *Orestes* was based on Portsmouth, and, being employed on the preventive service (i.e., cruising against smugglers) in the Channel, between Dunrose and the Start, was at Portsmouth at short intervals.

Vancouver sailed from the Thames for Portsmouth on 26th. January 1791, and anchored at Spithead on 5th. February. He was there till 27th. February, as his ship the *Discovery* needed some repair; he then moved down to St. Helen's and did not sail thence till 4th. March.

As there can be no doubt that he knew the younger Sir Harry, who, especially as he was in Parliament, must have come into Spithead while the *Discovery* was there, it is a fair supposition that the two must have met between 5th. February and 4th. March, either on board or at Lymington.

It is of interest at this point to notice that Vancouver, though he had Admiralty orders to put into Falmouth, was free to choose his own course beyond that point. He did in fact, more or less by chance, call at Sta Cruz de Teneriffe, whence he went on to the Cape. He had a very slow passage out, anchored in False Bay on 9th. July, moved to Simon's Bay on the 10th., and remained there until 17th. August, i.e. more than five weeks. There were ships from England in Simon's Bay when he reached it, and others probably came in before he left. Thus there is a distinct probability that he may have had news from England while at the Cape—if anybody knew that he was likely to be there.

Now as it is likely that Vancouver was in touch with Commander Harry Burrard at Portsmouth, it is decidedly possible that he may have told him that, being free to choose his own route after leaving Falmouth, he intended to go to the Cape.

In that case Burrard may have decided to write to him at the Cape, especially after 12th. April, when the news of the elder Sir Harry's death was received. If he did so, there was a period of more than four months, to 17th. August, available for a letter to reach Vancouver before he sailed into unknown waters.

Also if Sir Harry the younger did not write, it is likely that Vancouver may have learnt of the uncle's death from newspapers brought out by the ships touching at the Cape.

I have not considered the possibility of Vancouver's having received news from England at a later stage of his voyage, though this cannot be altogether ruled out.

"Of the Navy" definitely points to the younger Sir Harry, for his uncle never did hold any appointment which would justify his being so described.

In my opinion the probability is very strong that when Vancouver wrote "Sir Harry Burrard of the Navy," he referred to the second Baronet, transferring to the nephew the allegiance he had borne to the uncle as long as he lived. It does not seem at all necessary to suppose that he would have named the inlet after the nephew during the lifetime of his uncle. Indeed it is more likely that, but for the old friendship for the

uncle, Vancouver would not have thought of using the name Burrard as a place name.

Although even this so admirable and authoritative summary still leaves some uncertainties in existence, I think myself that it provides the most reasonable and satisfactory solution. The difficulties are explained, including that of family tradition. And it is with this that I would end as it was with family tradition that I began.

My grandfather (the late Colonel Sidney Burrard, Grenadier Guards) was intensely interested in family history and tradition. He was born in 1826, within thirty years of Vancouver's death, and died in 1893; and my father (the late Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, F.R.S.) always assured me that my grandfather was ever insistent that Burrard Inlet was named after the generation before that of Sir Harry Burrard-Neale. Now my grandfather was guided by his father and my great-grandfather (the Rev. Sir George Burrard, 3rd Baronet), who was Sir Harry Burrard-Neale's younger brother and contemporary, having been born in 1769, and who also knew Vancouver personally.

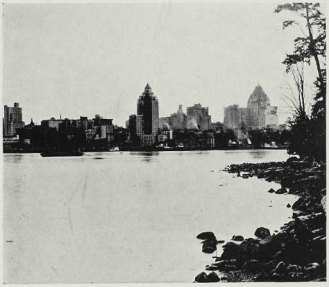
I do not think that the family tradition handed down thus should be dismissed lightly. But be that as it may, nothing can dim the pride of the members of my family in the association of the name of Burrard with that of Vancouver.

GERALD BURRARD.

WILLOW LODGE,
HUNGERFORD, BERKS.,
ENGLAND.

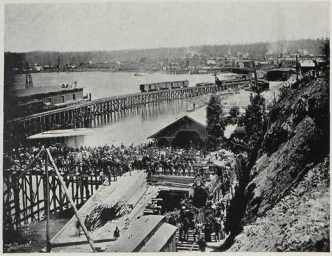
—Courtesy City Archives, Vancouver.

Part of the site of down-town Vancouver as it appeared in 1884, showing "Spratt's Oilery."



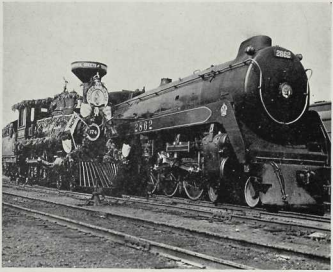
—Courtesy City Archives, Vancouver.

Vancouver in 1946. The smallest of the white buildings in the photograph above still stands in the shadow of the Marine Building (centre).



—Courtesy City Archives, Vancouver.

The arrival of the first through passenger train at Vancouver, May 23, 1887. The train consisted of engine No. 374, the tender, and four cars.



—Courtesy City Archives, Vancouver.

Engine No. 374 photographed alongside a present-day Canadian Pacific locomotive upon its return to Vancouver in August, 1945.

VANCOUVER'S EARLIEST DAYS.*

Vancouver, Canada's third largest city, was incorporated on April 6, 1886, but the foundations of its history go back at least a quarter of a century earlier. Nor is the story of these first days lacking in variety, for Greater Vancouver traces its origin not to a single settlement, but to several small communities that sprang up on the shores of Burrard Inlet in the sixties and seventies.

The city bears the name of the first British explorer of the vicinity. Captain George Vancouver, R.N., of H.M.S. *Discovery*, was the British official sent out under the terms of the Nootka Convention of 1790 between Spain and Great Britain ". . . to receive back, in form, a restitution of the territories on which the Spaniards had seized. . . ."[1] More important in the opinion of the navigator-explorer were the instructions to examine the coast from 30° to 60° north latitude; that is to say, from Lower California to southern Alaska. Vancouver did not discover the mouths of the Columbia, the Fraser, and the Skeena rivers, but his thorough charting of the coast laid to rest a ghost, the mythical Strait of Anian, which had haunted mariners for generations. Vancouver's own comment was:—

> . . . I trust the precision with which the survey of the coast of North West America has been carried into effect, will remove every doubt, and set aside every opinion of *a north-west passage*, or any water communication navigable for shipping, existing between the North Pacific, and the interior of the American continent, within the limits of our researches. The discovery that no such communication does exist has been zealously pursued, and with a degree of minuteness far exceeding the letter of my commission or instructions; . . .[2]

At long last, the coast must attract attention for its own sake, and not as a possible channel permitting a short route from Europe to Asia.

Though maritime fur-traders thronged to the coast, and Fort Langley was built on the Fraser River for the Hudson's Bay Com-

* The presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Victoria on January 18, 1946.

(1) Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . .*, London, 1798, I., p. x.

(2) *Ibid.*, III., pp. 294–5.

pany in 1827, it was not until the days of the gold-rush that any great attention was paid to what is now the site of the City of Vancouver. It was a coal deposit that first aroused serious interest in the Inlet. In June, 1859, Captain G. H. Richards, of H.M. Surveying Ship *Plumper*, which had been sent to examine the mouth of the Fraser River and Burrard Inlet, reported that members of his crew, under Mr. Brockton, had taken coal from seams on the south shore of the Inlet and that it had proved to be of good quality. Richards sent the cutter *Shark*, with 2 tons of the coal, to Governor Douglas in Victoria to substantiate his report. Later in the summer Walter Moberly and Robert Burnaby headed a party that set out from New Westminster to explore the coast and to examine the coal deposits. Word of Indian troubles reached the officials, and it was feared that the party would come to harm. The rumours proved false, but once more the *Plumper* visited the Inlet, and Moberly, years later, told of the pleasant party which followed her arrival. He wrote:—

> They [the sailors] landed, as we had done, at the foot of what is now Bute street, and later brought a keg ashore. Then we lit a roaring fire of logs as night came on, and our party and the English sailors spent one of the jolliest nights I remember. Many rollicking old sea songs were sung and many a toast was drunk.[3]

Unfortunately the several seams which they found on the shore, both above and below high water, at "Coal Harbour," so named by Captain Richards, were all under a foot thick.

Interest in Burrard Inlet at that time was largely confined to its use as a defence for New Westminster, the capital of the mainland colony of British Columbia, and as a "backdoor" entrance and exit for that city when the Fraser River was frozen. In 1859 Colonel R. C. Moody planned a trail, to be cut by the Royal Engineers, from the capital to the anchorage at Port Moody, and another to be opened up by civilians to False Creek and along the shore to the English Bay anchorage. The first went straight north, and is now the North Road to Barnet. The second was to follow a route approximately the same as the present Douglas Road via Burnaby Lake.

(3) Noel Robinson, *Blazing the Trail Through the Rockies: The Story of Walter Moberly and his Share in the Making of Vancouver* [Vancouver, 1916], p. 24.

In January, 1860, settlement on Burrard Inlet began, following Governor Douglas's proclamation of the first land laws of the colony. Robert Burnaby, Moody's secretary, filed the first known pre-emption claim on the site of the future city for a location, the present "West End," on the east side of the "Government Reserve," now Stanley Park. Included in the claim was District Lot 185, subsequently pre-empted by John Morton, Sam Brighouse, and William Hailstone, and surveyed by the Royal Engineers in February and March, 1863, and by them marked "Brickmaker's Claim." In 1862 plans were laid for the erection of a sawmill on the north shore of the Inlet, but the Pioneer Mills did not actually start operations until the following June. In August, 1863, the steamer *Flying Dutchman* took the first cargo of 3-inch planking from Burrard Inlet for the New Westminster river levee. The first "foreign trade" lumber shipment was made in November, 1864, when the *Ellen Lewis* took a cargo from the Burrard Inlet mills to Adelaide, Australia.

The year 1865 marked the appearance of certain names which later became well-known. The clearing on the North Shore became Moody's Mill, later Moodyville, honouring Sewell Prescott Moody, who had acquired the Burrard Inlet mills in December, 1864. Oliver Hocking opened a stopping-place at the "End of the Road" from New Westminster. Captain Edward Stamp founded the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, or, to give it the names by which it is better known, Stamp's Mill and, later, Hastings Mill, at the foot of the present Dunlevy Avenue. Jeremiah Rogers set up his famous "spar camp" at "Jerry's Cove," now Jericho, from which the Admiralty was supplied with spars. Rev. Ebenezer Robson held the first divine services for the mill-workers. Forty years later the pioneer missionary described his trip to Burrard Inlet in this manner:—

On Sunday, July 30th, 1865, after holding Class Meeting at 10 and preaching at 11 a.m. in New Westminster (where I then resided), I snatched a hasty lunch and mounting Wm. Grieves' clumsy cart horse, turned her nose toward the north for my first service on what is now the site of Vancouver city. The Scott road [meaning the Douglas Road, which had been built in part by "Colonel" J. T. Scott] from Columbia street, New Westminster, to the shore of Burrard Inlet at what is now called Hastings, was nine

miles less three chains in length. There was not much width to it, as it was but a roughly constructed trail. But the cart-horse was a good rougher. As my time was limited I could not afford to let him walk; trotting was hard on the rider and so I urged him to a lope with the result that he stumbled and went down with violence, head on, scraping a patch of skin off his brow and piling himself and rider in a heap in the dirt; then rolling over upon me, rubbed me in the mud. Objecting to that form of spreading the Gospel, I got from under and, righting myself and the bronco, climbed aboard once more and put him to his best trot. . . .[4]

Even after reaching Hastings a rough 3-mile trip had to be made in an Indian "dug-out" to Hastings Mill, where the service was held.

The text was I Tim. 4:8 "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of this world and of that which is to come," from which I tried to show the boys how to make the most of both worlds. I had a poor time of it . . . and I suspect the boys also had, for they gave me no collection, though the trip cost me three dollars in cash, besides some blisters and bruises.[5]

The year which marked the union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia—1866—also witnessed the end of Victoria's monopoly of pilotage on the Inlet. Until this time the sailing vessels seeking cargoes were dependent upon tugs from the Island. On July 28, 1866, the steamer *Isabel* was launched in Victoria for Stamp's mill. She was the "first owned by any sawmill on the mainland. . . . She was a side-wheel vessel, 146 feet long, 24 feet beam, and 9 feet hold. . . ."[6] An example of her services to the mill company and its customers

(4) Originally published in *Western Recorder*, May, 1905, republished in "Jubilee Glimpses of Our Church History," *Western Recorder*, Vancouver, July, 1936, pp. 3–4.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 4.

(6) F. W. Howay, "Early Shipping on Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), p. 10. These figures appeared in the account of the launch of this vessel in the Victoria *Colonist*, July 30, 1866. The *Register of Ships, Port of Victoria, 1867–1880*, in the Provincial Archives gives the following details: "Length from the forepart of the Stem under the Bowsprit to the aft side at the Head of the Sternpost 142 feet 4 tenths Main breadth to outside of Plank 22 feet 6 tenths Depth in Hold from Tonnage Deck to Ceiling at midships nine feet one tenth" and reports she was built "for transactions by the British Columbia and Vancouver Isld. Spar Lumber and Saw Mill Company Limited." An interesting incident relating to the activities of the *Isabel* is given in F. W. Howay, "The Case of the *Moneta*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 185–90.

may be shown by reference to the barque *Jessie Stowe*, which was in port at Hastings Mill in October, 1871. Towage charges from Victoria to Burrard Inlet were $180, and pilotage $40. The outward trip, *en route* to Valparaiso with lumber valued at $7,925, was made about two months later, and the charges were towage $220 and pilotage $65.

While Eastern Canada in 1867 was celebrating the achievement of Confederation, activity was growing on Burrard Inlet. In June, Stamp's Mill made its first cut, and the next month W. R. Lewis, a hotel proprietor of New Westminster, established a semi-weekly stage service to "Brighton," now Hastings, by way of Douglas Road, and in October a daily stage was instituted. The tiny steamer *Sea Foam* gave ferry service between Moodyville and Stamp's Mill. Her captain, James Van Brenner,[7] was engaged in marine business on the Fraser River in 1866. He subsequently purchased the steamer *Chinaman*, and then constructed the *Lillie*, using the machinery from the *Sea Foam*. In 1876 he built the *Leonora*, a 15-horse-power screw vessel, which, with the *Senator* built in 1880 and the tug *Skidegate*, became the nucleus of the Union Steamship fleet. The year 1867 also marked the arrival of that colourful character whose nickname of "Gassy Jack" caused a spot on Burrard Inlet to be called "Gastown," even on such official records as Admiralty Charts.

Captain John Deighton was born in Hull, Yorkshire, in 1830. According to his own story, "The November night when he was born it blew like —— on the North Sea, and he caught enough wind to toot his own horn."[8] He was a sailor, who tried his fortune at gold-mining in both California and British Columbia. In the south he had a measure of luck in finding gold, but was not entirely successful in its disposal. In the Fraser River rush his ability at entertainment and as a river pilot far outweighed his success in securing nuggets. For a time he was associated with the Globe Saloon in New Westminster, but his claim to a place in Vancouver's history rests upon Deighton House. This

(7) In records of the Hastings Mill the name is spelled "Vanbramer," and in the *Mercantile Navy List* it appears as "Braener."

(8) "Gasey [*sic*] Jack." The Eccentric Character who gave Granville the name of "Gastown." By an "Ancient Mariner," in Vancouver *News*, September 14, 15, 1886. Signed Whyawhy.

hotel, complete with saloon, stood at the junction of the present Water and Carrall streets, in a beautiful little Indian clearing known in the Squamish tongue as "Luck-lucky," i.e., "beautiful grove." Deighton is usually remembered as a rather blustering, kindly soul, who did his good deeds without thought of reward. On his death in June, 1875, the Victoria *Colonist* referred to him as "an energetic, useful, citizen."[9]

By 1868 the Burrard Inlet community had taken the form it was to maintain for some years. Its life centered around two sawmills, Moody's on the North Shore and Stamp's on the South, with Jerry Rogers sending spars from Jericho. In November the subdivision of Hastings, named after Captain (later Rear-Admiral) the Hon. George Fowler Hastings, C.B., commander of the North Pacific Squadron, was surveyed by R. W. Pearce. Actually, the location was not new, for it had been known at different periods of its history as "Hocking's," "Brighton," and "The End of the Road." Later still "Hastings," bestowed officially in 1869, was to give way to the less formal "Maxie's," after Maximillien Michaud, who conducted a hostelry, and who on May 15, 1869, was gazetted as postmaster at New Brighton.

The following year interesting events were of a different type, "more cultured" perhaps. Mount Herman Lodge, of the Masonic Order, was organized at Moody's Mills. A meeting room and library for mill employees was opened at Hastings Mill. At first this was known as the London Institute, but the name was soon changed to the Hastings Literary Institute. Telegraphic communication was established between Hastings and New Westminster, and Governor Musgrave visited Burrard Inlet.

March 1, 1870, witnessed the birth of "Granville." The town was surveyed, named after the Secretary of State for Colonies, and officially proclaimed to exist. Its approximate boundaries were Carrall Street, Cambie Street, Hastings Street, and the Inlet, although actually the modern Water Street marks what was then the shore-line. In April there was the first sale of town-lots, with purchases being made by the "squatters"

(9) Victoria *Colonist*, June 10, 1875. An obituary notice appeared in New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, June 9, 1875. *See also ibid.*, June 12, 1875.

who were already occupying certain properties. Moodyville opened its first school in July, and began the seemingly incessant search for a teacher—incumbents soon forsaking the desk for the kitchen. In the same year the name "Hastings Mill" became official.

Once British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871, and construction of a railway to the Pacific was assured, the one question heard everywhere was "Where will the terminus be?" Actually there was little apparent change in the colony for some time. In 1872 there were three post-offices on Burrard Inlet—Hastings, Moodyville, and Hastings Mill. The mails were brought daily from New Westminster to Hastings by stage, and were taken by boat to the other two offices. Canadian postage came into general use, and the Canadian flag was raised over Deighton House on April 24. The first bridge was opened over False Creek, so that travellers on the False Creek Road to New Westminster and the new road down the southern slope to the North Arm of the Fraser no longer had to cross False Creek in a canoe and swim their horses. But George Black, the butcher who brought cattle to his slaughter-house on False Creek, still had to drive the animals through the water, as the bridge was not always secure enough for such traffic. On December 20, 1871, a start was made to organize a school district, and thanks to the energy of Captain Raymur a school-house was erected and classes were in operation by the end of February, 1872.

By 1873 the population of Granville was sixty-five, with many languages being spoken by the mill-workers. Indians employed at the mills lived at the rancherie, also known as "the Mission," in what is now North Vancouver. Rev. James Turner, the Methodist missionary whose field extended from the American border to the North Pole, and from the Coast to the Prairies, established his parsonage in Granville. Raymur continued his campaign to improve conditions in the town, and published a notice in the *Mainland Guardian* to the effect that he would oppose the granting of a licence to any Burrard Inlet houses open after 12 p.m., or where cards were played on Sunday.[10]

(10) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, August 9, 1873. The advertisement was signed J. A. Raymur, J.P., C. M. Chambers, J.P., and J. Rogers, J.P.

The first steamer of which there is definite reference was built on the Inlet in 1873, for James A. Raymur. She was the *Maggie*, a wooden vessel, 72 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 4.5 feet depth. Her engines were 20 horse-power and her gross tonnage 72.[11] Less conventional, but nonetheless useful, was the creation known as the *Union*, or, more popularly, the *Sudden Jerk*. The craft was a square-built scow, powered by a threshing-engine, the side-wheels being connected by chain-gearing. Landings and departures were difficult, being manœuvered by a pike-pole and a long sweep, as the engine was not provided with reverse gear. The *Union* had several well-known masters, among them George Marchant, George Odin, and Asbury Insley. Her last days were spent in the service of the Moodyville Mill Company, "who operated her until she became so tender that it was customary to put a stout chain around the engine and attach a line and buoy, so that it might be located if it should happen to drop through the bottom while making a trip."[12]

A second False Creek bridge was built because teredos had destroyed the first. Moody's steam mill was destroyed by fire in December, but reconstruction was speeded, and by May, 1874, operations were in full swing, and a night shift was working to make up for lost time.

These were dark days for the Inlet, as they were for the whole Province. The railway project was not popular in Ottawa, and British Columbia was decidedly "agin the government." In 1874 Joseph Mannion, soon nicknamed "the Mayor of Granville," opened the Granville Hotel. Visitors to the Inlet commented upon the activity of the mills and the fact that workmen of all nationalities were to be found there. However, Indian residents still formed such a large proportion of the community that visitors considered their headquarters worthy of description. One traveller remarked:—

> The houses of the aborigines are the most complete 'whited sepulchres' one can imagine. The fronts, facing the harbour, are generally clean-looking

(11) *The Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1886*, London [1886], p. 115.

(12) E. W. Wright (*ed.*), *Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, Portland, Oregon, 1895, p. 209.

and well whitewashed; but the backs, the sides, and the interiors are filthy beyond description.[13]

Travellers, however, failed to record the family life of the community. There was a growing settlement in which the comforts of life were not forgotten. The dignified ladies of Burrard Inlet were just as interested in fine clothes as their sisters anywhere in the world. Their cottage-style homes, consisting of parlour, dining-room, kitchen, and bedrooms, frequently contained furniture brought from England, and while Hastings Mill Store could provide practically everything needed from the cradle to the grave it was customary to buy "best clothes" in New Westminster or the capital city. There was no want of social activity. Parties were held in the reading-rooms and dramatics and musicals took place in the mill cook-house. Hospitality was freely given and strangers were well received. Ships visiting the Inlet reciprocated the kindness, and there were many happy dinners held aboard. On the occasion of the visit of the flagship of the Pacific Squadron in the 'seventies, a ball was held, to which the ladies of the Inlet and New Westminster were invited.

In 1875 both "Gassy Jack" and "Sue" Moody, two very different characters who figured so prominently in the early days on the Inlet, passed away. Deighton had returned to his "House" after spending some time piloting steamers on the Fraser River, and it was there that he died, but Moody was drowned in the sinking of the steamer *Pacific* off Cape Flattery. The first church was built by the Indians for the Methodists under the pastorate of Rev. Thomas Derrick, who had succeeded Rev. James Turner. The latter, because of his enormous field of operations, had been known as the "Minister of the Interior," and the new incumbent's name immediately suggested "Old Hoisting Gear" to the fun-loving populace of Granville. The church was erected through the combined efforts of representatives of many denominations on what is now Water Street, just east of Abbott. Steps led from the Indian Church, as it was known, down to the beach, where canoes could be tied to the steps during the service.

(13) J. W. Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, London, 1874, p. 300.

In 1877 the road between Granville and Hastings was completed and Lewis extended his stage route to Gastown.

The railway problem was still at a standstill, and cries of "secession" were heard in 1878. Prime Minister Mackenzie's statement of May 23, cancelling the selection of Esquimalt as a terminus and his choice of Burrard Inlet on July 12 did little to comfort Island residents. Probably Burrard Inlet inhabitants were not quite so glum, but even they welcomed the return of Sir John A. Macdonald to office, although he did hesitate for a time to confirm his predecessor's choice. *The Moodyville Tickler, the Pioneer Advocate of Burrard's Inlet*, made its appearance on July 20. Readers of this *Quarterly* probably recall the colourful stories of the lumber-clerk-editor and his jokes about obituary notices, with depth of black column dependent upon monetary considerations.[14]

In 1881 one of the best-known churches in Vancouver was opened—St. James Anglican—with Rev. George Ditcham as rector. In the same year Spratt's oilery made its appearance. Joseph Spratt, formerly of the Albion Iron Works in Victoria, acquired a small business which had been started by Andrew Rusta on the shore-line west of the present Marine Building. Herring were plentiful in the inlet, and a lucrative trade in salted fish and fish-oil was carried on.

In the next year, 1882, Morton and Brighouse divided part of their land into town lots, and filed a ground plan of the "City of Liverpool" with the Registrar-General in Victoria. This city covered the area now bounded by Burrard and Nicola streets, between Coal Harbour and Georgia Street. The mills were still the most important factor in the life of the community, but other interests were beginning to creep in.

The year 1883 belongs to Port Moody. Steel rails arrived, and the first locomotive landed in October. Lots were offered at $1,500 to $2,000, and a newspaper, the *Port Moody Gazette*, was established. The paper was an offshoot of the New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, but it boasted it would soon have an independent existence. The Admiralty made a final hydro-

(14) *See* Bessie Lamb, "From 'Tickler' to 'Telegram'; Notes on Early Vancouver Newspapers," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IX. (1945), pp. 175–199.

graphic survey of the Inlet, in preparation for the traffic which would follow the meeting of rail and sail.

The hey-day of Port Moody was short-lived, and with its decline fortunes, real and imaginary, took wing. While the official terminus remains to this day at Port Moody, Coal Harbour and English Bay were selected as the actual terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1884. The President of the railway, W. C. (later Sir William) Van Horne, was responsible for the changing of the name from "Granville" to "Vancouver." He desired a name which would have some meaning in all parts of the world, and stoutly defended his choice in the face of opposition from Vancouver Island, where it was felt confusion would result if city and island bore the same name. Some of the local residents shared this opinion. Years later R. H. Alexander, who in 1884 was manager of the Hastings Mill, recalled the circumstances in an address to the Vancouver Canadian Club:—

When the question first arose the old residents naturally thought the old name good enough, but Sir William Van Horne used all his influence with us for the name of Vancouver; but we said, "This is the Mainland; we don't want to be confounded with Vancouver Island." "Never mind," he said, "if you call it Granville or Liverpool, or any other name, it conveys no idea of location." Now people will remember that at school in their atlases they saw an island called Vancouver away up at the left-hand corner of North America, and though they may to some extent confound the city that is to be with the island, still it gives them a notion of where abouts in the world it is, and so it was named Vancouver.[15]

(15) R. H. Alexander, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of British Columbia," Canadian Club, Vancouver, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1910–11, p. 16. The late L. A. Hamilton, who met Van Horne at Granville in 1884, recalled discussing the new name with him, and according to his recollection Van Horne expressed himself somewhat as follows: "Hamilton! This is destined to be a great city; perhaps the greatest in Canada. We must see to it that it has a name commensurate with its dignity and importance, and 'Vancouver' it shall be if I have the ultimate decision." *See* the letter from Hamilton to Major J. S. Matthews, Vancouver City Archivist, dated Kissimmee, Florida, April 30, 1934. One of the earliest appearances of the new name in print will be found in the September, 1884, issue of *The West Shore*, an illustrated journal then published in Portland, Oregon. A note in the Montreal *Star*, December 18, 1884, states: "The name of Vancouver has been chosen by Van Horne for the terminus of Coal Harbour on Burrard Inlet."

The new terminus did not achieve its importance without a struggle, but on Christmas Day, 1884, the first Canadian Pacific survey stake was driven in at the eastern boundary of Gastown. L. A. Hamilton, the railway's Land Commissioner, drove a stake where Hastings and Hamilton streets now meet, and used it as a departure post for his survey of the townsite.

The promise of the railway caused considerable activity in Granville. The number of buildings increased rapidly, and so did the aspirations of the inhabitants. The first newspaper, the *Vancouver Weekly Herald and North Pacific News*, appeared on Friday, January 15, 1886. In that issue there appeared the following notice:—

> At a public meeting held here on Friday evening last a committee was appointed to draw up an act of incorporation for the City of Vancouver. The names are Messrs. Ferguson, Black, Hamilton, Miller, Blake and Johnston.

On February 15 a petition, signed by one hundred and twenty-five residents, was presented to the Provincial Legislature, praying for the incorporation of "the present village of Granville with its vicinity" as the "City of Vancouver."[16] It was the extension of the railway and the consequent increase in population which necessitated the construction of roads and wharves and increased facilities for the preservation of law and order. The Act of Incorporation received its third reading on April 2, and became law on April 6, 1886: the "village of Granville" officially became the "City of Vancouver."

Voting qualifications for civic elections were very vague. In a city where such a large proportion of the inhabitants were new arrivals it was always difficult to establish the residence qualification demanded of voters. For the elections for mayor and council on May 3, any man who had been resident in the city for two weeks was considered eligible.[17] This caused doubts later,

(16) The original petition was presented to the City of Vancouver in an interesting ceremony held in the City Hall, March 13, 1944. Henry Blair, whose signature appears on the petition, is still resident in Vancouver (March 8, 1946).

(17) At least seven of those who voted at the first election are still alive: W. D. Haywood, V. Wallace Haywood, Calvert Simson, and James Myers resident in Vancouver; Chris. L. Behnsen in North Vancouver; Henry J. Newton at Port Hammond; and Allan K. Stuart at Hope. (March 9, 1946.)

and there was an attempt to unseat the successful mayoralty candidate.

The first meeting of the City Council was held on May 10, and in his inaugural address Mayor M. A. MacLean outlined the business with which it had to deal. His speech, reprinted in the Vancouver *Advertiser*, expressed the views of the whole community:—

> We commence to-day to organize rules, laws and regulations to lay the foundation of a city which is destined at no distant day to take a prominent place amongst the most progressive cities of Eastern Canada as well as those of the Western coast, and I venture to say that before many years will pass we will take our stand in the front for the province of British Columbia, and second only to San Francisco on the Pacific coast.[18]

He outlined the officers to be appointed, but there was one official for whom there was no immediate need. As for the City Treasurer, he said: "I don't see any particular hurry for this appointment, having no cash to deposit in his hands."[19]

The *Advertiser* kept its readers informed of local happenings. In the issue of May 11 it announced that the New Westminster & Burrard Inlet Telephone Company was erecting poles on different streets preparatory to placing instruments in the leading establishments. The first Presbyterian Church was opened for divine service on a Sabbath, May 16, and arrangements were made for a tea meeting and concert on the Monday—tea to be provided in the tent adjoining the church. The building was at the junction of a lane running between Cordova and Hastings streets, a half block west of Main Street. This congregation has been called "First," although Richmond—the "North Arm"—is regarded as the mother church of Presbyterianism in Vancouver, and the organization on the inlet was originally a mission under Richmond's direction. Later in May a meeting was held in the C.P.R. Hotel[20] to organize a Caledonian Club, but the "absence of certain important personages interested" caused the meeting to be adjourned to a later date.[21] On June 2 one

(18) Vancouver *Advertiser*, May 11, 1886. This paper (the first daily on the mainland of British Columbia) made its initial appearance on May 8, 1886.

(19) *Ibid.*, May 11, 1886.

(20) The "C.P.R. Hotel" was owned by Macpherson, and is not to be confused with hotels erected by the railway company.

(21) Vancouver *Advertiser*, May 25, 1886.

of the landmarks of the community was enclosed with a picket fence—the maple tree which had stood in front of Deighton House.[22] According to the press, "The seat formerly located in the shade under the old landmark was becoming too popular with loafers."[23]

There was a column in the *Advertiser* entitled "City News—Our Daily Local Grist of Interesting Items in and About Town." The editor, W. B. Macdougall, son of the Hon. William Macdougall, had a happy faculty of combining weather reports, local doings, and subscription reminders with suggestions of where and how to spend one's time. It was probably mere coincidence that following several rainy days, the Saturday edition contained these two lines, appearing consecutively:—

> Weather sublime.
> Go to church to-morrow.[24]

Our modern business managers would be inclined to regard such a note as this as free advertising:—

> An Alexander Street butcher, with a basket full of choice steaks, etc., was thrown from his horse this morning, to the detriment of the meat and his own discomfiture.[25]

Treasurers who have difficulty with absent-minded members might try Macdougall's method. He reminded his readers in a rather unusual manner that he wished his eight dollars subscription fee paid promptly:—

> Pay up your subscriptions. We would sooner take a whipping than dun a man, but we don't always wait to get our choice.[26]

Vancouver was well on its way. Plans were being made for a Dominion Day celebration, and clearing of lots went on steadily. Then, on Sunday, June 13, came the fire, which in a matter of minutes spread from a slash-pile on the Canadian Pacific townsite to Hastings Mill, and from the Inlet to False Creek. Physically, the new city was doomed, but the survivors settled down to a job not only of rebuilding but improving what they confidently believed was destined to be a great metropolis. Help

(22) At this time the hostelry was owned by Harry Chase.
(23) Vancouver *Advertiser*, June 3, 1886.
(24) *Ibid.*, May 29, 1886.
(25) *Ibid.*, May 12, 1886.
(26) *Ibid.*, May 25, 1886.

came from many quarters, and homes and business buildings soon replaced those which had been destroyed.

Just six weeks after the fire, Stuart Cumberland, who was commissioned by a syndicate of Australasian, Indian, and English newspapers to give a description of the country, had this to say:—

I never saw such enterprise amidst so much desolation. . . . the air was thick with smoke, and hot with flames. . . . Everywhere I saw signs of enterprise. 'The old hath gone; let the new arise,' seemed to be the motto of the people, who, instead of falling into lethargy or bemoaning their fate, were one and all bestirring themselves with an energy and a spirit that was little short of heroic.[27]

Mayor MacLean seemed tireless. He was a veritable "Pooh Bah," but every office entailed hard work, and, apart from the position of chief magistrate, none of them carried any remuneration. This was the period of the "tents." The picture of the City Fathers grouped before the improvised City Hall is well known, but the activities carried on in the tent Court-house seem to have attracted less notice. Cumberland has this to say of the law-abiding qualities of the community:—

Considering the disorder, want, and despair consequent upon the conflagration, there was very little to complain of on the score of lawlessness, offences against the majesty of the law being almost entirely confined to petty larcenies.[28]

The great majority of those who came to the city were adventurous young people anxious to succeed, but there were the occasional visitors who preferred to take life easy. Readers of Ernest Walter's column, "Before the Magistrate," in the Vancouver *Province* will appreciate the method of dealing with habitual loafers. A visitor asked the authorities why such an one would work for sixty days for the municipality when there were plenty of jobs available at a dollar a day. The answer was:—

"You see, whilst he is in our charge he will be well fed and housed, and when his time is up we shall give him a suit of clothes, a flannel shirt, and may be a few dollars, and march him out of the town—for we don't want any such 'dead-beats' hanging about here for ever. The fellow just figures all this out, and, by the time he has done, he reckons the deal is

(27) Stuart Cumberland, *The Queen's Highway From Ocean to Ocean*, London, 1887, pp. 51–2.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 57.

about square, and after a few weeks' loafing he gives another municipality the benefit of his company."[29]

It must have been a welcome change for a slow-moving individual who found himself in all the hustle and bustle of a city which seemed determined to grow up all at once.

George H. Ham, special correspondent of the Winnipeg *Manitoban*, visited the city early in July, and his letters, reprinted in the Vancouver *News*, July 27, 1886, should surely have satisfied the most ambitious resident of the terminal city. He suggested that the magic of the city's rebirth rivalled the achievements of Aladdin. His report summarized the activities of six months in this manner:—

In February last there were only a few scattered houses on the site of Vancouver; in April there were a hundred, at the end of May this had increased to between five and six hundred; on the night of the 13th June, a bare dozen marked the spot where that morning a prosperous city existed. That is the story of the rise and fall of Vancouver. Ever onward, ever upward, this Chicago of the coast, this Winnipeg of the west, must eventually take her place amongst the great cities of the world.[30]

Vancouver would certainly have been a queer looking place or one of the wonders of the world, if it had resembled every place to which it was compared.

One of the old landmarks came in for critical comment during 1886. The fish-supply in the Inlet had declined, and supplies were brought in by scow to Spratt's wharf for the manufacture of fertilizer. Neighbours protested that the health of citizens was endangered because the cargo was not promptly disposed of. The editor of the *News* left nothing to the imagination when he wrote:—

At present the smell reminds one of a glue factory, and we should think in a fortnight the odor will be strong enough to stop every clock in town.[31]

Fire solved the problem, for the oil-refinery was burned out on August 11.

The shortage of small change created a real problem. "Old inhabitants" were satisfied with "bits,"[32] but newcomers,

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 62.

(30) Letter dated July 10, 1886, in Vancouver *News*, July 27, 1886.

(31) *Ibid.*, August 4, 1886.

(32) For a discussion of the subject, readers are referred to Robie L. Reid, "Why 'Bits'?" *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 21–28.

particularly those from eastern Canada, were accustomed to small coins. The newspapers were 5 cents each—if one had the change, and judging from comments, the newsboys frequently contrived to receive a much larger amount. It was competition created by a saloon offering 5-cent beer that really brought the problem to a head. A New Westminster saloon keeper sent to Winnipeg and had $100 in 5-cent pieces shipped out at a cost of $1.80. A Vancouver storekeeper had $10 in the nickel coin brought from Washington Territory, and paid the captain of a Seattle steamer $1 for the service.[33]

The London *Times* correspondent who visited the city in September estimated that the population was 1,500, and reported that the city seemed to be composed largely of hotels and real-estate offices. Timber stands attracted him, and provided him with a basis of comparison. The Chief of Police, James M. Stewart, was described as a "Highland-man of massive build, constructed to rival the big trees of this region," and the ambition of the "Terminal City" was "as big as her trees."[34]

On Sunday, July 4, 1886, the first Canadian Pacific transcontinental passenger train arrived at Port Moody. To celebrate the event, excursions were run from Victoria, Nanaimo, and New Westminster to Port Moody. Mayor MacLean, of Vancouver, presented an address of welcome, but in spite of the rejoicing there was one question uppermost in the minds of the citizens whom he represented: "How soon will Port Moody give up the struggle, and let the line be continued to its logical terminus?" Even with the general optimism of the period, the first regular issue of the Vancouver *News* to appear after the fire, made this comment:—

> . . . . Vancouver has shown to the world its strength and its resources; but the magnitude of them will not be thoroughly grasped until we hear the echo of the locomotive's shriek reverberating through the near-by mountains, and enjoy the grand sight of the greatest railway of the world reaching this city.[35]

The decision of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, July 23, 1886, that the Canadian Pacific must be allowed its right-of-

(33) *See* Vancouver *News*, August 6, 1886.

(34) *A Canadian Tour: a Reprint of Letters from the Special Correspondent of the Times*, London, 1886, p. 44.

(35) Vancouver *News*, July 23, 1886.

way from Port Moody to Vancouver, was not considered final, and the case was carried to a higher court. Port Moody was the terminus of the barque *W. B. Flint*, which the railroad company had chartered to bring tea and Oriental goods for shipment east over the new railway. The cargo reached the eastern coast and England in record time, and was the beginning of the service which advertised that the Canadian Pacific "spans the world."

Considerable delay was caused by the persistency of investors who had gambled on Port Moody for the terminus. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of Canada, and the delays so exasperated Van Horne that he finally declared he would bring the train to Vancouver, even if he had to make a way around the intervening property by building a trestle. It would have been only 2¾ miles long! It was really just a question of time before some provision would be made, because speed in handling the shipments from the Orient demanded less waste of time in Burrard Inlet.

Meanwhile the young city continued to expand. Property was increasing in value, the civic services were becoming established, the policemen—four of them—had badges, school accommodation was being enlarged, but then, as now, never quite seemed to meet the demands made upon it.

Before the injunction was formally lifted, the Canadian Pacific Railway had practically completed construction of track into the city. Work was speeded, and on May 23, 1887, the first train, drawn by the now famous engine 374, pulled into Vancouver. It was an historic day. Train schedules had appeared in the newspapers for several days previously, but the headline of May 24 summarizes the popular view on the subject:—

Regular Train Service Adopted—Advent of Prosperity.[36]

The coming of the railway really did inaugurate a period of development for Vancouver. In 1887 a Board of Trade was organized with David Oppenheimer, who had succeeded M. A. MacLean as Mayor, as president. There was a real-estate board, and branches of various national societies and athletic clubs had been established. By 1888 business property was selling at from $100 to $200 per foot of frontage; there were 20 miles of graded streets, of which 5½ miles were planked, and 1 mile gravelled;

(36) Vancouver *News-Advertiser*, May 24, 1887.

there were 9 miles of sidewalk. Both gas and electricity were used for illumination, and there were four banks, three newspapers, and a reading-room to minister to the needs of the community.

Visitors to the city during the early years had many comments, both laudatory and critical, to make on the conditions which they found. One writer—possibly rather prejudiced because of the trade which he hoped would follow his comment—declared that the Hotel Vancouver was a magnificent structure, elegantly furnished throughout, and rivalled the large hotels of San Francisco. Then he added:—

> There are other fine hotels in the city—in fact, no place is better supplied with them.[37]

Unfortunately for Vancouver's reputation as a tourist centre, not all visitors were so favourably impressed. Perhaps one's background coloured the glasses through which one viewed the picture, and those of some English travellers must have been deep blue. Edward Roper, a number of whose original water-colours are preserved in the Vancouver Public Library, described the city's rapid recovery after the fire:—

> Wharves, docks, warehouses, foundries, factories, public institutions, had been built, and first-rate stores, many hotels. . . .[38]

He considered the hotels very far from "first rate," and although his descriptions were not complimentary, they are amusing to those who are accustomed to the habits of a pioneering community. A conversation with a hotel clerk ran something like this:—

> We said, "What do you do about blacking boots here?"
>
> He looked at us pityingly, then he replied slowly, "Gentlemen, Mrs. Black (the proprietress) she allows to make this yer bizness pay, she does, and she calkerlates to have a heap of towerists stay here right along, when the China ships is in, and when the people from the East and Eurrop gets to taking a tower by this rout; an' she ses she's bound to do all she can to make things pleasant. But, gentlemen, it's no use talkin', we ain't got no man low enough down in this yer city to black no man's boots; guess it ain't to be done nohow."[39]

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(37) *The New West*, Winnipeg, 1888, p. 177.

(38) Edward Roper, *By Track and Trail; A Journey through Canada*, London, 1891, p. 292.

(39) *Ibid.*, pp. 186–7.

Of his party's departure from the establishment, Roper wrote:—

> We *could* not much regret the Le Grand House, the manager of which did not even shake hands all round at parting. Mrs. Black, the proprietess [*sic*], did not speak one word to any of us during all our stay. We paid our bills and left; no one but the Scotch bar-tender having the decency to offer to help us get our trunks down from our rooms. *He* kindly gave a hand. . . .[40]

Added to the neglect with which travellers were treated was the great familarity with which they were prevailed upon to part with their clothes which attracted hotel employees. The manager of one hotel finally persuaded a guest to sell him a coat for $25, the whole suit having been purchased for less than half the price a considerable time previously. Service may have left much to be desired, but Vancouver hotelmen wanted to be in style!

Not all visitors were so critical. There was much in the young city to admire, and Douglas Sladen has left a fitting description of the terminal city as he found it in 1889:—

> Vancouver in 1889 presented curious contrasts. Take Granville Street, for instance, in which we were living. One end led to the docks, with 3,000-ton steamers lying in them, and the terminus of a transcontinental railway; the other left you at the end of a bridge which led to the forest, and, after miles of mud, to New Westminster. . . . The extraordinary thing about Vancouver is that in the midst of all this wildness it is so absolutely modern; no one would think of putting up a house without a telephone and electric light.[41]

The population at the time of Roper's visit was 6,085.[42] On January 1, 1886, it had been 600, a year later 2,000. The official census for 1891 was 13,709. This was still a far cry from the 1945 estimate of 311,799, but nonetheless Vancouver was on its way!

HELEN R. BOUTILIER.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 294.

(41) Douglas Sladen, *On the Cars and Off*, London, 1895, pp. 369–71.

(42) Henderson's *British Columbia Gazetteer & Directory . . . for the Year 1889* [Victoria, 1889], p. 353.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Victoria Section.

Of unusual interest was the meeting of the section held on Monday, February 25, in the Provincial Library, to honour the memory of a great Canadian artist—Emily Carr. Over one hundred members and guests were in attendance to view an exhibition of her paintings and to hear an address by Mr. Ira Dilworth, Regional Director of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, on *The Life and Works of Emily Carr*.

From long personal association with Miss Carr, Mr. Dilworth in a moving manner was able to present the greatness of Emily Carr as an artist —alike with her pen as with her brush—and as a human being. The prime qualities of her painting—light, colour, space, and unity of movement—all combined to paint a pathway for the mind and eye into the deep woods that she loved and portrayed. The audience was privileged to hear extracts from her private journals, made public for the first time, which, rich with colour, wisdom, humanity, and humour, high-lighted the character of the artist. Although often misunderstood and regarded as eccentric by her contemporaries, the true genius of this woman was brought vividly into proper focus by the address.

The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to Mr. Dilworth by the Hon. Mark Kearley.

In all, thirty-two paintings and sketches were on view. Seven of the larger canvasses were those recently acquired by the Provincial Government and on display for the first time. Loans from the private collections of Major Cuthbert Holmes, the Hon. Mark Kearley, Capt. Alan Morkill, and Mr. J. K. Nesbitt made possible a comprehensive exhibition.

Vancouver Section.

The Section met in the Grosvenor Hotel on the evening of Tuesday, March 5. The programme was devoted entirely to the Cariboo, and proved so popular that a record attendance filled the room to capacity and many members were turned away. Through the courtesy of the Government Travel Bureau, the new film entitled "Romantic Cariboo" was shown. This is a sound film in colour, which shows and describes the beauties of the Fraser Canyon and the Cariboo country as they are to-day. The second part of the programme consisted of an address by Mr. Louis LeBourdais, M.L.A., which touched upon the Cariboo of yesterday, and the old days of the gold-rush. No one knows the lore of the Cariboo as intimately as Mr. LeBourdais, and no one can recall old-time incidents and anecdotes more effectively; but the Member for Cariboo does not forget that the district has a vigorous present-day existence as well as a romantic past, and he emphasized its appeal to the business-man as well as to the tourist.

A second meeting was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Monday, April 8, when the speaker was Miss Helen R. Boutilier, a former chairman of the Section. Miss Boutilier was President of the British Columbia Historical Association in 1945, and repeated for the benefit of the members of the Section the presidential address she had delivered at the annual meeting in Victoria last January. This was entitled *Vancouver's Earliest Days*, and traced the evolution of community life on Burrard Inlet from 1859, when coal deposits on what has ever since been known as Coal Harbour aroused some interest, to the arrival in Vancouver of the first transcontinental passenger train, in 1887. A number of pioneer Vancouver residents were present, and the address was followed by a lively discussion. The text of Miss Boutilier's paper is printed in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Okanagan Historical Society was held in the Royal Anne Hotel, Kelowna, on the afternoon of Thursday, May 2. There were eighteen present, representing Vernon, Winfield, Enderby, Kelowna, Summerland, Westbank, Penticton, and Princeton. Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton, was in the chair.

The report of the committee on Constitution and By-laws was presented, and, with some amendments, adopted. The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:—

Patron: His Honour W. C. Woodward, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.
Hon. President: Hon. Grote Stirling, P.C., M.P.
President: Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton.
First Vice-President: Dr. F. W. Andrew, Summerland.
Second Vice-President: Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton.
Treasurer: H. R. Denison, Vernon.
Auditor: A. E. Berry, Vernon.
Secretary: J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton.

Nine directors were elected; three representing North, Middle, and South Okanagan for three, two, and one year respectively. As some of the directors were nominated *in absentia* with election subject to consent the full slate will shortly be made public.

VERMILION CAVE, PRINCETON.

Old-timers learned with regret that the Vermilion Cave, at the south end of Princeton, was to be demolished to make room for the new Hope Road entrance to town. The cave is in a rising sandstone formation between the railway and the hospital hill. Looking across the Similkameen one sees exactly the same formation, and is forced to the conclusion that natural forces through long ages have created the gap through which the river now flows.

Long before white men came to the valley the cave was a place of refuge for Similkameen Indians. In winter-time it was a welcome haven to travellers going east or west, giving shelter from rain or snow. In summer-

time it gave relief from the heat of the day, like the shadow of a great rock in weary land.

After gold was discovered at Rock Creek in the late 50's, and later in Similkameen, hundreds of travellers made the trek over the old trail from Hope to Princeton and on to the Boundary country. The trail was in process of construction when Governor Douglas visited Similkameen in September, 1860, and the Royal Engineers mapped out the town of Princeton, which was named in honour of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.) who had visited Eastern Canada that year. To hundreds of prospectors headed for the diggings the cave was Princeton's first hotel. Old-timers still speak of ringing laughter in the dim cave light as some ancient worthy told of how fields were won in his young day. When dawn came the travellers would rise refreshed, and continue their journey.

The sight of Princeton was formerly known as Vermilion Forks. Hence the name of the cave which is at the south end of Vermilion Avenue. The name was suggested by extensive deposits of red ochre in the district. Local Indians carried on a thriving trade, other Indians coming long distances to barter for this red paint, or red earth. A section of Allison Flat, now included in Princeton, was designated by the Indians as Yak-Tulameen, or the place where the red earth was sold. It was Princeton's first market-place.

Vermilion and Red Earth, both former Princeton names, are English translations of Tulameen, but there is no general agreement as to the meaning of the sister word Similkameen. The meanings given for this latter word are many and varied, but there seems to be no sufficient authority for any of them. One thing is certain: the original word was Similkameuch, with a gutteral ending. This has been forced into the same phonetic groove as Tulameen by the white people of the valley.

Local Indians used to regard the Great Spirit as the Great Transformer. They imagined him "terrible as an army with banners," seated high in the heavens, and looking down on this changing earth of ours. He was responsible for the changing acts in the drama of History unfolded by the passing centuries. Perhaps when he left high heaven and visited Similkameen he lived in the Vermilion Cave. Following the coming of the Indians he has seen the fur-trader, the gold-seeker, the cattle-driver, the prospector, and those who travel by waterways, pathways, highways, railways, and airways. He saw Father Time scoop out the valley through which the river flows. Now the old cave is gone. "O earth, what changes thou has seen!"

J. C. GOODFELLOW.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

D. A. McGregor, one of the best-known journalists in British Columbia, is chief editorial writer for the *Vancouver Daily Province*. He came to Vancouver in 1910, and joined the staff of the *Province* the same year. While gathering material for his history of the Vancouver press Mr. McGregor talked over old times with many newspapermen, notably Mr. Roy W. Brown, editorial director of the *Vancouver Sun*, and Mr. Frank J. Burd, of the *Province*.

Major Sir Gerald Burrard, Bart., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., F.R.M.S., late R.F.A., is the eldest son of the late Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard. He was born in India, educated at Cheltenham and Woolwich, and entered the Royal Field Artillery in 1909. He served in India until the outbreak of the first World War, when he went to France with the Indian Expeditionary Force. He was mentioned in dispatches and awarded the D.S.O. in 1915. Later he was severely wounded and was compelled to retire from the Army in 1919. He is an authority on firearms, and has been editor of *Game and Gun* for many years. His books include *Notes on Sporting Rifles, Big Game Hunting in the Himalayas and Tibet*, a comprehensive three-volume treatise on *The Modern Shotgun*, and several novels. The Burrard family has for centuries been identified with Hampshire, but Sir Gerald now makes his home at Hungerford, in Berkshire.

Helen Boutilier, M.A., immediate past president of the Provincial body of the British Columbia Historical Association, is a member of the staff of the Vancouver High Schools and a reader at the University of British Columbia.

Rev. J. C. Goodfellow is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association and an active member of the council for 1946.

Sister Mary Dorothea is Prefect of Studies, B.C. province, Sisters of Ste. Anne.

Anne M. Smith is Reference Librarian at the Library of the University of British Columbia.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Eleventh Report of the Okanagan Historical Society of Vernon, British Columbia. Vernon [Printed by the Kelowna Printing Company], 1945. Pp. 114. Ill. $1.25.

The *Eleventh Report* of the Okanagan Historical Society, issued in November last, was prepared by Leonard Norris, who founded the Society on September 4, 1925. He had been responsible for all the preceding *Reports*, but, unfortunately, did not live to see the eleventh one off the press. He died on April 18, 1945. The various *Reports* of the Society form a fitting memorial to his life and work. In a brief introduction the President, Captain J. B. Weeks, tells of the loss sustained by the Society in the passing of its founder, and describes Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby's "Appreciation" as "a word picture of his life in the valley." Facing page 15 there is a photograph of Mr. Norris, fittingly captioned with the words: " . . . he loved this Okanagan Valley, and was its fond historian."

No fewer than seven of the articles in the new *Report* were prepared by Mr. Norris himself. These are not confined to local history, but touch on Provincial, and even Dominion, affairs: passing from Okanagan Indians, the Okanagan Arc, and phosphorescent wood, to the Provincial capital, Lord Dufferin's visit to the Province in 1876, the Canadian flag, and Canada's future. The views expressed on the Canadian flag, and the use of the French language in Canada, may not find general agreement, but they were based on wide reading and deep thought. Mr. Norris wanted to see Canada take her rightful place among the nations. Marjorie M. Jenkins writes in similar vein in "Canada's Manifest Destiny," maintaining that if the "Canadians of today are true to themselves, are loyal to their own country, . . . Canada is bound to become a great, a powerful and wealthy nation, the hope and main stay of the Commonwealth, the 'first among equals.' This is Canada's manifest destiny."

Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby writes on "The Quarrel between the Governor-General and the Prime Minister, 1876"; and Major Allan Brooks has an informative article on "Big Game Conditions in British Columbia." It may come as a surprise to many to learn that "there is a far larger population of big game [in British Columbia] . . . at the present time than ever existed before the white man, with his killing weapons, invaded the area." The conclusion is that we may "look forward with every confidence to a perpetuation of our big game under our present game laws as long as we hold their natural enemies in check." (Unfortunately the Major's Christian name is wrongly spelled "Allen.")

The remaining articles are more local in scope and character: "The Falling Leaves," by Alfretta M. Crozier; "Eli Lequime" and "Glacial Erratic on the Coldstream," by Dorothy Hewlett Gellatly; "Callendar Station," by Elsie Foote; "Okanagan's First Fire Engine," by F. W.

Laing; "First White Child Born in the Okanagan," by Clinton A. S. Atwood; "An Old Whale Bone," by A. E. Sage; and "Ross Cox on the 'Oakinagan,'" by Frank Haskins. All these articles are rich in historical lore, and will be read with interest and profit by students and lovers of our local and Provincial history.

There are a number of illustrations, including one of the "Camel in the Okanagan." The volume closes with a poem, "Renaissance," by Grace Hewlett.

J. C. GOODFELLOW.

PRINCETON, B.C.

The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee. Third Series, 1844–46. Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. Toronto: The Champlain Society; and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1944. Pp. lxiii., 341.

As this is the third and concluding volume in the series of John McLoughlin's letters it may be assumed that for some time at least succeeding volumes will direct their attention to the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company east of the Rocky Mountains. While this will be a matter of regret to local historians who have welcomed these additions to the published source material on the history of the Pacific Northwest, nevertheless this opportunity is taken to voice appreciation to those controlling the editorial policy for their generosity. It is gratifying that out of the seven volumes released to date, three have dealt specifically with the Pacific Northwest.

The scholarly introduction is, once again, the work of Dr. Lamb. Indeed, the word "introduction" hardly suffices; for, in reality, the three instalments together form the first authentic biography of Dr. John McLoughlin. To have given a comprehensive account of McLoughlin's administration of the transmontane affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1825 to 1846 would, in itself, have been a major contribution, but, at the same time, to have allowed the personality of the administrator to emerge, stripped of many of its legendary accretions, is a matter of special commendation. As Dr. Lamb succinctly remarks: "Legend has tended to exaggerate McLoughlin's stature, and to make him an incredible paragon of all virtues. As the letters here presented show, the man himself was less perfect but more interesting—cursed with passions and a stubbornness that made him a difficult and eventually an impossible subordinate; but blessed with a broad humanity, more than a little foresight, and a constructive mind."

The visit of Sir George Simpson to the Pacific Coast in 1841–42 was of tremendous significance not only to the fur trade in general, in almost every phase of which major decisions were reached, but also to the career of McLoughlin himself. It will be recalled that the first volume of letters terminated with McLoughlin's visit to London in 1838. This was, in a real sense, a triumphal visit; for thanks to his unbounded energy and skill the Hudson's Bay Company had emerged completely victorious over all its

competitors—the Russians from the north, the "Boston pedlars" from the sea, the St. Louis traders from the east. The dividing line between the second and third volumes was an arbitrary one, dictated by limitations of space, for in both the evolution, development, and repercussions of the almost tragic controversy between Simpson and McLoughlin predominated.

Four main topics recur again and again in these letters—trading policies on the Northwest Coast, the murder of John McLoughlin, Jr., the California venture, and the land claims on the Willamette River. Dr. Lamb dealt extensively with the first two in the preceding volume of letters and now turns his attention, with equally satisfactory results, to the remaining two.

The California trade had for some years been a subject of interest to the Hudson's Bay Company and early in 1839 approval was given for the establishment of a post at San Francisco. McLoughlin's action in suddenly implementing this permission in 1841, just four months prior to Simpson's arrival on the Columbia, can only be considered as precipitate. The latter's analysis did not corroborate McLoughlin's optimism regarding prospects of the California venture and, as a result, he gave instructions to have the post closed by 1843. An argument ensued which in its intensity is second only to that over the *Beaver*. Although repeatedly instructed to close the post, McLoughlin delayed, hoping that the success of the business might corroborate his judgment. His hopes were frustrated and his humiliation made all the more complete by the suicide of his son-in-law, William Glen Rae, the Company's representative at San Francisco.

Of particular interest to Oregonians is the excellent treatment of the complicated story of the land claims at Oregon City. There can be little doubt that it was the original intention that this property should be held by the Company, but the situation altered when it became apparent that the land would probably fall to the United States in the approaching boundary settlement. McLoughlin found himself in a dilemma: if the Company could not hold the property in its own name, should he do so in his own name for the Company or for himself. When Simpson seized upon the opportunity and recommended the acceptance of the drafts McLoughlin had sent for the purchase of the property not only did he open still another breach in his relations with McLoughlin but he was making almost impossible the latter's continuance with the Company, particularly as he was already aware that the position of "superintendent" was being discontinued. While the question of McLoughlin's intentions in the transaction have not been entirely cleared up Dr. Lamb's verdict is that "the evidence seems to tip against" him. Whether or not Simpson's intention was to use this situation to force McLoughlin's withdrawal is not adjudicated, but that was its end result.

While these letters do add somewhat to our knowledge of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, nevertheless much more material still remains to be published before a satisfactory history of this interesting subsidiary will have been produced. The editor might well consider this subject as one suitable for future publications. The sharp criticism of McLoughlin's

administration probably did further undermine his position, but a final verdict can hardly be rendered on the information presently available.

One might have expected that as the settlement of the Oregon boundary drew closer the Company's correspondence would have dealt more fully with the subject. In explanation of the absence of references Dr. Lamb has advanced three causes: as the subject was familiar to the Company discussion was unnecessary; in the end the dispute could only be settled by the Foreign Office and the Governor and Committee in London were in a better position to deal with the proper authorities; everything was to be gained by preventing local discussion which might only have further antagonized American settlers. Several interesting letters connected with the visit of the H.M.S. *Modeste* have, however, been included in an appendix, and additional information regarding the position of the Hudson's Bay Company in the provisional government in Oregon provided.

As in previous volumes an ample selection of supplementary material has been provided in the appendices. Of particular interest is a "Copy of the Oregon Laws, 1844," and the "Statement of Voyages" covering the activity of the Hudson's Bay Company's ships *Cowelitz*, *Vancouver*, *Columbia*, and *Cadboro* for the period 1842–44. A further series of biographical sketches have been included, amongst which are those on James Douglas, William Henry McNeill, and Henry Newsham Peers.

The publication of the McLoughlin letters was an ambitious undertaking. The result has been completely satisfactory. Dr. Lamb is to be congratulated on the uniform excellence of his introductions. Many of the misconceptions and misinterpretations concerning the Hudson's Bay Company in Old Oregon have been clarified. While in many respects John McLoughlin now appears in a different light, he remains, nevertheless, a great figure.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Royal Commissions and Commissions of Inquiry under the "Public Inquiries Act" in British Columbia, 1872–1942; a checklist. By Marjorie C. Holmes. Victoria, B.C., King's Printer, 1945. Pp. 68. $1.

When, some years ago, Dr. Lamb persuaded Miss Holmes to compile a checklist of all British Columbia Royal Commissions, he knew very well that no one else in British Columbia was so well qualified for the task. Her long experience as Legislative Reference Librarian in the Provincial Library and her friendly contact with the members of all Government departments opened to her sources of information concerning early commissions which would otherwise have remained buried in obscurity.

The *Canada Yearbook*, for example, lists some twenty-seven Royal Commissions for British Columbia, and Mr. A. H. Cole, Librarian of the Baker Library, Harvard University, listed twenty-one in his *Finding-List of Royal Commission Reports in the British Dominions*, in contrast with Miss Holmes's impressive total of 133.

She, like other Reference Librarians, feels the need for some adequate *guide* to the Royal Commissions. "Indeed," as she says, "the chief purpose of this bibliography is to make it possible to ascertain easily and quickly what matters have already been investigated and where the reports of the various inquiries are to be found."

The checklist includes all Royal Commissions since Confederation which are known to exist either in print or in manuscript. "For the purpose of this checklist, the popularly-used term 'Royal Commission' is taken to mean a Commission issued by the representative of the Crown—in the case of British Columbia, the Lieutenant-Governor—on the advice of his Ministers or by an Act of the Legislature to a person or persons to investigate and report on certain matters. Such a Commission is signed by the Lieutenant-Governor under the Great Seal of the Province, and issued under the authority of the 'Public Inquiries Act.'"

Before 1927, when the "Departmental Inquiries Act" was passed, all Commissions of Inquiry must be deemed Royal Commissions; but, since then, investigations of a more personal nature into something which has already happened tend to come under the 1927 Act, while fact-finding inquiries which make policy recommendations with the expectation that they will be implemented by future legislation, are now the field of the Royal Commission.

The checklist, therefore, omits all inquiries which come under the 1927 Act. It is preceded by a concise but helpful introduction in which Miss Holmes defines her terms, gives a succinct account of method of procedure, indicates the type of person usually appointed to serve as a member, the kind of subjects dealt with and the value of such reports.

Unlike the comparable checklists already referred to, this list is very easy to consult for reference purposes because, by using several kinds and sizes of type face, the various parts of the entry stand out clearly.

The individual items, which are arranged chronologically, fall into several parts. First the exact title is given; then where, and in what form, the report is available; followed by the names of the Commissioners, the date of appointment, and date of the report. Finally, there is a brief note indicating the scope of the investigation, a sentence or two descriptive of contents and indicative of the recommendations made. The name and subject index which follows the report is adequate and adds immeasurably to its value.

As readers will recall, the checklist was originally published in this *Quarterly* in serial form, but Reference Librarians everywhere will welcome its reappearance in a separate, cumulated and indexed edition.

Miss Holmes is to be congratulated on producing a checklist which seems to me to be a model of its kind, both in the items selected and the manner of presentation. It should prove invaluable to historians, librarians, research workers in the field of the social sciences, and to those interested in governmental problems in British Columbia.

ANNE M. SMITH.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Jesuits in Old Oregon (1840–1940). By William Norbert Bischoff, S.J. Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, U.S.A.: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1945. Pp. xvii., 258. $3.

"A Sketch of Jesuit Activities in the Pacific Northwest" is the subtitle that determines the scope of this careful compilation from the pen of one of the younger members of the Society of Jesus. The author's preface indicates further: "These pages make no pretense at being a history of the Pacific Northwest; nor do they constitute a history of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest; they do little more than indicate the rich story, yet to be fully told, of the contribution made to the religious, social and intellectual betterment of this area by the members of the Society of Jesus."

As archivist at Gonzaga University from 1938 to 1942, the author had ready access to original sources in the diaries, letters, and manuscript sketches of the earliest missionaries. These he has woven into the record of foundation, development, and, in some cases, decay and abandonment of thirty-five mission posts across the western States and in Alaska.

In plan, the book follows the geographic rather than the chronological order. A series of specially drawn maps serve conveniently to locate the mission centres treated in order.

Serving as introduction, Chapter I. reviews briefly events that brought the missionary Fathers Modeste Demers and Francis Norbert Blanchet from Quebec, in 1838, in response to an appeal of French Canadians settled in the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Fort at Vancouver on the Columbia. Chapter II. records a similar but more surprising appeal made by the Flatheads of the Willamette Valley to the Church at St. Louis. These Flatheads had among them some twenty-four Iroquois, Catholics from the shores of the Great Lakes, who had been with the fur-traders and had chosen to remain among the Indians of the west. "These," writes the Bishop of St. Louis to the General of the Jesuits in passing on the Indians' request, "had settled in the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. . . . They married there and were incorporated into the Indian tribe. As they were well instructed in the Catholic religion . . . they have continued to practice it as much as it was in their power, and have taught it to their wives and children . . . becoming apostles they have sown the first seeds of Catholicity . . . These precious seeds begin to bring forth fruit, for they have caused to spring in the hearts of the Indians the desire of having missionaries who would teach them the divine law."

A first delegation came from the Flatheads in 1831. Three others followed at intervals. That of 1837 was completely wiped out by the murderous Sioux. Undaunted, a fourth was immediately commissioned by the tribe—so writes Bishop Rosati again—"to make still more persistent entreaties to obtain finally that of which they had such great need—a Blackrobe to lead them to heaven." This was in 1839. The following year the Reverend Peter John De Smet, S.J., set out to cross the Rocky Mountains and initiate the work recorded in *The Jesuits in Old Oregon*.

Father Bischoff has written a book that fascinates by its sincerity. He has gathered up the scattered strands of archival history and has woven them into a pattern that indicates reliable sources and will be a guide to students and a source of inspiration to all readers. Understanding the outlook and the zeal of the men of whom he writes, and recognizing in the achievements of the first one hundred years but the beginning of a tremendous work of ever-renewed pioneering, he writes with inspiring confidence. He brings too, to his writing, a certain familiarity and a simplicity of portrayal that invites the reader to stand by his side, to see, as he does, the greatness of the men and the magnitude of the work accomplished in response to reiterated plea of a few Flathead Indians.

An added attraction to the book is a biographical appendix which outlines briefly the lives of thirty-five Jesuit workers. Sources and explanations are given in some ten pages of concise notes, numbered chapter by chapter. The bibliography is specialized in that it lists archival material and only such printed reference publications as may be more difficult to locate. Finally, an alphabetical index of places and persons adds to the serviceability of the book.

SISTER MARY DOROTHEA, S.S.A.

VICTORIA, B.C.

SHORTER NOTICES.

The Story of Summerland. By F. W. Andrew. Penticton: The Penticton Herald. [1945.] Pp. 55. Map. $1.50.

The Municipality of Summerland lies in an area that was at one time reserved for grazing, and the history of the community as such therefore dates from 1889, when the reserve was cancelled and the land thrown open for pre-emption. For a time, as the first chapter of this interesting little history records, settlement progressed relatively slowly, but development was rapid after the turn of the century. Three chapters, entitled "Ranches to Orchards," "Development," and "Maturing," tell the story of Summerland's economic and social life from that time to the present day.

The name Summerland, suggested by the climate that gives 2,000 hours of sunshine in a year, was first bestowed on the post-office in 1902. The next year it was assured of permanence and wider significance when the Summerland Development Company was incorporated, with such distinguished folk as Sir Thomas Shaughnessy and H. J. Cambie on its board. J. M. Robinson was the Company's chief local representative, and it was he who started the real development of fruit-growing in the district. The first school was opened in 1903; the first sawmill started operations the same year; electric light was introduced in 1905, and telephones in 1907. Meanwhile, late in 1906, the District Municipality of Summerland had been incorporated. In 1908 Dr. F. W. Andrew, the author of this account, arrived. Perhaps the two most important later dates are 1914, which saw the first steps taken to found the Dominion Experimental Station, and 1915, when the first trains began to run on the Kettle Valley Railway.

Dr. Andrew tells all this and much more besides with humour and in considerable detail, right down to the organization of co-operative market-

ing, and the launching of B.C. Fruit Trees, Limited, in 1939. The volume concludes with four brief miscellaneous chapters, one of which deals with the Old Timers' Association, founded in 1925, and active until the coming of World War II.

The *Quarterly* had occasion recently to notice that histories of Prince George and Salmon Arm had been written and were available in certain libraries in typewritten form. It is a pleasure to welcome another distinctly worth-while local history, this time in printed form. A foreword indicates the sources upon which the narrative is based, and the care and discrimination with which they have been used will be obvious, even to the casual reader. Dr. Andrew loves a good story as well as anyone, but he manfully resists the temptation to palm it off as history.

The entire proceeds from the sale of the booklet go to the Summerland Branch of the Canadian Red Cross Society, of which Dr. Andrew is Honorary President. Copies should be ordered from the Society.

Memories of Pioneer Life in British Columbia. By Florence Goodfellow. Privately printed in Wenatchee, Washington, November, 1945. Pp. 43. Frontispiece.

This unpretentious but at times vivid narrative gives an interesting and valuable account of pioneer life in the Fraser Valley in the years just before and just after British Columbia joined the Dominion. Mrs. Goodfellow was the daughter of Louis Agassiz, who came to this country in 1858, and was joined by his family in 1862. After living for a time first at Yale and then at Hope, Agassiz took up land in the region that now bears his name. The greater part of Mrs. Goodfellow's story relates to life on the farm, and it concludes with her marriage in 1876.

A note at the end of the booklet states that the *Memories* were written about 1929–33, when the author was in her late seventies. She herself tells us that she jotted down her recollections in response to the request of her children for an account of her early life. The note states further that she "trusted entirely to her memory," and that the *Memories* have been "printed as they were written."

No one would wish to have had the actual text tampered with, but as a few notes have been added it seems a pity that the additions and corrections were not made a little more extensive. For one thing, a brief biographical note on Mrs. Goodfellow herself would have been most welcome; as it is, the dates of her birth and death are nowhere given, nor can one learn the Christian name of either her father or her husband. For another, a few rather obvious errors should have been corrected, for they give a false impression, and tend to cast doubt upon a narrative that is both sincere and authentic. Lord Dufferin, for instance, did not open the Esquimalt dry-dock, as Mrs. Goodfellow states; he visited British Columbia in 1876, and the dry-dock was not completed until 1887. Nor did the river steamers burn wood because coal had not been discovered; some of them did burn coal, most of which came from deposits at Nanaimo that had been mined since 1852. To cite a third and last example, Kamloops could not possibly

have been named after the celebrated camels of Cariboo fame, since it had been in existence—name and all—for half a century before the camels arrived. But this last suggestion is so beguiling that one can not help but be glad that Mrs. Goodfellow fell into this particular error!

Island Trails. Highways and Byways on Vancouver Island. By Edith M. Cuppage. Cover design and decorations by Maude Paget. Victoria: J. Parker Buckle Printing Company, Ltd., 1945. Pp. 36. Ill., map. 75 cents.

This booklet is intended for the visitor who wants more information than he will find in the ordinary variety of travel folder, yet does not want anything that is elaborate or expensive. The seventeen photographs are representative of the variety and beauty of the scenery the tourist will find. The accompanying text is both interesting and informative. While the emphasis is strongly on the present day, the booklet contrives to hark back to many of the most colourful and significant events in Vancouver Island's history. Pictures and text alike are neither hackneyed nor (like so many travel booklets) confined to what the tourist will find along the Island Highway. There is a good modern view of historic Nootka Sound, and a fine photograph of Mount Golden Hind.

Two slips should be corrected in future printings. His Majesty the King is the great-grandson, not the grandson, of Queen Victoria (p. 10); and Captain Barkley was not an officer in the Royal Navy and in command of H.M.S. *Eagle* (p. 36). He was a merchant captain in command of the trading ship *Imperial Eagle*.

American Diaries. An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written Prior to the Year 1861. By William Matthews. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. Pp. xiv., 383. $4.

This volume lists nearly 4,000 diaries by nearly 3,000 diarists. "Each entry," as a note on the dust jacket explains, "gives brief biographical data on the diarist, the time span of the diary, brief notes of contents and value, and a bibliographical record." Only diaries that have been printed, and were written in the English language, have been included. The book will interest the student of Northwest history because many American narratives relating to the region are listed, and because the compiler decided, in view of the way in which Canadian and American history intertwine, that it would be "more profitable, as well as easier, to include all Canadian diaries written in English."

So far as it goes, this bibliography is a useful guide; but unfortunately the qualification must be underlined. In his preface, Mr. Matthews takes great pains to define precisely what he means by a "diary," and elaborates upon the rules under which individual items have been included or omitted. "I understand a diary to be a day-by-day record of what interested the diarist," he writes, "each day's record being self-contained and written shortly after the events occurred, the style being usually free from organized exposition." He considers, further, that a "diary" is written

for personal reasons, in contradistinction to a "journal," which is kept as a matter of duty, and as part of a job. "Entry to this list," he concludes sternly, "has been only through the gateway of this definition."

When material relating to the Pacific Northwest was being examined, the watchman at this gateway must surely have been dozing, for the choice of items is both haphazard and inconsistent. Thus an extract from Cook's *Third Voyage*, reprinted in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, is included, but the *Third Voyage* itself is nowhere listed. Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* is listed, although it is not "a day-by-day record" and was compiled as a matter of duty. (One wonders, too, how kindly Vancouver would take to the inference that his narrative, upon which he spent the last years of his life, is "free from organized exposition.") Omissions are numerous and glaring. John Boit's well-known journal, which has been printed in full no less than three times, is not listed. On the other hand, the Fort Nisqually Journal is included, in spite of the fact that it is in no sense personal, was certainly kept as a matter of duty, and is simply the log-book of a Hudson's Bay trading-post. Alexander Mackenzie's narrative is listed, although it is known to have been written up from Mackenzie's notes by a competent hack, but Colnett's well-known volume, the work of the same compiler, is omitted. The entry relating to John Jewitt is quite misleading, for it reads as if the compiler were unaware that Jewitt's *Journal* and his *Narrative* were completely different works. One is forced to conclude that not even the regional historical quarterlies were checked with care, and that the compiler knows little or nothing about the history and actual character of many of the narratives he describes.

One additional criticism is unfortunately justified: the compiler nowhere states the date of the latest publications that he professes to have examined. An editorial note states that the manuscript was submitted in July, 1942, but diaries printed long before that date have passed unnoticed. To cite only a single example, Stephen Reynolds's diary, edited by Judge Howay and published by the Peabody Museum in 1938, is not listed—nor, for that matter, are any of the narratives in Judge Howay's monumental *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1940.

W. K. L.

Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Season 1944–45. Edited by Clifford Wilson. Winnipeg, 1945. Pp. 80. Ill. [$1.]

Students of local history will welcome the resumption of publication by the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. The *Papers* under review is the first of a new series—the third to be undertaken by the Society. The seventy-two issues of the *Transactions* published between 1880 and 1906, together with the new series of *Transactions* begun in 1926, provided much useful historical material in the rich field of Manitoba history, and judging by the present publication even greater results may be anticipated.

The five papers give ample indication of the variety in scope and subject-matter to be found in the early history of Manitoba. Sister Mary Murphy in "The Grey Nuns Travel West" gives a sketch of the rigours of travel encountered by the intrepid sisters in their early expeditions to the Red River Settlement from 1844 until the advent of steamboat navigation on the Red River in 1860. "Archæology in the Rock and Pelican Lake Area of Southern Manitoba" is designed to arouse interest in the prehistoric background of the Province. Although its author, Chris. Vickers, is self-styled "an amateur" he is to be commended for the precise account of mounds in the area and his "conclusions, speculations and suggestions" should be an incentive to the trained archæologist and anthropologist.

Canada's cultural life has been enriched by the intermingling of nationalities resulting from the flood of settlers which poured into the Canadian prairies in the first decade of this century. The immensity of this immigration has tended to obscure earlier and possibly more significant movements of European peoples to Canada. The establishment of New Iceland, centring around Gimli, in 1875, is dealt with by S. J. Sommerville. This article is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of translations by Professor Skuli Johnson of the "Agreements in Reference to a Temporary Constitution in New Iceland" and "Government Regulations of New Iceland" drawn up in 1877.

The resources from which the history of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches in Manitoba may be written forms the subject of G. B. King's paper. But perhaps of even greater interest are the suggestions set forth for the preservation and use of this material. The idea of a central index of the material held by the various church bodies throughout the Province is worthy of consideration by other Provinces.

To trace the story of Winnipeg from the time the first white man gazed upon the site down to its incorporation in 1873 was an ambitious undertaking. Yet within the limits of twenty-nine pages William Douglas has succeeded in "*The Forks* becomes a City" in providing an adequate chronological survey. The enthusiasm of the local historian occasionally exceeds the actual facts, as, for instance, the claim that William Coldwell "instituted the first newspaper in Western Canada." No less than five newspapers had made their appearance in British Columbia before *The Nor'Wester* commenced publication on December 28, 1859.

Some excellent illustrations and maps greatly enhance the appearance of this creditable publication.

W. E. I.

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The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

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His Honour W. C. WOODWARD, *Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.*

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

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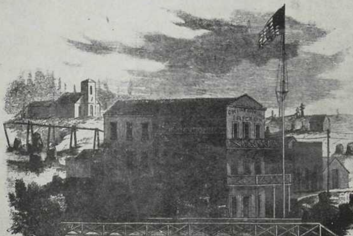
HARPER'S WEEKLY,
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

Vol. IX.—No. 450.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1865. [SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. $4.00 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

NEW WESTMINSTER, THE CAPITAL OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.—[Sketched by F. L. Pope.]

THE COLLINS OVERLAND TELEGRAPH.

This immense enterprise, which is to connect America with Europe by the way of California, Behring Strait, and the Amoor River, is being pushed forward with the utmost energy during the present season, under the auspices of the Western Union Telegraph Company. The wires of the California Telegraph Company have during the past winter been extended through Oregon and Washington Territory, as far as New Westminster, the capital of British Columbia, and are now in operation to that point. At New Westminster the Collins Overland Telegraph proper commences, and will extend up Frazer River nearly to its source, and thence nearly parallel with the coast, following the general direction of the valley between the Rocky Mountains and the Coast Range to a point at or near Behring Strait, which will be crossed by a submarine cable. The line will thence extend through the eastern portion of Siberia until it meets the telegraph, now nearly completed by the Russian Government, from St. Petersburg to



TERMINAL STATION OF COLLINS'S OVERLAND TELEGRAPH, NEW WESTMINSTER, B. C.—[Sketched by F. L. Pope.]

the mouth of the A
River.

The whole work
der the general sup
sion of Colonel Cha
S. Bulkley, Enginee
Chief, who will be
membered as the late
cient superintende
the United States mil
lines in the Departm
of the Gulf. Colon
is a man of great ex
ence in practical
graphing, having
structed the first ran
wires between Wash
ton and New Orlea
the year 1847.

The construction
overland line through
colony of British Co
bia is proceeding
great rapidity, not
ing the mountainous
difficult nature of
country. This di
is under the imme
charge of Assistan
gineer Ed. Conway
of the United States
itary Telegraph.

A party, under
mand of Major F
Pope, of Massach
is now engaged in ma
explorations in the
try lying between the
of Frazer River and
ring Strait, in order to
termine the most p
ticable route for the
graph. Other ex
parties will also be
work the present

THE COLLINS OVERLAND TELEGRAPH.*

In the fall of 1943 Brigadier-General James A. O'Connor, commander of the United States North-west Service Command, and officer in charge of the building of the Alaska Highway, presented to the Provincial Archives, Victoria, and to the City of Vancouver, photostat copies of the *Papers* of Colonel Charles S. Bulkley. The same year a third copy was presented to the Library of the University of British Columbia by Mr. Isaac Burpee, of Portland, Oregon.[1]

These gifts drew attention to a valuable and unusually interesting record in the early history of British Columbia, for here, in the even, back-sloping penmanship, and the formal, almost elegant style of the 19th century, is a detailed account of one of the most ambitious schemes of that adventurous period: the attempt to bridge the distance which separates Europe, Asia, and North America by building an inter-continental telegraph line. In the long lines of communication necessary to accomplish this, the unexplored northern wilds of British Columbia were to be an important link. That this ambitious attempt ended in failure was in no way the fault of its originators. They were merely the losers in a race with time; for the final successful laying of

* For two interesting and informative accounts of the Overland Telegraph *see* James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America and Morse Memorial*, New York, 1886, Chapter 29 (pp. 508-17), and Donald McNicol, "Pioneer Attempt to Establish Telegraph Communication Between America and Europe," *Telegraph and Telephone Age*, July 1, 1926, pp. 289-94. Some time ago Mr. McNicol assembled an outstanding collection of books, pamphlets, clippings, manuscripts, etc., relating to the history of telegraphy, and in 1941 presented it to the Library of Queen's University, Kingston, where it is known as the McNicol Collection. It includes some of the original correspondence between Collins, the Western Union Telegraph Company, and officials in Russia. This and much other material was made available to the writer through the kindness of Mr. E. C. Kyte, Librarian of Queen's University.

(1) The original manuscript is in the possession of the Library Association of Portland, Oregon. There is no title-page, and the Library of the University of British Columbia has catalogued its copy as: Charles S. Bulkley, *Papers: Comprising correspondence relative to the Collins Overland Telegraph Scheme, July, 1865–June, 1867.*

British Columbia *Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X., No. 3.

Illustration on opposite page, courtesy, The Canadian Geographical Journal.

the Atlantic cable came in July, 1866, and rendered superfluous a Russian-American overland telegraph-line.

The scheme was a logical step in the development of telegraphic communication. The first public line in England was built between London and Slough in 1843; the following year the first line in America was opened between Washington and Baltimore. In Canada the first telegraphic communication was established in 1846, between Toronto and Hamilton. By the early sixties a vast network of lines had been built in Europe and in Eastern North America; and in October, 1861, a transcontinental line was completed to San Francisco.

In the meantime the idea of submarine cables, to carry lines from continent to continent, had already been entertained. The discovery of gutta-percha as an insulating material, in 1848, gave a great impetus to this plan. The first effective cable was laid between Dover and Calais in 1851, and by 1854 there were several cables operating successfully between England, Ireland, and the Continent. In 1856 the Atlantic Telegraph Company was formed, and the following year an attempt was made to lay an Atlantic cable. This ended in failure when the cable broke and could not be recovered. In 1858 another attempt ended in momentary success. The cable was actually laid from shore to shore; but less than three months after its triumphant completion it faltered and fell silent. It was this second failure, which was widely accepted as proof that a trans-Atlantic cable would be impracticable for many years to come, that led to the development of the overland scheme as an alternative means of linking the great centres of Europe with those of the United States.

The chief originator and promoter of the overland telegraph was Perry McDonough[2] Collins, about whom strangely little is known. His name appears in none of the standard biographical dictionaries, and a careful search for information made some years ago produced only the barest outline of his early career.

(2) Collins seems to have spelled his second name "McDonough," as his name is given as "Perry McD. Collins" on the title-page of *A Voyage Down the Amoor*. This was actually incorrect, for, as noted later, he was named after two American naval officers who won distinction during the War of 1812—Thomas Macdonough and Oliver Hazard Perry.

. . . Collins was born about 1813 in a village up the Hudson, probably Hyde Park [since made famous by its associations with Franklin D. Roosevelt], and was named after the [American] naval heroes of the war of 1812, Commodores Perry and MacDonough [*sic*]. As a young man he came to New York to seek his fortune, with no particular advantages in education or family influence. He was attracted to New Orleans and for a while worked for a Mississippi steamship company, probably as a clerk. . . .

During the gold rush in 1849, Collins went to California by way of Panama and formed a partnership as a banker and dealer in gold dust with the father-in-law of U. S. Grant, the firm being known as Collins & Dent. . . .[3]

We know also that he was called to the Bar in California. But Collins was a promoter by nature, and he himself has recorded how his mind was soon busy with plans extending to distant horizons:—

For several years previous to 1855 [he wrote in 1860], while residing in California, I had given much study to the commercial resources of the Pacific side of the United States, especially in connection with the opposite coast of Asia. I had already fixed in my own mind upon the river Amoor [Amur] as the destined channel by which American commercial enterprise was to penetrate the obscure depths of Northern Asia, and open a new world to trade and civilization, when news arrived in 1855 that the Russians had taken possession of the Amoor country, and formed a settlement at the mouth of the river. Greatly interested by this event, the important consequences of which my previous speculations enabled me fully to comprehend, I proceeded to Washington in search of accurate information on the subject. . . . What I chiefly desired was to examine the whole length of the Amoor, and ascertain its fitness for steamboat navigation. That point settled in the affirmative, everything else was sure to follow as a matter of course.

At Washington, I had conferences with President Pierce, Secretary [of State] Marcy, and the Russian Ambassador, which resulted in my appointment, March 24, 1856, as Commercial Agent of the United States for the Amoor River.

Armed with this commission, and with letters to influential personages at St. Petersburg, I started without delay for the Russian Capital, resolved to traverse the empire from West to East, cross Siberia, enter Tartary, and, if possible, descend the Amoor river from its source to its mouth. . . .[4]

This adventurous journey Collins completed without mishap. He was delayed for six months in St. Petersburg and Moscow,

(3) From a sketch of Collins's life compiled about 1928 by Professor Philip B. McDonald, of the Department of English, College of Engineering, New York University. McNicol Collection.

(4) Perry McD. Collins, *A Voyage Down the Amoor*, New York, 1860, pp. 1–2.

but the time was far from being wasted. He spent his days cultivating the acquaintance of influential officials, and in gaining their good-will towards his plans to promote trade and improve communications. When he finally left Moscow on December 3, 1856, he was firmly established in their good graces.

For interesting reading, Collins's *A Voyage Down the Amoor*, published in 1860, can hold its own with many a modern travel book. In prose that may be formal, but is never tedious, he describes his winter journey, mostly by cariole, across the icy highways from Moscow to Irkutsk, and his barge voyage down the Ingoda, Shilka, and Amur rivers in the late spring and early summer of 1857. Nikolaevsk, at the mouth of the Amur, was reached on July 11, and Collins was encouraged to find that a number of American business houses had recently established branches there, and that several American vessels were in port. In August he sailed for home, and some months later arrived back in San Francisco.

It is usually said that Collins went to Russia to promote the overland telegraph project, but there is little evidence that this is so. No reference to the scheme appears in his account of his travels, and at the time he seems to have been concerned solely with ascertaining ways and means whereby American goods could be carried into Siberia. While at Chita, he corresponded with the Russian authorities regarding the possibility of building a railway from Kyakhta to Irkutsk, which would form a link between the tributaries of the Amur River on the one hand and the river systems of the Siberian interior on the other; but the telegraph nowhere appears in the story. It was undoubtedly the failure of the first attempt to lay an Atlantic cable, which was a topic of the day when he returned to the United States, and the subsequent fate of the 1858 cable, that brought the telegraph to the fore in Collins's mind. He himself had just traversed some of the most difficult country through which an overland line would have to pass; he had seen no insurmountable obstacles there, and he was convinced that the scheme was practical. If he could secure some aid from the United States Government, interest the Western Union Telegraph Company, and enlist the influence of his Russian friends, he was confident that the great scheme would not prove impossible of accomplishment.

By 1860 Collins was ready to approach the United States Government. This he did by submitting a memorial in which he outlined his plan and asked the "aid of Congress, in order to make a thorough exploration and survey of the coasts, islands, and seas of the Russian possessions, both in Asia and America," from the mouth of the Amur to the northern limits of British Columbia.[5] (Alaska, it will be remembered, was at this time still Russian territory.) The memorial was referred to the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives, and Congressman John Cochrane, its chairman, submitted the Committee's report on February 18, 1861. The verdict was entirely favourable. The report reviewed the obstacles of weather and geography which stood in the path of the scheme, and declared that none of them was insurmountable. As far as climate was concerned, it was "known to practical working telegraphists that high latitudes add to rather than retard the electric current." This had been proven on the lines from Berlin to St. Petersburg —all to the north of 47°, and in part as high as 60° north latitude.[6] The fact that the only submarine cable required—that across Bering Strait—was no more than 40 miles in length was turned to good account, for the report expressed the conviction that ocean cables of great length were impracticable, and pointed out that this meant that "without some new plan by which a telegraph can be constructed . . . Europe and America must remain as far asunder as if electricity had never been discovered, or Morse, Wheatstone, Amphere, and Siemens never had lived."[7] "Under all the circumstances," the report concluded, "the committee recommend an adequate appropriation by Congress, in order to carry out successfully the views of the petitioner, and for that purpose report a bill."[8]

(5) Perry McD. Collins, *Overland Explorations in Siberia, Northern Asia and the great Amoor Country; . . . with Map and Plan of an Overland Telegraph Around the World*, New York, 1864, p. 405. The appendix to this volume (pp. 391–467), which was a reissue of Collins's *A Voyage Down the Amoor*, carries the story of the negotiations regarding the telegraph scheme down to May, 1864.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 405–6.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 408.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 418.

The appropriation recommended was $50,000; but the bill fell by the wayside. Continuing his campaign, Collins returned to the attack the following year. Upon this occasion his memorial was considered by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and the report was presented by Senator Milton S. Latham on February 17, 1862. Once again the verdict was entirely in Collins's favour. The report noted, for one thing, that the gap that had to be closed to link Europe and the United States was steadily diminishing. When Collins had first proposed the project it had extended from St. Louis to Moscow. Since that time the Russians had determined to build a line from Moscow to the mouth of the Amur, and the telegraph was actually in operation as far as Perm, in the Urals. In the United States a transcontinental line had been completed to San Francisco in October, 1861, and its extension northward to Oregon was assured. "We hold the ball of the earth in our hand," Latham declared, "and wind upon it a network of living and thinking wire, till the whole is held together and bound with the same wishes, projects, and interests."[9]

Collins had incorporated in his memorial two letters of more than ordinary interest. One was from Samuel Morse, who stated that although the project would doubtless develop its own peculiar problems, he could see "no *insurmountable* difficulties" in its way.[10] The other was an enthusiastic endorsation from Hiram Sibley, founder and president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, which had just completed the San Francisco line. This read in part:—

> The cost of the line [to San Francisco] will not exceed one-half the lowest estimate made when the contract was awarded to me; and our men are pressing me hard to let them go on to Behring's strait next summer, and (as you say to me) "if I had the money," I would go on and complete the line and talk about it afterwards.
>
> If the Russian government will meet us at Behring's strait, and give the right of way, &c., through their territory on the Pacific, we will complete the line in two years, and probably in one.

(9) *Speeches of Hon. Milton S. Latham delivered in the Senate of the United States, . . . and Report from the Military Committee, on Telegraphic Communication between San Francisco and the Amoor River, . . .* Washington, 1862, p. 29.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 30. Morse to Collins, November 29, 1861.

The work is not more difficult than that we have already accomplished over the Rocky mountains and plains to California; and, in my opinion, the whole thing is entirely practicable, and that, too, in much less time and with much less expense than is generally supposed by those most hopeful. No work costing so little money was ever accomplished by man that will be so important in its results.[11]

Upon this occasion the appropriation recommended was $100,000. Once again no money was actually voted, which is not surprising, as the Civil War was raging at the time; but many men in public life had become interested, and the Western Union Telegraph Company had definitely entered Collins's picture. Thus, in spite of internal strife, American ambition soared. Latham was not alone in feeling that the moment was less inopportune than it seemed.

Let this not be called an improper time to present this subject to Congress, because we are engaged in a war for our national existence, and because we are already taxing the whole energies and resources of the nation in a time of great peril; let us rather say that the United States is not only able to suppress rebellion at home, but able also to extend her great commercial and scientific power over the earth.

Such an enterprise as this telegraph from San Francisco to Asiatic Russia will only strengthen our power as a great commercial nation, and evidence to the world that we surrender nothing to the circumstances of the hour. . . .[12]

Collins's dream was, indeed, well on the way to being realized. Only the possibility of a successful Atlantic cable stood in its path.

The next two years were filled with complicated negotiations. Collins first of all returned to Russia, and there, on May 23, 1863, an agreement was signed that authorized construction of that part of the overland line that would pass through Siberia and Russian-America. The rights granted were for a period of 33 years.[13] On February 9, 1864, a parallel agreement was reached

(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31. Sibley to Collins, October 16, 1861.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 31. Latham, a Senator from California, was at this same time pressing vigorously for the establishment of a line of steamers from San Francisco to Shanghai; see his comprehensive speech on this project in *ibid.*, pp. 2–13. This line actually came into being when the Pacific Mail steamer *Colorado* sailed for the Orient on January 1, 1867.

(13) Collins, *Overland Explorations*, p. 448. After Collins had assigned his rights to the Western Union Telegraph Company, new articles of agreement, granting the privileges directly to the Company, were signed in March,

in London, covering the portion of the line which would pass through British Columbia.[14] In the meantime, Collins had formally submitted to the Western Union Telegraph Company the terms upon which he would be willing to assign to them his rights and privileges in the plan. He asked for $100,000 in paid-up stock, the right to subscribe to another $100,000 in stock, and a cash payment of $100,000 "as compensation for eight years' service in securing the grants."[15] These terms were submitted to the Board on March 16, 1864, and accepted unanimously.[16]

The Western Union, on its part, undertook to build a telegrap-line from some point "not east of Chicago" to the mouth of the Amur River.[17]

About this time Collins submitted a third and last memorial to Congress. This was referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce, which, in turn, asked for an expression of opinion from William H. Seward, Secretary of State. Two passages from Seward's reply, dealing with Collins's status, and the nature of the concessions for which he was asking, deserve quotation:—

> . . . I have, not without design, called it Mr. Collins' enterprise. It is truly his, because it was he alone who conceived and projected it, and who has clothed it with the substantial form which enables the three great States, whose concerted action he solicits, to cause it to be put in operation. But in another sense it is entitled to be regarded as an enterprise of the government of the United States. During all the time that Mr. Collins has been engaged in maturing and developing it, and presenting it to the consideration of Russia and Great Britain, he has been acting under the instruction and with the approbation of the Department of State, and a knowledge of that fact has not been withheld from Congress.

1865, by Hiram Sibley (for the Western Union) and I. Tolstoy (for the Russian Telegraph Department). *See* letter, Tolstoy to the Company, August 24, 1865, in the McNicol Collection. The friendly relations that Collins had established with the Russians shows up in the correspondence that took place at this time. In 1866, when Tolstoy was made a Count for his diligence in promoting the overland telegraph, the Company at once sent off a cordial letter of congratulation. *See* the copy in the McNicol Collection.

(14) Collins, *Overland Explorations*, p. 448.

(15) Reid, *The Telegraph in America*, p. 510–11. Collins's proposal was first formally submitted to the Western Union Company on September 28, 1863. *Ibid.*, p. 510. The actual terms were arranged later.

(16) *Ibid.*, p. 510.

(17) Collins, *Overland Explorations*, p. 447.

What Mr. Collins asks of Congress is, the grant of a right of way across the public lands, with the right to take therefrom materials necessary for constructing the line; the use of a national vessel, suitably officered and equipped, to make surveys and soundings along the north Pacific coast, beyond the limits of the United States, and to aid in prosecuting the work; and, finally, a stipulated compensation for the government use of the line, when it shall be constructed. If the views I have submitted are just, this demand for patronage is neither unnecessary nor unreasonable.[18]

This time Collins received substantially what he asked for.

A second edition of Collins's account of his Asiatic travels was published in 1864, no doubt as part of his campaign to gain support for his great project. The text proper was left unchanged, but the title-page was altered, a map was inserted, and the history of the overland scheme was dealt with in detail in a 77-page appendix. The map not only indicated the route of the proposed line, but included projected extensions to India, China, Japan, and Australia. At the time of publication the Russian trans-Siberian telegraph had been completed as far as Irkutsk, while on this continent a line had been carried northward from San Francisco to Portland, Oregon.[19]

The work of actually organizing the undertaking was the next step.

Financially, the arrangements were relatively simple. A Western Union Extension Company was formed, and its activities were financed by special "Extension Stock" issued by the Western Union Telegraph Company. The cost of the 5,000 miles of line was not expected to exceed $300 per mile, or $1,500,000 in all; and although the authorized capital was $10,000,000, consisting of 100,000 shares of $100 each, only 20,000 of these were issued at first, and only 5 per cent. had to be paid down. Western Union shareholders were given a preference, and they promptly took up practically the entire issue, which was regarded as an excellent investment.[20]

(18) Seward to Zachary Chandler, Chairman of the Senate Committee of Commerce, May 14, 1864; quoted in Collins, *Overland Explorations*, pp. 464, 466.

(19) *See* foot-note 5 *supra*.

(20) Reid, *The Telegraph in America*, p. 511. For a facsimile of an Extension Company stock certificate *see Dots and Dashes*, VII., November, 1931, p. 1.

The Extension Company's service was organized on a quasi-military basis, both to improve discipline and because it was thought the plan would give the Company's officers more prestige when dealing with foreign and native peoples. Camp guards were posted, reports were submitted, and accounts kept, more or less in army style. Many of the leaders of the various expeditions had had military training and experience; those who had not were given appropriate honorary ranks.

For the post of Engineer-in-Chief, the Company chose Colonel Charles S. Bulkley, who had been in charge of the United States Army's military telegraph system in the Department of the Gulf. The choice was an excellent one, for Bulkley was not only able and experienced, but "was universally respected and trusted; and he entered his new appointment with the unbounded confidence of all parties."[21] Under him were three field superintendents, one assigned to each of the three vast segments of territory through which the telegraph-line was to pass. Franklin L. Pope, of New York, one of the best-known telegraphic engineers of the day, who later became the partner of Thomas A. Edison, was given the rank of Major and appointed Chief-of-Explorations in British America—that is to say, in British Columbia. Robert Kennicott, a distinguished young explorer and naturalist who had added immensely to the collections of the Smithsonian Institution, was appointed to the corresponding post in Russian-America.[22] Serge Abasa, a Russian, took charge in Siberia. Another notable figure was Captain Edmund Conway, who came to British Columbia as Chief of Construction Parties. Conditions here were different than elsewhere. For some hundreds of miles the telegraph-line would parallel such well-established travel routes as the Cariboo Road. These sections Conway could start to build immediately, while Pope devoted his energies to trail-blazing through the less-known north country.

Kennicott had stipulated that he should be permitted to enlist a number of assistants, who could collect natural history speci-

(21) Reid, *The Telegraph in America*, p. 512.

(22) For an account of Kennicott's career, the diary of his remarkable expedition to the Northwest Territories and the Yukon in 1859–62, and other documents, *see* James Alton James, *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska*, Evanston and Chicago, 1942 (Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 4).

mens, and a full-fledged "Scientific Corps," which even boasted a flag of its own, took to the wilderness with the various exploring expeditions. The group consisted of six young scientists and a volunteer assistant. Several of the former became widely known in later years, notably J. T. Rothrock, W. H. Dall, and H. W. Elliott. Frederick Whymper, the artist, joined one of the parties when it called at Victoria, and spent two years in the interior of Alaska.[23]

Bulkley was appointed in August, 1864, and immediately set about the immense task of organizing and setting in motion the far-flung enterprise. After completing preliminary arrangements in the East, he left New York on December 13 for San Francisco, where, in January, 1865, he opened offices on Montgomery Street.[24] There he pressed forward the work of engaging a staff and devising means whereby hundreds of workmen could be mustered in the wilds. To carry men, equipment, and supplies to their appointed places a Marine Service had to be organized, and from first to last the Extension Company owned or chartered more than a score of ships. It had already been arranged that the schooner *Milton Badger* and the bark *Clara Bell* should carry wire, insulators, and other telegraphic supplies from New York to the Pacific Coast; and Bulkley purchased a number of additional vessels in the spring of 1865, including the steamer *George S. Wright* and the barks *Palmetto* and *Golden Gate*. The U.S.S. *Shubrick* was made available by the United States

(23) In 1913, at the request of the late E. O. S. Scholefield, then Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Dr. Rothrock described his experiences in a lengthy letter (dated West Chester, Penn., January 11, 1913) now filed in the Provincial Archives. "The pecuniary inducement offered the scientists," Rothrock recalled, "was board, transportation and thirteen dollars a month. It probably was a fair expression of the estimate placed upon scientific endeavor by the business end of the enterprise." W. H. Dall described his part in the overland telegraph scheme briefly in the volume entitled *Alaska and its Resources* (Boston, 1870). Henry W. Elliott became an authority on Alaska, and in 1886 published *An Arctic Province: Alaska and the Seal Islands*; only incidental reference is made therein to the overland telegraph. Frederick Whymper's interesting *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska, formerly Russian America*, London, 1868, describes his experiences in detail. The flag of the Scientific Corps is shown in Dall, p. 527.

(24) George Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, New York, 1888, p. 3.

Government, while across the Pacific the steam corvette *Variag* was placed at the disposal of the Company by the Russian Government.

In spite of his utmost efforts, Bulkley found it impossible to get the various expeditions under way as promptly as he had hoped. In British Columbia, as we shall see, Conway was able to make relatively good progress, but elsewhere the preliminary arrangements lagged. The ships that had been assembled at San Francisco were not ready for service until June, and even then Bulkley still had no means of sending an advance party to Siberia. At this opportune moment the brig *Olga*, a private trader, happened along, bound for Kamchatka, and Bulkley was able to arrange a passage in her for Major Abasa, and three assistants—James A. Mahood, a civil engineer, R. J. Rush, and George Kennan, who later wrote an interesting account of the work of the Asiatic Division in a volume entitled *Tent Life in Siberia*.[25]

The *Olga* sailed from San Francisco on July 3. Nine days later Major Kennicott and a corps of assistants left for Alaska in the *George S. Wright* and *Golden Gate*. Pope and Conway had already reached their appointed field in "British America." Collins's scheme was at last fairly under way.

It is usually said that British Columbia owed her first telegraphic connection with the outside world to the Collins Overland scheme; but, strictly speaking, this is not so. Before the Extension Company was even organized, the California State Telegraph Company had completed a line from San Francisco to Portland, and was arranging to carry it farther northward. Horace W. Carpentier, President of the Company, visited British Columbia early in 1864, and on March 1 he petitioned the Legislative Council for permission to extend this line to New Westminster. The response was prompt and favourable. Within ten days the Council had passed and the Governor had approved the ordinance known as the First Telegraph Act, 1864. This

(25) First published in New York in 1870. In 1885, Kennan returned to Siberia as leader of an expedition sponsored by the *Century Magazine* to investigate the Russian penal system and penal colonies there. A series of articles published in the *Century* in 1888–90 were expanded into the two-volume work entitled *Siberia and the Exile System* (New York, 1891).

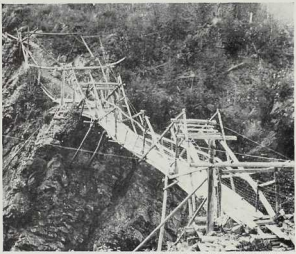
Courtesy, The Canadian Geographical Journal.

Captain Edmund Conway (centre) and a group of Overland Telegraph officials. Captain J. C. Butler, who explored the Skeena and Stikine rivers in 1866, is on the extreme left.

Courtesy, The Canadian Geographical Journal.

Buckley House, Takla Lake, in 1866.

From a pen-and-ink sketch in the Provincial Archives, based on a water-colour by Franklin L. Pope.



Courtesy, The Canadian Geographical Journal.

The famous suspension bridge built by the Indians over the Bulkley River at Hagwilget. It was bound together with telegraph wire left in the wilderness when the Overland Telegraph scheme was abondoned.

gave the California State Telegraph Company building and operating rights within the Colony for a period of 25 years, on condition that work commenced within five months, and was completed within thirteen months, on a line that would "place . . . New Westminster in telegraphic communication with the United States and the Canadas. . . ."[26] Later, rights and Company were both alike swallowed up by the Western Union; but the fact remains that the line was assured before these developments occurred.

Edmund Conway's diaries for 1864 and 1865, which were presented to the Provincial Archives some years ago by his daughter, Miss Alice Conway, enable us to follow his movements, and the progress of the overland telegraph in British Columbia, in some detail. He first came to New Westminster in November, 1864, and spent some weeks in friendly negotiations with Governor Seymour and other officials. One result was that early in 1865 the Legislative Council passed the International Telegraph Ordinance, which gave to "Perry Macdonough Collins, his associates and assigns" the right "to survey, and . . . construct and maintain" the section of the overland line that would pass through British Columbia. Construction was to commence by January 1, 1867, and to be completed by January 1, 1870; thereafter New Westminster was to be kept "in complete and continuous telegraphic communication with the whole telegraphic systems of the United States and Russia. . . ." This accom-

(26) British Columbia, Legislative Council, *An Ordinance to encourage the construction of a Telegraph Line, connecting British Columbia with the telegraph lines of the United States, and for other purposes.* No. 9, 1864: passed by the Council, March 8; received Governor's assent, March 10. Actually the rights were given to the President of the California State Telegraph Company "and to his successors in office, or assigns." The Ordinance gave certain rights to Carpentier *exclusively*, and on the grounds that this was contrary to the policy of the British Government, the Colonial Secretary disallowed the Act. The result was *An Ordinance to amend the "First Telegraph Ordinance, 1864,"* No. 9, 1865: passed by the Council, January 30; assented to February 22. This re-enacted the original Ordinance, minus the offending clauses. Some have contended that the Colonial Office's primary objective was to delay construction of a telegraph line from the United States, as an overland telegraph line from Canada to British Columbia was under discussion at this time. See the two Parliamentary returns known as the "Telegraph Papers" (London, 1863 and 1864).

plished, the builders were to be confirmed in their rights for a period of 33 years.[27]

The Extension Company hoped to have the line nearly finished by the beginning of the specified construction period, let alone the end of it. In November, R. R. Haines, Assistant Superintendent of the California State Telegraph Company, had written to Governor Seymour stating that working-parties were then about 10 miles north of Seattle, and that he hoped that they would reach New Westminster by the middle of January. This hope was not fulfilled, but events nevertheless moved at a lively pace. February saw the arrival of J. L. Pitfield, who was to be the Extension Company's agent in New Westminster. He and Conway established temporary offices in the Columbia Hotel. The excitement aroused in the little city was intense, and the *British Columbian* referred editorially to the wondrous fact that New Westminster, "an infant city established only 6 years before amid towering trees that seemed to smile on man's puny efforts . . . was to be linked with the electric systems of Asia, Europe and North Africa." It was an hour of triumph, and the editor could not resist the temptation to have a thrust at the Royal City's "jealous and grasping neighbour." "We understand," he wrote, with obvious satisfaction, "it is not in contemplation to establish a branch to Victoria."[28]

(27) *An Ordinance to encourage the construction of a line of Telegraph, connecting the Telegraphs of British Columbia with the Telegraph lines of Russia, the United States and other Countries, and for other purposes.* No. 5 of 1865: passed by the Council, January 26; assented to February 21. This Ordinance provided that all telegraph materials required for the construction or repair of the line should be admitted duty free up to January 1, 1870. It was followed in 1866 by *An Ordinance to incorporate The Western Union Telegraph Company, in lieu of the Western Union Telegraph Extension Company* (No. 3 of 1866: passed January 29; assented to January 31). At this point the Western Union Company proper took over the rights, etc., which had been granted to Collins and to the Extension Company.

(28) *British Columbian*, February 25, 1865. Victoria was finally linked to the mainland by telegraph in 1866, when cables were laid between the Saanich Peninsula and San Juan Island, between San Juan and Lopez islands, and between Lopez Island and the Washington mainland. Communication was established between New Westminster and Victoria on April 24, 1866.

Governor Seymour seems to have been much interested in the telegraph, and the first line actually placed in operation in British Columbia extended from the city proper to Government House, a distance of about a mile. This was completed, with appropriate fanfare, on March 6. On the 17th the U.S.S. *Shubrick* arrived, with Colonel Bulkley on board; but the Engineer-in-Chief hurried on to Alaska after a stay of only one day. However, the *Shubrick* brought the cable that was to be laid across the Fraser River, and Conway had already arranged to use Governor Seymour's steam yacht, the diminutive *Leviathan*, to place it in position.[29] A first attempt failed, owing to stormy weather, but on March 21, the laying was completed successfully. The Governor himself acted as steersman, and in recognition of the international character of the event, the star-spangled banner floated proudly overhead. The first message transmitted read as follows:—

Opposite New Westminster,
March 21st, 1865, 11:45 a.m.

To the Editor British Columbian.

We have to announce that the Cable is laid and working. It was laid in seven (7) minutes.

Telegraph.[30]

Another month passed before through communication was finally established with the cities to the south. Colonel Bulkley, who paid a second flying visit to New Westminster on April 11–12, missed the great event by only a few days. On April 18 the line to Seattle was at last in working order, but rejoicing was cut short when over it came the shocking news of the assassination of President Lincoln, which had occurred on the 14th.

It is interesting to note that Bulkley was not satisfied with this southern connection. On April 22 he wrote to his old chief, Colonel Anson Stager, General Superintendent of United States Military Telegraphs:—

(29) The steamship *Great Eastern* was frequently referred to as the *Leviathan*, and the editor of the *British Columbian* remarked in the issue of March 25, 1865: "It is rather an interesting coincidence that while the submarine cable will be laid across the Atlantic by the big *Leviathan* that across the Fraser is about to be laid by the little *Leviathan*."

(30) *British Columbian*, March 23, 1865.

It will be useful should you find in the future that a line from Salt Lake city down Lewis River is necessary to connect the Overland telegraph. . . .

The California Line to New Westminster, our present connection, is badly constructed and part of it through the gigantic forest growth of Oregon and Washington; this part will ever be subject to frequent breaks.[31]

Conway was now free to push forward the Overland Telegraph proper. He had already spied out the land as far as Hope, and now set off on another expedition that carried him as far as Lytton. On May 25, Franklin L. Pope, Chief-of-Explorations in British Columbia, arrived in New Westminster with a group of assistants and workmen, and on the 31st he and his party left for the Interior. On June 17 the schooner *Milton Badger* completed her long voyage from New York, and Conway at last had the wire, insulators, and other materials essential for actual construction.

Thereafter exploration, the location of routes, the clearing of the right-of-way, the erection of poles, and the stringing of wires all proceeded apace. From New Westminster the line was to follow the south bank of the Fraser River as far as Hope, and wire was being strung from pole to pole within 48 hours of the arrival of the *Milton Badger*.[32] On June 27 the river steamer *Lillooet* laid the Overland Telegraph's own cable across the Fraser,[33] and thereafter at times it was possible to maintain contact with some of the working parties. Building operations were soon in full swing both above and below Yale. On the upper reaches of the line Conway opened an office at "Cornwall's ranch," a few miles from the Ashcroft of to-day, on August 2, and another at Clinton two days later. Lower down, the line was completed and commenced working to Hope on August 17.[34] According to the *British Columbian* the first dispatch transmitted read as follows:—

(31) From the copy of the letter in the McNicol Collection.

(32) This and many of the other dates and details cited are taken from Captain Conway's manuscript *Diaries*, in the Provincial Archives.

(33) *British Columbian*, June 29, 1865. The report states that this cable was a short distance below that laid by the California State Telegraph Company. The latter extended from Albert Crescent to Brownsville.

(34) Edmund Conway, *Diaries*.

Hope, B.C., August 18, 1865.

To Mr. Grelley, Colonial Hotel, New Westminster.

Send a bottle of champagne to the Telegraph Office to Mr. Conway with the compliments of

Landvoigt.[35]

Champagne was apparently abundant in those days, for on August 26, when the line was completed to Yale, another request came over the wire directing Mr. Grelley to deliver a bottle to J. W. Pitfield, the Extension Company's New Westminster agent.[36]

More important than these local frivolities was the telegram Conway received at Hope, on August 21, which informed him that the latest attempt to lay an Atlantic cable had ended in failure. Thus cheered on his way, Conway travelled on to Soda Creek, Alexandria, and Quesnelmouth. Construction gangs followed hard on his heels, and his diary records that the line was completed to Quesnel at 3 p.m. on September 14, "Great enthusiasm prevailing." The distance from New Westminster was 435 miles, and Conway might well feel satisfied with his brief season's work.

Far from being content to rest on his laurels, however, he turned his attention immediately to the all-important northern explorations. Here the plan of attack was threefold. In Russian-America, Kennicott was to push into the interior from St. Michael, with Fort Yukon as his first objective. That point reached, his parties were to push southward as far as possible. In British Columbia Pope was to start north from Quesnel, with the ultimate object of reaching Fort Yukon, if he did not first make contact with some of Kennicott's men. Finally, Conway had been instructed to have some one explore the Skeena, Nass, and Stikine rivers, both to gain some knowledge of the country through which they flowed, and with a view to carrying in supplies for the various survey parties that would be passing through the region.

This last assignment Conway gave to Captain Horace ("Tom") Coffin, of the small sternwheel steamer *Union*. The

(35) *British Columbian*, August 19, 1865.
(36) *Ibid.*, August 29, 1865.

choice was a logical one, for the previous year Coffin had taken the *Union* to the Northwest Coast on a trading cruise, and in the course of his wanderings had pioneered steam navigation on the Skeena.[37] His activities in 1865 were summarized as follows in Conway's report to Colonel Bulkley:—

> In compliance with your instructions of July 22d 1865, to have the northern rivers explored and supplies taken to our interior line of explorations, I beg leave to report, that I started the steamer *Union*, in command of Capt. Horace Coffin to make the necessary explorations. Captain Coffin left New Westminster on the 30th of August 1865, entered the mouth of Skeena river on the 15th of September. The steamer ascended the river 90 miles, at this point two canoes were loaded with supplies. They succeeded in getting them up to Aggiegate village on the 28th of September, distance from the mouth of the river 216 miles.
>
> I enclose a list of supplies, stored at this village, they will probably be consumed by Major Pope's party, as the village is within four days travel of, Connolly's, or Babine lake.
>
> The steamer entered the mouth of Nasse river on the 9th of October and ascended 43 miles. The party succeeded in ascending with canoes forty miles above the steamer, total distance 83 miles. . . .
>
> Captain Coffin considered it too late in the season to explore the Sticken, so he returned to New Westminster, arriving there on the 3d of November. I sent a full load of supplies on the steamer, thinking they might succeed in getting them to Stewarts lake. These supplies are stored at Fort Simpson, where they will come handy next year. I enclose you a list, in case you should need them. . . .[38]

Major Pope started his explorations from Quesnel on July 4. At first his party numbered twenty-five, but by the time he had reached Fort St. James the difficulty of transporting supplies had become apparent, and he reduced his force to fifteen. This number included Dr. J. T. Rothrock, the botanist, and Pope decided to send him on ahead to establish winter quarters for a select party of eight or ten men, while he himself looked after the supply problem. Rothrock left Fort St. James on August 7, and after some searching chose a site at the northern end of Takla Lake. There, with the expert help of George Blenkinsop, an old Hudson's Bay man, he built Bulkley House. Heavy frosts started by the end of the month, but the buildings were ready

(37) *See* Norman R. Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties,'" *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X. (1946), p. 27.

(38) Conway to Bulkley, December 30, 1865; in Charles S. Bulkley, *Papers*, pp. 25–6. Conway itemized the cost of the expedition, which totalled $2,860.

before winter really commenced, and Pope succeeded in laying in adequate supplies. In addition, he was able to examine the whole of a proposed route for the telegraph from Quesnel to Bulkley House, by way of Fort St. James and Stuart Lake, and to submit a detailed report, complete with map, to Conway.[39]

Conway himself was ready to leave Quesnel on September 20, and spent exactly two months on a trip that took him first to Fort St. James and Bulkley House, and then on still farther north to Fort Connelly. This done, he returned to his headquarters in New Westminster, where he spent the next few months preparing for the resumption of construction-work in the spring.

In San Francisco, Colonel Bulkley was similarly employed. Amongst other things, a thorough overhauling of the Marine Service was necessary, and Bulkley passed a busy winter. The schooner *Milton Badger* was sold, as she had proven unsuitable for the Company's work. The steamer *George S. Wright*, which had shown herself to be a most useful little vessel, was reconditioned after a tempestuous ocean crossing from Kamchatka in which she had nearly gone to the bottom, taking Bulkley with her. The clipper ship *Nightingale* was purchased and made the flagship of the reconstituted fleet.[40] The barques *H. L. Rutger* and *Onward* were also acquired, and the sternwheeler *Mumford* was built specially to order on Puget Sound.

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(39) *See* Pope to Conway, November 6, 1865; Bulkley *Papers*, pp. 27–32. Additional details are given in Rothrock's long letter to E. O. S. Scholefield, dated January 11, 1913, in the Provincial Archives (*see* foot-note 23 *supra*). The party that wintered at Bulkley House celebrated Christmas as elaborately as circumstances permitted. For an account of the festivities *see British Columbian*, April 11, 1866; also Corday Mackay, "Christmas Day—Cloudy and Cold at B.C.'s Bulkley House, 1865," in magazine section, *Vancouver Daily Province*, December 22, 1945, where much of the original account is reprinted.

(40) The *Nightingale* had had a strange career. Built as a model clipper ship, intended to be placed on display at the time of the great London exhibition of 1851, she was sold at auction before completion, and after sailing as a merchantman for a time, was employed in the African slave trade. Ultimately she was seized, condemned, and purchased by the United States Navy Department, which used her as a guard and store ship during the Civil War. *See* E. W. Wright (ed.), *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, Portland, Ore., 1895, p. 149.

It was Bulkley's hope that these and the numerous smaller craft at the disposal of the Company would prevent a repetition of the delays that had made progress in 1865 less rapid than he had expected. In Alaska results had been particularly disappointing, for he had been unable to land Kennicott and his party at St. Michael before September. As a result, they had been able to do little more than establish winter quarters at Nulato, and make plans for the future. In Siberia, however, though months would pass before Bulkley was aware of the fact, Major Abasa and his three assistants were making phenomenal progress in their preliminary reconnaissance. George Kennan, one of the four, has left a detailed account of his adventures in the volume entitled *Tent Life in Siberia*, and for the present purpose it is sufficient to note that, in the course of only seven months, and in the dead of winter, the little party actually covered the immense distance from the mouth of the Amur to the mouth of the Anadyr. Moreover, as Abasa reported with obvious and justifiable pride, "the route of the telegraph-line [had been] located on the whole distance."[41]

So matters stood when the widely-scattered parties had finished their first seasons in the field.

The events of 1866 can be chronicled more briefly. So far as British Columbia is concerned, Captain Conway's summary report to Colonel Bulkley reviews the season's activities in adequate detail:—

San Francisco. Cal Febry 19th 1867

Col Charles Bulkley
Engineer-in-Chief
W.U.T. Russian Extension

Sir

I beg leave to lay before you a brief report of the season's work for 1866. In the fall of 1865 the only route known for operations, north of Fort Fraser, being by Fort St. James and Lake Tatla, I had six men employed at Quesnel during the winter, constructing large bateaux for the transportation of supplies and material from Quesnel. There were five strong, clinker built boats constructed, each to carry four tons. Fearing, that I would not be able to hire men for the boating parties at Quesnel, I determined to engage Stekine and other Indians from the coast, at New West-

(41) Abasa to Bulkley, April 10/March 29, 1866; in Bulkley *Papers*, p. 87.

minster, and take them up the wagon road. This afterwards proved a very fortunate move.

I arrived at Quesnel on the 1st of May, and succeeded, after great difficulty, in getting together 25 white men, with whom, and sixty animals, I commenced work on the 14th of May, eighteen miles north of Quesnel. Owing to the excitement created about the Big Bend gold mines, I found it almost impossible to hire men at Quesnel, which I did, by allowing them ten days pay. On the 17th of May my force was increased by the arrival of 25 chinamen. By the 1st of June I had 150 men; 86 in construction camp, 26 packers with 160 animals; 38 white men and Indians transporting supplies in bateaux between Quesnel and Fort Fraser. The Fraser river being very high, and the current consequently very swift, the boats had great difficulty in getting up to Fort Fraser and only succeeded in making two trips, when I was compelled to have the rest of our supplies brought up by the trail.

We constructed the Telegraph road, and line to latitude 55.42 N. and longitude 128.15 W. The distance from Quesnel, by the road, is computed at 440 miles, and by the wire 378 miles. There are fifteen stations built, a log house, with chimney, door and windows, 25 miles apart. We built bridges over all small streams, that were not fordable, corduroyed swamps. All hillsides too steep for animals to travel over, were graded, from 3 to five feet wide. The average width of clearing the wood for the wire, is, in standing timber, 20 feet; and in fallen timber, 12 feet. All underbrush and small timber is cleared to the ground, thus leaving the road fit for horses, travelling at the rate of, from 30 to 50 miles per day. Double wires are stretched across all large rivers. Number of poles put up 9246. Boats are built for crossing the Bulkley and Westroad Rivers.

The Coast party, 23 men, under command of Jas. L. Butler, left Victoria on Steamer *Mumford* on July 5th; they succeeded in landing at Fort Stager (Skeena River) 150 miles of material and 12000 rations. They also transported to Shakesville on the Stekine river 4500 Rations, and left at the mouth of the Stekine over 200 miles of material, and near 20,000 Rations.

Owing to the uncertainty of our route, and the fast approaching winter, we were compelled to suspend work on the 2d of October. The party returned to the Skena River, from the point they had reached beyond it, and came down to Fort Simpson in five flat bottomed boats, constructed at Fort Stager. On the 18th of October the party left Fort Simpson on Steamers *Otter* and *Mumford* for New Westminster, where they were paid off during the latter part of October. The accompanying journal gives the amount of work done each day, and the force employed. I also forward the map of our route, which will describe the country in detail much better than I can possibly do in a report.[42]

(42) Unfortunately the reports and maps to which reference is made in this and other letters are not included in the *Papers* of Colonel Bulkley at present available.

In concluding this brief report, I can assure you, that we constructed in every respect, a first class line, omitting nothing, that would help in making it a good working, and durable line. It runs through an extremely favourable country, and is constructed in such a manner, that it can be kept in repair with but little difficulty, and at not a very great expense.

I cannot speak too highly of the Officers and men employed in the American Division during the past season, they overcame all obstacles cheerfully and willingly. Mr. Butler, commanding the coast party, deserves great credit for the energy displayed by him in transporting supplies up the Skena and Stekeen Rivers. The Division Quarter Master Mr. Burrage, gave great satisfaction, and kept the party well supplied with provisions and material. The foremen, Messrs. Decker and Bradley displayed great energy, and left behind them first class work.

I am very respectfully
Yours most obedt. servant
(Signed) E. Conway
Late Supt American Division[43]

In addition to being superintendent of construction, Conway was also given direct charge of explorations in 1866. These were devoted, first, to the task of finding the best route from Fort Fraser to the Skeena River, and, secondly, to probing the mysteries of the great area still farther to the north, lying between the Skeena, Nass, and Stikine rivers.

Conway seems never to have been satisfied with the Fort St. James–Bulkley House–Fort Connelly route that he and Pope had examined in 1865: hence the explorations from Fort Fraser. He thought first of carrying the line through the Babine country, but inquiries led him to believe that it would be practicable to build farther west, and carry it in an almost direct line from Fort Fraser to Hagwilget, an Indian village on the Bulkley River about 3 miles from its junction with the Skeena. In May and June of 1866 two of his men went over this route carefully, and found it satisfactory in every essential. Conway promptly adopted it, and, as the report already quoted indicates, the line was completed over the whole distance before the season ended. Half a century later this portion of the Overland Telegraph was paralleled very closely by what is now the Prince Rupert branch of the Canadian National Railways. From Fort Fraser (to use the place-names of to-day) railroad and telegraph alike followed

(43) Conway to Bulkley, San Francisco, February 19, 1867; Bulkley *Papers*, pp. 159–60. (Paragraphing revised; otherwise quoted verbatim.)

the Endako River, skirted Burns Lake and Decker Lake, and then followed the Bulkley to Hagwilget.[44]

From the latter point the telegraph crossed over to the junction of the Skeena and Kispiox rivers; and near the present village of Kispiox the Western Union Extension crew built one of their stations, Fort Stager.[45] This was as far as the line was ever placed in operation. Construction was carried about 25 miles up the Kispiox River (which was known for a time as the Collins River), but the wire simply ended in the wilderness.[46]

The northern explorations were commenced during the winter of 1865–66 by Pope and Rothrock, who used their winter quarters at Bulkley House as a sort of base camp. After two shorter trips, undertaken to enable him to learn more about the technique of winter travel, Rothrock and two companions set out in January, 1866, explored the country to the westward, reached the Skeena River, and descended it as far as Kitsalas before turning homeward. Late in February, Pope, accompanied by George Blenkinsop and two Indians, left Bulkley House, determined to reach and descend the Stikine River. This extraordinary trip of some 500 miles they accomplished in 70 days, despite great hardships and privations. In March, Rothrock set out once more from Bulkley House, and made a prolonged journey northward. His route is not known in any detail. "When I was there," he himself has explained, "the country was unnamed—no one knew, except by conjecture, where any of the small streams went, further than that they went East or West. I had no means of fixing my position astronomically, except approximately and

(44) By rail, the distance from Fort Fraser is 192 miles.

(45) Named after General Anson Stager, under whom Bulkley had served in the United States Military Telegraphs.

(46) The route of the Overland Telegraph throughout its length is shown clearly on the so-called "Trutch map," which was compiled in 1870, but includes additions to January, 1871. The correct title is: *Map of British Columbia to the 56th Parallel, North Latitude. Compiled and drawn at the Lands and Works Office, Victoria, B.C., under the direction of the Honble. J. W. Trutch . . . Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and Surveyor General. 1871.* London: Edward Stanford, 1871. On this map the telegraph-line is carried up the east bank of the Kispiox for 40 miles or more; then it crosses the river, and ends in a valley a few miles to the west.

crudely by the altitude of the pole star." Thutade Lake and some branch of the Finlay River were the only landmarks that could be identified with any certainty. Rothrock's own opinion was that he probably reached a point about 70 miles E.S.E. of Dease Lake, which would bring him very near the upper reaches of the Stikine.[47]

Other expeditions were made from Shakesville, a vanished village on the Stikine that seems to have been located a few miles below the present Glenora. Scovell, one of Conway's men, after being forced back in a first attempt, succeeded during the summer in reaching Kuldo, on the upper Skeena. Byrnes, a member of another party, who had explored the Fort Fraser-Hagwilget route, and later struck out into the country north of the Skeena, actually travelled 1,500 miles between April and October. "Too much cannot be said in praise of these men," Conway wrote to Colonel Bulkley, "the hardships which they had to encounter, were fearful; being compelled to pack their blankets and supplies on their backs, and this through a country covered with underbrush, fallen timber, swollen rivers, and other numerous obstacles."[48]

It is remarkable to find that neither in Conway's reports, nor in a lengthy communication addressed by Colonel Bulkley to the Executive Committee of the Western Union Telegraph Company as late as March 1, 1867, is any reference made to the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. On July 27, 1866, the steamship *Great Eastern* had nosed into Heart's Content Harbour, Newfoundland, and her crew had brought ashore the end of a cable that stretched all the way to Ireland. There is an impression abroad that this event led to the immediate abandonment of the Overland Telegraph scheme; but this is not so. Work continued in British Columbia until October, when it would normally have ceased for the winter; and even then Conway sent Thomas Elwyn to winter quarters at Shakesville, on the Stikine, with instructions to "send out small parties towards the Skeena, Take

(47) Rothrock to Scholefield, January 11, 1913. MS., Provincial Archives.

(48) Conway to Bulkley, San Francisco, February 19, 1867; Bulkley *Papers*, p. 162. This report on the explorations covers pp. 161–2.

and Chilcat Rivers, and also towards Dease House and Yukon."[49] There still remained the hope that the cable would fall silent, as its predecessor had done in 1858, and until time returned a verdict upon its reliability, the Overland project remained alive.

In British Columbia, it is true, it may be said to have continued to exist only in a state of suspended animation; but in Alaska and Siberia, where news travelled slowly, a year passed before the great enterprise was abandoned. The official decision to stop work was taken by the Directors of the Western Union Company in March, 1867, and on March 27 William Orton, Vice-President of the Company, wrote to Secretary of State Seward:—

> All doubts concerning the capacity and efficiency of the ocean cables, are now dispelled, and the work of construction on the Russian line, after an expenditure of $3,000,000, has been discontinued.[50]

In his reply Seward recognized the facts of the case, and continued:—

> I would not have the Atlantic cable become dumb again if thereby I could immediately secure the success of the Inter-Continental Pacific Telegraph enterprise which was committed to your hands. Nevertheless, I confess to a profound disappointment in the suspension of the latter enterprise.[51]

The purchase of Alaska was pending at this time, and no doubt Seward was disappointed that the completed line had not been carried that far. Progress in Russian-America had, on the whole, been less rapid than elsewhere. This was partly due to the death of Robert Kennicott, who collapsed suddenly at Nulato in May, 1866. Colonel Bulkley appointed W. H. Dall as his successor, but it was some time before word of Kennicott's death reached the outside world, and Dall could arrive to take over. After spending the winter at Nulato, Dall and his party started up the Yukon River on May 26, 1867, still blissfully ignorant of what had happened in the outside world. On June 23 they

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 162. It was in the course of the winter explorations in 1866-67 that Telegraph Creek, on the Stikine River, was named. This has led many to assume that the Overland Telegraph actually reached the Stikine, but this is not so. Telegraph Creek was the spot at which it was *intended* that the line should cross. It happens to be the spot at which the Dominion Government Telegraph Line to the Yukon actually does cross the river to-day.

(50) Reid, *The Telegraph in America*, p. 516.

(51) *Ibid.*

reached Fort Yukon, and there saw copies of the *Nor' Wester*, a journal published in the Red River Settlement, that announced the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. Six days later an advance party returned from a winter trip to Fort Selkirk, and on July 8 the whole expedition left for St. Michael, where they arrived on the 25th. There they were met with the news that the Collins enterprise had been abandoned; and Frederick Whymper recalls that the men's feelings caused them "to hang black cloth on the telegraph-poles, and put them into mourning."[52]

In Siberia, actual construction of the telegraph-line was well started, but the work had been much delayed by the late arrival of the supply-ships. Major Abasa and his men waited weary months before the *Clara Bell* arrived from San Francisco in mid-August of 1866 with 50,000 insulators and brackets, and for other essential equipment they had to await the coming of the *Palmetto*, on September 19. A third vessel, the *Onward*, got only as far as Petropavlovsk, which meant that for immediate purposes she did not arrive at all.[53]

News of the success of the Atlantic cable arrived on June 1, 1867, when the New Bedford whaler *Sea Breeze* entered the harbour of Gizhiga, the port at which most of the supplies for the Siberian parties were to be delivered. Six weeks later, on July 15, the slow-moving *Onward* arrived with orders to cease work. The summer was spent in gathering up the widely-scattered construction parties, and early in October the barque set sail for San Francisco. The last of the Overland Telegraph officials to leave Siberia included two of the first to arrive—James Mahood and George Kennan. They, and two companions, decided to return home by way of European Russia, and they set out on their great overland trek soon after the *Onward* disappeared over the horizon.[54]

The collapse of the Overland Telegraph was a severe blow to the Western Union Company, but it made no attempt to shirk the unpleasant financial consequences. The Company issued

(52) Wymper, *Travel and Adventure in Alaska*, p. 241.

(53) *See* Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, pp. 369 *et seq.* A great store of information about the Siberian division of the Collins venture is to be found in the many letters from Major Abasa included in the Bulkley *Papers*.

(54) Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, p. 421 *et seq.*

$3,170,292 in bonds to redeem the Extension stock, and although this meant that it was footing the bill, the market value of Western Union stock did not fall. "Some denounced this proceeding," one authority notes, "but as the stockholders [of the Extension Company] were almost wholly also holders of the Western Union Company stock, it was generally acquiesced in."[55]

Collins himself seems to have fared reasonably well financially, and to have emerged from the enterprise with a modest competence. In 1876, at the age of 63, he moved to New York, and took up residence in the St. Denis Hotel, in lower Manhattan. There he lived for no less than twenty-five years, and during that time he handled his investments so well that when he died on January 18, 1900, at the ripe old age of 88, he left a considerable fortune. Seventeen years later his niece and heir, Kate Collins Brown, bequeathed the sum of $550,000 to New York University, the income from which was to be used for scholarships in the University's College of Arts and Pure Science, and in the College of Engineering. In the interval Collins himself had been so completely forgotten that these scholarships had been awarded annually for a decade or more before anyone thought of drawing attention to the ultimate source from which the money came.[56] To-day he still remains a forgotten man, although his world-girdling scheme is recalled now and then by a journalist in search of a good story that has both a modern touch and a romantic flavour.[57]

The fate of the hundreds of miles of telegraph line that the Extension Company actually constructed in British Columbia is not without interest. When the "cease work" signal was received, a blockhouse was built at the end of the line and filled with equipment "as a silent hope that the Atlantic venture might

(55) Reid, *The Telegraph in America*, p. 517.

(56) Mr. Donald McNicol seems to have been primarily responsible for the effort that was made to find out something about Collins personally, and bring it to the attention of the University and the students receiving the awards. Most of the details given are taken from the sketch of Collins's career prepared by Professor Philip B. McDonald, of New York University, to which reference has already been made.

(57) For a recent example *see* W. H. Deppermann, "Two Cents an Acre," in *North American Review*, 245 (1938), pp. 126–33. This article was abridged and reprinted by the *Reader's Digest*.

again result in disaster."[58] Fort Stager was kept manned until 1869, when John McCutcheon, the last operator there, abandoned the station and left "with thirteen large canoes loaded with provisions and clothing."[59] In the meantime the line had remained in active commercial operation as far as Quesnel, and in 1868 it had been extended to Barkerville. However, the Western Union Telegraph Company took little interest in it, and in February, 1871, the Government of British Columbia secured a perpetual lease of all the Company's lines that lay within the Colony. In July of the same year British Columbia became a Province of Canada, and the Dominion Government, in accordance with the terms of union, took over the lease. During the next decade the line to the Cariboo was repaired and largely rebuilt, and various new lines and cables were added to the system, including an all-Canadian connection with Victoria. Finally, in September, 1880, the Government purchased all the Western Union Company's property and privileges. It secured an extraordinary bargain, for the price paid was only $24,000, and the deal ended subsidies and brought in revenues that between them amounted to $25,000, even in the first years.

Between Quesnel and Fort Stager the line was left to go to wrack and ruin. W. F. (later Sir William) Butler has described how he chanced upon its remains in the course of the great journey described in *The Wild North Land*:—

> Crossing the wide Nacharcole River, and continuing south for a few miles, we reached a broadly cut trail which bore curious traces of past civilization. Old telegraph poles stood at intervals along the forest-cleared opening, and rusted wires[60] hung in loose festoons down from their tops, or

(58) R. N. Young, "Collins Overland Telegraph," in *Telegraph and Telephone Age*, July 1, 1922, p. 298.

(59) *Ibid.* John McCutcheon later settled in the Chilliwack district, where he died relatively recently. Other long-lived survivors of the Overland Telegraph days included George Kennan, who died in 1924, and Leonard Bright, who joined the *Nightingale* as a cabin boy in 1866. He was still alive, aged 87, in 1934.

(60) The reference to rust recalls the fact that it is often assumed that the wire used would be copper. Mr. Donald McNicol is of the opinion that it was 8-gauge iron wire, and notes the fact that the Indians are said to have used bits of it for nails, which would scarcely have been practicable if the wire had been copper. To the best of his knowledge copper-covered iron wire was first used in 1872, and single-strand copper wire did not come into

lay tangled amid the growing brushwood of the cleared space. A telegraph in the wilderness! What did it mean?

When civilization once grasps the wild, lone spaces of the earth it seldom releases its hold; yet here civilization had once advanced her footsteps, and apparently shrunk back again frightened at her boldness. It was even so; this trail, with its ruined wire, told of the wreck of a great enterprise.[61]

This chance encounter occurred in May of 1873. Here and there in the wilderness great piles of wire, insulators, and other equipment survived, and may still survive. Occasionally the Indians made use of these materials, as, for instance, in the construction of the celebrated bridge at Hagwilget. But as decade followed decade, two or three place-names, notably Telegraph Creek and the Bulkley River, became the most enduring survival of the great enterprise. The telegraph-line itself, and the memory of Perry McDonough Collins, whose imagination and tireless effort had brought it into existence, virtually disappeared.

CORDAY MACKAY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

use until 1877. See carbon copy of letter, McNicol to Professor D. W. Hering, December 20, 1936, in McNicol Collection.

(61) W. F. Butler, *The Wild North Land*, 4th edition, London, 1874, pp. 333–4.

THE OREGON TREATY: FINIS TO JOINT OCCUPATION.*

Fur-traders, explorers, missionaries, propagandists, pioneer farmers, international diplomacy—all the influences that might stimulate occupation and possession are to be found in the story of Old Oregon. While settlement was being extended to the new frontier of the Great Lakes area in Canada, and to the Mississippi River in the United States, the frontier itself, by jumping the central plains, was receding to the Pacific Coast. The Oregon country and California became the new frontier in the 1840's.

For twenty-five years the joint occupation initiated by Great Britain and the United States in 1818 had worked successfully in Oregon. The arrangement was satisfactory so long as the actual occupants of the area were neither numerous nor permanent, but only transient fur-traders of either nationality. Almost the only permanent residents were the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose superintendent, Dr. John McLoughlin, had his headquarters at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. From that vantage point he dispensed high, low, and middle justice to Indian and fur-trader alike from Alaska to California. His easy-going existence had been interrupted in the mid-thirties by the arrival from the Eastern United States of Catholic and Protestant missionaries bent on converting the Indians. Their spiritual message made scant impression on the unregenerate natives, but their letters home describing the country stirred in the restless citizenry of the Atlantic and trans-Appalachian states a desire to enter in and to possess such a goodly land. There were, it is true, millions of unsettled acres in the Louisiana Purchase nearer home; but this the prospective settlers disdained as a desert country because of its treeless nature. There was presented to the world then, in the early forties, the strange spectacle of thousands of people travelling painfully 2,000 miles

* Prize essay in the contest sponsored by the British Columbia Historical Association in commemoration of the centenary of the signing of the Oregon Treaty, June 15, 1846.

across a fair and fertile plain to make their homes in the wilderness beyond.[1]

But the long road to Oregon was known many years before the settlers began to march. The fur-traders had found it in the early twenties, and had used it year after year in their journeys to and fro between Oregon and St. Louis, their base of supply. In 1842 the United States Government had sent out John C. Frémont to survey and map the route. His map furnished the migrating farmers with such guidance as they needed over the well-known trail up the Platte River, through South Pass, and down the Snake and Columbia rivers to the Promised Land beyond.

With the advent of settlers, and as the forest gave way to the farm and the market town, boundary-lines became necessary. Joint occupation became impracticable. When the rivalries of trading companies pushing into the wilderness are followed by settlement there ensues a life-and-death struggle between fur-traders and settlers. Canadian and United States development has been characterized by such struggles. The fur trade must give way to law and order, and to a conventionalized society with its rules and recognized magistrates; and with the emergence of these, people begin to think in terms of government. Politics enters upon the scene, bringing to the fore a new set of interests, not least of which are sentiment, prestige, and nationalism. The incoming American settlers in Oregon wanted the form of government to which they had been accustomed in the Eastern United States. With characteristic frontier disdain of international agreements, they took possession of the Willamette Valley, established a provisional government in 1843, and called on their country for support. Such was the situation in Oregon in 1846, the year destined to be so fateful in the history of the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Mexico.

No other phase of the history of the Pacific Northwest has been investigated more thoroughly by historians than the Oregon boundary dispute. Weighty tomes, scholarly articles, and appealing stories in seemingly unlimited quantity, have been written on the subject, some amusing and many authoritative,

(1) E. O. S. Scholefield, *British Columbia from the earliest times to the present*, Vancouver, 1914, I., p. 446.

some pro-British and many pro-American. The claims of each protagonist have been investigated and interpreted by sincere and painstaking scholars who have presented their evidence as impartially as is humanly possible. In particular, to Dr. Frederick Merk must go credit for much intensive research, which he has presented in a series of admirable articles written over the course of three decades. From the weight of evidence that has been compiled, it would appear that a discussion of claims, with intent to justify one or the other side, is not only difficult but also useless. It would be an academic investigation, the conclusions of which could not but be influenced by personal opinion. So numerous and conflicting were the claims, and so inextricably bound were they to 19th century Imperialism and sectional politics, that all that may be attempted profitably by the student of the problem is a presentation of claims to the disputed area in the light of the Treaty concluding the controversy, and in relation to the effect upon subsequent history of the Pacific Northwest. Whose claims were the more valid is a matter of small moment now. Speculations as to the "if's" of history are entertaining and diverting but neither profitable nor constructive. The paramount questions then, are rather why the decision formulated in 1846 was favourable to one country and not to the other, what cast the decision in that country's favour, and what the effect has been upon the subsequent social, political, and economic development of the area.

When the fate of Old Oregon became a matter of international importance, involving the immediate prospect of war, the claims to the disputed territory were investigated in full both by Great Britain and by the United States. Every shred of supporting evidence was advanced by Lord Aberdeen, the British Foreign Secretary, and by James Buchanan, the American Secretary of State. These claims will be briefly summarized; briefly, because they warrant no lengthy consideration. When the Treaty was finally signed on June 15, 1846, its decision was not contingent upon any superiority of claims. Although the Conventions of 1818 and 1826 had left the territory west of the Rocky Mountains open to both nations, the final settlement was not in the least affected by them. Neither prior discovery, superior exploitation, nor more advanced settlement gave the area to the United

States practically on her own terms. This was brought about by a combination of national bluff in America and famine in Ireland. By means of the successful campaign slogan of "54° 40′ or fight," adopted by the belligerent President Polk, he was eminently successful in arousing to fever pitch public interest in the "re-occupation of Oregon." By so doing, he tipped the scales in favour of conciliation in England. Polk's superior diplomacy, or bluff, triumphed over Sir Robert Peel's party politics. Throughout the 19th century, from the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, through the "roaring forties" and the period of Manifest Destiny in the United States, and down to the Spanish-American War that closed the century, Anglo-American relations, though often dangerously strained, remained peaceful. It can scarcely be disputed, however, that this was due more to a conscious effort on the part of England to avoid war, than it was to the desire of the United States to preserve peace. This year of 1846, which Bernard De Voto has termed the *Year of Decision*,[2] was an obstacle in the path of United States nationalism, which had taken to itself the sobriquet of Manifest Destiny, and which was capitalized upon by the State Department in Washington, ever on the alert to follow economic penetration by political dominion. Such was the policy followed in Oregon.

In the apportionment of North America, the Pacific slope, like the eastern portion of the continent, was a confusion of overlapping claims based on desultory explorations and an indefinite and uncertain occupancy. There is agreement among historians now that the claims of both the United States and Great Britain to all of the area under dispute—the land lying between the Columbia River and the 54th parallel—were "extravagant and unsound."[3] "Neither nation," Dr. Keenleyside says, "had a perfect, or even a strong, case."[4] Behind the controversy lay a tangle of claims based on the activities of both sides in exploration and occupation. The voyages of Cook and Vancouver, the surveys of the Columbia River made by Captain Gray and Lieutenant Broughton, the expeditions of Mackenzie and Lewis and

(2) Bernard A. De Voto, *Year of Decision, 1846*, New York, 1943, *passim*.

(3) F. H. Soward, "President Polk and the Canadian Frontier," in Canadian Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1930*, p. 71.

(4) H. L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States*, New York, 1929, p. 205.

Clark, the activities of the Pacific Fur and the North West companies, were all advanced as justifying title to the whole area. The situation was further complicated by Russian and Spanish claims. These were soon defined when the treaty of 1819 between Spain and the United States placed the northern limit of Spanish claims at the 42nd parallel, and when Russia, by treaties with the United States in 1824 and with Great Britain the following year, agreed to stay north of 54° 40′. But even these agreements, which reduced the number of potential rivals, added new complexities to the claims of the two who remained.

A further complication was created by the question of Astoria. This post, which Astor had established at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811, had fallen victim to the vicissitudes of the War of 1812. Rather than see it captured without recompense, Astor's local representative had prudently sold out to the North West Company. Nonetheless, a British naval commander had taken formal occupation after the post had changed hands, and this action, according to the American view, brought it within scope of the clause of the Treaty of Ghent which provided for a mutual return of conquests. An expedition was sent to effect a symbolic reoccupation in 1817, and Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary, while protesting against the mode of procedure, acknowledged the validity of the American contention. In 1826 Canning was to regret the action of his predecessor[5] because the event added strength to American claims in the Oregon region.

So the stage was set for one of the greatest dramas in the history of America, a determined contest between Great Britain, which agreed with Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who in 1801 was moved to declare that wherever the northwestern boundary-line should strike the Mississippi, "it . . . must be continued West, till it terminates in the Pacific Ocean, to the South of the Columbia;"[6] and the United States, whose most fiery citizens

(5) A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1871*, London, 1939, p. 734. A confidential memorandum prepared by H. U. Addington for Canning said May 2, 1846: "That retrocession was in fact merely a matter of form: the fort was delivered up on paper, but retained possession of by the British, in whose hands it has remained ever since."

(6) Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages . . . to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans*, London, 1801, p. 399.

shouted "54° 40′ or fight," while others declared that the line of 49° would be a satisfactory boundary. At a number of times during the long-drawn-out controversy Great Britain might have had all the territory above 49°, but her statesmen were unwilling to yield what they thought was the better part of the territory, a part which they claimed tenaciously.

A proper analysis of the subject necessitates a survey of the area at stake. It was not such an extensive territory as at first sight it would seem. It appeared as though the whole of the Oregon country was at issue, the vast domain extending from the Rocky Mountains to the sea and from California to Alaska. But the area about which the dispute really centred was the comparatively limited area lying between the Columbia River and the 49th parallel, the area now constituting the central and western thirds of the State of Washington.

The British looked upon the Columbia River as an essential artery of the fur trade and a vital outlet for the whole transmontane region. The Americans were determined to secure possession of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, not so much because of the value of the intervening territory as because the area of Puget Sound offered the only good harbours north of San Francisco. In fact, had San Francisco been in American possession at the time, it is possible that the furore over Oregon might not have been so great. Britain rejected the suggestion that the 49th parallel be extended to the Pacific, and the United States refused to concede the Columbia River as the boundary. As a result the final settlement was left in abeyance, and the Convention of 1818 provided for joint occupation for a period of ten years.[7] Negotiations were renewed in 1826, following the elim-

(7) Canada, Department of External Affairs, *Treaties and Agreements affecting Canada in force between His Majesty and the United States of America, 1814–1925*, Ottawa, 1927, p. 16. Article III. reads:—

"It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the Northwest coast of America, westward of the Stoney Mountains, shall, together with its Harbours, Bays and Creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the Present Convention, to the Vessels, Citizens and Subjects of the two powers: it being well understood, that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two High Contracting Powers may have to any part of the said Country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any

ination of Russia and Spain. But neither side would recede from its territorial claims, and the offer of the United States to concede free navigation of the Columbia was no more acceptable than the offer by Great Britain of a harbour on the Straits. In 1827 the arrangements for joint occupation were in consequence extended, this time without limit, but with the provision that they could be abrogated by either side on twelve months' notice. This may have been a play for time on the part of the American Government in order to populate the country.

The provisional arrangements did in the end work to the advantage of the United States, as they had hoped. Although at this period it was the British alone who were in effective occupation of the disputed area, that occupation was represented only by the Hudson's Bay Company. There was little immediate prospect of a more substantial settlement from British territory farther east. The Hudson's Bay Company favoured agricultural establishments near the posts for the sake of supplies, and when the problem of more extensive occupation became pressing some efforts were made to promote a pioneer movement from the Red River settlement. But there was no such population surplus available as that which was pushing the American frontier of settlement steadily westward, and which was by that time flowing over the Rockies to claim the Pacific Coast.

This advance was powerfully assisted by the attitude of the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia District. Of all the Scotsmen who lifted the fur trade to its days of greatness none was more remarkable that Dr. John McLoughlin, the " White Eagle " to the Indian and the " King of Old Oregon " to the settler. For twenty years he ruled his vast domain, managing the widespread activities of the fur trade, which included raising stock and growing grain as well as trapping. His remarkable personality made him the unquestioned authority around which life in Old Oregon revolved.

But his virtual sovereignty, accepted by the community over which he had charge, could not long survive an influx of settlement. He himself recognized the fertility of Oregon and the inevitability of eventual occupation of the land. Before long his

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part of the said Country, the only object of the High Contracting Parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences amongst themselves."

fears were confirmed. The American settler with his plough was following the footsteps of the profit-seeking trader who had first exploited the wilderness. In this phase the missionaries played the leading rôle as pioneers.

The first arrivals were the Methodists in 1834, intent on bringing spiritual enlightenment to the Indians. They were followed within a year by the Presbyterians. Their religious activities were not spectacular; their plaints were those of all missionaries. Braves who were converted during the tedious winter tended to backslide when spring came. Indian children adopted by the missionaries tended to die, with Christian resignation, no doubt, but with unhappy frequency. But in more mundane activities the talents of the newcomers found more successful employment. The Methodists were soon impressed with the prospects of the Willamette Valley, directed there on the excellent advice of Dr. McLoughlin. They abandoned active preaching and devoted themselves to land promotion. Their glowing descriptions found an audience when the depression of 1837 moved some of the restless and discontented on the old frontier to try their fortunes farther west. In 1839 a shipload of settlers came out by way of Cape Horn. An overland party in 1840 heralded the beginning of a new migration. Three years later the first large company made the overland journey from Missouri; a short while later other pilgrims combined a land and sea trip through the Panama. "The Plains over, the Isthmus across, or the Horn around?" became the query asked of each new arrival. By the end of 1843 some 400 settlers had established themselves, chiefly along the Willamette. In that year a definite movement got under way which brought an increasing flood of immigrants, whose total was over 10,000 by 1848.

No sooner had a compact settlement developed on the Willamette than the settlers began thinking in terms of self-government and self-protection. As their dependence on the Hudson's Bay Company decreased their aggressiveness grew. The result was the provisional government, formed at Champoeg in 1843, by which the Americans formed a compact for mutual protection and to secure peace and prosperity among themselves. For the sake of safety McLoughlin thought he must co-operate with that body. His action was interpreted in a false light by his Com-

pany, but he felt that to maintain peace and to secure order such action was best until the two governments could settle the question of the boundary. He tried to avoid compromising British claims to the Columbia River boundary by keeping the settlers south of the river. Any settlement meant danger, and recognition of the provisional government seriously weakened the British position. McLoughlin argued that any other course would precipitate a storm to which the British must yield or be prepared to resist by force. But the Hudson's Bay Company was only too well aware that the territory in any case was about to slip from its grasp. The American settlers were now making vigorous representations to Washington, and sentiment throughout the country had been aroused to the point where the possession of Oregon had become a national issue.

It was now clear that affairs in Oregon were approaching a crisis. The British, seeing the trend toward agricultural economy, realized that the fur trade was doomed and that they could only hold the Columbia Valley by following the American example. Dr. McLoughlin, though he had been cordial in his treatment of the American settlers, quickly grasped the inexorable, and urged upon the British Government the adoption of a colonizing policy, but the aid he sought was refused. Owing partly to this disappointment, partly to a division of his authority in the Columbia Department, and partly to personal animosity to George Simpson, his superior in the Company, he resigned the leadership he had so honourably held, letting the drift of Western life pursue its own course.

Sensing battle in the air, both Americans and British opened the fray with skirmishes. Since there was no established authority to make land grants and to keep order, they engaged in bitter contests over titles and breaches of the peace, each side accusing the other of making fraudulent entries, of selling firearms and whisky to the Indians, and undercutting in the fur market. Desirous of bringing the whole region under their control, and chafing under the monopoly enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company, Englishmen on the ground requested their home government in London to unite the Oregon country with Canada. With equal force the pioneer Americans in Oregon urged Wash-

ington to settle the issue by giving them self-government and assuring them of protection.

Up to this point the issue was of a purely local nature. The settlers on the American side of the river and the Hudson's Bay men on the northern shore bandied words and brandished clubs, and each group examined its own claims, forwarding as many as could be substantiated, and a few that could not, to their respective governments. But with the presidential election of 1844 the controversy assumed international importance, involving threats of war. The Democratic Party's platform, drawn up at the party convention in Baltimore, and on which James K. Polk was elected President, ended with this resolution:—

> . . . That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be surrendered to England or any other power, and that the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.[8]

The Oregon debates in Congress, brief though they were, were full of language uncomplimentary to the British, which John Bull found wounding to his pride. In the person of the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, John Bull swelled with hardly suppressed anger and professed to believe the situation serious.[9] Clearly his government was faced by an American democracy recently victorious at the polls, a democracy which was inaugurating its return to office with a vigorous twist of the British lion's tail. Then came the new President's assertion, in his inaugural address of March 4, 1845, that:—

> Nor will it become in a less degree my duty to assert and maintain by all constitutional means the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the country of Oregon is "clear and unquestionable," and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. . . . To us belongs the duty of protecting them. . . .[10]

(8) Scholefield, *British Columbia*, I., p. 448.

(9) T. P. Martin, "Free Trade and the Oregon Question," in *Facts and Factors in Economic History*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, p. 483n. Sir Samuel O'Malley proposed, on March 1, to take over a large body of Irish and hold the Oregon country.

(10) James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897*, Washington, 1897, IV., p. 381.

From this point on the issue becomes clouded in a maze of proposals and rejections, diplomatic messages, and vituperation.

Had Great Britain not had what her Government under Sir Robert Peel considering more pressing problems to settle; had the Government not had to rely upon Whig support; or had there not been an advocate of conciliation, in the person of Lord Aberdeen, in the Foreign Office, war would probably have been the outcome.

The thread of British party politics, discernible in the fabric of American history at many points, has woven discord more frequently than harmony. Twice it has produced war. It came near to doing so in the Oregon controversy. It was the dread of party clamour that induced the British Government to postpone a settlement until passions in the United States had been aroused almost to the point of explosion. Because of a distorted Opposition charge of "capitulation," as applied to the Webster-Ashburton award of 1842, the British Government was restrained from agreeing to a capitulation that was not only real but also necessary in Oregon.

For more than twenty-five years, and through five negotiations, British Governments had resisted American pretensions to the triangle on the ground of the superiority of the British title to it. To descend from this height was not easy. Since the earlier negotiations the triangle had been occupied by British subjects in considerable numbers—servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Practically no Americans were settled there—none so far as Lord Aberdeen knew. If, in diplomacy, possession was nine points of the law, the triangle was already British. To give it up, to retreat from the Columbia River boundary, was to abandon British vested interests and to expatriate British subjects. It was to retreat from the boundary of British prestige.

Lord Aberdeen, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Conservative Government of Peel, was eager for a pacific adjustment of all outstanding differences with the United States. Conciliatory and peace-loving, he saw nothing within the triangle that was worth the risk of war. Of the territory itself he had a low opinion; he was well aware that the Columbia River could never be an outlet for Western Canada to the sea, and he recognized the essential reasonableness of the American demand for a share

in the harbours about the 49th parallel. Personally, he was willing as early as March, 1844, to settle the dispute on the basis of that parallel to the sea.

By December of 1845 it had been proven to the British Government that failure to compromise in external matters was unprofitable, with the result that by spring party politics were set aside *pro tem* in order that the dispute be settled. Polk, with his campaign cry of "54° 40′ or fight," was not to be intimidated. Not even the Southern senators, who had no interest in the extension of free soil into Oregon, could have stopped Polk. The situation in England was such that conciliation and concession could not but triumph. In the autumn of 1845 three major crises faced the British Government, the least of which was the Oregon question. There was a harvest shortage of seemingly famine proportions. There was a Corn Law conflict of revolutionary intensity. Some writers[11] have seen in these domestic problems the reason for Britain's conciliatory attitude, but Dr. Merk has disproved adequately such a solution.[12] Merk's concluding remark is: "The thesis of the beneficent intervention of the bill [i.e., the Anti-Corn Law bill, which removed the tariff restrictions on grain imported, designed to appease the Middle Westerner on the Oregon question by opening British markets to their wheat] in the American crisis . . . is, in truth, the serving up of contemporary propaganda as History."

The free-trade movement in England may not have influenced directly the settlement of the problem in Oregon, but it did contribute its share. It did so by removing political obstacles to a policy of concession. In earlier negotiations British Governments had rejected again and again the proposal made by the American Government to divide Oregon by a line drawn along the 49th parallel to the sea. Lord Aberdeen regarded this line as a reasonable basis of partition. As early as March, 1844, he had been willing to accept it, stopping it short only at the coast so as not to sever Vancouver Island. The cabinet, however, was less pliant. The territory between the 49th parallel and the

(11) *See* St. G. L. Sioussat, "James Buchanan," in S. F. Bemis (*ed.*), *The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy*, New York, 1928, V.; and T. P. Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 470–492.

(12) F. Merk, "The British Corn Crisis and the Oregon Treaty," in *Agricultural History*, VIII. (1934), pp. 95–123.

Columbia River, for which British Governments had held out, had become steadily more British since the first negotiations, as a result of the Hudson's Bay Company's occupation. A government surrendering it to the United States under such circumstances exposed itself to the Opposition charge of having abandoned British pride and honour. As Merk says, the chief obstacle to an amicable adjustment of the Oregon controversy during the critical years of 1845–46 was this political hazard.

The Anti-Corn Law crusade served to lessen this hazard. It did so by releasing in England a spirit of international conciliation. The free-trade doctrine was a gospel of peace. Its postulates were international good-will and the dependence of nations upon each other. The leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League, powerful in England, were conspicuous internationalists, friendly in particular toward the United States. Their contention was that the repeal of the Corn Laws would result in a permanent bond of friendship between the United States and England by means of trade. America would feed England, England would clothe America. In the Oregon crisis these leaders turned the militant fervour of a triumphant crusade into channels of Anglo-American conciliation.

A more direct contribution of the Anti-Corn Law crusade to the peaceful adjustment of the Oregon question was the realignment of British political parties it produced in the winter of 1845–46. The Conservatives, under Peel, managed to consolidate their ranks sufficiently to abolish the Corn Laws in face of embittered opposition from the Conservative party. In the cabinet crisis the Whigs had been won over to a policy of conciliation in Oregon. Free trade was the means by which belligerence over the Oregon question was turned into a policy of concession.

President Polk suspected that England had little desire to fight for Oregon; and, fortified by that conviction, he played his cards skilfully and successfully. His Government renewed the American offer of the 49th parallel as the boundary to the Pacific, with the concession of a free port on the tip of Vancouver Island. When this was rejected as "inconsistent with fairness and equity and with the expectations of the British government" the proposition was specifically withdrawn; notice was given of the termination of the agreement on joint occupation; a British

suggestion of mediation was refused, and the United States embarked on preparations which seemed convincing proof of a readiness for war.

Britain, too, was taking military measures, but purely for purposes of defence. War with the United States would endanger not only Oregon, but also Canada, which would inevitably become the main object of attack, and the stakes were not worth such a major risk. The British Government decided on yet another surrender, modified only by certain limited concessions on the part of the United States. One was the acceptance of the Straits of Juan de Fuca as the final stretch of the boundary, thus leaving the whole of Vancouver Island to the British. Another was the concession of the navigation of the Columbia to the Hudson's Bay Company, together with a clause which preserved the proprietary rights of the Company and of other British subjects south of the new boundary. Although the actual definition of the channel through the Straits was to remain a matter of dispute until 1872, the signing of the Treaty on June 15, 1846, marked finis to joint occupation.[13]

The most amazing aspect of the entire settlement is that, audacious as Polk's policies seemed, and fearful as the American people were of the consequences, there was in reality so little that stood in the way of the President's accomplishing his purpose. The great fear of the Americans in Oregon, as well as the country generally, was that England would not be willing to give up any of the territory north of the Columbia River on which she had insisted for three decades. Joseph Schafer says that it is certain that Canning's attitude of 1824, which was the policy of the Government from that time on, " would infallibly have brought on a

(13) Although virtually completing the definition of the boundary between Canada and the United States, the Treaty unfortunately contained the following ambiguity, largely due to the ignorance of the geography involved on the part of the signatories. The Treaty said the boundary-line was to pass down the channel of the Straits, from the parallel of 49° to the south of Vancouver Island, and so to the open Pacific. The exact wording of the agreement was: ". . . . to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly to the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." Here were the seeds of future dissension, as there were two channels that would have answered the letter of the agreement.

war with the United States had not such a calamity been averted by the more temperate statesmanship of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen."[14] Edward Everett, American Minister in London when Peel's administration began, and who remained there until the summer of 1845, expressed in a series of dispatches during that time his conviction that the British Government was disposed to a friendly settlement of the Oregon question on reasonable terms. Everett's idea of what would be reasonable is almost exactly expressed by the treaty as finally concluded. It is now known that the British Government did send a secret military expedition to Oregon under Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, in 1845–46,

> to examine and report on all existing British posts, to ascertain and report if they be of a nature to resist any sudden attack, or whether they could be made so in a short space of time. . . .[15]

The reports of these men were such as to make the defence of the country look exceedingly difficult. The interest of both countries in their new policy of free trade, which, if persisted in, would cement their destinies, stimulated the friendly feeling of Aberdeen and Peel for the United States. It was further the well-known attitude of England at this period to be averse to colonial enterprise. It must also be remembered that between 1834 and 1846 Great Britain had trouble elsewhere, especially in Canada, which during 1837–38 was in a state of open rebellion. Doubtless this factor contributed no small share to Britain's apathy regarding further acquisitions of territory in North America. The fact that there were many more Americans in the Oregon country south of the Columbia than there were British, giving to the former a great advantage in the event of a conflagration, doubtless hastened a settlement on the basis of mutual concessions.

The Treaty is of more than passing interest. It marked the finale of a struggle which had opened in colonial times; it determined the fate of the Pacific Coast of North America; it determined the nature of the future development in the disputed

(14) Joseph Schafer, "The British Attitude towards the Oregon Question, 1815–46," in *American Historical Review*, XVI. (1910–11), p. 278.

(15) Joseph Schafer (*ed.*), "Documents relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845–46," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, X. (1909), p. 23.

region; and for Canada as a whole it had very important and lasting consequences.

From the beginning of British interest in North America in the 17th century, English merchants had relied upon the fur trade as an unfailing source of profits, and in the protection of that interest they had again and again brought pressure to bear on the policy of their government. They it was who had been instrumental in securing the momentous decree of 1763 which shut the gates of the hinterland upon American squatters. Defeated by the Revolution, they moved the seat of their Empire westward, and in the War of 1812, made the fur trade once more an issue. On one thing both the English and the Indians agreed —the fur-bearing animals of the wilderness must be protected from the soil-tilling pioneers of the United States. But they were banded together in a fight against fate. Though the second war for American independence culminated in a peace that promised a respite, it merely transferred to diplomacy the old battle between resolute farmers and the British fur-traders supported by Indian allies, and as the American frontier advanced, exterminating the fur-bearing animals, the clash of these contending forces was pushed onwards until it reached the Pacific Northwest. There, at the water's edge, in the Valley of the Columbia River where the British Hudson's Bay Company had its outpost, the long struggle ended. T. C. Elliott summarizes the situation when he says:—

> Thus we find that it was the prime beaver skin of the Columbia river basin in its abundance which attracted the attention of both England and America to Oregon; the symbol of the pound sterling and American dollar preceded both the flag and the cross in both discovery, and exploitation. And the purely commercial interests involved also undoubtedly occasioned the delay in the final determination of the dispute by means of the treaties of joint policy.[16]

Although in 1846 there were only eight Americans actually residing in the disputed area, and no commercial activities, the thousands of American settlers in the area immediately to the south made a positive contribution to the boundary settlement. Owing to their presence, George Simpson was led to order the removal of the Hudson's Bay Company's main depot from Fort

(16) T. C. Elliott, "The Northern Boundary of Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XX. (1919), p. 28.

Vancouver to Victoria in 1843. Simpson, who profoundly distrusted all American settlers, entertained fears for the safety of the valuable stores concentrated at Fort Vancouver. Lord Aberdeen recognized this decision as being a tacit admission of defeat in Oregon. Such a surrender of the Columbia River was the key to peaceful settlement, and Aberdeen translated the retreat into a treaty of peace.

The Treaty which was of such importance to the Pacific Northwest was accepted with equanimity by officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, but the cry of "54° 40′ or fight" had aroused such a great surge of nationalism in the United States that Polk was roundly berated for having accepted its terms. Although he won a state thereby, his bluff had been called. Senator Benton, referring to "54° 40′ or fight," said:—

> And this is the end of the great Line! All gone—vanished—evaporated into thin air—and the peace when it was not to be found. Oh mountain that was delivered of a mouse, thy name henceforth shall be 54:40.[17]

The significance of the settlement as far as the United States was concerned was that America had now acquired a domain imperial in extent, which stretched from sea to sea. She had secured a firm foothold on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Of even greater importance was the fact that it ushered in an era of Anglo-American peace, good-will, and free trade, which during the next fifteen years (with slight exception) operated greatly to strengthen the North and the West in the United States against the day of Southern secession and a war for the division of the Union. A third result to America that was to be of great importance in the future was Polk's restatement of the Monroe doctrine of 1823, by which Polk warned all European nations not to interfere with the coast, as well as any other part of the American continent.

The results for Canada were no less important. The judgment of those in the area was that Britain had actually conceded too much, but that the area in dispute was not worth a war. The reaction of James Douglas was typical:—

> The British government has surrendered more than strict justice required; but John Bull is generous, and was bound to be something more than just to

(17) J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, New York, 1902, p. 313.

his promising son Jonathan, who will no doubt make a good use of the gift. At all events, I am glad to see the vexing question settled so quietly. The Hudson's Bay Company is fully protected in all its interests.[18]

The significance of the Treaty to Canada was that British sovereignty was definitely established over the western territory which the Dominion was later to inherit. The Oregon crisis provided an example and a warning. The dangers which might arise from the infiltration of American settlement were clearly evident, and the need for measures to prevent a similar outcome in the adjoining area was henceforth constantly before the eyes of the British and Canadian governments. The organization of Vancouver Island as a Crown Colony in 1849; the subsequent steps to extend effective authority over the mainland, the title to which the British had secured by the Treaty; and the concern over the possible fate of the Red River settlement, which played its part in the movement for Confederation, could all be traced directly to the lesson of Oregon. The loss of the disputed triangle between the Columbia River and the Straits was possibly offset by the resulting vigilance which made certain the retention of what now remained in British hands north of the 49th parallel.

ROBERT E. CAIL.

VERNON, B.C.

(18) James Douglas to George Abernethy, November 3, 1846, quoted in James Henry Brown, *Political History of Oregon*, Portland, 1892, p. 291.

ESQUIMALT DOCKYARD'S FIRST BUILDINGS.

The three frame structures built during the Crimean War at Duntze Head, on Esquimalt Harbour, by Governor Douglas in answer to Admiral Bruce's request for temporary hospital accommodation for his squadron, have, for many years, been a source of much interest to students and others. The following notes and photographs have been gathered together recently, and are now presented in completion of the story of the "Crimean huts," as they have been popularly designated.

From time to time in the pages of this *Quarterly*, and elsewhere, reference has been made to their *raison d'être*, their structure, their uses, and their final disposal,[1] but, for the sake of clarity, it has been thought helpful to reiterate briefly the story of their building and the changes through which they passed.

Upon receiving Admiral Bruce's instructions on May 7, 1855, Douglas lost no time in causing the hospital buildings to be commenced, thereby taking the first step towards the establishment of a naval base, which he had been advocating for the previous two years. By June 13 he was able to report to the Home Government:

". . . I was induced . . . to commence the erection of airy and roomy buildings in a healthy and convenient locality . . . the buildings will be habitable by the end of this month. . . ."[2]

Four months later, by which time they had been completed, he described them as follows:—

(1) J. F. Parry, *Sketch of the History of the Naval Establishment at Esquimalt*, reprinted in Victoria *Times*, February 19, 1906. F. V. Longstaff, *Esquimalt Naval Base*, Victoria, 1941, p. 20. W. K. Lamb, "Correspondence Relating to the Establishment of a Naval Base at Esquimalt, 1851–57," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1942), p. 278. Donald C. Davidson, "The War Scare of 1854," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 249–251.

(2) Douglas to Grey, June 13, 1855.

The hospital consists of three buildings, a centre and two wings, each 50 feet long by 30 feet wide, and 12 feet from floor to ceiling. The windows are large and the ventilation perfect. The centre building contains a Kitchen, operating room, dispensary, and Surgeon's apartments; the wings contain the sick wards and will accommodate 100 patients. . . .[3]

In the same communication Douglas mentions the fact that the hospital was "well adapted for the purpose intended and otherwise a valuable property which . . . may be sold, at any time for the full sum it has cost."

Admiral Bruce, who had only a very temporary building or rented premises in mind when he first wrote to Douglas, was disturbed to find that the hospital had cost nearly £1,000, and expressed the opinion that this was considerably more than the British Government would be willing to pay. Douglas had foreseen that a dispute over costs would arise, and presented his case with such logic and firmness that the Admiralty finally paid up in 1857. The same year he handed the buildings over to Captain Prevost, of H.M.S. *Satellite*, who took charge of them in the Admiralty's name. But although they thus became possessed of buildings there, it was not until June 29, 1865, that the Shore Establishment of Esquimalt was formally authorized by the Admiralty.

In the meantime the buildings had been put to good use, one becoming a storeroom, whilst the second remained a hospital. Towards the end of 1858 part of the third building was adapted as a draughting-room for the use of the officers of H.M. surveying ship *Plumper*, and in 1859 Assistant-Surgeon Samuel Campbell, who was in charge of the hospital, made his residence there.

In order to avoid repetition, and with the object of communicating all that is known about these historic buildings, the details of their service have been listed in an appendix.

Two of them, as is well known, survived until 1936 and 1939 respectively. The fate of the third building after the group ceased to be used as a hospital remained a mystery until recently, when the following letter furnished the clue that enabled the writer to solve the riddle.

(3) Douglas to Barclay, October 10, 1855.

New W[estminste]r. 10 Novr. 1863[4]

Sir,

I have the honor to forward herewith Plan & Elevation for converting one of the vacant Log Buildings at the Old Hospital Point Esquimalt into a moderate [modern?] residence for Admiral Commanding on this Station.

You will observe it consists of removing a few partitions, altering Windows & Doors, and adding a new portion at the end. It also provides a Kitchen, Store room, &c. I have also thought it as well to design an upper Storey for further extension of accommodation some future day.

Mr. White[5] lately discharged from the R[oyal] E[ngineers] the very intelligent N.C.O. who waited on you is now establishing himself as a Builder & Architect. He designed these adaptations and would be a suitable person to undertake the construction.

I have, &c.,
sigd. R. C. Moody
Col. Comdg.

Rear Admiral
J Kingcome
Comdr.-in-Chief
Pacific Squadron
&c., &c., &c.,

The next step in unravelling the history of building No. 3 was to discover whether Colonel Moody's suggestion was ever carried out, and, if possible, when the alterations were made.

In an album of photographs taken by Frederick Dally between the years 1867 and 1870 is one showing these three buildings side by side; the most southerly building of the three is in the process of conversion to a dwelling-house with a second story.

Another photograph album, kept by Commander H. W. Mist whilst in command of H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk* on the Esquimalt Station from 1868 to 1872, shows the dwelling complete, with dormer windows in the roof.

The evidence of these photographs, dated as they are with fair precision, would seem to indicate that although Colonel Moody's letter was written in the autumn of 1863, the alterations to the building were not effected until 1867 at the earliest. His second suggestion, namely, that building No. 3 should become a residence for the Admiral, was apparently never acted upon,

(4) Royal Engineers. *Correspondence Outward.* July–November, 1863.

(5) Corporal John C. White was the artist who painted the well-known water-colour of New Westminster's 24th of May celebration in 1865, photographic copies of which have frequently been reproduced.

for we know that Admiral Hastings, who was in command of the Esquimalt Station from 1867 until 1869, lived at "Maplebank," a house built on Hudson's Bay Company property near the Indian Reserve on the opposite side of the harbour. It is also fairly certain that Admiral Denman also lived at "Maplebank" even previous to that time, when it was known as "Dallas Bank."

The first naval storekeeper to be appointed to Esquimalt was Paymaster Sidney John Spark, R.N., who took over his duties at the Dockyard late in 1865. Research has not revealed whether he used the residence in question, but it is surmised that during the latter part of his appointment he did so.

Paymaster Spark was succeeded in 1873 by James Henry Innes. Mr. Innes, who, with his wife and seven children travelled from England to Victoria, found upon arrival that the house in which he was expected to live was not sufficiently commodious for his numerous family.[6]

Mrs. W. E. Scott, of Ganges Harbour, Saltspring Island, who is the only surviving member of the Innes family in British Columbia, has been most helpful in identifying her father's house and office in the photographs, and in relating interesting details concerning her childhood days spent at Duntze Head. Mrs. Scott relates that the family boarded with Mrs. H. B. Ella, on Fort Street, while more and necessary alterations were made to their house.

The Innes family lived in the converted "Crimean" building until 1885, when plans for a bigger and more suitable house for the Storekeeper were put into execution. These plans resulted in the building of the brick house[7] adjoining the site of the three original huts, with its front door facing north instead of west.

To obtain the necessary space for the brick house it was expedient to demolish the former dwelling-house, consequently the Storekeeper and his family were obliged to find other quarters in the interval. They occupied the house lately vacated by the Dockyard Engineer, the most northerly one of the group as shown in the accompanying photographs, and designated building No. 1.

(6) Ella C. Scott to M. Wolfenden, February 5, 1946.

(7) This house since 1936 has been the residence of the Senior Naval Officer, R.C.N., of Esquimalt station.

Owing to the fact that the correspondence between the naval authorities at Esquimalt and the Home Government was removed at the time of the withdrawal of the Imperial forces from this coast, many interesting facts concerning the Dockyard and its development by necessity remain obscure.

The photographs and the documents to which reference has been made are all to be found in the Provincial Archives.

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

VICTORIA, B.C.

APPENDIX.*

BUILDING No. 1.

This building was first used as a store and provision room for the hospital from 1856 until 1859, when it became a hospital ward. From 1862, when the hospital was transferred to Skinner Cove, it apparently was vacant. Presumably from 1871 until 1879, when another residence was built, it was used by the Chief Engineer of the Dockyard. After 1885 and until 1910 it served as a double residence for the Chief Boatswain and Carpenter of the dockyard; in 1891 it was added to. From 1910 and until 1914 the Chief Clerk of the Naval Stores Officer lived in part of it, the other part remaining vacant. During World War I. the building became the office of H.M.C.S. *Shearwater* Shore Establishment. The rear section, originally kitchens, was condemned in 1917 and torn down. The main portion of the building stood empty after the conclusion of hostilities and until 1936, when it was demolished.

BUILDING No. 2.

From 1856 until 1862 this was the Naval Hospital proper. In 1865, when Paymaster S. J. Spark was appointed Paymaster-in-Charge of Victualling Stores, it became his office and continued as the office of the Naval Storekeeper until the withdrawal of the Imperial forces in 1905. Quarters were also provided in it for the Commander-in-Chief Pacific Coast, when ashore. Alterations were effected in 1901. From 1905 onwards it was the office of the Naval Agent, and later of the Superintendent of the Dockyard. In 1913 it was in use as the general office of the Dockyard Civilian staff, and during World War I. it was enlarged to accommodate a larger staff. Though condemned in 1936 because of the ravages of dry-rot, it was not finally demolished until 1939.

BUILDING No. 3.

This building seems to have remained unused until 1858, when it was converted into a drawing office for the use of the officers of H.M.S. *Ptemper*. Upon Doctor Campbell's appointment to the hospital, half of it was used by him as a residence. Between 1867 and 1870 it was converted into a two-story dwelling-house for the Naval Storekeeper. Altered in 1873 to accommodate the large family of Mr. J. H. Innes, it was demolished in 1885, to make room for the brick dwelling now designated "Dockyard House."

* Certain details not found in the above-mentioned general references were obtained from a Report contained in Commodore C. Goodrich's letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, dated January 20, 1905 (British Columbia Executive Papers 1905/8).

In this photograph all three "Crimean Huts" are to be seen. Building No. 1 on the left is the Dockyard Engineer's house. Building No. 2 in the centre is the office, while Building No. 3 on the right has been altered for a Storekeeper's residence. Date approximately 1876.

The earliest known view of the "Crimean Huts," showing Building No. 2, the Hospital proper, on the left; and Building No. 3, Doctor Campbell's residence, on the right. Building No. 1 is out of sight to the left of the picture. Date probably after 1862 when the hospital was removed to Skinner Cove.

In this photograph are to be seen, from left to right, Buildings Nos. 1 and 2 which survived until 1936 and 1939; and on the extreme right, the Storekeeper's brick house built in 1885.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Victoria Section.

Foreshadowing the approaching centenary of the signing of the Oregon Boundary Treaty on June 15, 1846, Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist, addressed a meeting of the section held on Tuesday, May 14, in the Provincial Library. The address, *Beyond Old Oregon: Larger Issues in the Boundary Controversy*, indicated that the issues which resulted in an amicable adjustment lay for the most part beyond the confines of the wilderness partitioned to which neither country had, in reality, a clear and unquestioned title. Economic conditions in both Great Britain and the United States pointed towards a compromise solution. While Great Britain had to bear in mind the position of her other North American colonies in formulating a policy in Oregon, the United States, on the other hand, had to consider the condition of her relations with Mexico.

Some fifty members of the section motored to Saanichton on Saturday, May 18, to join with the Saanich Pioneer Society in unveiling plaques to the memory of two great Saanich pioneers. As the late Simon Fraser Tolmie, former Premier of British Columbia, had officiated when the first log of the Pioneer Inn was placed in position it was only fitting that his long association with the Saanich district should be commemorated at that spot. On behalf of the *Vancouver Daily Province*, Mr. B. A. McKelvie presented a fine sketch in oils of the Hon. S. F. Tolmie, the work of George H. Southwell, and took the occasion to speak of the former premier's contributions as a private citizen and as a political leader. The second plaque honoured the memory of Lawrence Christopher Hagan, pioneer and for many years prominent councillor of the Municipality of Saanich. Both plaques were presented by the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau.

Vancouver Section.

The May meeting of the section, held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday, May 7, highlighted the forthcoming celebration at the Peace Arch, Blaine, in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Oregon Boundary Treaty. Choosing as his topic *Contemporary British Opinion on the Oregon Crisis, 1818–46*, the Provincial Archivist, Mr. Willard E. Ireland, traced by frequent references to the editorials of the London *Times* and other British journals the propaganda campaign launched in Great Britain to pave the way for a compromise solution of the troublesome boundary question. The marked contrast between public reaction to the issues in Great Britain and the United States was noted: whereas there was but one full-dress debate in the British Parliament, the American Congress frequently was used as a sounding-board for expansionist sentiment.

CENTENARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE OREGON BOUNDARY TREATY, JUNE 15, 1846.

The British Columbia Historical Association as early as August, 1943, entered into correspondence with the Oregon Historical Society and the Washington State Historical Society for the suitable commemoration of the centenary of the signing of the Oregon Boundary Treaty of June 15, 1846. Early in 1946 a special committee was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. Willard E. Ireland, comprising Miss Madge Wolfenden, Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, Mr. B. A. McKelvie, and Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, to work in conjunction with a committee of the Washington State Historical Society on the project. From this there evolved the Oregon Boundary Centennial Planning Committee, with Col. the Hon. W. C. Woodward, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, and the Hon. Mon. C. Wallgren, Governor of the State of Washington, acting as Honorary co-Chairmen, and Mr. Thomas A. Swayze, Tacoma, Wash., and Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Victoria, B.C., as co-Chairmen, and Chapin D. Foster, Tacoma, Wash., as Executive Secretary. A strong general committee, composed of representatives of the cities and municipalities adjacent to the boundary, was organized, and in addition the whole-hearted co-operation of the Peace Arch Association was assured.

Two main projects were undertaken: the erection of a cairn and the publication of a commemorative pamphlet. The latter was made financially possible by the British Columbia Department of Trade and Industry and the Washington Department of Conservation and Development. A 58-page brochure containing an historical account of the event, beautifully illustrated, is about to be released. The text was written by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Portland, Ore., Professor Charles M. Gates, Seattle, Wash., and Willard E. Ireland, Victoria, B.C. A smaller 16-page digest of this brochure was prepared for release at the time of the main celebration.

A special cairn committee, under the co-Chairmanship of Col. Howard A. Hanson, Seattle, Wash., and Dr. W. N. Sage, Vancouver, B.C., recommended the Peace Arch Park near Blaine, Wash., as a suitable site for the erection of the cairn. Steps were taken to ensure that this marker would be officially recognized by the International Boundary Commission and by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, which latter body generously agreed to bear the Canadian share of the expenses involved. The cairn, 5 feet in height, is a monolithic native granite block on a concrete base. It was centred on the boundary-line approximately 100 yards east of the Peace Arch. Cut into the face on one side is the word CANADA and on the other, UNITED STATES; subsequently appropriate bronze plaques will be added.

Over 8,000 people were in attendance at the official unveiling of this cairn on Saturday, June 15. Preceding the ceremony 250 guests and dignitaries attended a luncheon tendered by the Blaine Chamber of Commerce, to which the Provincial Council of the British Columbia Historical Association and the Section Councils were invited. The band of the American Second Division, Fort Lewis, Wash., and the Depot Band of Military District No. 11, of Canada, were in attendance at the ceremony which commenced at 2 p.m., Mayor William Mott, of New Westminster, B.C., presiding. Representative

Henry M. Jackson in his capacity as Chairman of the World Maritime Labour Conference then in session in Seattle, Wash., was the first speaker and emphasized the international significance of the event celebrated. The Hon. George M. Weir, Minister of Education, was the official spokesman for the Province of British Columbia and was followed by Lieutenant-Governor Victor A. Meyers for the State of Washington. The cairn was unveiled by Dr. W. N. Sage, representing the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and Captain A. M. Sobieralski, Seattle, Wash., representing the International Boundary Commission. This portion of the programme was released over the national network of the C.B.C. and station KJR in Seattle, Wash., with Mr. Bill Herbert of C.B.C. as commentator.

Following the unveiling an impressive parade of the colours of military and veteran organizations of both Canada and the United States passed through the Peace Arch to mass for a final salute before the speakers' stand. The ceremony was brought to a close with a pageant telling the story of the Canadian and American flags.

On Tuesday evening, June 18, the Province of British Columbia entertained some ninety guests at a banquet in the Empress Hotel, Victoria, B.C. Col. the Hon. W. C. Woodward and Mrs. Woodward were in attendance. Members of the Provincial Cabinet were present. Greetings were brought to the gathering by Miss Madge Wolfenden, President, British Columbia Historical Association; Mr. Chapin D. Foster, Secretary-Director, Washington State Historical Society; Mr. Lancaster Pollard, Superintendent, Oregon Historical Society; and Dr. W. N. Sage, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Guest speaker of the evening was Mr. B. A. McKelvie, who with great care sketched the story of the Oregon Treaty, paying particular attention to the influence of the much earlier Nootka Sound Convention on the later negotiation. The Hon. George M. Weir thanked the speakers for messages from historical associations and Mr. McKelvie for his informative address.

This historic anniversary was also the occasion of fitting celebrations elsewhere along the border. From all sections of the Okanagan valley people assembled on Sunday, June 16, on the boundary between Osoyoos, B.C., and Oroville, Wash. Decorated cars and floats, veteran organizations, school bands, and Indians in full regalia added to the colour of the occasion, which marked the unveiling of a monument by Dr. R. R. Laird, M.L.A. for Similkameen, and Mr. J. V. Rogers, Mayor of Wenatchee, Wash. The international significance of the celebration was stressed in addresses by Mrs. Zella McGregor, Penticton, B.C., Past President of the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada, and Mrs. Frances Spanger, Cashmere, Wash., President of the American Legion Auxiliary. Captain H. A. Davis, Okanogan, Wash., and Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton, B.C., dealt with the historic backgrounds of the treaty and of the Okanagan valley in particular. An impressive feature was the Indian ceremony contributed by members of the Colville Agency in Washington and the Inkameep Reserve in British Columbia. The proceedings were brought to a close by the exchange of flags by the Canadian and American Legions.

Still farther eastward a ceremony was held at the international boundary between Carson, B.C., and Danville, Wash., on Sunday, June 16. Commemorative addresses were delivered by Mr. John T. Raftis, Colville, Wash., and Mr. D. C. Manly, Mayor of Grand Forks, B.C. Flags were exchanged by the respective branches of the Canadian and American Legions and a unique feature concluding the ceremony was a pledge of friendship made by the massed citizens of both countries, over 1,000 being in attendance.

ADDRESS OF THE HONOURABLE GEORGE M. WEIR, PEACE ARCH PARK, JULY 15, 1946.

"One hundred years ago to-day there was signed in Washington, D.C., a treaty between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America. Popularly known as the 'Oregon Treaty,' it divided the Oregon Territory, which, since 1818, had been open to joint occupation by both countries, by laying down the forty-ninth parallel as the land boundary between British and American possessions from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

"Oregon Territory was then largely a vast, uninhabited wilderness, valued primarily as a fur preserve by the enterprising traders of both countries. Thanks to the organizing genius of the Hudson's Bay Company, British interests were for many years predominant. Time, however, was working on the side of the United States. A tide of settlement was sweeping across the great American plains which found no parallel in the adjacent British territory. Eventually it reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean and became a deciding factor in solving the question of disputed national sovereignty. Nor must it be forgotten that for both Great Britain and the United States there were larger national issues involved, more significant, perhaps, than the mere possession of the thousands of square miles which eventually comprised the States of Washington, Oregon, Montana, and Idaho, and the Province of British Columbia.

"It is our privilege to-day to honour the memory of those pioneers who, with enormous courage and fortitude, carved their homes from a wilderness. Cairns and arches are but tangible expressions of our gratitude. The ultimate tribute must be our assurance that the edifice we erect shall be worthy of the foundations they pioneered.

"There is, however, an even greater significance to the event we commemorate. It brought to a close a period of protracted negotiations that from time to time promised to become fruitful of increasing controversy and tension. The respective claims of Great Britain and the United States to the territory were often ably, though vigorously, expounded. Despite the fact that Oregon Territory was remote, that its great natural resources were practically unknown and unexploited, for a time public sentiment became so inflamed that recourse to war was frequently referred to as a possible, if not probable, means of settling the dispute. Yet in the end an amicable adjustment was reached. In both countries the real strength of public opinion was arrayed against a belligerent policy. This treaty was

founded on a basis of neighbourliness, and laid the foundation for future Canadian-American relations in this westermmost part of the continent that has been preserved from that day to this.

"For Canada this treaty has a particular significance. Its provisions made geographically possible the eventual creation of a Dominion of Canada stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was basically an agreement that provided that the peoples of both the United States and Canada should share in the economic resources of the Pacific Northwest; that both should have their ports, their railroads, their industry and their commerce; that both should pursue their national destiny in a spirit of harmony and co-operation unimpeded by border hostilities.

"Admittedly the relations of Canada and the United States since that day have many times been troubled, but they have never been strained beyond the point of peaceful adjustment. Our joint problems have all been faced and solved in the light of a realism that springs from the knowledge that whilst we are two people, we are of one family.

"We are proud that for one hundred years ours has been an unviolated frontier. But international good-will is not a will o' the wisp nor a whim of fortune. It is a spirit in the mind of man, the possession of which demands his noblest and most strenuous efforts. The unity of purpose which has characterized the efforts of our two nations as allies in the common task of preserving liberty and freedom in the world must be perpetuated. It is not, therefore, in a spirit of idle boasting that we would commemorate a century of peace. Rather it is our ardent hope that the practicability of international good-will here demonstrated may flourish and gain universal acceptance.

"The Province of British Columbia is happy to join with the adjacent States of the American Union in commemorating this historic event. We can only view with deep satisfaction this proof that understanding, good-will, and peace between nations is not an idle dream. We may look forward to the future with confidence if we sincerely and earnestly endeavour to perpetuate the spirit which has characterized the past one hundred years. Let us hope that this ceremony to-day will be a symbol of the new links of friendship which Canada will forge with our Neighbour to the South."

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ESSAY COMPETITION.

As part of the Oregon Boundary Treaty Centenary programme the British Columbia Historical Association sponsored an essay competition open to the students of the University of British Columbia, Victoria College, and the Canadian Naval College, Royal Roads. Three prizes of $25, $15, and $10 respectively were offered. Each institution was asked to submit the three most outstanding essays for final adjudication by a committee composed of Miss Alma Russell, former Assistant Provincial Librarian and Archivist; Mr. Harry D. Dee, of the staff of Victoria High School; and Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist.

First prize was awarded to Mr. Robert E. Cail, Vernon, B.C., a student at the University of British Columbia. His essay is published in this issue of the *Quarterly*. Miss Marjorie Aldritt, Victoria, B.C., and Mr. David Charters, Vancouver, B.C., were awarded the second and third prizes respectively. The former is a student at Victoria College and the latter at the University of British Columbia. Honourable mention was given Cadet G. C. Hyatt, of the Canadian Naval College, Royal Roads, and Mr. David I. W. Braide, of Victoria College.

It is interesting to note that in addition to this essay competition a similar project was sponsored by the Delta Chapter, I.O.D.E., of Ladner, B.C., in the Senior and Junior High Schools of that district, under the direction of Miss Patricia Johnson. Evan Price was awarded the prize for the Senior High School division and Doris Hall for the Junior High School division. An essay competition amongst the school children on both sides of the boundary was also a feature of the celebration held in the Okanagan valley.

HELMCKEN HOUSE MUSEUM.

An interesting event took place at Helmcken House Museum on July 5 when Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist, presented a framed picture of the historic old house to Mr. Victor A. Magnin, of Los Angeles, Cal. The presentation marked the ten thousandth visitor to register since the museum was officially opened to the public on August 26, 1941. The resident curator, Mrs. H. Webster, reported that visitors from every province of Canada and every state of the American Union have been registered.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Corday Mackay, M.A., is librarian on the staff of the Lord Byng High School, Vancouver, B.C., and has written many articles on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and British Columbia.

Robert E. Cail, of Vernon, B.C., is a veteran of three years' service with the Royal Canadian Air Force, who has recently returned to the University of British Columbia to complete his academic studies. His essay submitted in the competition sponsored by the British Columbia Historical Association was awarded first prize.

Madge Wolfenden is Assistant Archivist in the Provincial Archives and President of the British Columbia Historical Association.

Grace Lee Nute, Curator of Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, is the author of several books dealing with the voyageurs and explorers of the Middle West.

Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, a member of the Council of the British Columbia Historical Association and a former President of the Association is also editor of the Princeton *Similkameen Star*.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Journal of John Work, January to October, 1835. With an introduction and notes by Henry Drummond Dee. [Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. X.] Pp. 98. Ill. $2.50.

Most of John Work's sixteen diaries have now been published. This is the last one in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia and next to the last one extant. The last one, May 13–26, 1851, is in the Howay Collection in the Library of the University of British Columbia.

The series of fifteen in the Provincial Archives begins at York Factory in July, 1823, and continues through Work's career as a fur-trader in the Oregon country, at Fort George, Spokane House, Fort Colvile, Fort Vancouver, in the Snake River and Flathead country, and in California. All of these are land diaries. The journal under review is primarily maritime in character. It takes Work in the brig *Lama* from the mouth of the Columbia River up along the Northwest Coast, with stops at Fort McLoughlin and Fort Simpson; and with side trips to Kaigani, Nass River, Vancouver Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, and a few other places. Finally, in September and October there is a voyage to Fort Langley in the *Lama* and thence by brig and canoe to Fort Nisqually and down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver.

It is a typical trader's record, using terms and references that without the editor's copious notes would be difficult to understand. Mainly its burden is a jeremiad against the Yankee traders on the Coast, who were able to get most of the natives' furs because the Company men could neither produce the articles wanted by the Indians nor pay such high prices as the New Englanders. Quite a little is added to the fascinating story of the "Bastonais" on the Coast by the constant references in this diary to the vessels, the captains, and the trade methods that Work encountered on his journey.

One is struck constantly by the hazardous life of both Boston and Bay men on this coast. Every few entries one meets a reference to a murder of native or white man. In comparison, a trader's life in more eastern sections of the continent, even among Sioux or Blackfoot Indians, was relatively tame. The Coast Indians must have been corrupted early by rival traders, for by 1835 they appear completely perfidious. Work relates not a little about their customs and manner of life.

Another fact is borne home to the reader of this diary by reiteration, namely, the difficulty that was experienced on the Coast in clearing land for a fort, building chimneys, and extracting a harvest from the heavy soil. The new Fort Simpson was not yet completed and the diary reveals much of its layout, architecture, and the materials used in constructing it.

The diary has been transcribed with great care—almost too meticulously in spots. I doubt the wisdom of such frequent use of [*sic*] for mere mis-

spellings as is found in the book. There is a good deal of repetition in the foot-notes, though perhaps not too much for the complete stranger to the lush growth of obscure Indian tribes, unusual fishes, and odd names of all kinds on the Northwest Coast.

The paper of the volume is beautiful, but the print is very unsatisfactory. Both text and foot-notes seem to be set in the same small type. Probably war conditions in the printing business explains this unfortunate choice. There is no index.

GRACE LEE NUTE.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A History of Prince George. By Rev. F. E. Runnalls. With a Foreword by Harry G. Perry. Vancouver: Wrigley Printing Company, 1946. Pp. xiv., 197. Maps and ill. $2.

Rev. F. E. Runnalls, B.A., B.D., has been minister of the United Church of Canada at Armstrong, B.C., since the beginning of July, 1946. Prior to that he was minister of the United Church at Prince George for five years. During that time he prepared an authentic and very readable account of the community and district which he served. With a foreword by Harry G. Perry, former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, this has now been issued in book form. The history is carefully docketed and indexed, and is profusely illustrated. The frontispiece shows an air view of Prince George, taken in 1929, and the story which follows takes a wide view of the town and district from the earliest times to the present day. An appendix includes lists of mayors, aldermen, and other civic officials, together with a bibliography. There seems to be only one printer's error, and one error of fact, in the book's 200 pages: "January" is misspelled on page 171; and, on page 179, under "1926," the second alderman should be I. (Ivor) B. Guest, instead of H. B. Guest.

In Sir Mortimer Durand's *Life of the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall*, we read of the hero receiving "copies of his volume of 'Asiatic Studies,' with a 'kindly but magisterial letter' from the editor of 'The Edinburgh Review,' for omitting to acknowledge in his preface that one of the chapters was taken from an 'Edinburgh' article. Lyall had asked permission, but had forgotten to mention it, and he now apologized humbly, 'pleading youth and inexperience as an author.'" Mr. Runnalls was in good company when he forgot to mention that part of his story had already appeared in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, and can plead the same excuse as did Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall.

The *History of Prince George* reveals the author as a careful, painstaking chronicler of local history, not lacking a sense of humour or the gift of imagination. The opening paragraph reveals the scope of his undertaking:—

Not far from the geographical centre of British Columbia there is a lovely valley where the clear waters of the Nechako River join those of the muddy Fraser. Here at the meeting of the waters is situated the young and enterprising city of Prince George. Its citizens believe that its greatness lies in the future, but there is sufficient romance in the few years of its history,

and in the many years that preceded its birth, to be worth the telling, and it is the purpose of this work to relate some of that romance.
Then follows a story worth telling, well told.

Following a chapter on geology—"Before the Age of Man"—Mr. Runnalls tells of the native Indian peoples called the Dénés; traces the story of the great explorers, Mackenzie and Fraser, and the history of the fur companies in the area. There is a chapter on "The Golden Cariboo," which includes a record of the Overlanders of 1862. The story of the Telegraph Trail, and the coming of the railways, is well told. Credit is given to the early Roman Catholic missionaries for pioneer religious work, especially amongst the Indians. The work of Protestant denominations is noted in "The Story of a Wedding" (chapter XI.), and elsewhere throughout the book.

The second half of the book is taken up with the story of Prince George itself; of the early settlers, difficulties of transportation, the struggle between rival communities, the romance of real estate, the growth of industry, and community life.

The closing chapter—"Hope Springs Eternal"—links the long story with the Second World War, and consequent developments in building and transportation. The railway-line to Prince Rupert became the "Burma Road" of Alaska, and the opening of the Alaska Highway in November, 1942, brought new visions to old settlers. "In view of these facts," concludes Mr. Runnalls, "and because Prince George is so strategically located in the Central Interior of British Columbia, the rosy hopes for the future which are entertained by its citizens are understandable."

Mr. Runnalls is to be commended for producing such a work, and it is to be hoped that others will do for other communities what he has done so well for Prince George.

JOHN GOODFELLOW.

PRINCETON, B.C.

Fur and Gold in the Kootenays. By Clara Graham. Vancouver: Wrigley Printing Company, 1945. Pp. xiii., 206. Map and ill. $3.

This interesting volume supplements in many respects the *Tales of the Kootenays*, published by Fred J. Smyth in 1938 and issued in a second edition in 1942. Mr. Smyth devoted most of his attention to the later 80's and 90's. Mrs. Graham, on the other hand, deals with earlier days, and her narrative extends from primitive times to the middle 80's and the founding of Nelson.

The book is divided into three parts. The first—"The Country and its Primitive Peoples"—consists of only a few pages, but forms a useful and informative outline, despite its brevity. Part II. is devoted to the explorers, fur-traders, and missionaries who travelled through or settled in the Kootenays in the period 1807–58. David Thompson, Sir George Simpson, and Father De Smet are the most celebrated figures dealt with, and they overshadow all others—even such notables as David Douglas and Paul Kane. The journals of these and other travellers contain striking and often dra-

matic accounts of their journeys up and down the Columbia, and elsewhere in the region, and Mrs. Graham has performed a most useful service in bringing the substance of them together. Indeed, this part of the book might well have been extended considerably, and readers would probably have welcomed more direct quotations from the original sources.

Part III. is entitled "Early Gold Mining and Other Events, 1856–1888." The topics treated include the Palliser expedition, the gold-rush to Wild Horse Creek, the building of the Dewdney Trail, Baillie-Grohman's once celebrated land reclamation scheme, and accounts of the Kootenay adventures of Moberly, Sproat, Dr. Dawson, and others. The variety of material available is remarkable, and here again it is evident that a much larger book could easily be written, even if use were made only of sources readily to hand.

There are twenty-seven illustrations, and an outline map, that appears as a frontispiece, has wisely been made simple and crystal clear. Both Mrs. Graham and her printers are to be congratulated on the attractive type and format. It may not be generally known that many books bearing the imprint of Toronto publishers are now being printed in British Columbia. In view of the quality of work done by local presses this is not surprising.

It seems ungracious to add an *errata* slip to a review, but a few errors of fact can scarcely be left unnoticed. Cook was not the first white man to see British Columbia, and Captain Vancouver arrived fourteen years, not three years, after Cook's visit (p. 20); Bishop Demers did not publish the first newspaper in British Columbia (p. 71); and Walter Moberly did not belong to the Royal Engineers (p. 150). There are several slips and omissions in the bibliography, notably in the authorship of *The Honourable Company*, which is attributed to Douglas Reid instead of to Douglas Mackay (p. 205). It will be noticed that none of these errors relates directly to Mrs. Graham's special field of interest—the Kootenay; but they cannot help but make an unfortunate impression on the historically well-informed reader.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Maquinna the Magnificent. By B. A. McKelvie. The Vancouver Daily Province, 1946. Pp. ix., 65. Ill. [Printed for private distribution.]

In an endeavour to increase interest in the history of British Columbia the *Vancouver Daily Province* commissioned Mr. B. A. McKelvie to write this book. The object in view is to be commended and the publication is a credit alike to the public spirit of the Southam Company and to its author. Few people are more conversant with the historic lore of this Province than is Mr. McKelvie.

The average visitor to the West Coast of Vancouver Island to-day finds it difficult to realize that Nootka was once the thriving trade centre of the Pacific Northwest; that there "incidents" occurred which brought mighty European powers to the verge of war. Historical students are, perhaps, much better informed for much has been written on the maritime fur trade and the Nootka Affair. It was not the author's purpose, however, to write

another "dry and historical" account of events, but, rather, he has sought to indicate "the romance and drama that swirled around the area."

Mr. McKelvie has sensed the epic quality of the life of Maquinna, the chief of the Nootkans. Consequently his story unfolds not as a narrative of the great visitors to Nootka—British, Spanish, or American—but as a chronicle of the native peoples. All the great explorers and traders—Cook, Hanna, Strange, Meares, Haswell, Colnett, Martinez, Haro, Vancouver, and Quadra, to mention but a few—appear upon the scene and their activities are described with a fine sense of historical proportion. But, throughout, it is the reaction of Maquinna, Callicum, his friend, or Comekela, "the travelled one," to these intruders which is emphasized. Events and people thus take on a new significance: Meares becomes responsible for returning Comekela to his people rather than the builder of the *North West America;* the burning of Yuquot seems more distressing than the "Spanish Insult to the British Flag"; the murder of faithful Callicum raises more resentment against the conduct of Martinez than does his mistreatment of Colnett; Alberni becomes more human in his rôle of peace-maker. The threads of the career of Maquinna are skilfully woven into the fabric of a majestic historic tapestry—a career which reaches its zenith in the brother-in-friendship era of Quadra and Vancouver and descends into the tragic period of decline culminating in the massacre on the *Boston.*

Three excellent illustrations especially prepared by the well-known artist, George H. Southwell, greatly enhance what is altogether a remarkably well-executed publication. Some reference notes have been added and there is a list of references which in its form hardly merits the title "Bibliography." The occasional typographical error detracts slightly from the appearance of this book, but to this reviewer the most serious criticism arises from the inclusion of the introductory chapter. A discussion of anthropological questions such as the origin of the native tribes or the existence of the Kingdom of Fusang, to say nothing of the mythical "Sasquatch," seems an inappropriate introduction to the romantic story of "Maquinna the Magnificent."

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Early Days among the Gulf Islands of British Columbia. By Margaret (Shaw) Walter. [Victoria: Diggon-Hibben, Limited, 1946.] Pp. 67.

It is nearly seventy years since Mrs. Walter first saw the Gulf Islands, for it was in 1877 that her father and mother brought their four small children to British Columbia. In contrast with the glowing accounts of the country that had reached them in Scotland, prospects seemed so grim at first that the family almost started back for the Old Country; but they decided to try their luck for a time, and it is clear that Mrs. Walter at least has never regretted the decision.

Through the years her interest in the Gulf Islands and their history has grown, and purely for her own satisfaction she clipped or jotted down facts and stories that came her way. "Now," she writes in the foreword to this

pamphlet, "in reaching fully four score years, and finding as time went on many items of local interest forgotten, and other events repeated until many errors crept in, I have felt moved to write down some of these in rambling sketches of small literary merit; but recording conditions and incidents of an earlier time such as can never happen again."

To her the future historian of the Islands will be duly grateful, for although her little book may be rambling, it contains a great deal of interest and value. Much of the material relates to Galiano and Saltspring islands; in date it ranges from the first days of settlement to relatively recent times.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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

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FROM HAND-SET TYPE TO LINOTYPE.

REMINISCENCES OF FIFTY YEARS IN THE PRINTING TRADE.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—The writer's connection with the newspaper field dates back to 1891, and has given him opportunity to gain at first hand a knowledge of the many changes in the mechanical end of newspaper production which have taken place in the last half century. One of the fast diminishing group of printers who went through the days of hand composition, he has since 1905 been a keyboard operator, and thus has experienced both the old and new stages of news production.

From this personal experience, more than from research, is drawn the information which it has been his endeavour to impart. To the many newcomers to newspaper publication in British Columbia, and the younger generation of printers, this effort is dedicated.

The existence of newspapers is now taken so completely for granted that few people ever stop to think of the many operations involved in their production. Even those few rarely think beyond the gathering and editing of the news, which is the work of the editorial department. But there would be no newspapers if type were not set and printing-presses operated, and this mechanical end of the business is too frequently overlooked. Much skill and ingenuity have been spent upon the invention and operation of the type-setting machines and printing-presses found in a modern newspaper office, and the story of their development is more interesting than most people realize.

It is usual to refer to British Columbia as a young country, but it is old enough to have a printing history that extends well back into the period when type-setting by machine was little more than an inventor's dream. The first printing-press known to have entered what is now British Columbia arrived about 1856, and the first newspaper appeared in 1858. In those days, and for several decades thereafter, the first mechanical operation in the production of a paper was the composition by hand of all news matter, and also of all advertising. This meant the assembling of small type by picking up each separate letter from type-cases divided into numerous small compartments. These

letters were placed in a composing "stick," usually 13 ems (slightly over 2 inches) in width, and tightly spaced. Sticks, which were held in the hand, varied from 2 to 2½ inches in depth, gauged largely by the length of the compositor's thumb. When the stick was filled, the type was dumped on a shallow tray or "galley," designed to hold a long column, as is still done to-day, but which rested on a slanting table instead of flat, so that the type rested against one side of the galley.

Though somewhat pleasant work, type-setting by hand was a slow process compared with to-day's mechanized operation, about nine column-inches per hour being a better than average output. As the lines of type were easily spilled, or "pied" as the printer called it, a tapering side-stick was placed along the side of the type-column, and locked by wedge-shaped wooden quoins, a block of metal being placed at the bottom.

Proofs were then taken, read, marked for errors, and any necessary corrections or alterations made—a tedious task if many changes were required.[1] Placing of the type in the page form then followed, and again careful handling was essential. When the columns were filled and "justified" (i.e., made the exact length required by the insertion of thin strips of lead), tapering foot-sticks and side-sticks were called into use, together with wooden quoins. It was here that a now almost forgotten instrument came into play—a shooting-stick. This was a boot-shaped metallic stick with which the quoins were driven in tightly by the aid of a mallet.

Advertising differed greatly from that of to-day, consisting mainly of the name of the dealer and a list of the chief lines carried. Rarely changed, these advertisements at times featured

(1) The writer is reminded of an incident dating back to the early days of the Ladysmith *Leader*, then (winter 1901–02) published by Thomas Graham. J. H. Hawthornthwaite, leader of the Socialist party in the British Columbia Legislature, was just coming into bloom, and his name was not so familiar to printers as it later became. He addressed a meeting in Ladysmith which was fully reported in the handwriting of Mr. Graham, the copy being divided between Jim Stevens and myself. When the proofs were returned it was found that both of us had misspelled "Hawthornthwaite" by omiting the second "th." Much thin- and wide-spacing resulted in the correcting, as it had not then become the practice to letter-space words in reading matter.

oddly unseasonable articles. Several style faces of type were used in one advertisement, and almost invariably lines were punctuated, sometimes with commas, but more generally a main line ended with a period—a style now followed by many sign-writers.

Fifty years ago but little type was on the point system, the smaller faces most in use being known as nonpareil, minion, brevier, bourgeois, long primer, pica, and great primer; these correspond respectively with the 6-, 7-, 8-, 9-, 10-, 12-, and 18-point faces of to-day. Larger sizes were spoken of as two-line, three-line, etc., the equivalent of our 24- and 36-point. Offices were equipped with but few fonts of any series, the tendency being toward variety of size rather than of face.

Practically all composition on daily papers was done on a piece-work basis, the compositor being paid so much per thousand ems (the square of the type in use). This not only encouraged the worker to speed up for monetary reasons, but had a tendency to create competition. Type-setting contests were a feature of the period; and many details about them and other aspects of competition in the trade are given in the interesting volume entitled *Fast Typesetting*, published in New York in 1887 by William C. Barnes, Joseph W. McCann, and Alexander Duguid, all three of whom had established type-setting records. The book describes several contests in which more than 2,000 ems per hour were set on wide measure. An international type-setting match, held on May 10, 1871, with eleven contestants, 27-em measure, gave results ranging from 1,323 ems to 1,822. How keen competition was is shown by the challenge issued in December, 1877, by the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, which threw down the gauntlet to any number of compositors, from one to ten, for $500 to $1,000 a side. Competitions were not confined to the United States, as we are told that a match was held in 1881 in Winnipeg between Thomas C. Levy, of that city, and James McCaw, of the Toronto *Globe*, for a prize of $1,000 and the championship of Canada. In this contest the type was nonpareil (i.e., 6-point), 17⅝ ems to lower-case alphabet; the measure, 30 ems wide; and the time, seven hours; there were no conditions as to spacing, etc. Levy won, having set 13,700 ems against McCaw's 12,240.

Coming nearer home, and to the period 1890–92, there were in Vancouver two outstanding type-setters—George G. Henderson of the *World*, and Alfred W. Finbow of the *News-Advertiser*—who were reputed to be the "swifts" in their respective offices. In 1892 Henderson became part-owner of the Vernon *News*, where he remained until the turn of the century. Mr. Finbow moved to Kamloops in 1893 as a partner in the *Inland Sentinel*, remaining until 1896. He is now living in Hamilton, Ontario.

The writer never heard of competitions between Mr. Henderson and Mr. Finbow, but he was privileged to work alongside them in Vernon and Kamloops respectively. Mr. Finbow had an easy motion, while Mr. Henderson, who was an asthmatic, wheezed slightly each time he reached for a letter, and this was somewhat trying for a work-mate until he became accustomed to it. Mr. Finbow later became a keyboard operator.

Returning to the subject in hand, the next step in the production of the newspaper was in the hands of the pressman, usually a printer of utility accomplishments. But preparations for the following day remained to be made, and these required distribution of type by each compositor until his case was amply filled. This of course was a much more speedy performance than assembling type, as several letters could be handled at one time. It was restful to sit on a stool while distributing type, but when composing the type-setter usually stood, so that he could move about as freely and quickly as possible.

TYPOGRAPH AND LINOTYPE.

In the 1880's and 1890's, and even later, many attempts were made to produce line-casting machines for the printing industry. But of all the machines produced there are but two which have survived as being well adapted to the composition of news matter. Some few others are in use in advertising departments, but the rest have passed into oblivion.

The most outstanding of all is the Linotype, a product of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company, of Brooklyn, New York. It was on July 3, 1886, that the first of this company's machines, the inspiration of one Ottmar Mergenthaler, a watchmaker, went into commercial use on the New York *Tribune*. A somewhat

crude device, with but little resemblance to the almost human machine of to-day, this early model had a vertical rather than a reclining magazine, and the matrices were delivered to this for distribution by the first, and only, elevator.

Many improvements have been made throughout the years until the Linotypes of to-day, with their multiple and auxiliary magazines, are capable of meeting all requirements up to most head-letter sizes. These multiple machines are now the most widely used, but there are still some models with single magazines in service, that known as the No. 5 being the most outstanding.

After the successful introduction of the Brooklyn-built Linotype the Canadian Linotype Company was formed, with a factory in Montreal. The product of this company closely resembled the American machines of 1890.

It would seem that credit for installation of the first type-casting machines in British Columbia must be given to the Vancouver *News-Advertiser*, though the Victoria *Times* was a close second. The *News-Advertiser* machines, four in number, made their appearance in the latter part of February, 1893. They were known as the Rogers Typograph, and their place of origin is not known to the writer. Their construction was vastly different to the Linotype, the magazine section consisting of a network of wire racks on which were stored elongated matrices, which were assembled by means of a keyboard. Though a step forward, the Rogers Typograph was not sufficiently successful to survive for long. Mr. Dan Cameron, of the Vancouver *Province*, one of the few remaining operators who used a typograph, says:—

> The Rogers Typograph was built for power or hand operation. If run by hand, it took three turns of the side handle to cast a line. The [melting] pot, situated on the left side, came forward on the first turn, the line was cast on the second revolution and was ejected on the third, as the pot went back into position. The matrices were of varying length and ran down individual wires, the spacebands being round and justifying to various widths. The left hand was used in the throwing back of the top and the distribution of the mats. The Rogers was capable of recasting ten lines a minute.

August of 1893 found four Linotypes of Canadian manufacture in place in the Vancouver *World* office. As we shall see,

these were the second Linotypes to come to British Columbia. The dates of the installations at the *News-Advertiser* and *World* are confirmed by the following entries from *An Outline History of Typographical Union No. 226, Vancouver, B.C., 1887–1938*, by George Bartley, which are based on the minutes of the union:—

> Putting machines in *News-Advertiser* was no longer a secret, as four Rogers machines were at the C.P.R. freight sheds. (February 26.) Union was assured that none but union men would be employed to operate them. Those who claimed to know something about them being used on small papers prophesied their failure (and hoped they were).
>
> On June 20, President D. Jameson, Secretary A. Porter, George Bartley (scale committee), were instructed to wait on proprietors *re* machine scale. On June 22, new machine scale adopted for one year. . . . Agreement signed for one year by J. C. McLagan (*World*) and F. L. Carter-Cotton (*News-Advertiser*). Organizer C. E. Hawkes, Seattle, assisted committee in negotiations.
>
> Four Mergenthalers [i.e., Linotypes] installed in *World* in August.

Conditions in the printing trade the following year (1894) are described by Mr. Bartley, and apparently use of machines was felt:—

> During the year Vancouver suffered from a very keen depression. Real hard times made themselves felt, which were also perturbed by the throes of an acrimonious political controversy of a provincial general election, held in July. Wages in all trades, except printing, were reduced. Work for printers was curtailed by fifty per cent., hand work being replaced by machinery. . . . *World* cut down from six to five columns, eight pages, employing two operators instead of four (September 10).

The introduction of type-setting machines met with anything but favour from the printers of the day, who foresaw nothing but the ruination of their trade. However, when hand-compositors were given an opportunity to learn the operation of the new devices the expected calamity did not materialize to any extent. With the return of better days it was not long until larger papers were produced. Advertising increased, and both the hand-compositor and the machine operator were found to be necessary for handling the work.

After using the Rogers Typographs for some time the *News-Advertiser* replaced them with Linotypes of Canadian make, and two of the first-named machines went to the New Westminster *British Columbian*. What became of the other two of the original four is not known. Of the *Columbian* machines, sub-

sequently replaced by a Linotype, one went to the Kamloops *Standard*, where it remained in use until, for a third time, it was replaced by a Linotype. Mr. Dan Cameron understands that the other was sent to Atlin. So far as the writer knows these changes ended the life of Rogers machines in British Columbia.

THE LINOTYPE IN VICTORIA.

Not being as familiar with doings on Vancouver Island as on the mainland, the writer found himself without definite dates as to the installation of type-setting machines in Victoria. He therefore appealed to an old friend, Mr. F. W. Laing, who, with the aid of Mrs. C. R. McNamee, of the Provincial Library, succeeded in finding the needed data. Search through the files of the Victoria *Times* finally brought to light an editorial in the issue dated May 23, 1893, which read in part as follows:—

The *Times* of to-day presents to the public a special holiday number, on account of which it may be allowed to indulge in a little self-gratification. As many of our readers know, the *Times* some weeks ago discarded the old system of setting type by hand and employed typecasting machines known as Linotype. Today we devote a portion of our space to the description and illustration of the working of this machine. We may also say that the *Times* is the first paper in all Canada west of Ontario to make use of this great improvement in the printer's art. With one exception, it was the first on the whole Pacific coast to employ the Linotype machines. . . .

The date upon which the *Colonist* commenced to use type-setting machines was not so easily discovered. The only clues which I could give Mr. Laing were that the change might have been made about 1898, and that the hand-set type was worn rather close to the shoulder before it was discarded. With the latter point in mind, Mr. Laing sought the technical assistance of Charles F. Banfield, King's Printer, and together they made a search of the *Colonist* files for clearer type faces. Another clue was received from Mr. Alec Swainson, who located a man who said that machines were introduced on the day the *Colonist* plant was moved to the paper's present premises, on Broad Street. This was found to be March 15, 1898. Commenting on the search of the *Colonist* files Mr. Laing says:—

By the process of elimination we found that at the end of February, 1898 the type was all hand set but that on March 18 there were two items set by machine, one was the Shipping News and the other a legal advertisement. From that we followed through and found that each day there was a larger

amount of material machine set until March 23, 1898, when the editorials were machine set but there was the bulk of the material hand set. There was nothing in the form of reading matter saying that new buildings were occupied nor that machines had been introduced for typesetting. From that we concluded that the *Colonist* management made the introduction of the machines and the occupancy of the new building subject for no comment.

Under the circumstances then, I think that you will agree with me and Mr. Banfield [that] the *Colonist* commenced the use of machine typesetting first on March 18, 1898, in a small way, depending for most of the work to be done by hand. That leads us to believe that there was only one machine or at best two, and that the operators were being trained slowly on the work.

LATER LINOTYPES.

It was in March, 1898, that the Vancouver *Province* entered the field as a daily, after publication of a weekly in Victoria for four years. For a start it had but one Linotype, operating two shifts, but this was soon found to be inadequate and an increase was made.

Rossland and Nelson, each of which at one time boasted two dailies and a weekly, were fairly early to introduce Canadian-built Linotypes.

The early days of this century found the three Vancouver daily papers—the *News-Advertiser*, *World*, and *Province*—each with four Canadian Linotypes in its printing-office. The machines, nearly all equipped with but one mould, and that a solid one of single-column measure, were not well adapted to advertising work. The matrices were for the most part single-letter, and the points (commas, periods, and quotes) on a three-to-em body, as in type cases, which perhaps was an improvement on those of to-day, as they were not so subject to bending.

The first Mergenthaler (that is, American-built) Linotype to reach British Columbia was installed by the Vernon *News* in August, 1906; this was a Model 3 single magazine interchangeable. At first it was equipped with but one magazine. Others were later added, but, unlike the Model 5, which was first placed on the market that year, it was a two-man change, the magazine frame lifting with the magazine to the rear.

In the early summer of 1907 the Vancouver *Province* added to its plant a No. 4 American-made machine. This was one of the earlier multiple machines, which had been designed the previous year. Like that of the Vernon *News*, it was delivered

with a couple of parts lacking, because their importation would have given the Canadian Linotype Company grounds upon which to claim infringement of patent. This made it awkward for the operator, for the missing parts included the first elevator jaw duplex rail levers. The slots for these were filled with type metal, and successful transfer of a black-face line was always in doubt, such lines often spilling on the floor. At the *Province* these difficulties were overcome by acquiring the parts by black market methods through United States sources, although this led to litigation. In Vernon, the writer took over operation and care of the *News'* machine on December 1, 1907, and soon entered into correspondence with the American agency, requesting delivery of the missing parts. (I was familiar with the workings of American Linotypes from a sojourn in Washington State in 1906.) Stalling for time, the replies were evasive; like the Chinaman, they "no savvied" what was wanted. Within a few months, however, the Canadian Linotype Company was taken over by the Brooklyn firm, and the Montreal factory closed. No difficulty was then experienced in getting delivery of the required parts.

MONOLINE, MONOTYPE, AND INTERTYPE.

Another make of machine which, being cheaper, was designed to meet the requirements of country offices, was the Monoline. This, like the Rogers Typograph, was equipped with elongated matrices suspended on wire racks; but it was a much smaller and more compact machine. Monolines did duty in the offices of the Nanaimo *Free Press*, Nanaimo *Herald*, Ashcroft *Journal*, Kamloops *Inland Sentinel*, Revelstoke *Mail-Herald*, Vernon *Okanagan*, and perhaps elsewhere. But as time went on they all were replaced by Linotypes.

About 1915 the American Linotype Company placed on the market a "baby" machine, patterned after the regular design, but with a magazine carrying but fifteen letters instead of twenty- or twenty-two letter fonts. These, though serviceable on narrow measure, were not completely satisfactory and gained but a small foothold. British Columbia installations included the Revelstoke *Review*, the Merritt *Herald*, and the Kelowna *Courier*.

Another make of machine was introduced to the trade about 1910, and while successful in its sphere, did not altogether meet newspaper requirements. This is known as a Monotype, and consists of two units—a keyboard and a caster. Its use is largely the casting of type for case use, and the production of leads and slugs. There are three of these in the Province—one at the *News-Herald*, Vancouver, and two at the Victoria *Colonist*.

It was about 1915, at a time when Linotypes were largely replacing other makes of line-casting devices, that a new manufacturing firm sprang up in Brooklyn. This was the Intertype Corporation, and its product from the start was almost identical to the Linotype in principle. Slight alterations served to evade patent infringements.

Unlike most of its predecessors, the Intertype came to stay, and as the years have passed it has undergone many changes and improvements, until it is now an established rival of the Linotype. Two of the later makes of Intertype were installed a few years ago at Chilliwack. Two more found homes in the office of the Penticton *Herald*, following a fire at that plant, and eleven others are in use at different points. Early models of these machines were installed in Vernon and Penticton in 1921, but both have since disappeared.

For advertising display purposes, the needs of the newspapers have been well met by the introduction of the Ludlow line-casting machine. This calls for the use of cases which contain brass matrices, instead of type-metal letters. These are assembled in a holder or stick by hand, and from the matrices are cast the large lines, but on a narrow body, which requires supporting blank spaces underneath.

In the case of a Ludlow line the matrices, after the cast, are at once distributed to the case. The type metal goes to the melting pot to be used over again, as in the case of Linotype and other metal. These machines have long been in use in some of the daily newspaper offices, and one was installed by the Kamloops *Sentinel* in 1928.

While we would seem to have covered a rather varied field of type-casting machines, there is yet another machine which for a short time did duty for the Summerland *Review*, the only one of its kind known to have entered the Province. By name a Uni-

type, this was a type-assembler rather than a type-caster, and used a specially prepared font of type, accommodating only one size. On this machine two operators were required, one manipulating the keyboard, which released the type from an upright magazine on to a carrier which conveyed it to the composing-stick, where the second person justified the already spaced lines. The completed line was then passed to a galley. For distribution, five or six inches of assembled type was placed in a distributer container, from which it was fed one line at a time into a revolving cylinder. Each type had a different combination of nicks on one side, and the cylinder in its revolution paused sufficiently over the entrance to each letter channel of the magazine to permit of the type keyed therefor to drop into place. The Unitype, which cost almost as much as a single-magazine Linotype, is said to have been installed by a foreman who objected to working in a room where there was molten metal. Being too costly to operate, it was replaced by a Model 14 Linotype, and after being stored in the office for a few years was destroyed by fire in 1923.

Earlier in this story Canadian Linotypes were said not to have been altogether adapted to advertising work, due to having but a one-measure mould. (Lines over 13 ems had to be treated as twin slugs.) At the *News-Advertiser* office in Vancouver one Linotype, known as the "ad. machine," was equipped with a universal mould—that is, changeable as to thickness and length of slug. For length of line a series of pins varying in em lengths was used to adjust the left jaw. This so-called "ad. machine" had only one magazine, but three fonts of matrices (7-, 9-, and 11-point). All three were used each night, requiring many runnings in and out of mats. To facilitate this, machinist Pal Proulx, now of the Vancouver *Sun*, made a guide which he attached to the distributer frame, a device which greatly assisted the placing of matrices on the bar. Nevertheless, the procedure followed by the operator who ran this particular machine remained a complicated one. He would start the night's work setting advertising material in 11- or 9-point, as required. Then, about lunch time, he prepared to set up the editorials of the publisher, F. Carter-Cotton, which usually arrived written across part of an official envelope, and running line-for-line with the 9-point type. Finally a change was made to 7-point, for the

latter part of the night was devoted to setting news matter. Such was the nightly routine of the writer in 1907, and one can readily realize what all these changes cost in unproductive time.

That same year the Canadian Linotype Company sought to keep pace with its American rival by bringing out an improved machine designed to simplify magazine changes. This was brought about by use of an overhead carrying track, from which the magazine could be suspended and carried to a rack—a contrivance very similar to that used in a dairy barn for a vastly different purpose. The only one of these machines to reach British Columbia arrived at the *News-Advertiser* office at the close of 1907, and after a short tryout was discarded. What became of it I know not.

So far as newspaper work is concerned to-day, machine-composition is mostly done by Linotype, Intertype, Ludlow, or Monotype, all of which in improved form are well adapted to the work. A tabulation made in March, 1945, showed that there were 190 of these type-setting machines in British Columbia. Of this total 165 were Linotypes, 15 were Intertypes, 7 were Ludlows, and 3 were Monotypes.[2]

In early days heating the metal for any of the line-casting machines, to a working temperature of 525–550 degrees Fahrenheit, was a problem in many of the smaller cities. In the larger ones gas was used as a rule. Coal-oil was given a trial in the early stages, but proved anything but satisfactory. Gasoline was an improvement, and after much experimenting was found to give good results. A storage-tank would be buried at a safe distance from the office and connected by a hollow wire with the machine's burner. Gasoline of the better quality (Queen) could be had by the 10-gallon case, and at 40-lb. pressure a good flame could be maintained. Later came the electrically heated pots, which were adopted as soon as a community had a twenty-four-hour electric power service.

EARLY PRINTING-PRESSES.

Having dealt at considerable length with type-setting, we must pass along to the next stage in newspaper production—that of the printing or presswork.

(2) For this tabulation, *see* appendix.

Most papers in their earliest stages were produced on what was commonly known as a Washington press. This consisted of a stoutly built frame, the upper portion of which carried a platen of sufficient size to accommodate two pages of a paper. This was equipped with a lever handle which, by means of knuckles, furnished the impression squeeze. On the under-side was a track which carried the bed on which rested the type forms, this being moved back and forth by a small crank. The sheet of paper was placed on a frisket which, after the inking of the forms by a second man from the opposite side of the press, was dropped on to the type and run under the platen. A stout pull by the pressman then made the impression. Reversing the motion of the crank, the sheet was removed after lifting the frisket.

Such a press, operated by two men, was capable of turning out 250 copies of one side of a four-page paper per hour, but to attain this result there was not much time for "soldiering." Needless to say, an active man of some weight had a decided advantage over a lighter one in operating the lever. To-day there are but few of these pioneer presses left, but the odd one still does duty as a proof-press.

To trace the numerous presses which have played their part during the growth of cities and newspaper circulations would require much research. Of different designs, they met the requirements of past days, and paved the way to the high-speed cylinder presses of to-day. These modern marvels, printing from large rolls of paper instead of the single sheets of earlier days, call into service another branch of the allied printing trades —that of the stereotyper. These men, by means of papier-mâché mats, reduce the page form of thousands of single lines to one curved metal plate. These plates in turn are clamped to the cylinders on the press, and by the passage of a sheet (or strip) from a roll of paper over these the completed paper results.

In their day such machines as the drum-cylinder Cottrell, the Wharfedale (of English origin), the drum-cylinder Campbell, and an occasional Hoe, all did duty in the span of progress. These were all fed by hand, the Wharfedale differing from the others in that it was an under-shot instead of over-shot feed; that is, the cylinder operated in a different direction. Doubtless a round of the weekly newspaper offices would still disclose many

drum-cylinder presses, as well as an occasional flat-bed Duplex press, producing at one operation an eight-page paper from flat-bed forms such as serve in the case of hand-fed machines.

A few details about the first printing-press used in what is now British Columbia may be of interest. This was a small French hand-press, brought to Victoria by Bishop Demers, of the Roman Catholic Church, about 1856. In design it was similar to the Washington press above described. It differed in size only, the bed and platen being built to accommodate two small newspaper pages. This press seems to have been used but seldom by the Bishop, but when the *British Colonist* (now the Victoria *Daily Colonist*) was founded in December, 1858, the first issues of the paper were printed on the machine.

After serving its purposes in Victoria, this pioneer press also led the way in printing in the Interior of the Province. Its first appearance inland was at Barkerville, during the gold-rush days of 1865. There it was used for a few years to print the historic *Cariboo Sentinel*. After being idle for some time the French press participated in the founding of the *Inland Sentinel* at Emory, near Yale, by Michael Hagan in May, 1880, and later that year publication was transferred to Yale. As Canadian Pacific Railway construction moved eastward, so did the *Sentinel*, which made its first appearance in Kamloops, which has ever since been its home, on July 31, 1884. After serving in Kamloops, the old press was finally relegated to a corner in the *Sentinel* office, where it stood until it was presented by the late Dr. M. S. Wade to St. Ann's Academy, Victoria, where it is a prized historical relic.

The earliest of Southern Interior papers, the *Inland Sentinel* (now the *Kamloops Sentinel*) was the first to have a cylinder press, one known as a Prouty being installed in the Kamloops office in 1890. Like the old French hand-press, it had previously done duty in Victoria. This two-page machine was a most serviceable one, with a 9-inch travelling cylinder, while the bed, with return of the cylinder, dropped by means of knuckles. Its capacity was about 800 sheets per hour—two pages, six columns. In 1898 the *Sentinel* purchased a Cottrell, and early that summer the Prouty moved on to further service in the office of the *Kootenay Mail*, in Revelstoke. There it remained until the closing days

of 1903, when it was succeeded by an old Wharfedale acquired from the Vancouver *News-Advertiser* office, and departed for Lethbridge, Alberta.

In operating this Prouty the *Sentinel* staff had somewhat exceptional power—a Chinaman known as "Jim Jam," a name given him after he had helped himself to the preserves of a lady neighbour of the *Sentinel*. Jim, who between times kept in condition by use of a bucksaw, became so expert on the fly-wheel of the press that he would make a complete run without a stop—in fact, would cuss profusely if a stop were made; he perspired freely but kept going. If he had to be absent, Jim sent two Chinamen as substitutes, but their combined efforts did not equal his. He was finally displaced by a small steam-engine in 1894.

Though Prouty machines were rare, the Vernon *News* had a new four-page machine installed in 1892. This made possible the completion of the eight-page weekly issue with one run, there being four pages patent; that is, furnished ready-printed on one side by a house catering to such work. Here the power was furnished by the combined efforts of the editor and staff of two. Unfortunately this press saw but comparatively short service, as the plant of the *News* was destroyed by fire in 1897.

Many and varied are the presses now in use for commercial printing, but in earlier days practically all such work was done on platen machines. Some of these were commonly referred to as "Gordon" presses, I know not why, but as time went on a 12- by 18-inch machine manufactured by Chandler & Price seemed to be a favourite.

POWER FOR THE PRESS.

Power for operation of printing machinery, whether press or type-casting machine, was one of the many problems with which the printer or publisher had to contend. Almost any printer of the old school can look back on the days when, as a boy, he was called upon to furnish the motive power for a platen press by means of a treadle; the writer's earliest recollections are of a small press, which was easy to run, and of a large one, which required two men to tramp.

Presently steam-engines were installed, but they were not all that could be wished for, since, apart from the extra discomfort

they caused on a hot summer's day, a permit was required to enable one to operate them. As an illustration: In 1902 the writer was a pressman for the *Inland Sentinel*, in Kamloops, and his duties included that of serving as engineer of a 6-horse-power boiler. One day the official boiler inspector came along and caught us without the necessary permit. Some person in the office had to appear before him for examination; Dave Jameson was the foreman, and it was agreed that he should be the victim. Doing nicely in the oral examination, Dave was given the poser: "What would you do if you found steam to be rising on the gauge while water in the glass grew less?" Our foreman was equal to the occasion and promptly replied, "Send for Charlie Wain." Mr. Wain was then superintendent at the city power plant, three blocks away. The permit was issued!

Gasoline engines, introduced in the earlier days of the century, offered a partial solution of the power problem. When one of these was installed it usually served as power for all machines in the office. But for an intricate machine such as a Linotype a steady flow of power was essential; the throwing on and off of presses was a cause of too much variation. Even an individual motor run by water-power was not entirely satisfactory for, while fluctuations in speed were not numerous, they did occur from time to time. To cite an example, the filling of street-sprinkler tanks from a near-by hydrant could cause awkward variations in pressure. All of which will make evident how great a boon to printing-offices was the introduction of twenty-four-hour electric power service, and the use of individual electric motors which could be relied upon to run at a practically constant speed. The hours of service were important, for in many Interior points when electricity was first introduced it was available for only a part of the day—usually from dusk to midnight. In winter power was available relatively early in the afternoon, but in summer the way in which daylight persisted far into the evening made things awkward for the printer.

JOB-PRINTING.

A word should be said about the handling of commercial or job printing. Job-printers of the early days devoted considerable attention to commercial work, such as letter-heads, bill-heads (loose-leaf services were not then in use), etc. Many of the type

faces were of a flowery nature, with scrolled letters. (I have in mind the "Koster" series.) Among job-printers were some with such a decided flair for curved rules that they were known as "rule-twisters." Type of all sizes, as also borders, called for hand setting, and careful handling when the job was completed. As on newspapers, most presswork was done by a utility printer, who in most instances was particular as to impression, and made good use of overlay knife.

To-day the advertising or job hand may be likened to an architect and builder. Taking up the copy of an advertisement or job, he proceeds to lay it out by diagram, with allotments for each department. Then everything is marked as to series and size of type, with the desired width. The copy is then given to the Linotype operator, while the advertising man retains the larger display lines, which will be handled by Ludlow equipment.

Linotype or Intertype machines cast lines of 30-em (5 inches) width, and for wider use these are placed end to end (twin slugs) as required. Where a lesser length than the 30-em measure is used, either a shorter slug may be produced by changing liners, or, as is mostly done, the unused portion is cut off with a small circular saw; some machines are equipped with saws.

Borders and rules of varying designs are also cast to 30 ems, and the advertising or job man has thus at his command a complete ensemble of lines which require but to be assembled or built together into page or lesser form.

THE TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

For over half a century branches of the International Typographical Union have been in operation in all principal centres. With these, printers in small places sometimes maintain affiliations. Throughout, with but few exceptions, relationships between employer and employee have been most friendly.

When, in 1906, the International Union took steps toward enforcement of an eight-hour day, Vancouver (and doubtless Victoria) newspaper printers had for long enjoyed not only an eight-hour day but one of seven and one-half hours. For a considerable time now the five-day week has prevailed at most points. This was an important matter during the depression days of a

few years ago, and is so at the present time, when many veterans are in need of employment.

Mention has been made earlier of printers performing the duties of pressmen. As time went on, and particularly with the introduction of web presses, the work of pressmen became specialized. This in turn brought about the formation of Pressmen's Unions. Likewise the stereotypers came on the scene and became organized. These changes were responsible for still another organization, when all three unions combined in some of their activities as the Allied Printing Trades Council.

With employer and employee working in harmony, newspapers of British Columbia have, where depressions were not too severe, made steady advancement in serving their various communities. It now remains but to carry on and wonder what changes the next half century may bring about.

BURT R. CAMPBELL.

KAMLOOPS, B.C.

APPENDIX.

A list of machines of various makes in offices where newspapers or periodicals are produced was prepared in March, 1945. Possibly a few others were in use in strictly job offices. The list includes:—

LINOTYPES.

Armstrong Advertiser	1	*Powell River Town Crier*	2
Ashcroft Journal	1	*Prince George Citizen*	2
Courtenay Free Press	1	*Prince Rupert Daily News*	2
Comox Argus, Courtenay	1	*Prince Rupert Daily Empire*	2
Surrey Leader, Cloverdale	1	Dibb Printing Company, Prince Rupert	1
Crossbrook Courier	1	*Similkameen Star*, Princeton	1
Creston Review	1	*Cariboo Observer*, Quesnel	1
Cumberland Islander	1	*Revelstoke Review*	1
Cowichan Leader, Duncan	1	*Peace River Block News*, Dawson Creek	1
Enderby Commoner	1	*Rossland Miner*	1
Fernie Free Press	1	*Salmon Arm Observer*	1
Golden Star	1	*Sidney Review*	1
Grand Forks Gazette	1	*Interior News*, Smithers	1
Kamloops Sentinel	2	*Trail Times*	4
Kelowna Courier	2	*Trail Ad-News*	2
Kimberley News	1	*Daily Province*, Vancouver	23
Ladner Optimist	1	*Vancouver Sun*	17
Ladysmith Chronicle	1	*News-Herald*, Vancouver	7
Merritt Herald	1	*Victoria Times*	8
Fraser Valley Record, Mission City	1	*Victoria Colonist*	12
Arrow Lakes News, Nakusp	1	*Vernon News*	2
Nanaimo Free Press	2	*Nechako Chronicle*, Vanderhoof	1
Nelson News	4	*Whitehorse Star*	1
Omineca Herald, New Hazelton	1	*Williams Lake News*	1
British Columbian, New Westminster	4	Broadway Printers, Vancouver	2
Jackson Printing Company, New Westminster	1	Lumberman Printing Company, Vancouver	1
Imperial Printers, New Westminster	1	*Vancouver Sun*, Job-printing Dept.	5
Pacific Canadian Printers, New Westminster	1	Wrigley Printing Company, Vancouver	2
North Shore Press, North Vancouver	2	Boden Press, Vancouver	1
Review, North Vancouver	1	University Press, Vancouver	1
West Vancouver News	1	Spencer & Tucker, Vancouver	3
West Coast Advocate, Port Alberni	2	Mitchell Printing Company, Vancouver	2
Port Haney Gazette	2	Dignon-Ribbon Company, Victoria	1
Powell River News	2	Government Printing Bureau, Victoria	5
		Total	165

INTERTYPES.

Abbotsford, Sumas & Matsqui News	1	*Penticton Herald*	2
Chilliwack Progress	2	*Vancouver Sun*	2
Cowichan Leader, Duncan	1	*Victoria Times*	4
Kaslo Kootenaian	1	Boden Press, Vancouver	1
Nanaimo Free Press	1	Total	15

LUDLOWS.

Kamloops Sentinel	1	*Vancouver Sun*	2
Nelson News	1	*Victoria Times*	1
Daily Province, Vancouver	2	Total	7

MONOTYPES.

News-Herald, Vancouver	1
Victoria Colonist	2
Total	3

SUMMARY.

Linotypes	165
Intertypes	15
Ludlows	3
Monotypes	3
Total	190

The *Vancouver Sun*, including its job-printing department, owned 26 machines (22 Linotypes, 2 Intertypes, and 2 Ludlows); the *Vancouver Daily Province* owned 25 (23 Linotypes and 2 Ludlows); the *Victoria Colonist*, 14 (12 Linotypes and 2 Monotypes), and the *Victoria Times*, 13 (8 Linotypes, 4 Intertypes, and 1 Ludlow).

BURRARD OF BURRARD'S CHANNEL.

". . . this channel, which, after Sir Harry Burrard of the navy, I have distinguished by the name of Burrard's Channel . . ."

The brief article on the naming of Burrard Inlet that Sir Gerald Burrard contributed to the April number of this *Quarterly*[1] brought to light an interesting difference of opinion that had existed, unsuspected by historians, for at least forty years.

Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound, published by Edmond S. Meany in 1907, was the first book in which an effort was made to identify the various persons after whom Captain Vancouver had named geographical features. Professor Meany took it for granted that Burrard Inlet had been named in honour of Sir Harry Burrard, the second baronet, who, after his marriage to the heiress of the house of Neale, became Sir Harry Burrard-Neale. All subsequent writers, including Captain John T. Walbran, author of the well-known volume on *British Columbia Coast Names* (Ottawa, 1909), have taken the same view. Now it appears that family tradition has always insisted that the inlet was named after the first baronet, the original Sir Harry Burrard; and it is asserted further that Sir Harry the first took so active and benevolent an interest in Captain Vancouver's career that he deserves to rank in history as the famous explorer's patron.

To make a choice between these two conflicting points of view is not easy. The problem would, indeed, furnish an admirable case-history for investigation by a seminar on the nature and reliability of historical evidence. Neither side appears to be able to prove its case conclusively, and one gathers that even Sir Gerald Burrard himself was of two minds by the time he had completed his investigation. Nevertheless, for reasons which it is hoped the paragraphs that follow make clear, the present writer feels that the weight of the evidence definitely favours the historians.

(1) Sir Gerald Burrard, "The Naming of Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X. (1946), pp. 143-9.

As Sir Gerald Burrard points out, the time element is an important aspect of the problem. When Vancouver sailed from England on April 1, 1791, Sir Harry Burrard, the first baronet, was not only still alive, but seemed to be in his usual good health. On April 12, however, he died suddenly, and the title passed to his nephew, who thereby became Sir Harry Burrard the second. The all-important question is: When did Captain Vancouver receive news of the death of Sir Harry Burrard the first?

It is possible, as Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, the Admiralty Librarian, has pointed out, that the news overtook him at the Cape of Good Hope. Vancouver's ships made an extremely slow passage from England, and it was not until August 17—more than four months after the death of Sir Harry—that they finally got away from the Cape, bound for the Pacific Ocean. As this delay was quite unexpected, it is unlikely that anyone addressed letters to Vancouver at the Cape, in the expectation that they would overtake him there; but it is entirely possible that London newspapers, which would doubtless announce Sir Harry's passing, arrived before he sailed. Then as now, the Cape was one of the great cross-roads of the world's commerce. Vancouver himself notes that when he arrived he found "seventeen sail in the bay." At least three of these had come from England, and others must have arrived during the five weeks and more that the *Discovery* and *Chatham* remained in harbour.

Nevertheless, the verdict remains "not proven." Vancouver *may* have heard of Sir Harry Burrard's death at the Cape, but it is entirely possible that he did not. And if he sailed in ignorance of it, he was still unaware that Sir Harry was dead when he explored Burrard Inlet in June, 1792, for no opportunity for him to receive news from England had occurred in the interval.

For this reason it is important to emphasize another aspect of the time element that has hitherto been overlooked; namely, the fact that everything suggests that Captain Vancouver did not actually name Burrard Inlet at the time he visited it. We are apt to forget that Vancouver's original manuscript journal has disappeared, and that all we have available to-day is a printed narrative based on that journal, compiled for the most part four or five years after the occurrence of the events described. True, this narrative was written by Vancouver himself; it was not

farmed out to a hack writer and compiled from logs, diaries, and other documents, as were many works of the kind, including even such celebrated volumes as the *Voyages* of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Captain James Colnett. But the fact remains that Vancouver made innumerable changes and additions to his story as he prepared it for publication, and we know that he inserted many place-names that were not bestowed until long after he had surveyed the islands, capes, inlets, etc., in question.

It so happens that there are no less than seven journals extant, in addition to Vancouver's own printed narrative, that describe the activities of his expedition during the whole or part of the summer of 1792.[2] They vary in character, but with the exception of the journal of Archibald Menzies, the botanist, which was obviously revised at a later date, all of them are authentic contemporary records. At times they were written day by day; but interruptions were frequent, and most of them seem to have been brought up to date at intervals of a week or more, as time permitted. In these journals the use of place-names is relatively infrequent, but when a name does occur, it

(2) Two of the seven have been published. *See* the "New Vancouver Journal," believed to be by Edward Bell, printed in part in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V. (1914), pp. 129–37, 215–24, 300–308; the original manuscript, entitled *M.S. Journal kept on board the Armed Tender "Chatham" during Captain Vancouver's Voyage in the "Discovery" 1791–4*, is in the Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; there is a complete transcript in the Provincial Archives. *See* also Archibald Menzies, *Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April 8th to October 13th, 1792*, Victoria, 1923 (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir V.). The original manuscript of this journal is in the British Museum; the transcript in the Provincial Archives covers the period from December, 1790, to February 16, 1794. Only the portion of the journal relating to the Northwest Coast of America during 1792 is included in the printed version. The original manuscripts of the three following journals are in the Public Record Office, London (there are transcripts in the Provincial Archives): Thomas Aisley Browne, *Log of Discovery* (January 1, 1791, to March 26, 1795); Zachary Mudge, *Remarks on Board H.M. Sloop Discovery. Geo. Vancouver Esq., Comdr.* (January 4, 1791, to October 1, 1792); Spelman Swaine, *A Log of His Majesty's Sloop Discovery . . .* (September 26, 1792, to July 2, 1795). A photostat of Thomas Manby's journal (February 10, 1791, to January 22, 1793) is in the Howay-Reid collection, in the library of the University of British Columbia; and a microfilm of Peter Puget's journal (January 4, 1791, to February 6, 1794) is in the library of the University of Washington, Seattle.

is usually found in all the accounts relating to the locality in question. In other words, the journals as a group undoubtedly indicate what place-names were bestowed by Vancouver while he actually was engaged in his surveys. Birch Bay and Point Roberts, for example, were certainly named while Vancouver was in their immediate vicinity. Entry after entry in the various journals could be cited to prove the point. On the other hand, although several of the journals either refer to the exploration of Burrard Inlet, or describe it in some detail, *not a single entry in any one of them refers to the inlet by name.* From this it would appear to be legitimate to conclude that it was not named at the time it was explored, in June, 1792.

After his visit to Burrard Inlet Vancouver sailed on to the northward and spent the next two months exploring the narrow waters lying between Vancouver Island and the Mainland, and the fjord-like waterways tributary to them. On August 17 he fell in with the British trading brig *Venus*, from which he learned that various Spanish officials and his own supply ship, the *Dædalus*, were awaiting him in Nootka Sound. Vancouver thereupon decided to conclude his work for the season and proceeded without delay to Nootka, where he dropped anchor in Friendly Cove on August 28.

Here, at last, we know definitely that he received letters from home. The journal ascribed to Edward Bell states that when the *Chatham* arrived "The Master of the Storeship [*Dædalus*], Mr. New, waited on Captn. B[roughton], and brought some Packets of Letters for us from our friends in England."[3] It may be taken for granted that he had similar packets for the *Discovery* and the commander of the expedition. The *Dædalus* carried official dispatches from the Admiralty dated in London as late as August 20,1791, or more than four months after the death of Sir Harry Burrard. From Spanish sources we know that Vancouver also received letters by two British trading vessels.[4] One

(3) "New Vancouver Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V. (1914), p. 223.

(4) *See* the *Viage hecho por los goletas Sutil y Mexicana*, Madrid, 1802, p. 116. In the well-known printed translation by Cecil Jane (Argonaut Press, 1930), the Spanish *pliegos* is rendered as *letters*. Another translation in the Provincial Archives substitutes *despatches*. The English word *messages* would seem to come closest to the Spanish original.

of these, the *Three Brothers* (variously referred to in documents of the time as the *Tresbes* and the *Three Bs*), was at Nootka when Vancouver himself arrived. She had left London in December, 1791, or eight months after the death of Sir Harry.[5] The other vessel, the *Butterworth*, which had left London in October, 1791, had arrived at Nootka on August 10, but she seems to have sailed on a trading voyage before Vancouver appeared on the 28th. No doubt the letters she carried had been left with Captain New, of the *Dædalus*.[6]

If the relations between Captain Vancouver and the Burrard family were as close and friendly as we have every reason to believe they were, it can surely be taken for granted that a letter from the Burrards was included in the personal mail Vancouver found awaiting him at Nootka.

There remains the question as to precisely when Vancouver bestowed the name Burrard on "Burrard's Channel," as the inlet was originally called.

Everything suggests that this was done at Nootka, for Vancouver enjoyed neither comfort nor leisure in the weeks following his visit to the future Burrard Inlet. Much of the survey-work done therafter proved to be hazardous in the extreme, and physically exhausting. It will be recalled that it was at this time that both his ships got ashore, one after the other. Moreover, Vancouver knew that he would be spending some time at Nootka, and it would be the logical place to complete charts, make the necessary duplicates, prepare fair copies of journals, consider the

(5) Vancouver himself tabulated the names, sailing dates, etc., of the various trading ships that visited Nootka or were known to be on the Coast in 1792. *See* his official *Narrative* of the proceedings at Nootka, printed in the *Report of the Provincial Archives Department . . . for the year . . . 1913*, Victoria, 1914, pp. 28-9.

(6) This exhausts the list of known sources, but by no means all the possible sources, from which Vancouver might have received letters from England. By 1792 Nootka Sound had become the recognized rendezvous for the trading ships that were then visiting the Northwest Coast in considerable numbers. Sooner or later almost every maritime trader visited Nootka, and at times a small fleet lay at anchor there. Thus, on October 11, the day before Vancouver's ships sailed for California, Archibald Menzies noted in his journal the presence of "seven English Vessels, a Spanish Frigate & two American Vessels riding at Anchor in the Cove, besides the two smaller ones that were building on Shore."

question of place-names, and so on. Vancouver's own narrative and the various journals make it clear that this is what actually occurred. When an opportunity offered and Vancouver sent Lieutenant Mudge to England on October 1, he tells us that he sent with him "extracts from the most important parts of my journal, with a copy of our survey of the coast . . ." Three months later, when Lieutenant Broughton was sent to England from Monterey, he was able to take a complete transcript of the journal and a set of charts and drawings recording the results of Vancouver's survey for the whole of the 1792 season.

The probability would thus certainly appear to be that Vancouver placed the name "Burrard's Channel" on his preliminary chart while he was at Nootka Sound, and that before he did so he had received letters from England informing him of the death of Sir Harry Burrard, the first baronet. Indeed, it may well have been the news of Sir Harry's death, which would naturally bring his memories of the family vividly to mind, that prompted him to use the place-name "Burrard" at that particular time.

Mr. Carr Laughton has pointed out that the designation "of the navy" "definitely points to the younger Sir Harry, for his uncle never did hold any appointment which would justify his being so described." Nor is this the only reason for supposing that the second baronet was the person honoured. Sir Harry the younger had entered the Royal Navy in 1778, and he and Vancouver had been shipmates in H.M.S. *Europa*. Sir Gerald Burrard points out that when Vancouver sailed in 1791, young Burrard was only a promising young officer of 25, with his career before him, whereas the elder Sir Harry was a person of importance and influence. But shipmates and friends mean much to a sailor. Moreover, there was only eight years' difference in age between Vancouver and the younger Harry, and at 33 Vancouver would surely have more in common with a naval lieutenant of 25 than with an old gentleman of 84.

It is true that Vancouver never saw Sir Harry Burrard the second while he bore that title, for by the time he arrived back in England in 1795, the second baronet had married and assumed the name Burrard-Neale. Why, it has been asked, was the inlet not named Burrard-Neale, if it was the second baronet that Vancouver wished to honour? The reason is obvious. If, as sug-

gested above, the inlet was named in the autumn of 1792, the second baronet was then correctly referred to as Sir Harry Burrard, for his marriage did not take place until 1794. In the interval the chart bearing the name had been forwarded to the Admiralty, and, once adopted, the place-name would naturally remain unchanged.

In conclusion it should be added that the writer is perfectly aware that the case here presented is based entirely upon circumstantial evidence. But it has this great strength and virtue: it is at variance with no single known *fact* bearing upon the whole complicated and intriguing problem.

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VANCOUVER, B.C.

JOHN JEFFREY: BOTANICAL EXPLORER.*

The first botanists to visit the Pacific Northwest came with the maritime expeditions of discovery, usually combining nature study with the duties of medical officer. Although its subsidiary nature and the circumstances under which it was carried on made their botanical work intermittent and sketchy, a good deal was accomplished.

Most successful of them was Archibald Menzies, surgeon with Captain Colnett, 1786–90, and surgeon-naturalist under Captain Vancouver, 1791–95. He had the novel experience of botanizing at Nootka for a month, guarded by a sister-in-law of the famous Chief Maquinna.[1] Among his many discoveries were the salal, the large-leafed maple, and the arbutus named after him (*Arbutus Menziesii* Pursh).[2]

Menzies' discoveries and those of Lewis and Clark to the south created much interest in Britain and were an incentive to the Horticultural Society of London (now the Royal Horticultural Society) to send its botanical collector, David Douglas, on a special mission. He spent several years (1825–27, 1830–33) in the Northwest and California, and sent home a host of plants and seeds. He is remembered in the Douglas fir, Douglas spiræa (hardhack), Douglas phlox, and many other plants. He worked mostly in what is now American territory, with his headquarters at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, his only travels to the north being a journey with the Hudson's Bay express up the Columbia and through Athabaska Pass, and another journey from Fort Okanagan to Fort St. James and return.[3]

To follow up Douglas's work, Sir Joseph Paxton, of Crystal Palace fame, sent out two young gardeners, Robert Wallace and Peter Banks. They came through Athabaska Pass in 1838 but

* The writer is indebted to Mr. J. W. Eastham, plant pathologist, British Columbia Department of Agriculture, Vancouver, B.C., for assistance in preparing this article.

(1) *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792*, ed. by C. F. Newcombe; biographical sketch by J. Forsyth, Victoria, 1923, p. xiii. (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir V.).

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 132–52.

(3) *See* A. G. Harvey, "David Douglas in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 221–43.

were drowned at or near Death Rapids in the upper Columbia River before even starting their work.[4]

So far most of Vancouver Island and what we know as the Lower Mainland had not felt a botanist's footsteps. Into this virgin territory came John Jeffrey, the first botanist to make an extended stay north of the 49th parallel.

Jeffrey, like Menzies and Douglas, was a native of Perthshire, and, like Douglas, met a tragic death. Born at Forneth, parish of Clunie, November 14, 1826, he was the eldest of the four children (two boys and two girls) of John Jeffrey and Helen Ambrose. The family afterwards moved to Fife, and later to Lochore. At the age of 15 young John was a servant at East Blair House, 3 miles from Lochore. In 1849 he was a gardener at the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, where he won attention by his energy and perseverance. He also won a prize for the best collection of dried plants made in the vicinity of Edinburgh.[5]

In May, 1850, Jeffrey was engaged as botanical collector by the Oregon Botanical Association,[6] a recently formed organization of Scottish estate-owners, botanists, and gardeners, interested in more fully exploring the botanical wealth of Northwest America. Prominent members were George Patton (afterwards Lord Glenalmond); John Hutton Balfour, professor of botany at the University of Edinburgh, Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, and Queen's Botanist for Scot-

(4) Violet R. Markham, *Paxton and the Bachelor Duke*, London, 1935, pp. 63–72. Several accounts of this tragedy are available. For John McLoughlin's brief official report to the Hudson's Bay Company *see The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1941, p. 293; *see also* Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist*, London, 1859, pp. 333–35; Angus McDonald, "A few Items of the West," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1917), pp. 215–17; C. B. Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, Seattle, 1932, I., pp. 25–6 (an account by Father Blanchet); J. A. Stevenson, "Disaster in the Dalles," *Beaver*, September, 1942, pp. 19–21. There is a brief reference in H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, San Francisco, 1884, II., p. 538.

(5) The authority for these statements and for most of the following statements regarding Jeffrey is James Todd Johnstone, "John Jeffrey and the Oregon Expedition," in *Notes from the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh*, XX., No. xcvi. (July, 1939), pp. 1–53.

(6) The official name. *See* Frederick V. Coville, "The Itinerary of John Jeffrey, an Early Botanical Explorer of Western North America," *Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington*, XI. (1897), pp. 57–60.

land; and James M'Nab, head gardener at the Garden. Balfour was chairman. Jeffrey was to search the territory covered by Douglas and other unexplored parts of the country. The emphasis was upon seeds, particularly of conifers, the rage for which was then coming to its height; they were to be divided among the subscribers to the Association. He was engaged for three years. Accordingly, he sailed from London in the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Prince of Wales*, Captain David J. Herd, on June 6, 1850, and from Stromness, Orkney Islands, on July 3. On August 12 the vessel came to anchor in Five Fathom Hole off York Factory, Hudson Bay.

Proceeding inland on August 23 with Chief Factor John Lee Lewes, Jeffrey arrived at Norway House, near the northeast end of Lake Winnipeg, on September 18, and next day continued on to Cumberland House, which he reached on October 6. Here he spent the first part of the long northern winter. He busied himself by collecting beetles and birds.

On January 3, 1851, he left with the winter express and snowshoed all the way—1,200 miles—to Jasper House, arriving on March 21. Four dogs dragged his baggage sleigh. He was the guest of the Hudson's Bay Company posts, the route being along the Saskatchewan to Edmonton House, then northwesterly to Fort Assiniboine and the Athabaska River, which was followed to Jasper House.

> I continued to trudge on from post to post, getting a fresh man and fresh dogs at every post that I came to en route. I generally remained at each station for a few days to refresh for another stage. . . . During this journey I slept with no other covering than that found under the friendly pine, for the space of 47 nights, on several occasions the thermometer standing from 30° to 40° below zero. I found no bad effects from exposure, the only thing that happened to me, was that once or twice I got slightly frost bit; that was nothing uncommon amongst us, and little cared for.[7]

Leaving Jasper House with Chief Trader Robert Clouston on April 26, Jeffrey crossed the Rocky Mountains by Athabaska Pass—now with his baggage on his back—and descended the Columbia River to Fort Colvile, arriving about May 12. He botanized in the vicinity and in the Kootenay and Pend d'Oreille districts for a few weeks, working on both sides of the inter-

(7) Letter, John Jeffrey to J. H. Balfour, dated Jasper House, April 7, 1851. Quoted in Johnstone, *John Jeffrey*, p. 9.

national boundary, which had been established just five years previously and was not yet surveyed. Then, accompanying Chief Trader Alexander Caulfield Anderson, famous trail-finder of New Caledonia and early British Columbia, he went down the Columbia to the Okanagan River and thence up the Okanagan Valley. Turning up the Similkameen Valley, they came into British territory again early in July.

No journal of Jeffrey's travels has been found, and as the dates on his collections are sometimes conflicting, it is impossible to trace his itinerary closely. He appears to have spent most of July collecting plants in the Similkameen Valley and on the near-by mountains, and along the newly opened Hudson's Bay brigade trail connecting Fort Kamloops and Fort Hope. He came onto this trail at Campement des Femmes (now Tulameen) and went along it to Fort Hope. He tarried at Campement de Chevreuil and collected about Mount Manson for a few days and climbed to its summit, where he got *Penstemon Menziesii* Hook. The Oregon Association had furnished him with instruments for determining altitudes and for taking latitudes and longitudes, and if his observations and records are accurate, he got north beyond the Thompson River. He mentions getting *Erigeron uniflorus* Linn. (fleabane) "on the summit of a mountain 7,000 ft. high, in lat. 50° 23′; east of Fraser River."[8] This would be north of Lytton. He also mentions "Thomson River" as the place of collecting *Oxytropis monticola* A. Gray (loco-weed).[9]

Working westward, probably to Fort Langley, Jeffrey made a brief visit to Vancouver Island late in July and again at the end of August. In September he spent several days collecting in the vicinity of Mount Baker. He ascended the range to the snow-line, and probably was the first person to do so. (The summit was not reached by anyone until seventeen years later.) On a mountain-top near Fort Hope he found *Pinus albicaulis* Engelm. (the twisted, sprawling white-bark pine), seeds of which he sent home. With an Indian guide he went up the Fraser to "the falls" (the early name of the canyon just above Yale),[10] climbed

(8) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 28, probably this was *Oxytropis gracilis* (A. Nels.) K. Schum., according to modern interpretation.

(10) Information from W. G. H. Firth, Chief Geographer of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.

the mountains to the east, and gathered *Rhododendron albiflorum* Hook. and *Cladothamnus pyrolæflorus* Bong. (copper-bush) at elevations of 6,000 feet and "about" 8,000 feet.

On these mountain-slopes, "towering its head above all her sisters of the forest,"[11] he found *Abies amabilis* (Dougl.) Forbes, the lovely silver fir which Douglas had discovered and named *Pinus amabilis*, but which botanists took to be a form of some other species or else a mythical fir formed by mixing specimens of two or more species. Nor did the seeds Jeffrey sent home correct the mistake. They, too, were confused with other firs. And so the "lovely fir" continued a myth. Not until 1880 was it recognized as an actuality. In that year some eminent American botanists (Englemann, Sargent, and Parry) who were searching for it on a mountain south of Hope came in sight of a beautiful, unfamiliar fir which they at once recognized as the long-lost *amabilis*—the tree that Jeffrey had found in the same region twenty-nine years before and that Douglas had first discovered on the Columbia earlier still.[12]

Returning towards the sea-coast he spent a few more days around Mount Baker early in October, 1851, and then went to Fort Victoria. Here he spent the winter and spring, save for a brief visit to Fort Rupert at the northerly end of Vancouver Island in the steamship *Beaver*, on which he had embarked on January 17, 1852, and trips to Bellevue Island (now San Juan; then still British; the Hudson's Bay Company having a fishing-station there). He prepared and sent home two boxes of seeds and specimens that he had gleaned during the past season. One of the boxes also contained a sample of gold from the Queen Charlotte Islands, whither crowds of fortune hunters were then being drawn—the first gold-rush to take place in British Pacific territory. On some of his botanical excursions about Fort Victoria he had the company of Chief Trader Anderson's young son, James R. Anderson,[13] who was to become a well-known British Columbia botanist, and who lived until 1930.[14] During the spring

(11) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(12) Carl Hansen, "Pinetum Danicum," *Journal*, Royal Horticultural Society, London, XIV. (1892), pp. 455–57.

(13) Victoria *Daily Colonist*, May 23, 1926.

(14) Author of *Trees and Shrubs; Food, Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1925.

(1852) Jeffrey discovered *Ribes Lobbii* A. Gray (red-flowered gooseberry) and *Tsuga heterophylla* (Raf.) Sarg. (western hemlock), both of which he introduced to Britain.

In late May or early June he left Fort Victoria and crossed over to Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound, where he collected briefly before proceeding on June 18 to Fort Vancouver.[15] Leaving there on June 20 he spent six or seven weeks in the Willamette Valley, sometimes climbing high up in the Cascade Mountains. Continuing southward to the Umpqua Valley he discovered *Lilium Washingtonianum* Kell. on August 14, and sent home seeds. This is the famous Lady Washington lily which, unbeknown to Jeffrey, had so charmed the California Argonauts of '49 that they had named it after their country's first First Lady. This name was latinized in 1863. It is also called Shasta lily.[16]

Another interesting plant—one indigenous to British Columbia—discovered by Jeffrey somewhere in the Oregon country and introduced by him is *Dodecatheon Jeffreyi* L. van Houtte (a peculiar and rare cyclamen-like flower with a rosette of long oval leaves, of the genus commonly called "shooting-star").

On September 9 and 11 he collected in the Klamath Valley, just across the California border, and by the 27th he had reached Mount Shasta. On the 29th, on mountains between Shasta and Scott Valleys, he discovered *Pinus Balfouriana* Jeffrey[17] (the bright blue-green foxtail pine, which he named). After visiting the Salmon Mountains and the Trinity Mountains he turned back in October, and on the 24th, in Shasta Valley, discovered *Pinus Jeffreyii* Balf. (which closely resembles the western yellow pine). By December 4 he had reached Mount Jefferson, and soon afterwards he got back to Fort Vancouver, where he spent the winter. (The Hudson's Bay Company was still in occupation.)

In the spring he went south again, leaving about April 6, 1853, when he was advanced $500 by the Company. He collected

(15) *See* "The Nisqually Journal," entry for June 18, 1852, *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XV. (1924), p. 139.

(16) Charles Francis Saunders, *Western Wild Flowers and Their Stories*, New York, 1933, p. 72.

(17) The name according to Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 41; but American authorities give Murray as the namer. Probably Jeffrey suggested the name and gave the tree's salient distinguishing features, and Murray elaborated the description and published it.

in Umpqua Valley between April 23 and May 3, among his finds being *Whipplea modesta* Torr. (a shrub of the Hydrangea family). He was in the Rogue River valley on May 15, in the Siskiyou Mountains on the 23rd, and at Mount Shasta on June 10. Next day, at Clear Creek, he discovered *Penstemon Jeffreyanus* Hook. On June 18 he was at Scott Mountain. The next six weeks were spent in this region and southwards to the Coast Range. He then went south and east to the Sacramento Valley and the Sierra Nevada Mountains for August and September, working still southward. On October 1, in the Sierras, he discovered *Cupressus Macnabiana* Murr. (the very rare Macnab cypress), and by the 7th he had reached San Francisco—then in the throes of the villain-and-vigilante disturbance which followed the gold-rush. Apparently he remained here and in the vicinity until early in January, 1854, when he sent off his last box of plants and seeds to the Association.

Although it took him three weeks to arrange and pack the season's collections,[18] the quantity of seed in the box was small, and its arrival in Scotland added to the dissatisfaction which had arisen in the Association regarding his work. Disappointment with the results of the expedition had been growing for some time. Several boxes or packages of seeds and specimens which Jeffrey reported from the north that he had sent home from Fort Victoria and Fort Vancouver (some by York Factory; others around Cape Horn) never arrived. One that did arrive—the one from Fort Victoria containing the gold specimen—had been forwarded from San Francisco (probably via Panama) by post, "collect." The postage amounted to £135! Although the post-office authorities were persuaded to waive the charge, the incident must have given Jeffrey's sponsors an unpleasant shock.

Their chief annoyance was his failure to send a promised diary of his travels and to account for his expenses. Nor did he report at all on his work for the season of 1853, his only communication being a bill of exchange on the Association for £200, drawn upon his arrival at San Francisco, which they paid nevertheless. They tried to get in touch with him through their secretary's brother there, William Murray, but he replied that Jeffrey could not be found, even though he had advertised for him in the newspaper,

(18) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Alta California, and that letters for him sent to the British Consulate, as he had requested, were not called for.[19] They therefore decided to discharge him for neglect of duty.[20] They also attached his salary in Balfour's hands and, after payment of costs, recovered £231/15/- of the £267/13/6 that they had paid.

Unaware of his predicament, Jeffrey began another season's work, still farther south. He went via San Diego to the Gila River region.[21] But what he did there or thereafter is not known. He disappeared completely. The last heard from him was a letter in the spring of 1854 to McKinlay, Garrioch & Co., San Francisco, from Fort Yuma, at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers, saying he probably would be there until August 1, and directing that his letters be forwarded by Adams & Co.'s express to their San Diego agent, Mr. F. Ames.[22]

What became of him is a mystery. Three varying accounts of a tragic fate have been given: one, that while in New Mexico (which then included Arizona) "he was murdered by a Spanish outcast for his mules and his scanty travelling-appointments";[23] another, that he was killed when trading with the Indians;[24] while a third suggests that he perished of thirst upon the Colorado desert.[25]

(19) Murray did not know that the firm of McKinlay, Garrioch & Co., commission merchants of San Francisco, were acquainted with Jeffrey, nor that Allan, Lowe & Co., also commission merchants there, were connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. *Ibid.* Either firm probably could have put him in touch with Jeffrey.

(20) His engagement expired in November, 1853, but it had been proposed to extend it for a year. Johnstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4. Moreover he had letters of credit which had to be formally stopped, although there is no suggestion that he took undue advantage of them. His salary was £80 for the first year, £100 for the second year, and £120 for the third year. This information is provided in a letter to the author from Professor Sir William Wright Smith, Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, dated August 16, 1946.

(21) He is said to have joined an American expedition which left San Francisco in the spring of 1854 for Fort Yuma to explore the Gila and Colorado rivers. Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

(22) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(23) Alexander Caulfield Anderson, *The Dominion at the West. A brief description of the province of British Columbia, its climate and resources.* Victoria, 1872, p. 56.

(24) Johnstone, *op cit.*, p. 13.

(25) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

During the last century botanical collectors were sent to all parts of the world, many of them encountering great danger and hardship to obtain rare plants in their secluded homes. "Among these men were heroes, gallant adventurers, some of whom 'have left a name behind them that their praises might be reported'; others who have no memorial save the good inheritance of botany."[26] Not the least of these was John Jeffrey. For over three years he toiled patiently and diligently in the wild semi-civilized territory of the Far West—using primitive makeshifts and accommodations, and encumbered not only with the usual paraphernalia, but also the heavy instruments which the Association had provided for taking astronomical observations—making his way as best he could over rough trails, rushing waters, rugged mountain-sides, and burning sands to spy out the much-wanted botanical treasures. The territory he covered—much of it on foot—was enormous, stretching from cold Rupert's Land to balmy Vancouver Island in the north, thence south to torrid New Mexico. Three times he crossed what is now the State of Oregon.[27] Twice he worked in Northern California. His winters were spent in arranging and packing the season's gleanings for shipment to Edinburgh.

Perhaps his failure to measure up to expectations may be accounted for (at least in part) by hardship, overwork, and illness. The human body has its limitations, and Jeffrey was no exception. It is known that while in San Francisco he was ill "for some weeks."[28] That fact may explain much.

Those who came in contact with Jeffrey were favourably impressed. Chief Factor John Ballenden, of Fort Vancouver, who saw a good deal of him, said he was a very hard-working, energetic, and industrious person, and that he was much thought of by all who had seen him.[29] Anderson and Dr. (afterwards Sir) James Hector also spoke highly of him;[30] while McKinlay, Garrioch & Co., who saw him last (just before he left San Fran-

(26) Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

(27) Until March 2, 1853, Oregon included all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains between California and the international boundary.

(28) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60, quoting Murray, who got the information from McKinlay, Garrioch & Co.

(29) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

(30) Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

cisco for the south), said he was " a hard working, enthusiastic, very steady, and temperate man."[31]

Jeffrey collected over 400 species of plants and sent home the seeds of many. Besides those already mentioned, one which he introduced in Britain was *Chamæcyparis Lawsoniana* (Murr.) Parl. (the beautiful Lawson cypress, or Port Orford cedar of lumbermen).[32] A list of his plants, with his field-notes, has been published.[33] Most of his specimens are in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden at Edinburgh.

Although the Association was disappointed with his work to the point of losing faith in him entirely, subsequent opinion has been appreciative. Indeed, a one-time secretary of the Association has declared that from " the quantities of novelties which were discovered and introduced through his means " the expedition must be treated " as a great success."[34] Perhaps the Association expected too much of him; he was not another David Douglas—men of *his* outstanding ability and purposeful determination are few—nor did he have the virgin field that Douglas had. Moreover, the loss of at least four of his shipments (and possibly his diary, too) was very unfortunate.

Jeffrey is commemorated not only in botanical names but also in the name of one of our British Columbia streams. On his way from Athabaska Pass down to the Columbia in 1851 he descended the valley of a tributary of Wood River. Seventy years later, at the suggestion of the late Arthur O. Wheeler, of the Alberta-British Columbia Boundary Survey Commission, this stream was named Jeffrey Creek.[35] Another geographical feature which may be mentioned is Mount Jeffrey, on the west side of Saanich Inlet, Vancouver Island. The origin of its name is unknown,[36] but it is quite possible that it was climbed by Jeffrey during his explorations from Fort Victoria and was named after him.

A. G. HARVEY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(31) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(32) Alice Eastwood, " Early Botanical Explorers on the Pacific Coast and the Trees they found there," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII. (1939), p. 343.

(33) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–50.

(34) *Ibid.*, p. 14, quoting Andrew Murray in 1860.

(35) Information from W. G. H. Firth, Chief Geographer of British Columbia.

(36) *Ibid.*

McLOUGHLIN'S STATEMENT OF THE EXPENSES INCURRED IN THE "DRYAD" INCIDENT OF 1834.

The *Statement of Expenses* that follows adds a brief new chapter to the otherwise familiar story of the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast.

It was in 1824–25, during his first visit to this region, that Governor Simpson came to the conclusion that the Hudson's Bay Company could gain control of the fur trade on the Northwest Coast if it displayed sufficient energy and enterprise. At that time the trade was largely in the hands of American ships hailing from New England. Simpson contended, with justice, that the elimination of these itinerant traders, and their ruthless, irresponsible ways, would benefit the Russians as well as the Hudson's Bay Company, since both the latter had long-term interests in the Coast. But the disappearance of the Americans naturally brought the British and Russians into direct contact, one with the other; and it was virtually inevitable that a clash of interests should develop between them.

This clash finally occurred in the early 1830's. For some years Chief Factor John McLoughlin, superintendent in the region for the Hudson's Bay Company, had been busy constructing a chain of trading-posts extending northward from the Columbia River. Fort Langley had been founded in 1827 and Fort Simpson in 1831. In 1833 two intermediate posts—Fort Nisqually and Fort McLoughlin—were added to the chain. More important in the present connection, Peter Skene Ogden had, in the summer of 1833, explored the lower reaches of the Stikine River and had chosen a site for still another trading centre. Both Ogden and the Company were well aware that the mouth of the Stikine lay in Russian territory; but Russian jurisdiction was admittedly limited to a strip of land along the coast, and the British contended that they had been guaranteed free navigation of the river. If the new post were constructed far enough inland, the Company therefore felt that it was acting fully within its rights.

This plan thoroughly alarmed the Russians, for although the projected Hudson's Bay fort might not be in Russian territory, it would undoubtedly flourish at the expense of the Russian American Company. Many of the furs obtained by the latter originated in the interior, and a post far up the Stikine would intercept them and divert them to the Hudson's Bay Company. It is interesting to note that it was the coast Indians who acted as intermediaries in this trade, and they, too, had no desire to be displaced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Russians prepared for the fray by hurriedly building a small fort, the Redoubt St. Dionysius, at the mouth of the Stikine. In front of it they stationed the brig *Chichagoff*, armed with fourteen guns. When Ogden reappeared in the *Dryad*, in June, 1834, bringing with him the men and goods required to found the new post, the Russians declined to permit him to pass. They contended that according to the convention of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia the ships of one power were not to approach any point occupied by the other without permission. As the *Dryad* would have to pass the Redoubt St. Dionysius to enter the Stikine, she would violate the treaty in so doing. In response, Ogden could only insist that Great Britain had been guaranteed free navigation of the river. For eleven days he argued and negotiated, but as the Russians refused to yield, and seemed quite prepared to use force if necessary to prevent him from entering the river, he had no alternative but to withdraw.

News of this rebuff did not reach McLoughlin until December, when Ogden arrived back at Fort Vancouver. McLoughlin took a most serious view of the matter. In his opinion the Company had suffered a setback that would be most damaging not only to its prestige on the Northwest Coast, but to its finances as well. In support of the latter contention he compiled and forwarded to London the *Statement of Expenses incurred . . . in the attempt to erect an Establishment at Stikine River*, which is here printed for the first time.

It is an astonishing document, and even the persons most interested financially—the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company—found it so at the time. Hitherto, we have only known that according to McLoughlin's calculation the *Dryad* incident had cost the Company a substantial fortune—to be exact,

the sum of £22,150/10/11. The detailed account shows that in arriving at this total he took the view that the incident would render the services of the *Dryad*, her crew of thirty, and more than forty other men, for a period of three years, completely valueless to the Company. Nor did he for a moment think that the total submitted was an exaggerated one. On the contrary, he pointed out that he had limited his statement to items with which he himself was familiar. He was sure that additional expenses had been incurred in England that could rightfully be added to the account.[1]

At a later date the Governor and Committee hinted to McLoughlin that the *Statement of Expenses* seemed to them to be padded heavily with damages and expenses that were largely nominal, and it is clear that Ogden's difficulties did not worry them unduly. Indeed, the whole affair, statement of damages and all, suited their immediate purposes admirably. Ever since 1829 they had been trying to negotiate a trading agreement with the Russian American Company, only to be met with polite evasions. The *Dryad* affair, by raising the issue of national rights, and giving rise to a claim for damages, enabled them to press the matter through diplomatic channels. The Foreign Office was sympathetic, and the ultimate result was the agreement between the two companies that was signed in February, 1839. Through more than three years of patient but persistent negotiation the *Statement of Expenses* served as a useful bargaining point, but no serious attempt was ever made to collect the damages supposed to have been suffered.

The original *Statement* is preserved in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, in London, and the text is here reproduced by kind permission of the Governor and Committee.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(1) *See* McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, March 14, 1835, in E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1825–38*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1941, pp. 134–6. For Peter Skene Ogden's own report on the *Dryad* incident, *see ibid.*, pp. 317–22.

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES incurred by the Hudson's Bay Company in the attempt to erect an Establishment at Stikine River on the North West Coast of America, and for extending the trade in the interior of the Country towards Mount Saint Elias: also loss sustained by being prevented by the Russians from trading on the Coast to the Northward of 54° 40′ Latitude.[2]

In 1833 there were brought from Europe and Canada 38 Voyageurs engaged for a term of 3 years for the purpose of erecting a trading establishment at Stikine River, whose services will be lost to the Company during the term of their engagement vizt.				
Wages of 38 men as pr. List for 1 year	818			
Expenses bringing 38 men from Europe & Canada to the Columbia £25	950			
Salary of 3 Officers employed for the same purpose for 1 year as pr. List	265			
Expenses bringing them to the Columbia	150			
Provisions for the above 41 persons from the date of their arrival at Fort Vancouver 22nd Octr. 1833 to 1st June 1834 —221 days @ 1/6 pr. man	679	11	6	
				A 2,862 11 6
Wages of Captain Kipling & Crew of the Brig *Dryad* (say 4 officers & 26 men) from the 1st October 1833 (the date on which the vessel would have been sent to England if it had not been considered necessary to keep her for the purpose of establishing Stikine), to the 1st June 1834=8 months at the rate of £93.5/8 pr. month as pr. list	746	3	4	
Provisions for the above crew for the same period 243 days @ 2/- pr. man ea. day	729			
Eight months services of the Brig *Dryad*	1,200			
				B 2,675 3 4
Wages of the party brought to the Columbia in 1833 from 1st June 1834 to 1st June 1835, one year vizt.				
38 Voyageurs	818			
3 Officers	265			

(2) Hudson's Bay Archives, A.11/50.

Services of a Chief Trader employed to conduct the party	500		
Provisions for 42 persons for a year @ £27.7.6 ea.	1,149	15	
			C 2,732 15
Wages of Brig *Dryad's* Crew (4 officers & 26 men) from 1st June 1834 to 1st January 1835=7 months @ £93.5/8 pr. month	652	19	8
Provisions for do. for the same period 214 days @ 2/- pr. man pr. diem	642		
Services of the Brig *Dryad* 7 months	1,050		
			D 2,344 19 8
Wages of the party brought to the Columbia in 1833, from 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836, one year vizt.			
38 Voyageurs	818		
3 Officers	265		
Provisions for 41 persons for 1 year £27.7.6 each	1,122	7	6
			E 2,205 7 6

In 1834 30 Voyageurs and two officers were brought to the Columbia for the purpose of being employed to extend the trade on the North-west Coast towards Mount St. Elias, on 3 @ 5 years engagements, whose services will be lost to the Company for at least 2 Years before they can be employed in any other district vizt.

Wages of 30 Voyageurs as pr. list from 1st June 1834 to 1st June 1835 1 year	620		
Salary of 2 officers for the same period	150		
Expenses bringing to the Columbia 30 men, £25 ea.	750		
do. do. 2 Officers @ £50 ea.	100		
Provisions for the above 32 persons from the date of their arrival at Fort Vancouver, 16th Octr. 1834, to 1st June 1835=227 days @ 1/6 p. man pr. diem	544	16	
			F 2,164 16

Wages of Party brought in 1834 from 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836 1 year viz.			
2 Officers	£150		
30 Voyageurs	620		
		770	
Provisions for the same period 32 persons @ 1/6 pr. diem		876	
			G 1,646
Wages of 20 men ordered from Canada, to come up 1835 to reinforce the parties intended for the proposed establishment at Stikine, & for extending the Trade towards Mount St. Elias; whose services will be lost to the Company for at least one Year—say from 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836 each £26 5/-		525	
Provisions for a year 20 men @ 1/6 pr. day each man		547 10	
Expenses bringing them to York Factory £20		400	
			H 1,472 10
Interest on Goods provided and ordered from England for the trade of Stikine and extension of trade in that quarter, which will remain on hand for two Years before they can be applied for any other part of the Country viz.			
Outfit forwarded 1834 from Fort Vancouver for Stikine & dependencies		2,000	
Outfit received at Fort Vancouver 1834, intended for the trade 1835		2,500	
Outfit shipped in England, 1834, intended for the trade 1836		3,000	
Outfit ordered from England to be shipped 1835 intended for the trade 1837, which it is now too late to countermand		4,500	
Two Years Interest at 5 per cent on	£12,000		1,200

Interest to 1st June 1835 @ 5 pr. cent on the following Amounts

18 Months interest on Amount				Marked	A	£2862.11.6	214	13	10
18	,,	,,	,,	,,	B	2675. 3.4	200	12	9
6	,,	,,	,,	,,	C	2732.15.0	68	6	5
6	,,	,,	,,	,,	D	2344.19.8	58	12	6
6	,,	,,	,,	,,	F	2164.16.0	54	2	5
								596	7 11
Loss sustained by being prevented by the Russians from trading on the North west coast to the Northward of 54° 40′ Latitude. See Baron Wrangell's Proclamation & correspondence with P. S. Ogden								2,000	
Expenses incurred Summer 1833 sending the Brig *Llama* with Mr. Ogden & Party of men to examine Stikine River, and select a site for erecting an Establishment								250	
								£22,150	10 11

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

NOTE BY THE RETIRING EDITOR OF THE "QUARTERLY."

This number of the *Quarterly*—the fortieth to appear—completes the magazine's first decade, and furnishes a convenient point at which to end my term of office as Editor. Commencing with the issue of January, 1947, Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, who for some time has served as Associate Editor, will be in complete charge.

I regret that the plan to print a ten-year index in this final issue has had to be abandoned. Adequate cumulated indexes add immeasurably to the usefulness of any periodical file, and as soon as printing conditions are less difficult I hope that the project may take form as a separate publication. Meanwhile this mention of the matter gives me an opportunity to make it known that the indexes to all ten of the annual volumes have been prepared by Miss Inez Mitchell, of the Provincial Archives, and to express my appreciation of the care and consistency with which she has carried out this exacting work.

W. Kaye Lamb.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Victoria Section.

Through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Harty Morden the annual Field Day of the Victoria Section was held at "Rockvale," Shawnigan Lake, on Saturday afternoon, August 10, with some fifty members in attendance. The occasion marked the diamond anniversary of the completion of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway; for it was on August 13, 1886, at a spot near Cliffside on Shawnigan Lake that Sir John A. Macdonald drove the golden spike with a silver sledge. Mr. J. A. Kennedy, Superintendent of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, was the guest speaker, and in a most interesting paper, interspersed with many amusing reminiscences, traced the history of the railroad. The appreciation of the members was tendered to the speaker by Mr. Justice C. H. O'Halloran. The section was honoured by the presence of Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Vice-President of the University of Oregon and Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, who brought greetings from his society. Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, Chairman of the Section, took occasion to pay a tribute to the memory of the Hon. Gordon Hunter, a former Chief Justice of British Columbia, and late owner of "Rockvale." Tea was served on the lawn overlooking the lake. A vote of thanks to the host and hostess, heartily endorsed by all the members present, brought to a conclusion a most successful Field Day.

The first regular meeting of the fall season was held in the Provincial Library on Monday evening, September 23, when Dr. T. A. Rickard delivered an address entitled *The Sea Otter in History*. In reality the sea otter placed

Vancouver Island on the map of the world. The publication of the account of Captain James Cook's last voyage advertised to the world the existence of this peltry and its ready market in Canton, China, thus paving the way for the great competitive period of the maritime fur trade. From the published accounts of many of the early traders Dr. Rickard gave many interesting details regarding the sea otter: its appearance, its habitat, and the methods used in hunting it. The development of the sea otter trade was carefully outlined. So extensive had it become by the opening of the nineteenth century that sea otters on this coast had become very nearly extinct. In consequence the trade dwindled to insignificance and, yet, not until 1911 was any concerted effort at conservation undertaken.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held in Hotel Grosvenor on Tuesday, October 1, when the large number of members present heard Rev. A. E. Cooke speak on the interesting subject *Ghosts Walk the Pacific Coast*. This colourful account of place-names in the Pacific Northwest indicated the derivation of scores of familiar geographical names, and indicated briefly some of the interesting facts about the persons, events, etc., that have been commemorated locally. As Mr. Cooke pointed out, our place-names fall into well-defined groups, according to their origin. First of all come the so-called Indian names, some of which are authentic, but many of which are badly garbled versions of what some white man thought was the Indian name for a bay, river, cape, or mountain peak. Another group of names trace their origin to the Hudson's Bay Company. A third group consists of Spanish names—now relatively few in number, as the hundreds of geographical features originally named by the Spaniards have mostly been renamed by later navigators. Admirals and other officers of the Royal Navy are well represented, and such names as *Ganges*, *Vanguard*, *Defence*, and *Forward* recall some of the ships of the Royal Navy that were stationed for a time on this coast. Every now and then, however, one finds a name that seems to stand by itself, outside any cut-and-dried category. For example, it will doubtless come as a surprise to many to find that Lulu Island was named by Colonel Moody, in 1862, after Lulu Sweet, a young actress belonging to the first theatrical troupe that ever acted in the City of New Westminster. "Her conduct, acting and graceful manners gave great satisfaction," Captain Walbran tells us, "and were appreciated to such an extent by her friends and patrons that the island was named after her."

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In addition to the officers listed in the April issue of this *Quarterly*, the following directors were appointed at the annual meeting of the Okanagan

Historical Society, representing North, Middle, and South Okanagan for three-, two-, and one-year periods respectively:—

	Three-year Term.	*Two-year Term.*	*One-year Term.*
North:	Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops, B.C.	G. C. Tassie, Vernon, B.C.	J. G. Simms, Vernon, B.C.
Middle:	F. M. Buckland, Kelowna, B.C.	Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank, B.C.	Jas. Goldie, Okanagan Centre, B.C.
South:	Rev. Frank Haskins, West Summerland, B.C.	G. Rowland, Penticton, B.C.	Harry D. Barnes, Hedley, B.C.

At a special meeting held on Friday, July 26, in the Royal Anne Hotel, Kelowna, B.C., with Captain J. B. Weeks in the chair, an Editorial Committee comprising Dr. Margaret Ormsby (convener), G. C. Tassie, and S. Fleming was appointed to publish the next *Report*. Mrs. R. B. White, Mrs. D. Gellatly, Dr. F. W. Andrew, and Burt R. Campbell were appointed to act as assistants to the Editorial Committee. A committee was also appointed on Photographic Records: R. W. Neill (convener), R. Carswell, and Frank Hassard.

ORIGINAL LETTER BY CAPTAIN VANCOUVER.

In popular estimation the great parade held on July 1 and the remarkable historical pageant staged in Stanley Park during the next fortnight were doubtless the most striking events in the City of Vancouver's sixtieth anniversary celebration. For students of history, on the other hand, the most notable event was the presentation to the city of one of the most interesting letters ever written by Captain George Vancouver.

Offered for sale some years ago in London, at a time when it was not possible for either the Vancouver City Archives or the Provincial Archives to acquire it, this letter was purchased by Mrs. Marjorie Wade, daughter of the late F. C. Wade, formerly Agent-General for British Columbia in London. Mrs. Wade's purpose was to keep the letter available, in order that it might find a permanent home in this Province. This summer her wish was fulfilled when the historic letter was given to the citizens of Vancouver by Mrs. Jonathan Rogers.

The presentation took place in the Council Chamber in the City Hall on July 9. Mrs. Rogers spoke briefly, outlined the history of the letter, and formally presented it to Mayor Cornett, who in turn placed it in the hands of Major J. S. Matthews, City Archivist, for deposit in the City Archives. Mrs. Rogers had had the letter mounted in an ingenious glass and hardwood case that makes it possible to examine every part of the document closely without actually touching the manuscript.

The letter itself, which is several pages in length, was written at Nootka Sound on October 2, 1794. It deals in part with business matters, but James Sykes, the Navy agent, to whom it is addressed, was a personal friend of Vancouver's, and his son was serving as a midshipman with Vancouver's expedition. The great survey of the Northwest Coast had been completed only a few weeks before the letter was written, and Captain Vancouver

notes that his ships had arrived at Nootka "having truly determined the non existence of any water communication between this and the other side of America within the limits of our investigation beyond all doubt or disputation. . . ."

The letter was seen by George Godwin, Vancouver's biographer, and the complete text is given in the appendix of his *Vancouver: A Life* (London, 1930).

SKETCH OF NOOTKA SOUND IN 1792.

Mr. H. R. MacMillan recently purchased from Maggs Brothers, London, and presented to the Library of the University of British Columbia a striking water-colour sketch entitled *A View of the Spanish Settlement, in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound.* The painting measures approximately 33 inches by 10 inches, and is finished in delicate shades of green and grey, with touches of yellow and red. It pictures substantially the same area as that included in the drawing by H. Humphries that was engraved and published in the second volume of the quarto edition of Vancouver's *Voyage*, but the view-point is slightly different. Like the Humphries sketch, it forms a perfect companion-piece to the beautiful pencil drawing in the Provincial Archives, dated 1793, and believed to be the work of a member of the crew of the trading ship *Three Brothers.* In the latter the largest building in the little Spanish village, a substantial two-story structure, appears at the extreme right of the picture; in the new water-colour sketch it appears at the extreme left. Between them, the two thus give a panoramic view of the whole of Friendly Cove.

Various bits of evidence, including the fact that a small vessel is shown under construction on the foreshore, make it reasonably certain that Mr. MacMillan's most interesting gift was painted sometime in the autumn of 1792. It is in an excellent state of preservation, and students of history will be glad to hear that it has found a home in British Columbia.

THE A. J. T. TAYLOR ARCTIC COLLECTION.

Late in June Mrs. A. J. T. Taylor presented to the Library of the University of British Columbia the notable collection of books of travel and other works relating to the Arctic, and, to a lesser extent, the Antarctic, that had been assembled by her late husband. The 500 volumes include many first and other rare editions and a great number of autographed and association copies. Many of the books were purchased by Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who was a close personal friend of Mr. Taylor's, and scores of them bear notes in Stefansson's handwriting pointing out the importance or peculiarities of the various titles.

Perhaps the most interesting single book in the collection is a copy of the 1795 quarto edition of Samuel Hearne's *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort . . . to the Northern Ocean.* This bears the book-plate of Samuel Wegg, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1782–99, and the man under whose authority Hearne made his great journey. It also contains the book-plate and autograph of Townsend W. Thorndike, who assembled a fine

library on the Arctic. Dr. Stefansson purchased the book for Mr. Taylor from the Townsend estate in 1933, and he has added both a note to that effect and a letter in which he describes this particular copy of Hearne as being "nearly the most interesting possible." One can well understand this opinion, for in addition to the book-plates and autographs noted, the volume also boasts a brief note, complete with autograph, in the hand-writing of the famous French explorer La Pérouse, that some former owner has laid in on the front fly-leaf.

HOWAY BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOME ADDITIONS.

The *Bibliography of the Printed Writings of Frederic William Howay* published in the January, 1944, issue of this *Quarterly* was evidently very nearly complete, for careful search has produced only six or seven additional items. The original bibliography consisted of 286 entries, and this brief supplement continues the enumeration:—

Articles:—

287. The inception of civilization in the Fraser River Valley. New Westminster *British Columbian* Fraser Valley centennial edition, November 27, 1912: 3–5.

288. Introduction in *Souvenir programme Fort Langley centennial May 2, 1925.* Printed by G. Y. Timms, Langley Prairie, n.d. [1925]. 32 pp. Introduction, pp. 3, 5.

289. Notes on Union lodge no. 9, New Westminster. *Proceedings of the . . . Grand Lodge . . . of British Columbia* 1937: 168–72.

Reviews:—

290. John T. Walbran, *British Columbia coast names.* New Westminster *Daily News* January 28, 1910: 4, 6.
Reprinted in the Victoria *Colonist* February 13, 1910.

291. James Wickersham, *Old Yukon: tales, trails, and trials. Frontier and midland* 19:287–8 Summer 1939.

292. *The Letters of John McLoughlin, first series, 1825–38. Beaver* outfit 273:55–6 December 1942.

In addition, the following may be noted for purposes of record:—

293. Our fiftieth anniversary, by D. Frank Marshall in *Langley: fifty years of progress* [1873–1923], Langley Fort, August 8, 1923. n.p., n.d. [16 pp.]
The programme of the celebration held on August 8, 1923. Pages not numbered: text and accompanying photographs occupy 7 pages. Carries note: "Data supplied by His Honor Judge F. W. Howay."

In listing Judge Howay's honours and offices, mention of the fact that he had been awarded the Tyrrell Medal by the Royal Society of Canada for outstanding work in Canadian history was inadvertently omitted.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Burt R. Campbell, a veteran of the printing trade in British Columbia, is a member of the staff of the Kamloops *Sentinel*. Keenly interested in things historical, he is President of the Kamloops Museum Association and a Director of the Okanagan Historical Society.

W. Kaye Lamb, retiring Editor of this *Quarterly*, is Librarian of the University of British Columbia. His introduction to the three-volume series of *Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee*, published jointly by the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society, is an outstanding contribution to the history of the Pacific Northwest.

A. G. Harvey, barrister and historian, and a long-time member of the Council of the British Columbia Historical Association, has long been interested in the naturalists who visited the Pacific Northwest. Previous articles in this *Quarterly* have dealt with David Douglas and Meredith Gairdner.

D. Geneva Lent is a leader in the handicraft movement in Canada and the author of several books on crafts, as well as a keen student of the history of Western Canada.

Sidney Pettit, M.A., is Assistant Professor of History and Sociology at Victoria College, an affiliate of the University of British Columbia.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of the West. By John Walton Caughey. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946. Pp. xiii., 422. Ill. $5.

This volume is brimfull of interest for anyone concerned with any of Bancroft's histories—which means, in effect, that it is of interest to anyone concerned with the early history of almost any part of the Pacific Coast, from Alaska to Panama.

Bancroft's reputation has been under a cloud for a good many years for reasons made clear in this admirable biography. The unabashed commercialism with which the sale of his histories was pressed, the inferior series of sumptuous "mug books" published after the historical series proper was concluded, and the bickering about the authorship of the histories themselves were, indeed, enough to damage any reputation. Moreover, we are so accustomed to seeing history rewritten at frequent intervals (always, of course, in the light of "new and important" documents) that it seemed safe to assume that a many-volumed work published fifty or sixty years ago could not be anything but obsolete.

But, as Professor Caughey shows by the simple expedient of going methodically through the list and noting the later works that have appeared in each field, the histories are not obsolete. Many of the volumes have been supplemented and in a measure corrected by later publications, but Bancroft's work invariably retains its place as an essential reference. Bernard De Voto, a disinterested observer who encountered Bancroft's *Works* a few years ago when he was writing *The Year of Decision, 1846*, has summed the matter up in a sentence: "I have found that you had better not decide that Bancroft was wrong until you have rigorously tested what you think you know."

We are probably still too close to Bancroft to judge his work with any finality, but one thing is certain: his stature will grow through the years. Professor Caughey goes so far as to suggest that "generations hence he may loom up as the most significant figure that the West has produced." Nor is this suggestion as extravagant as it may seem at first. Stanford, Huntington, and dozens of other prominent figures that come to mind were, after all, familiar types; if they, as individuals, had not appeared, others with like qualities would undoubtedly have taken their places and accomplished their work. But Bancroft's contribution may well have been unique. If he had not settled in California, it is by no means certain that someone else would have grasped, with the same amazing prescience, the extent of the opportunity before him. For Bancroft realized, at a very early date, that the source material for the early history of the whole western segment of the continent could be his for the gathering, and, at great cost in both effort and money, he assembled it with such thoroughness that no one can do any

considerable work in the field without reference to his library or his writings. He was well aware of what he had done, and wrote with obvious satisfaction: "He who shall come after me will scarcely be able to undermine my work by laying another and deeper foundation. He must build upon mine or not at all, for he can not go beyond my authorities for facts. He may add to or alter my work, for I shall not know or be able to tell everything, but he can never make a complete structure of his own."

To-day, more than half a century later, the truth of these words is evident. We know now that Bancroft did not explore Spanish sources as extensively as he might have done, and there is a wealth of material on the fur trade in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company to which he did not have access. Yet in both instances one can only admire the skill and substantial accuracy with which he contrived to block out the main story.

Professor Caughey describes the celebrated "history factory" in great detail. His account substantiates and amplifies Bancroft's own version, which appears in *Literary Industries*, a volume that many people interested in the histories seem not to have discovered. It is clear that the trouble that arose later sprang in great part from Bancroft's failure to give any credit to any of his staff of writers on the title-pages of the various histories. To-day most people will feel that he might well have made some concession, but his own opinion of the matter is clear. He had invested at least $250,000 in his library; he could only hope to make the histories repay this large sum by operating upon strictly business lines, and he felt that to use his own name exclusively would be the best plan from the business point of view. Moreover, it is clear that Bancroft felt very strongly—and quite correctly—that the entire enterprise was peculiarly his own. He had, so to speak, supplied the raw material, the design for the product, the general supervision, and the final inspection. To use a contemporary figure, it was as if a worker in the Ford factory had suddenly demanded that his name be put on the Ford car.

Professor Caughey has made an exhaustive examination of every shred of evidence bearing upon the actual authorship of the individual histories, and the conclusion again emerges that Bancroft himself wrote as much or more of the volumes relating to British Columbia than of any other titles. Half of the *History of British Columbia*, half of the first volume of the *History of the Northwest Coast*, and seven-eighths of the second volume came from his own pen.

Only one aspect of Bancroft's activities is not covered fully: the charge, very frequently made, especially in the Pacific Northwest, that he was light-fingered, and borrowed many papers that he never returned. The point is mentioned several times, and the falseness of the charge assumed; but the matter is left there. The verdict is one with which this reviewer agrees, and it is a pity that Professor Caughey did not make an effort to settle the point once and for all. A careful examination of all the source material in the Bancroft library that was used in any one of the histories should provide ample evidence. The writer has begun, and some day hopes to complete, such an examination of the sources of the *History of British Columbia*. The

result to date has been interesting, and entirely in Bancroft's favour. To cite only one example: a careful check of the evidence has shown that one important narrative, which for years has been represented as being stolen property, was indubitably written specially for Bancroft; much of it, indeed, consists of unrelated paragraphs that do not make sense until one realizes that they are the answers to a series of questions that he submitted. And the most valuable of the papers that Bancroft is alleged to have stolen from this particular family is represented in the Bancroft library only by a transcript; the original is in the Provincial Archives, in Victoria!

W. KAYE LAMB.

"*West, Nor'West.*" *A History of Alberta.* By J. W. Horan. Edmonton, Northgate Books, 1945. Pp. 184. Ill. $2.

"*West, Nor'West*" is the rather misleading title of a book of facts which should prove most useful to those wishing a concise manual dealing with statistics regarding the Province of Alberta. It is more a compilation of data, and might have been called "An Alberta Gazette," for it cannot be fairly judged as an ordinary history.

However, such a book should be of inestimable value to those wishing to know more about this sister Province, where so little historical material is available on its own fertile soil. It is to the serious regret of all interested students of Western Canadian history that the Province of Alberta has no authoritative historical society and that Alberta Archives have been so long neglected.

The writer of "*West Nor'West*" brings this clearly to mind in a summation where he states that there was a great lag between the colourful period of explorers and missionaries, dating back to the mid-eighteenth century—to the days of such fascinating names as Pierre La Verendrye, Anthony Hendry, Samuel Hearne, Peter Pond, Roderich and Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, Father De Smet, Father Lacombe, Rev. John MacDougall, Bishop Pinkham, and others. Then history lapsed in Indian wars and sullen hatreds until 1874 or thereabouts, and the strife of the Riel Rebellion.

Alberta is literally full of history—the story of desperadoes, Yankee whisky traders, the wolfers, the bull trains, the Red River carts pursuing the little-known trails between Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton. There are all the elements present in the early history of this magnificent Province to thrill the heart of any romance-hungry youngster or movie director. There is folk-lore galore, and the epic of human suffering and laughter as pioneers came in to settle, as the Red Coats brought peace and order and decent government to the plains. There is the establishment of parliament, the opening of roads, the discovery of rich resources. All the glory and tragedy that make Edna Ferber thrill in pioneer romance and development. But it has long been disregarded. Alberta was living history, not writing it. Not sufficient generations had swept by in their struggle with the soil and the mine, the oil-well and the trading-post to sit quietly and contemplate material for history books and novels. But that day is coming.

It is deplorable that a book even of the stamp of "*West, Nor'West,*" which in all honesty cannot be called "literature," should not emanate from an established publisher with connections across Canada, for then its factual matter would reach many more readers who would really like to *know* about Alberta. "*West, Nor'West*" is purely a "local product," but even as such it must not be forgotten that without prejudice "Edmonton is on the map"—not only was its population exaggerated by peaceful penetration during the building of the Alaska Highway, to the extent of some 45,000 extra persons, but it is now the "clearing-house" for the "New North," the entrance to the great continent of Asia. Had it been published by a more expansive publisher, more readers would have found the worth-while "facts" in it, and questioned further. They would have used it as a source-book to lead them to other material, and so Alberta would discover herself and her history.

Still it is a beginning. It is a slight awakening to Alberta's magnificent store of material for the historian and the novelist. Already American writers have come in to delve in its wealth of folk-lore, producing books like Robert E. Gard's *Johnny Chinook*. But there are other matters worth writing about than Alberta's exotic insularities and hill-billy characters. There is real literary food in this Province. And it will be discovered yet by authors of outstanding ability and serious intent, creating for future generations living history and romance.

"*West, Nor'West*" must be regarded as an historic guide-post, rather than a serious literary project. The writer is consciously providing information which was definitely lacking in precise form. He has made a generous and real contribution, for here are facts as you may want them regarding a great piece of Canada. Mr. Horan has had the whole-hearted co-operation of the Alberta Government to lend authenticity to his project. He has prepared his book intelligently, section by section, so it does not overlap.

If you are interested in Western Canadian history and development; if you are proud of Western Canada, and desire an intelligent and authentic picture of Alberta's contribution, resources, background, and prospects for her future as a part of Canada's unprejudiced story, you will find "*West, Nor'West*" a valuable source-book on your shelves of Canadians.

D. GENEVA LENT.

CALGARY, ALTA.

Cariboo Road. By Alan Sullivan. Toronto, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Limited [1946]. $3.

British Columbians who enjoyed *Three Came to Ville Marie* will be delighted by the period and locale of Mr. Sullivan's latest historical romance. As the title suggests, *The Cariboo Road* has its setting in the northern goldfields, and the action takes place during the fabulous years 1862 and 1863. The author has made use of authentic source materials to give a picture of life on the creeks and has not hesitated to introduce living characters such as Judge Begbie, Billy Barker, Cariboo Cameron, and Bill Dietz. A chapter

describing the descent of winter on the northern wilderness gives a sharp touch of reality to the background of the story. Mr. Sullivan's account of mining on Williams Creek will make adventurous readers itch to do a bit of sluicing themselves. A hurdy girl, the Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks, Frank Laumeister and his camels, not to mention a gunman and a gambler, all give a pretty good idea of the heterogeneous population of Golden Cariboo.

While the author has set his stage quite effectively, he has failed dismally as a story-teller. Mr. Sullivan does not handle narrative with any skill, many of the situations are improbable, the characters are unreal and their motives obscure. The reader will feel a definite jolt every time the author pulls up to put in a bit of local colour, and when the story is resumed, the unpredictable behaviour of the leading characters will leave him bewildered. Ma Bowers is a confused little body, and it is well to skip her extraordinary attempts to conceal the identity of Michael Trupp from her adopted daughter, Mary, who, by the way, is a very tiresome girl indeed. Marta, the hurdy, whose heart is apparently as large as her bosom, is too big a morsel even for seasoned readers of Dickens to swallow.

Perhaps the only plausible character is the person whom Mr. Sullivan calls Judge Begbie. Mr. Sullivan's Begbie is rather short and he sports a snappy brown beard to match his eyes. Of his conduct in court, the author says: "Proceedings were much to the point; mostly they dealt with disputes over claims that met with a treatment approved by all not directly involved, and rarely was there any appeal, though Begbie, after giving his verdict, always left that open." In the interest of accuracy, though not necessarily of art, it may be noted that Judge Begbie was over 6 feet, his eyes were blue, his hair almost white, and his dark beard streaked with grey. Actually nobody approved of his judgments in mining cases, and in 1866 some five or six hundred miners demanded that he be removed from office. There were, it is true, no appeals from his decisions, but that was because there was no court of appeal nearer than London. It is to be regretted that the author, who has a keen eye for background, did not introduce a violent court scene. By doing so he would have added another touch of authenticity and have rounded out one of the most interesting characters in the history of British Columbia.

SIDNEY PETTIT.

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