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THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME XVI

1952

VICTORIA, B.C.

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ERRATA

The picture of sternwheeler *Thistle*, appearing facing page 90, ran on the Yukon River but it was not the wooden screw steamer taken north by John Smith.

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JANUARY - APRIL, 1952

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

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STEAMBOAT DAYS ON THE UPPER COLUMBIA AND UPPER KOOTENAY

On looking at the headwaters of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers to-day—the former turbulent and rapid, the latter narrow and meandering—one can hardly believe that once these streams were navigated by good-sized steamboats. Yet it is not long ago that the river-valleys echoed to the shrill toot of the steam whistle and the churn of the paddle-wheel. Iron-nerved swift-water steamboat-men were pioneers of civilization in the area and, indeed, navigated the entire length of the Columbia-Kootenay Valley, from Golden in the north to Libby, Montana, more than 300 miles to the south.

From earliest times the great river-valleys which cut long narrow channels through the mountains of British Columbia have been the main highways of wayfarers. In succession have come Indian tribesmen, the explorers, fur-traders and missionaries, the prospectors and settlers. In the early summer of 1807 David Thompson, greatest of the geographers of British Columbia, crossed the Great Divide of the Rockies at Howse Pass and followed the mountain torrent of the Blaeberry River down to its junction with the Columbia, 10 miles north of the mouth of the Kicking Horse River. Then for the first time he cast eyes upon the Columbia-Kootenay Valley, which stretches far south to the source of the Columbia and then follows the Kootenay River deep into the heart of Montana.

In August, 1807, Thompson built the first white habitation in the valley, which he called Kootenæ House, near the present village of Wilmer. Here he wintered, and next season, on April 20, 1808, he headed south to the headwaters of the Columbia River at Columbia Lake.[1] There he was the first white man to observe a natural phenomenon, which became an important factor in the later development of the region. This was the fact that the headwaters of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers are separated by only a mile of flat land from which the former river flows north and the latter flows south.

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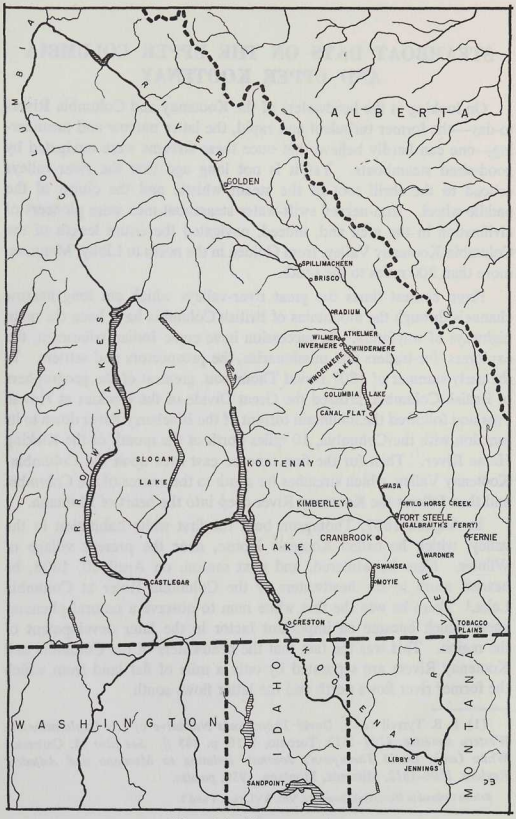
(1) J. B. Tyrrell (*ed.*), *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812,* Toronto, 1916, p. 385 *ff. See also* M. Catherine White (*ed.*), *David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions, 1808–1812,* Missoula, Montana, 1950, *passim.*



Map of the Kootenay region.

From Columbia Lake the Columbia River flows due north to the Big Bend, where it arcs south through the narrow defile of the Arrow Lakes into the State of Washington. A mile from Columbia Lake the turbulent Kootenay descends from the Rockies to flow south deep into the States of Montana and Idaho, whence it curves north again into Kootenay Lake in British Columbia, then flows west to join the Columbia at Castlegar. Thus, except for that mile of level land at the head of Columbia Lake, known to-day as Canal Flats, a giant Kootenay island is created, embracing the Selkirk range of mountains in its heart.

Thompson called the flats McGillivray's Portage, and in the next three years he was to carry his canoes and supplies across the divide several times in his Kootenay travels. Perhaps the thought struck him that it would be relatively simple to join the Upper Columbia and Upper Kootenay Rivers by a ditch across the portage, thus saving the trouble of unloading his canoes. Since the Kootenay at high water is only 11 feet above the Columbia at this point, force of gravity would soon carve a navigable channel. In fact, there is physical evidence that Columbia Lake, ages ago, emptied into the Kootenay.[2]

Whether or not Thompson envisaged such a plan, the idea was discussed by later travellers, and eighty-one years later the proposal was brought to fruition, with the completion of a canal which linked the two rivers for more than 300 miles of navigable length. To-day the halcyon era of the steamboat is over. The canal is long since filled in, its lock hardly discernible in the midst of a pig-farm. Memories are short, and few people recall to-day the passages of the canal made by Captain F. P. Armstrong in the *Gwendoline* in 1894 and the *North Star* in 1902.

Steamboat navigation in the Columbia-Kootenay Valley lasted for only twenty-eight years, from 1886 to 1914, but those years were an exciting era of development. They saw the building of the first wagon-roads, the completion of the railways, the onrush of miners and settlers, and the evolution from a truly "wild western" age to the vaunted benefits of modern civilization. Old-timers nostalgically say that the years when the steamboats ruled the rivers were the happiest and most prosperous years of the valley. Certainly never since has there been

(2) John Taynton, of Invermere, told the writer that in digging down 8 feet at Canal Flats he found cedar-trees preserved in the gravel-bed, facing the Kootenay; evidence that Columbia Lake once emptied into the Kootenay River rather than into the Columbia River, which it does to-day.

such zest for life. There was a mining boom, and a logging boom, and a railway boom, and a land boom. To-day, abandoned farms, worked-out mines, the ghost of a canal, a dilapidated railway are evidence of the optimism of the pre-war years.

In 1882 there were only eleven white residents in the entire East Kootenay area. The only "settlement" was at Wild Horse Creek, where a few Chinese eked out a living from the remains of the Wild Horse placer claims, which had created a furor in 1864 and 1865. At near-by Galbraith's Ferry, on the Kootenay River, R. L. T. Galbraith and his brother John operated a ferry and trading-post. Far to the south, on the American border, at Tobacco Plains, Michael Phillips was the Hudson's Bay Company trader and Indian agent. The only other whites in the vast area between the Rockies and the Selkirks were a handful of itinerant prospectors. Trails were few and far between. Supplies and mails had to be carried by pack-train from Walla Walla, nearly 500 miles to the south-west. The Dewdney Trail from the Pacific Coast, completed in 1865, was now abandoned, while the MacLeod Trail from Fort MacLeod, across the Rockies, completed in 1877, was little used. The year 1882 is important for the Kootenay country, for it marked the arrival of the first railroad, the *open sesame* to the vast wealth of the land-locked mountains. Completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad, through near-by American territory, brought civilization to the door-step of the land.

Nearest station on the Northern Pacific to the Kootenays was Sandpoint, Idaho, and here arrived in 1882 a big-game hunter and world traveller named William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, who was destined to devote many years to the development of the Kootenay country.[3] Half Scottish and half Austrian—his mother was a Tyrolean countess—Baillie-Grohman was a man of vision. He was a peppery little man who did not get along well with Canadians; he made many enemies and he suffered sadly in a financial way from his attempts to develop the country, but he was truly anxious to make the Kootenays prosper and he deserves recognition for his gallant efforts.

In the course of his big-game hunting expedition of 1882, Baillie-Grohman observed the narrow portage at Canal Flats, which had so struck David Thompson. He also noted that the Kootenay Flats, where the Kootenay River empties into Kootenay Lake, near the present town

(3) *See* W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia,* London, 1900, *passim.*

of Creston, contained some of the finest arable land he had ever seen. Unfortunately, every year at high water the Kootenay River flooded its banks and inundated the rich potential farm land. Baillie-Grohman saw a simple solution to the flooding difficulty. If a channel was cut at Canal Flats, much of the Kootenay River could be diverted into the Columbia. There would be a consequent fall in the Kootenay at Creston and many thousands of acres of teeming rich soil would be made available for farming. The cost of building the ditch would be small, and the results would be highly profitable to the country and incidentally to Baillie-Grohman. So was born the Canal Flats project, which was to occupy his mind and efforts for many years thereafter.

Baillie-Grohman hastened to Victoria and placed his proposal before the Provincial Government, who, without too thorough an investigation, acquiesced in the scheme and granted him a concession of 47,500 acres of land for ten years with an option to purchase alternate blocks after reclamation. The concession thus granted included every inch of valley land between the United States boundary and Kootenay Lake.[4] In 1883 Baillie-Grohman went to England to raise money for his project and returned the next spring with a party of backers to show them over the land. In the meantime other developments had arisen which were to mark the doom of the whole scheme, although the promoter did not yet see the difficulties that were to confront him.

Conditions had changed materially in the Upper Columbia and Upper Kootenay Valleys between 1882 and 1884. Completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the adjacent American territory had attracted settlers and prospectors to the Wild Horse Creek district. Farther north the Canadian Pacific Railway was nearing completion, and much land had been pre-empted in the valley south of the railway boom camp of Golden "City." The new settlers were strongly opposed to the diversion of the Kootenay into the Columbia, which meant the almost certain flooding of their lands. Even more important, the diversion

(4) "Return to an Order of the House for a Return . . . [*re* Lease, Kootenay Reclamation Scheme]," British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1883–84,* Victoria, 1884, p. 426. Other details of the lease specified an annual rent of $100, except that during the last five years rent was to be 5 cents an acre on land reclaimed and brought under cultivation. In addition, during the first three years not less than $15,000 was to be spent in British Columbia and during the balance of the term not less than $10,000 per annum. The annual report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the year ended December 31, 1883, contained a long report from A. S. Farwell on a reconnaissance he had undertaken in the valley in the company of Baillie-Grohman. *Ibid.,* pp. 255–261.

scheme incurred the opposition of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who feared that the sudden increase in the flow of the Columbia would wipe out their railway grades. Protest also came from R. L. T. Galbraith, member of the Provincial Legislature for East Kootenay, who owned many acres near Wild Horse and had no desire to see the Kootenay reduced to a trickle. The enemies of the project had a powerful weapon in their hands, for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's lawyers quickly discovered an illegality in the original concession. In the eyes of the law the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers are navigable waters and consequently come under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The permission to divert the waters given by the Provincial authorities was clearly *ultra vires,* and accordingly a strongly worded petition was sent to Ottawa in protest. A special committee of the Privy Council was set up to study the project and, after protracted delays, outlawed the original plan in its entirety.

Since money had been raised in England and a company called the Kootenay Syndicate Limited registered in London, Baillie-Grohman, rather than abandon his project, made another proposal which was approved by the Privy Council. Instead of diverting the Kootenay into the Columbia by a ditch, he agreed to construct a navigable canal, provided wth a lock, and guaranteed " that the level of the Kootenay shall not at any season of the year, or at any point of its course, be lowered below the ordinary low water level at present in existence " and he undertook " to keep the gates or lock of the canal permanently closed after the last day of August, except at such intervals when steamers or other craft may pass through the canal."[5]

With this permission granted by the Federal Government, the Kootenay Syndicate made a new agreement with the Provincial authorities, dated October 30, 1886, which effectively nullified the original plan to overcome the flooding of the Kootenay Flats, for it agreed " not to affect the volume of water in the said river or lake [Upper Kootenay River and Columbia Lake] or the Columbia River." The canal was to be in no place narrower than 30 feet or of less depth than 4 feet, while the lock was to be 100 feet long by 30 feet wide. In return for its expenditure on the canal, which was to revert to the Crown on completion, the syndicate was to receive a free grant of 30,000 acres of land

(5) Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Administrator of the Government in Council, on the 25th August, 1886, in "Correspondence: Kootenay Reclamation Scheme," British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1891,* Victoria, 1891, pp. 493–494.

in the Upper Kootenay Valley, to be chosen at will between Elko and Tobacco Plains. In addition, the syndicate was to have the concession, with option to purchase, of 45,000 acres in the Lower Kootenay Valley, between Kootenay Lake and the boundary, and of 2,500 acres at Canal Flats and 1,000 acres at Lardeau at the head of Kootenay Lake.[6] Later Baillie-Grohman admitted that his new contract was a mistake, for he could have bought all the land outright at a dollar an acre, totalling $78,500, whereas the canal alone cost the syndicate more than $100,000 to build.[7]

Preparations for the canal began in the spring of 1887 with the building of a sawmill and store at Canal Flats, but it was not until late in the summer that the Government engineers finally approved the plans and work commenced. Construction went ahead slowly in 1888, many of the workmen being Chinese coolies who had lately worked on the railway. There were frequent vexatious delays, and the final cost was about twenty times that of the original project to turn the Kootenay River. On July 29, 1889, according to agreement, the canal was declared completed and turned over to the Provincial Government. The ditch was 6,700 feet long, 45 feet wide, and equipped with one wooden lock 100 feet long by 30 feet wide. Even at this period, however, the canal was not fit for navigation, all those concerned having already lost faith in its usefulness, and for several years it remained disused. Adhering to its share of the bargain, the Government allotted to the Kootenay Syndicate 30,000 acres in the Upper Kootenay Valley.

Baillie-Grohman carried on for several years his attempt to reclaim the Kootenay Flats at Creston, first by widening the outlet of Kootenay Lake at Grohman Narrows and later by dyking. The great flood of 1894 wiped out his work, and he returned to Europe a disappointed man. Kootenay Syndicate Limited, later known as Kootenay Valleys Company

(6) "Lease, Kootenay Reclamation and Colonization," British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1887,* Victoria, 1887, p. 315. This was signed on behalf of the Provincial Government by William Smithe, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and by W. A. Baillie-Grohman, J. B. Fenwick, and Thomas Bate as directors of the Kootenay Syndicate, whose address was 46 Queen Victoria Street, London, England. A previous agreement between the Provincial Government and the syndicate was dated September 7, 1885, and is to be found in "Return to an Order of the House for a copy of the final agreement entered into by the Government with William Baillie-Grohman, in connection with the Kootenay Colonization and Reclamation Scheme," British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1885,* Victoria, 1885, pp. 419–424.

(7) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *op. cit.,* pp. 262 *ff.*

Limited,[8] never made a penny out of the scheme, and most of its grant of 30,000 acres eventually reverted to the Crown for taxes. The Canal Flats scheme was certainly not a success, and Baillie-Grohman suffered much criticism at the time. However, his original concept was a sound one, and if he had been permitted to divert the waters of the Kootenay as he first proposed, the benefits would likely have been lasting. It is ironical that a plan for control of the Upper Kootenay is again to the fore, and an international joint commission is seriously studying the possibility of regulating the flow of the river by a dam at Libby, Montana.

While Baillie-Grohman was thus attempting to develop the wilderness by engineering, the valley was being opened up naturally by adventurous prospectors and settlers. The year 1882, which saw the arrival of Baillie-Grohman, was also the year of arrival of Francis Patrick Armstrong, the "father of navigation" in East Kootenay. This adventurous young man was born in Sorel, Quebec, in 1862, a member of a prominent Loyalist family that settled in Sorel after the revolutionary war. His father was the Honourable James Armstrong, C.M.G., Chief Justice of St. Lucia and Tobago; his grandfather, Captain Charles Logie Armstrong, was a St. Lawrence River pilot who, with his two brothers, had fitted out three privateers in the War of 1812 to fight the Americans. Frank Armstrong inherited much of the adventurous blood of his ancestors, and his blithe and convivial spirit is still remembered with much affection in East Kootenay.[9]

He joined the engineering staff of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881 and in the following year was one of the exploring party under the Honourable Fred Aylmer which blazed a trail from Kicking Horse Pass to Rogers Pass, at the summit of the Selkirks. During 1882 Armstrong first traversed the Columbia Valley from Golden (then known as The Cache) to Cranbrook (then Joseph's Prairie). At this time a half-breed named Baptiste Morigeau was the only pre-emptor

(8) This company was organized March 18, 1887, "to acquire lands in British Columbia and certain water rights." *See* Thomas Skinner, *The Stock Exchange Year-book for 1894*, London, 1894, p. 762. By 1894 Baillie-Grohman was no longer a director of the company. For further details concerning this company and its efforts to dispose of its rights to the Alberta and British Columbia Exploration Company (Limited) *see* British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1891*, pp. 502–508.

(9) J. B. Kerr, *Biographical Dictionary of Well-known British Columbians*, Vancouver, 1890, pp. 86–87. *See also* J. P. Forde, "Armstrong, of the Upper Columbia Valley," *MS.*, Archives of B.C., and Norman Rankin, "Master of the River," *Canada Monthly*, IX (1911), pp. 422–429.

of land north of Wild Horse. Armstrong fell in love with the country, and on July 9, 1882, he recorded a claim for 320 acres on the east shore of Columbia Lake, which is still known as Armstrong's Range.[10] In 1884 he decided to become a farmer, as he saw there were prospects of making money supplying produce to the Canadian Pacific Railway construction camps. He brought in seed-potatoes by pack-train 150 miles from Montana and sold his first crop for $140 a ton at Golden. It is more than 100 miles from Columbia Lake to Golden, and to transport his potatoes he whip-sawed lumber by the lake-shore and built two bateaux. He thus gained his first knowledge of navigation of the Upper Columbia.

At this period, bateaux had long been a familiar means of transportation on the rivers of Western America. They were flat-bottomed and wide-beamed, averaged 30 to 40 feet in length, 6 feet in width, and 3 feet in depth, and could carry up to 10 tons of freight. Propulsion was usually provided by four Indians rowing, two to a side. Small bateaux are still used in some of the shallow British Columbia rivers.

Frank Armstrong was not one to be satisfied with such a primitive conveyance, and in the winter of 1885 he decided to build a steamboat for operation between Golden and Columbia Lake. There was good reason for optimism. The last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven on November 7, 1885, and soon regular transcontinental trains would be running. Already there was an influx of settlers into the valley. Mails which heretofore had been brought 150 miles by pack-train from Sandpoint, Idaho, via the Moyie Trail, would soon arrive via Golden. There was also a revival of interest in the Wild Horse placer mines. Armstrong was convinced that there would be enough business to make a steamboat pay. He borrowed money from his family and ordered a boiler and engines in the East. The engines, which were to see many years of usage in various steamers on the Columbia, were a curiosity even in 1885. They had been built in 1840 and were originally in a catamaran ferry running from the Island of Montreal to the mainland at Bout d'Isle. As late as 1920, those venerable engines were still doing service on the Columbia in the steamer *Nowitka*.[11]

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(10) Armstrong's pre-emption was preceded in 1882 by those of E. T. Johnston on April 18 for 80 acres at the site of Wilmer and the Honourable F. W. Aylmer on July 2 for 320 acres adjoining Johnston near the site of Athalmer.

(11) Captain F. P. Armstrong, "Thirty-four Years Steamboating on Upper Columbia Comes to an End," Nelson *Daily News*, May 12, 1920.

There was no sawmill at Golden in 1885, so Armstrong found lumber for his vessel from the remains of an old mill built at Donald by William Mackenzie during railway-construction days. Since the plans for the vessel were drawn in his head, there was more of utility than of beauty about the first *Duchess,* pioneer of steamboat navigation on the Upper Columbia. The boards that went into her construction were of all thicknesses, so, all in all, the *Duchess* was no gem of marine architecture. She has been described as "slab-sided," with immense superstructure and projecting decks, and had very much the appearance of an exaggerated parlour match-box.[12] Fortunately a picture of this odd craft survives in Lees and Clutterbuck's *A Ramble in British Columbia,*[13] which fully bears out the description. Her keel was laid on March 26, 1886; the boilers and machinery, which had arrived on the first through train of the Canadian Pacific Railway, were fitted on May 8, and in June she was ready to face the perils of the Columbia River.

Although the Columbia River between Golden and Lake Windermere, a distance of 100 miles, is a comparatively sluggish stream, it holds many perils for the unwary navigator in the shape of sand-bars, snags, shallows, and sharp bends. Its main course alters with every spring freshet, necessitating very specialized local knowledge. For the first 50 miles above Golden the river is comparatively wide, averaging about 200 feet. It makes countless twists and turns, and at one place, known as the "S," it forms a double horseshoe. To navigate these bends it was necessary to tie hawsers to the shore and line up to them by capstan. The early vessels had no steam capstans, and Captain E. N. Russell, who made his first trip up-river in the *Hyak* in 1894, told the writer that the voyage took a week, and he spent most of the time winding the capstan. He was a passenger, but passengers were expected to work or swim. For sleeping accommodation they rolled up in their blankets and slept on some hay.

About 50 miles above Golden there is a complete change in the scenery. The valley widens to 12 or 15 miles, with but a solitary butte in the centre known as Steamboat Mountain. After passing the mouth of Toby Creek, near the village of Wilmer, the river becomes a very small narrow stream, which in the early days teemed with salmon. There were extensive salmon-spawning grounds in the gravel-beds of

(12) Norman Rankin, "Master of the River," *loc. cit.,* p. 425.

(13) J. A. Lees and W. J. Clutterbuck, *B.C. 1887: A Ramble in British Columbia,* London, 1888, p. 96. This illustration has been reproduced in this *Quarterly.* Their comments regarding the *Duchess* are to be found on pp. 72–75, 95–97.

the river where the Columbia empties from Lake Windermere, which in the spawning season sometimes prevented steamers from entering the lake because of the amount of gravel piled up by the fish. Similar spawning-grounds existed at Sam's Landing, at the head of the lake. Navigation was possible from April until October, but only by the lightest-draught steamers.[14] At other periods when the river was not frozen, bateaux were used. After entering Lake Windermere the early steamers called at the little village of Windermere on the east shore and then proceeded to Sam's Landing.

It is recalled that during the construction of the *Duchess,* the Shuswap tribe of Indians, living on Lake Windermere, heard of it and sent a delegation to inspect her at Golden. The report that they brought back was that is was absolutely a case of " white man's folly " and altogether too big and clumsy to be handled by oars. One bright afternoon, however, the *Duchess* appeared at Sam's Landing. The Indians and half-breeds were astonished, but soon their enthusiasm broke bounds and in a body of 500 they swooped down to welcome her and pulled her over the salmon-flats on which she was temporarily stranded. Many years later, the late Honourable R. Randolph Bruce said of Captain Armstrong: " He was the sort of man who never got stuck, no matter what the obstacles. He bumped a lot of scenery on the Columbia, but he always got through." Normally it took the steamboats about two days to make the 100-mile trip up-river from Golden to Windermere, laying up overnight, and less than a day to make the return trip down-river. However, there were often exceptions, and in 1887 it took W. A. Baillie-Grohman no less than twenty-three days to make the trip from Golden to Lake Windermere in the *Cline.*[15]

There was little enough business for the *Duchess* in 1886, and in the season she carried only 100 tons of freight and 220 passengers, so the first year ended in a loss for the young skipper. Prospects for 1887 looked much better. There was a placer boom at Wild Horse, which overnight had become a roaring camp. Threat of Indian disturbances had led to the dispatch of a detachment of North West Mounted Police under Major (later Sir) Sam Steele.[16] Heavy freight rates were offered

(14) Navigation opened from Golden in the early days on the following dates: *Duchess,* May 19, 1890; *Pert,* April 7, 1891; *Hyak,* March 30, 1892; *Hyak,* April 27, 1893; and *Hyak,* April 11, 1894.

(15) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *op. cit.,* p. 272.

(16) Walter N. Sage, "The North-west Mounted Police and British Columbia," *Pacific Historical Review,* XVIII (1949), pp. 354–361.

on supplies brought in from Golden. A load of 2 tons in a bateau with four men rowing, brought up-stream 100 miles in four days, paid $100 to $115, so many able-bodied men built bateaux at Golden and freighted supplies to Canal Flats or down the Kootenay to Galbraith's Ferry, now known as Fort Steele. Work also started on Baillie-Grohman's canal project in 1887, further booming freight rates.

Among those who built bateaux for the river was Fred Wells, a young prospector who had pre-empted a claim on Vermont Creek, a tributary of the Spillamacheen, in 1884. He freighted on the river for several years, and in 1887 built the *Alert,* a husky 50-foot bateau of selected Coast fir and oak ribs with a capacity of 5 tons. Wells had formerly served with the Royal Navy on the China Station, and he named the *Alert* after a Yangtsze River gun-boat. She was fitted with engines and paddles in 1890, renamed *Pert,* and ran for many years thereafter.[17] Wells later became one of the most successful mining-men in this Province.

The *Duchess* had bad luck in 1887. She ran into snags on July 7 while carrying a cargo of oats for the Mounted Police,[18] sprang a leak and was headed for a sand-bar at the head of Canyon Creek rapids but

(17) Information given to the writer by Fred Wells, Wells, B.C.

(18) Details of this incident are to be found in the annual report of Superintendent S. B. Steele, dated at Kootenay, B.C., December 1, 1887, as follows:—

"The steamer started for Columbia Lakes and it was reported to me that she was not properly trimmed, and had a great deal of bilge water which should have been pumped up before leaving. I was informed shortly afterwards that she had capsized near Lang's Landing and that most of the light stores were floating down the river. I sent men under an officer to endeavor to save some of it. They were thus employed for several days, and succeeded in saving a great deal, but almost everything recovered had been rendered useless by the water. A carload of oats and all the officers' uniforms and many other valuable articles belonging to them were destroyed. I sent some volunteers to assist Mr. Armstrong to raise his boat, but up to the time of leaving nothing had been done.

"I engaged a small steamer belonging to J. C. Hayes, a merchant in Golden, to freight stores for the division to the Columbia Lakes, at the usual rates of freight, viz., one dollar per hundred. Mr. Armstrong had agreed to do it for seventy-five cents per hundred, but there now being no competition I could not make such terms with Hayes. . . . The steamboat 'Clive' [*sic*] taking some of the dismounted men, and the rations and forage for the trip. Each mounted man carried his dinner and forage for his horse. I arrived at the Hog Ranche at 5 p.m., expecting to find the steamer there as the distance was only 25 miles, but she did not appear until after 10 p.m., the men and horses being all this time without anything to eat. It appears that Hayes cupidity was too much for him, as he had waited for some passengers. . . .

sank before reaching it. The passengers got off without much difficulty, but the cargo was badly damaged. The steamer was raised with an effort and in three weeks was running again, though a sad-looking wreck.[19] Thus the second season was as short financially as the first.

The first steam competition for the *Duchess* arrived on the river in 1887, provided by a remarkable craft called the *Cline,* built below Golden by a man named Jack Hayes. No description of this deplorable steamboat could better that of Baillie-Grohman, who had the misfortune to travel in her. He wrote:—

A scatterbrained young Canadian had been bitten with the idea of starting a rival steamer, and he invested a few hundred dollars in buying up a square-ended barge that had been used in the railway construction to drive piles. She was made of four-inch planks, and was of the unwieldiest shape, *i.e.,* about as broad as she was long. Somewhere else he had picked up cheap an old upright boiler that had once formed part of a Manitoba steam plough, and in another place he had obtained at " old iron " prices the discarded machinery of a small river tug. These three component parts of a steamer were awaiting the advent of a *deus ex machina,* who could put them together, and make a steamer of them. This the skilled mechanic I had, fortunately, brought out from Ontario to superintend the erection of the sawmill proved to be, and by using a few parts of my sawmill machinery, a unique " steamship " was patched together.

Nothing quite so odd as this pile-driver steam plough-sawmill combination steamer has, I am very sure, ever navigated water, and as we took twenty-three days to cover the hundred miles, our rate of progression can be easily calculated, every minute of daylight being, of course, made use of. Her little boiler, that had once careered about Manitoba wheatfields, had a fire-box constructed to take coal, but as this article was unobtainable, we had to cut up sticks of wood to about the size of grown-up toothpicks and soak them in coal oil or the fire simply refused to generate steam. The boiler, in the absence of a suction pipe, was kept filled with a hand bucket. . . . The huge planks out of which the *Cline* was constructed made her " sit kinder heavy in the water," as the owner expressed himself, and as

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" On the 3rd August, the ' Duchess ' started for her first trip since being raised. . . . "

Appendix F, " Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1887," *in* Canada *Sessional Papers,* Session 1888 (Ottawa, 1888), No. 28, pp. 53–55. *See also* Victoria *Colonist,* July 26, 1887.

(19) ". . . we lunched on the *Duchess* (the larger of the two Columbia steamers) with the captain, Mr. Armstrong, who was in all ways most obliging. His craft presented a somewhat decrepit appearance, as about a fortnight before our arrival she had been wrecked in the Columbia with a full cargo and some passengers. They had managed to fish her up again out of about fourteen feet of water, and she was now in steaming order, but her fittings and former smartness had gone where other good things go. Her general aspect, in fact, was that of an old canal-boat into which a travelling gipsy's van had been hastily crammed without regard to its position or safety." Lees and Clutterbuck, *op. cit.,* p. 72.

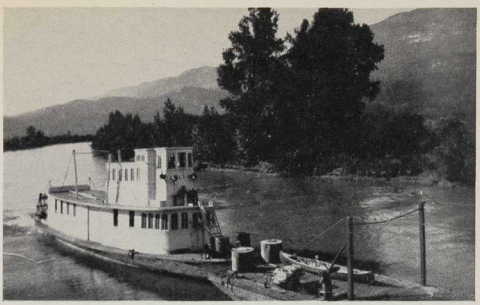
there was no room on board the *Cline,* her chief load, the sawmill boiler, was placed on a sort of raft and towed. The much rivetted interior of this boiler was about the only dry place during most of those twenty-three nights, and I bagged it for my sleeping quarters the very first day. . . .

The funniest thing about the *Cline* was her steering. So uncompromisingly square was her trough-like hull, that but for the little stern wheel at one end, it would have been hard to tell which of her four sides was supposed to act as bow. Her persistent desire was to go up the Columbia broadside on, hence this did not matter so much. . . . If the craft was a singular looking one, the river we were on was but a counterpart to it. Such a variety of sand and mud banks, such an array of snags, consisting of wholly or partially submerged tree trunks, lying with the stream, and hence forming dangerous projections for crafts to impale themselves on when going up stream, had never been seen . . . it was on the upper part of the Columbia just below, and just above where the sportive Toby Creek set all natural laws at defiance, that most of our twenty-three days were spent.

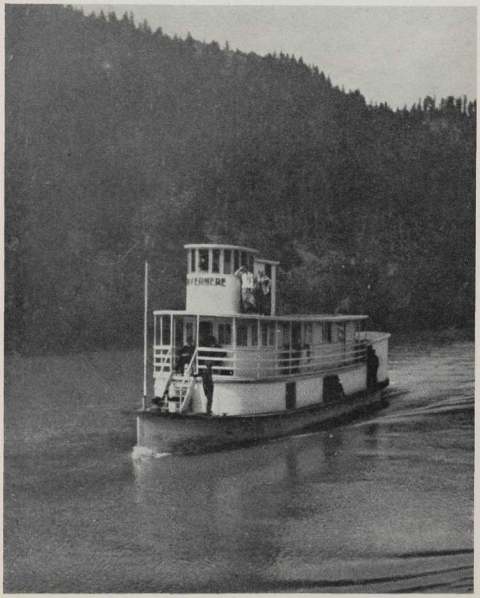
There, too, we did the most execution among the sandbanks and snags, and I am sure those coming after us found many a well-known old mudbar shoved out of position, many a veteran snag twisted from its well-known post of vantage; at least if the vigour and frequency with which the broad-breasted *Cline* rammed them, counted for anything. There was no fooling about it: with a full head of steam we went at them, and the safety valve—but there, I won't say what we did do with that self-same safety valve, assisted by a good coal oil fire, for I believe there are such beings as steamboat inspectors. But presently even a 200 lb. pressure of steam and a ton pressure of western eloquence failed to secure a sufficiently broad high-road through an obstinate old mudbar which stoutly refused to be shoved on one side, and disputed with more might than right the freedom of the highway. The *Cline,* and not the bar, was shoved aside by the current, and we got stuck hard and fast in the clammy embrace of good stickfast Columbia mud. The water looked, and felt, cold; snow was low down on the mountain side, and the air was, to say the least, "chippy," but there was no choice. All of us, except the engineer, who about that time gave extra attention to the old safety valve, had to jump out into the water, which reached to our waists, and to prise the *Cline* over the bar by means of long crowbars made from young trees on the bank. This we had to repeat more than once, but presently this no longer sufficed, and we had to make portages of her load, or, in other words, take out half of her load of bulky machinery, &c., dump it on the bank, make a bold dash at the bar and shove the lightened steam-trough over the obstructing bank by the sheer lifting power of eight men, then unload what remained of the cargo above the bar and go back for the first half, and repeat this steamer shoving *ad infinitum.* That the novelty of this sport began presently to pall, need not be said, and by the time we did get to our goal, I was quite of the same opinion one of my fellow sufferers had expressed respecting the desirableness of forthwith ordering a glass case wherein to preserve for all time the *Cline,* lock, stock, and barrel.[20]

Her career was short. On her second trip up-river, loaded with equipment for the Mounted Police, she sank near Spillimacheen, sadly

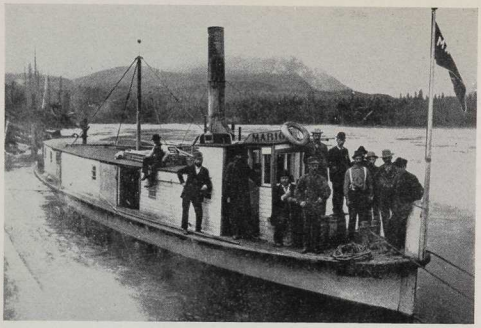
(20) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *op. cit.,* pp. 272–276.



The *Selkirk*.



The *Invermere*.



The *Marion* at Halcyon, B.C.

The *North Star*.

damaging a consignment of red uniforms. She was later raised, but it is said that the engineer stole the whistle and important component parts of the machinery, so that was the end of the *Cline*.[21]

Despite his early set-backs, Captain Armstrong persevered, and in the winter of 1887 raised money to build two new steamers for the river. The financial aid came chiefly from Lady Adela Cochrane, who, with her husband, T. B. H. Cochrane, a cousin of the Earl of Dundonald, owned a placer mine at Findlay Creek, south of Canal Flats. Their backing enabled Armstrong to send to Victoria for Alexander Watson, a skilled shipbuilder who constructed the majority of British Columbia river-steamers during that era. Proper lumber was now available from the new sawmill of the Golden Lumber Company, so the dilapidated old *Duchess* was discarded. Her antique machinery went into a new *Duchess,* 81.6 feet long, which was launched in the spring of 1888. She was even provided with such amenities as private cabins and a dining saloon, for even at this early date Captain Armstrong had hopes of attracting tourists.

The little *Marion,* 61 feet long, was built at the same time as a low-water consort. When full of cargo and passengers, she drew little more than a foot of water. Accommodation aboard was primitive, as witnessed by an early tourist in the valley, Mrs. Algernon St. Maur, later Duchess of Somerset, who travelled in the *Marion* from Windermere to Golden in the autumn of 1888 and wrote of her:—

> . . . there is no cabin on the *Marion*. . . . There was a board roof or hurricane deck, with canvas hangings at the sides, which afforded some shelter against the rain, which came down in torrents. The passengers sat shivering round the funnel of the steamer, while the poor sick men were stretched out on blankets amidships. The larger steamer *The Duchess* no longer runs on the river, as she draws too much water. The *Marion,* therefore, a much smaller boat, has taken her place, which the men say could float in a heavy dew.[22]

The career of the *Marion* on the Upper Columbia was brief, for in 1889 she was sent to Revelstoke on two flat cars. She did low-water service between Revelstoke and Arrowhead until late in 1897, when she again travelled overland to Kootenay Lake. There she operated on the Duncan and Lardeau Rivers at the head of the lake, meeting her doom in the mud of Howser Lake.[23]

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(21) Information given to the writer by J. H. Taynton, Invermere, B.C.

(22) Mrs. Algernon St. Maur, *Impressions of a Tenderfoot,* London, 1890, pp. 206–207.

(23) Not long ago the writer was surprised to find the name-board of the *Marion* nailed to a cabin in the deserted village of Lardeau.

During the prosperous year 1888 Captain Armstrong carried 370 tons of freight and 685 passengers to south-east Kootenay points from Golden. The freight rates ran from 33 cents per hundredweight for lumber to $1.25 for whisky. The latter was a popular cargo, and it is said that for many years the Columbia boats sailed up-river laden with full whisky bottles and down-stream with the empties. For ore, $1 a ton was charged from any river point to Golden. During high water the *Duchess* or *Marion* ran twice a week between Golden and Columbia Lake, about 113 miles, making stage connections at Canal Flats for Fort Steele, Wild Horse, and Cranbrook. Passenger fare to Windermere was $4.

The stretch of the Columbia River between Lake Windermere and Columbia Lake is the most difficult to navigate on the river and could only be used at extreme high water. Half-way between the two lakes is a small shallow lake known as Mud Lake, or Adela Lake. From Columbia Lake to Adela Lake there is a drop of 38 feet in a 4-mile stretch, so that the river, here very narrow, is a series of rapids and riffles. Freight destined for Fort Steele and southern points often had to be portaged over this 4-mile stretch, with its snags and sand-bars.

Life at this period was still very primitive in East Kootenay and held many aspects of the " Wild West " of romantic fiction. Although there was never the lawlessness of American camps, able-bodied men usually went about armed and there were many desperate characters about. A place known as the Hog Ranche, about 24 miles above Golden, was especially notorious as a hang-out for desperadoes. During railway-construction days, liquor was forbidden in Golden and all railway camps, so the Hog Ranche became a rendezvous of liquor smugglers. Fort Steele was also a rough camp before the Mounted Police arrived, and the late Teddie Warren, who arrived there in 1887, told the writer that shots used to ring out at frequent intervals during the night as drunken miners vented their high spirits. Wide-open poker games at that time ran twenty-four hours a day. Another place famous for poker games was Hanson's " roadhouse " at Wasa, described by J. H. Taynton to the writer as " a hang-out for tough Swedes." Even quiet little Windermere had its nights of revelry, as Mrs. St. Maur relates after an experience at the Windermere Hotel in October, 1888:—

After we had gone to bed, there was too much noise to allow us to sleep, and the drunken orgie [*sic*] ended in what they called a " Bull's Ball " in this country. A fiddler arrived, about thirty men danced together, and the shuffling of feet and

the talking and the laughing, and the reek of bad tobacco, disturbed us until an early hour the next morning.[24]

To replace the *Marion* as a low-water boat, Captain Armstrong purchased the bateau *Alert* in 1890, equipped her with a primitive engine and side-wheels, and renamed her *Pert*. She ran for a year or so on Columbia River before being sent to Columbia Lake. She was a "one-man boat," under the command of a skipper-deckhand-engineer named George Drake,[25] universally known as "Dirty" Drake, whose career later came to a doleful end. As a result of many complaints from passengers, Captain Armstrong took him to Golden and ordered a barber to give him a bath. The barber took one look at "Dirty," shuddered, and said, "I dare not. The shock would kill him." But Captain Armstrong was adamant and Drake was bathed, perhaps for the first time in his life. It was his last bath. In a week he was dead!

There was a heavy flow of freight south to Canal Flats and Fort Steele, but it proved extremely expensive and cumbersome to portage across the 5-mile stretch from Adela to Columbia Lake. It occurred to Captain Armstrong that a tramway might solve the problem. Accordingly, representations were made to the Government, a land subsidy was promised, and in 1891 the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company was incorporated, with power to build a tramway from Golden Station to the steamboat-landing on the Columbia River; from the west shore of Mud (Adela) Lake to the north end of Columbia Lake; and from the head of navigation on Columbia Lake to the Kootenay River.[26] Finances for the ambitious project were supplied largely by the Cochranes, the Honourable Frank Lascelles, son of the Earl of Harewood, who had built a home at Columbia Lake, and Lord Norbury, who lived at Tobacco Plains. Thomas B. H. Cochrane was president of the company; J. F. Armstrong, of Golden, a brother of Captain Armstrong, was secretary; and Captain Armstrong was manager. Light rails were

(24) Mrs. Algernon St. Maur, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

(25) Drake was the subject of a humorous poem in the Golden *Era*, July 1, 1893, which began:—

A story I'm about to relate,
Of a man who sails on Columbia Lake,
For energy and skill he's wide awake,
A real descendant from Admiral Drake.

(26) British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1891*, Victoria, 1891, pp. 431–436; chapter 50, "An Act to Incorporate the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company."

imported, and two of the tramways laid—one between Golden Station on the Kicking Horse River and the steamboat-landing 2 miles away and the other from Adela to Columbia Lake, a distance of 5 miles. Motive power was a horse, pulling one or two cars. The passenger-car was of the "observation" type, carrying about ten persons on each side. Another car hauled the freight.

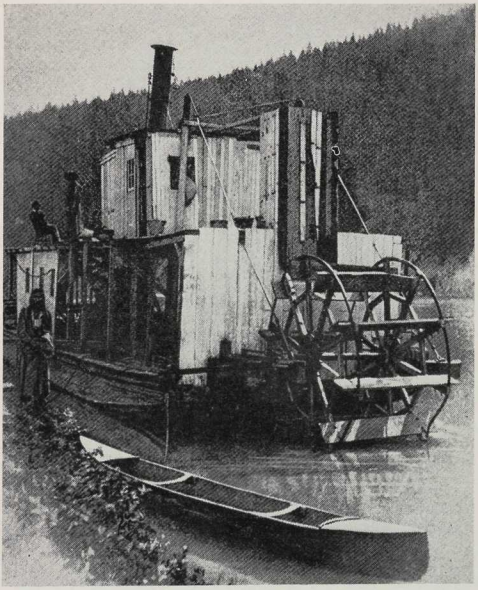
In addition to building the tramways, in 1892 the company added another steamer to its fleet—the *Hyak*. She was smaller than the *Duchess* and useful in low-water periods. She opened the 1893 season, and early that year a traveller in the district described the transportation system as follows:—

> On May the 30th I started up the Columbia from Golden. . . . It was the first trip of the season for the Duchess. During the lay up she was thoroughly overhauled, painted and carpeted nicely and in every way is a very comfortable vessel. The Hyak, a smaller boat, had been making the trip since navigation opened. . . . Captain F. P. Armstrong, the manager of the Upper Columbia Navigation & Tramway Co., was at the wheel. He is one of the most energetic little men I ever met. He is the pioneer steamboat man on this route. He built the steamers himself, and operated them until a year or two ago, when a company was formed. The steamboats and outfit owned by the company are valued at $150,000.[27]

Two events occurred in 1892 which were to be of great importance to the Upper Kootenay Valley. These were the completion of the Great Northern Railway and the discovery in June, by Joe Bourgeois, of the North Star group of mineral claims. Completion of the Great Northern brought rail connection with Fort Steele much closer than ever before. No longer was it necessary to make the long overland pack trip from Sandpoint, Idaho. Closest station on the new line was at Jennings, Montana, on the Kootenay River about 130 miles below Fort Steele, a stretch of the river known to be navigable. Discovery of an immense body of galena ore on Mark Creek about 20 miles north-west of Fort Steele brought a wave of optimism to the valley and a new mining boom commenced.[28] The North Star, which is now part of the fabulous Sullivan property at Kimberley, was purchased in July, 1893, by Donald

(27) Golden *Era*, July 9, 1893.

(28) "During the past summer a most important discovery of an immense body of steel galena was made near the St. Mary's River, about twenty miles north-west of Fort Steele. . . . Towards the end of September last the discoverers, Messrs. Bourgeois and Langill, bonded the property to Messrs. Woods Bros., of Quebec, who have since transferred four-fifths of their interest to Mr. D. D. Mann, of Montreal." British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for . . . 1892*, Victoria, 1893, p. 538.



(From Lees and Clutterbuck, *A Ramble in British Columbia.*)

The *Duchess.*

The *Ptarmigan*.

Mann, later Sir Donald, and it was apparent that major development was ahead.[29] The most conveniently located smelters for handling the North Star ore were on the Great Northern line at Great Falls, Montana, or at Everett, Washington, and it was obvious that there was a profitable future for steamboats shipping ore down the river to the rail-head at Jennings.

The Kootenay is not an easy river to navigate, for it is a much more turbulent stream than the Upper Columbia. A few miles above Jennings is the "Elbow," or Jennings Canyon, which was to reap a heavy toll in shipwrecks in the next few years. Below Jennings the river is navigable to Libby, Montana, shortly above Kootenay Falls. North of Fort Steele the Kootenay is navigable for a short period of high water as far as Canal Flats, a trip which took two days for the 50 miles because of the swift current.

In the winter of 1892 the first steamboat to navigate the Upper Kootenay,[30] the 92.5-foot *Annerly*,[31] was built at Jennings, Montana, by B. Walter Jones, a former Texas stockman who operated a general store at Jennings, and Captain Harry S. DePuy. The *Annerly* started her first trip north late in May, 1893, under command of Captain DePuy. It was a hectic voyage, taking twelve days, and even then she was unable to reach Fort Steele but was forced to dump freight and passengers at Fenwick's Landing, some miles below. There was one woman passenger aboard, Mrs. Johanna Quirk Cuffe, of Eureka, Montana, and she has recorded her experience:—

> Upon boarding the Annerly, I discovered I was the only woman passenger. . . . The prospectors cooked their meals over a sheet of tin on a coal stove in the middle of the boat. I ate at the Captain's table. . . . The men slept on the floor; I slept in a curtained corner, on a mattress. There were no cabins.

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(29) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for . . . 1893*, Victoria, 1894, p. 1065. "The advantageous position of this mine, and neighbouring properties, as regards water communication, can be seen by referring to the annexed general sketch map of the District. . . . The mine is within sixteen miles of the Kootenay River, on which there are at present two steamboats running, one in connection with the Great Northern Railroad at Jennings, and the other with the Canadian Pacific at Golden."

(30) The late B. R. Atkins, of Revelstoke, in "Columbia River Chronicles," Vancouver *Province*, April 8, 1922, stated: "To Mr. Hanson, of Wasa Creek, is due the credit for bringing up the Kootenay in 1890, the first steamboat to the Columbia head." The writer has been unable to find proof of any steamer on the Kootenay River prior to the *Annerly*.

(31) The name *Annerly* was adopted to compliment Mrs. Annie McCracken, wife of John McCracken, a partner with B. W. Jones in the general store.

A short way above Jennings we loaded wood at Doak's place. We continued up to Elbow Canyon, where two rocks stuck up out of the turbulent water. A few yards below the rocks, John Brown jumped ashore and carried a heavy cable upstream. He fastened it to a large tree on the east bank. They wound up on the windlass, pulling the boat across a narrow strong current, extra high in flood time. Half way across, the cable broke! All was turmoil—noise—shouting—the engine stopped! The current wheeled the boat around and headed it downstream, barely missing the rocks along the bank on the east, and the two submerged rocks in the river on the west. The boat drifted with the current for some distance before they got the engine started and ran her aground on a sand bar. During this life-and-death interval I hung grimly on to an upright pole in the middle of the deck, which supported an overhead loft where freight was carried.

The deck of the *Annerly* was no more than a foot above the water line; there was no wall on two wide doors (for loading wood). The rest of the ship was walled, with windows for light; upright timbers supported the freight aloft. There was no railing around the upper deck, except on the front part where the Captain's wheel was and the windlass.

After three days repairing the boat, and waiting for the river to go down, we were ready to try again. The river had dropped slightly so the point of the rocks could be seen. This time most of the passengers walked up the west bank until the danger spot should be passed but I stayed with the boat. The up-crossing was successful and was wildly cheered by the passengers, who were high above us on the west bank. The boat then put in to shore to pick up the hikers; they rested here awhile, had lunch, and then continued up-stream.[32]

After this pioneer trip, B. W. Jones sent to Portland for Captain J. D. Miller, one of the most highly experienced of western steamboat captains, to take command.[33] Under his able handling the *Annerly* was able to maintain a fairly regular time-table, taking two and a half days to make the trip up-stream from Jennings and eight hours to return.[34] The run down-stream with the current was a thriller, for the steamboats often exceeded 16 miles an hour. Passenger traffic picked up with rumours of rich mining discoveries in the Fort Steele area, and soon every trip of

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(32) Olga Weydemeyer Johnson (*ed.*), *The Story of the Tobacco Plains Country,* Caldwell, Idaho, 1950, pp. 78–79. This chapter was written by Mrs. Guy Brock and a shorter version is to be found in her article "Steamboating on the Kootenai," Spokane *Spokesman-Review,* January 2, 1949. The arrival of the *Annerly* was noted in the Golden *Era,* June 3, 1893.

(33) Captain J. D. Miller in 1903 wrote his "Life and Travels," describing his steamboat experiences on the Kootenay and other rivers. The *MS.* is in the Library of Washington State College, Pullman, Washington. A portion of it was published under the title "Early Oregon Scenes" in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* XXXI (1930), pp. 55–68, 160–180, and 275–284, and concludes with his taking command of the *Annerly. See also* Golden *Era,* June 24, 1893.

(34) *Ibid.,* June 24, 1893.

the *Annerly* brought new prospectors from all sections of the adjoining States. As business improved, the inevitable gamblers and honky-tonk girls arrived to add to the amenities of civilization at Fort Steele.

Captain Frank Armstrong was not satisfied to see Americans reap all the benefits of the mining boom, so he also began construction early in 1893 of a steamboat at Hanson's Landing, or Wasa, 12 miles above Fort Steele, on behalf of the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company. Wasa was a stage-coach stop and roadhouse on the Fort Steele–Golden route, operated very profitably for many years by a Swede named Nils Hanson, known locally as "Governor" Hanson. It was hardly an ideal place to build a steamboat, for there was no sawmill to provide lumber, no skilled workmen, and no tools or materials. Armstrong persevered throughout the spring with a crew brought from Golden, but the bad state of the roads prevented him bringing in equipment.[35] During the late summer the steamer was launched in an uncompleted condition and christened *Gwendoline,* after Lady Gwendoline Rous, daughter of the Earl of Stradbroke, who was then staying at Thunder Hill Ranch on Columbia Lake.

It is doubtful if the *Gwendoline* made any commercial voyages on the Kootenay River in 1893, although she was advertised as being in operation.[36] Instead Captain Armstrong decided to take her north to Golden, where there were excellent facilities to complete her at the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company's yards, adjoining the sawmill of the Columbia River Lumber Company, then controlled by Mackenzie and Mann. The Grohman canal at Canal Flats was in no condition to be used by the *Gwendoline,* as the foreman in charge of the property had been forced to blast open the gates of the locks in June during high water to save the sawmill and hotel from flooding.[37] But Captain Armstrong was not one to be deterred by obstacles, least of all

(35) "The Armstrong steamer at Hanson's is getting along slowly owing to the want of material—iron, etc., as they cannot be pushed forward on account of the bad state of the roads." *Ibid.,* June 3, 1893.

(36) The advertisement began appearing in the Golden *Era,* June 24, 1893, announcing the *Gwendoline* for the Kootenay River run. This same issue contained the following news item: "Capt. Armstrong and a party of ladies & gentlemen are expected on Saturday and will likely make a trip on the Co.'s new boat." Nearly a month later [July 22, 1893] it was announced: "The Gwendoline made a trip last Sunday and is looked for again daily." A fortnight later [August 5, 1893] the *Gwendoline* was being anxiously looked for and by this time may have been taken over to the Columbia River.

(37) *Ibid.,* June 10, 1893.

a mile and a half of more or less dry land. The *Gwendoline* was taken to Canal Flats and partly dismantled, and the hull hauled on skids and rollers to Columbia Lake, refitted and taken to Golden.[38] That winter the *Gwendoline* was completely reconstructed in a more workmanlike manner to reappear on the Columbia River in May, 1894, a smart little vessel 63.5 feet long.

It was still Captain Armstrong's intention to run her on the Kootenay, and with this in mind he persuaded the Provincial authorities to spend $2,500 in repairing the damaged Grohman canal to make it fit for navigation. This was done during the spring, and on May 22, 1894, the *Gwendoline* set out on a memorable voyage from Golden to Fort Steele, the only time the passage was ever made from north to south, up the Columbia and down the Kootenay. Fortunately the *log* of the voyage, kept by Captain Armstrong, was published, and we are able to glimpse some of the difficulties of the trip, unique in steamboat annals. The following are excerpts from the *log*:—

Tuesday, May 22nd, 2 p.m.—Ready for sea. "All Aboard! shove her off boys." Southerly breeze and fine weather. . . .

Thursday 24th.—Transferring cargo to tramway [at Adela Lake]. . . .

10 a.m. Left wharf.

10.5. Stuck in the mud. Hauled her through it by superhuman exertions and at 1 p.m. reached the mouth of the river.[39] After dinner made another start, but found things very crooked, the river being tied up in knots and the bottom mostly on top, which made navigation very difficult. From 4 till 7 p.m. only about one hundred yards were negotiated when fuel gave out, and all hands took a rest and cut wood.

8 to 10. Made two lengths and went to bed.

Friday 25th.—At it early and after numerous trials and vicissitudes reached the bridge[40] at 2:10 p.m. . . . It is doubtful if ever a bridge was demolished and a new one erected in less time than it was here accomplished under the able hands of our intelligent chief officer and staff. It took but a few minutes to clear the way for the Gwen to pass through and then the work of reconstruction commenced and at 8 p.m. we left it completed and almost before the last blow of the hammer was struck the Gwen sprang forward on the path of duty as if impatient even at the short delay. . . . We now neared the Upper Lake rapidly where a rock is known to exist in about midchannel, so a careful look out was kept and every endeavor made to go safely around or through it. However, notwithstanding all our nautical skill it nearly went through us, and the shock of discovery shot our energetic chief far through space ahead of the boat and he disappeared from view. . . .

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(38) Information given to the writer by C. M. Edwards, Wasa.

(39) The outlet of Columbia River into Adela Lake.

(40) Bridge across the Columbia River near Dutch Creek.

Having discovered the rock, the lake was entered, and under a full head of steam we proceeded to the store at the tramway and re-shipped cargo, leaving there at 11 p.m. and tied up at Oasis shortly after midnight.

Saturday 26th.—A little before 8 a.m. arrived at Canal Flats store where cargo had again to be discharged to allow Gwen to get over some more stones before reaching the Canal, which she ultimately did and passed through the lock at 9 p.m. that night.

The Kootenay had commenced to rise and the canal being somewhat over supplied with water had opened one or two safety valves on the west side above the lock, and by the following morning the level country westward of the canal was flooded from the Kootenay, rendering it a task of some difficulty to reship the cargo. It was, however, successfully accomplished by 3 p.m. on Sunday, the 27th, when the Gwen started to pass the canal and it was left behind at 5:15 p.m. and the Kootenay entered.

Here there was no difficulty about getting along. It was a case of "Go you must," the river being in real earnest; and two hours and three quarter's running brought us to Hanson's landing where it was decided to remain for the night.

At daylight on Monday the 28th found the country there flooded. Started at 6:48 and arrived at Fort [Steele] soon after 8, having accomplished the passage from Golden in the one steamer, the first time such a thing has been attempted. Found all the low country about Fort Steele under water and that most of the bridges in the neighborhood were impassable or destroyed.

Nothing had been heard of the Str. "Annerly" since her first trip this season and it was presumed that she was unable to face the furious current in the canyon.[41]

The arrival of the *Gwendoline* at Fort Steele coincided with the great flood of 1894, which did millions of dollars worth of damage in the Province. All the Kootenay and Columbia River bridges, including Fort Steele, Canal Flats, and Dutch Creek, were swept away, and the canal was so badly washed out that it was henceforth considered useless, although Captain Armstrong was to make another memorable passage from south to north in 1902. Because of the extreme high water, little use was made of either the *Annerly* or *Gwendoline* on the Kootenay during the 1894 season, the former being laid up at Jennings at the end of August after only a few trips.[42]

The navigation season was reopened in April, 1895, by a new low-water screw steamer, the 77.5-foot *Libby,* built for Captain Tom Flowers at Libby, Montana. Concerning her antecedents, W. E. Doak provides the following amusing information:—

The next steamboat to make its appearance on the river was the *Fool Hen,* built by Tom Flowers of Tobacco Plains. He must have built it in the dark of the moon, for a decidedly able-bodied Jinx followed it from its launching. He built the hull at Hansen's Landing, eight miles above Fort Steele, B.C., in 1894, floated

(41) Golden *Era,* June 9, 1894.
(42) *Ibid.,* September 15, 1894.

it down to Libby[43] where he installed an equipment of light steamboat machinery which he had procured from a Bonners Ferry man in exchange for fifteen cayuses. The machinery was too large for the hull, leaving no room for freight, but it surely could travel. . . .

The hull having been built on the British side of the line it transgressed the U.S. navigation laws. Tom had to make a new deal, for Mr. Jones had reported to Washington, D.C. authorities; the *Fool Hen* gave up the ghost. The machinery was taken out and cached on the river bank at Tobacco Landing to await the building of a new hull.

The new hull was built at Libby and named the steamer *Libby*. The next move was to get the hull to the machinery. Accordingly he loaded a cayuse on the boat with the necessary harness to hitch on a tow-line to help over the rapids, and with the assistance of two or three men he managed after a very strenuous trip to connect up and install the machinery. This time the hull was too large for the machinery. . . . The *Libby* proved a failure, and was dismantled on the old Hoodoo ranch two miles above Libby.[44]

Actually the *Libby* did make a trial run to Fort Steele late in October, 1894,[45] and again in January, 1895, reached Tobacco Plains,[46] but she does not seem to have proved a success, for there is no record of her reappearance after the 1895 season. Screw steamers were seldom successful in river navigation.

During 1895 a 21-mile trail, known as the McGinty Trail, was built from the North Star mine to a point on the Kootenay River 8 miles above Fort Steele, known as North Star Landing. The first trial shipment of 50 tons of ore was taken to Jennings by steamer and shipped by rail to the smelter at Everett, and during the winter of 1895 hundreds of tons of ore were rawhided from the North Star mine to the landing. Storage-sheds with a capacity of 6,000 tons of ore were built, and all indications were that 1896 would be a bumper year for freight.

Since neither the *Annerly* nor the *Gwendoline* had much freight capacity, plans were made by the rival companies to build new steamboats capable of handling the North Star cargoes. Contracts were signed by the mining company for the shipment of 5,000 tons of ore in 1896,

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(43) This probably explains the news item in the Golden *Era*, September 15, 1894: "The 'Kootenay Belle,' a light draught boat with Capt. Flowers will take her [the *Annerly's*] place. She is having first class machinery put in her at Libby Creek."

(44) Olga W. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

(45) "The 'Lilly' [*sic*] a little steamer that is to run between Jennings and this place [Fort Steele], came up to prospect the river. She brought no passengers or freight and came thro' without any difficulty, after inspection she will run regularly. She draws very little water." Golden *Era*, November 3, 1894.

(46) *Ibid.*, January 12, 1895.

of which the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company was to carry 2,000 tons and B. W. Jones's Upper Kootenay Navigation Company was to handle 3,000 tons.[47]

Captain Armstrong, on behalf of the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company, made a contract with Captain J. D. Miller to superintend the building of a new steamer at Libby, Montana. Louis Paquet of Portland, Oregon, one of the best-known shipbuilders of the era, was brought to Libby to handle the job. This vessel, christened the *Ruth,* after Captain Armstrong's daughter,[48] was launched on April 23, 1896,[49] and equipped with engines and boilers from the Idaho steamer *Metaline.* She was 131 feet long, bigger than any vessel yet built in East Kootenay, with a capacity of 100 tons of ore. The *Ruth* was placed under American registry, so a new company was formed, called the International Transportation Company, managed by Captain Armstrong and jointly owned by the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company, Captain J. D. Miller, and Jim Wardner, who was then building a new townsite at Wardner, south of Fort Steele.[50]

The *Gwendoline* was also rebuilt in 1896, her length being increased to 98 feet.[51] The Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company thus had a continuous service 300 miles long, from Golden to Jennings—from Golden to Adela Lake by the *Duchess* and *Hyak;* from Adela Lake to Columbia Lake by tramway; across Columbia Lake by the *Pert;* portage across Canal Flats; from Canal Flats to Fort Steele by the *Gwendoline;* and from Fort Steele to Jennings by the *Ruth.* It was hoped that some of the North Star ore might be shipped north to Golden and thence by the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Trail smelter, but the problems of navigation and transhipment were so great that the American route was always preferred.

When the *Annerly* arrived at Fort Steele on May 25, 1896, under the command of Captain I. B. Sanborn, on her maiden trip of the season

(47) *Ibid.,* March 7, 1896; Fort Steele *Prospector,* January 4, 1896.

(48) Now Mrs. Ruth Horsey, of Victoria, B.C.

(49) The ceremony was witnessed by the superintendent and several officials of the Great Northern Railway Company. The christening was performed by Miss Schultz. *Ibid.,* May 16, 1896. For information concerning the progress of the building of the *Ruth,* see *ibid.,* January 25, 1896; March 14, 1896; and Golden *Era,* March 7, 1896.

(50) Fort Steele *Prospector,* March 14, 1896. For Wardner's account of his association with this venture, *see* Jim Wardner, *Jim Wardner of Wardner, Idaho,* New York, 1900, pp. 135–136.

(51) Fort Steele *Prospector,* March 14, 1896.

from Jennings, she was greeted in rapturous western style by the citizens. Said the Fort Steele *Prospector:*—

On Monday last, the whistle of the steamer Annerly was heard as she rounded the Wild Horse bar, and almost everybody in town went to the river to see, and welcome the first boat of the season. As the boat steamed up to the landing she was welcomed by a noisy demonstration, a salute was fired from a 12 bore by Tom Rae, and many others emptied their revolvers, in honor of the first arrival.[52]

Two days later the *Ruth,* commanded by Captain Miller, arrived on her maiden trip and proceeded to North Star Landing to load 70 tons of ore.[53] In June the first church bell to be heard in Fort Steele arrived aboard the *Gwendoline,* ringing merrily as the steamer came down-river from Canal Flats.

"The sound of the church going bell these rocks and valleys never heard," until the arrival of the new bell on the steamer Gwendoline, Capt Armstrong had the bell placed in position so that it would ring, and as the steamer approached Fort Steele its silver tone announced its presence.[54]

Meanwhile the new 124-foot steamer *Rustler* had been completed at Jennings for the Upper Kootenay Navigation Company and arrived at Fort Steele in June under command of Captain H. S. DePuy.[55] She had capacity for 125 tons of freight, but her career was short, for on July 12 she was totally wrecked in Jennings Canyon. A graphic account of the shipwreck is given in a letter written by one of the passengers, Sister Cassilda of St. Mary's Mission, dated at Jennings, July 12, 1896:—

Today at about half-past-one . . . the Rustler started through the canyon, the water was too swift, the captain lost control of the boat and it went down full speed and struck on a large rock in the middle of the canyon. Almost half of the bottom was knocked out and the water was coming in fast. . . . It was such a terrible sight to be in that canyon on the rocks and the water rushing by so furiously that really I cannot begin to describe it. The Annerly passed before us and was about a mile below the canyon when we were wrecked, the captain gave the cry of distress and the Annerly turned and came to our help at once which was not a minute too soon. Our boat was already filled up with water down stairs and turning over. We went down a ladder and were not more than five minutes in the Annerly when the Rustler was in pieces and five more minutes and it was all under water. We had to get away as fast as we could the pieces of the broken boat came down so fast that they would upset our boat. Mr. Jones was the first to meet me

(52) *Ibid.,* May 30, 1896.

(53) *Ibid.*

(54) *Ibid.,* June 27, 1896.

(55) *Ibid.,* June 6 and 27, 1896. B. W. Jones announced his intention of building a new steamboat early in the year. See *ibid.,* January 4, 11, and February 8, 1896.

The *Nowitka* unloading at Edgewater, B.C.

The *Duchess*, second of that name.

The *Annerley* near Fort Steele, B.C.

The *Isabell*, ex *Isabella McCormack*, as a house-boat.

at the ladder and put me on his boat. I will never forget how he looked at me when he saw me standing on the wrecked boat.[56]

After throwing out her boiler and 60 tons of ore, the *Rustler* lodged on an island three-quarters of a mile down-stream, where she remained until late October, when Captain I. B. Sanborn of the *Ruth* removed her machinery. Following this disaster, the Upper Kootenay Navigation Company sold out its interests to Armstrong's International Transportation Company, who dismantled the *Annerly* and removed her machinery.[57]

The latter company now had the monopoly of the river, and extensive plans were made to take advantage of the expected boom year of 1897. A contract was signed with the North Star Company to handle 5,000 tons of high-grade ore during the season, so a new steamer, the *North Star,* was ordered to be built at Jennings by Louis Paquet with more ore capacity than the *Ruth.* The 1897 season of navigation opened at Fort Steele with the arrival of the *Gwendoline* from Jennings on April 27, to be greeted by the customary noisy salute:—

> Tuesday was a day of excitement and bustle in town and every inhabitant who could was either on the bluff overlooking the river or at the bridge to welcome the "Gwendolyn" [*sic*], the first steamer of the season. Gaily she came up the river decked with flags floating in the bright sunshine, and as she neared the town she was fittingly received by a voluntary salute of twenty-one guns.[58]

Despite the fact that on her next trip the entire crew of ten of the *Gwendoline* caught the gold fever and deserted for the mines,[59] she and the *Ruth,* which made her first appearance for the season on May 3, were kept running to capacity and were coining a fortune for their owners when disaster suddenly struck. On May 7 both vessels, laden down with ore, were wrecked below Jennings Canyon, about 100 yards from the scene of the *Rustler's* doom. First to strike was the *Ruth,* commanded by Captain I. B. Sanborn, with 80 tons of ore and sixteen passengers aboard. A log caught in her wheel and she became uncon-

(56) *Ibid.,* July 25, 1896. The story of this disaster as related by the wife of Captain Sanborn to W. E. Doak is reproduced in Olga W. Johnson, *op. cit.,* pp. 87–88.

(57) James D. Miller, *MS.* "Life and Travels." The Fort Steele *Prospector,* November 14, 1896, reported the sale of the *Annerly* and the wharf at Jennings to N. M. Curran, manager of the North Star mine, for $1,000, and of the engines and boilers and hull of the *Rustler* for $400. Early in 1897 Captain Armstrong acquired the mining company's interests in the steamboat. *Ibid.,* January 23, 1897.

(58) *Ibid.,* May 1, 1897.

(59) *Ibid.,* May 8, 1897.

trollable. Swung around by the current, she crashed against the rocks and was rent asunder. Passengers and crew were able to scramble aboard the rocks. Captain Armstrong's own description of the wreck of the *Gwendoline,* which piled up on top of the *Ruth,* gives a most graphic description of the perils of steamboating in inland waters:—

Arrived at the head of the canyon, there was no *Ruth* in sight although the water was at a dangerous stage, as shown by a rock, over which it was breaking white—my own danger signal. Still if he could do it with the larger boat, I could, and down we went. I must explain that the canyon forms an elbow seventy feet wide at the narrowest point. About 400 feet below were two big rocks, since removed. The water follows the left bank, but is so piled up against it that a large vessel cannot follow it, her own gravity making her slide off to the right and so onto the rocks.

Our way to negotiate the place was to stop the engines before we got to the elbow, and start backing as soon as we were abreast of it. That would throw the stern into the eddy under the point, her bow would sweep away from the right bank, and by giving "full speed ahead" while still heading for the rocks, the current would take us past them into smooth water. We carried on according to program, until we reached the elbow, when Slade, who was at my side, cried: "There's the *Ruth!*" She surely was there! Her nose was on one of the rocks, and her wheel near the right bank; she blocked the channel as completely as did the *Vindictive* at Zeebrugge.

There was nothing for it but go full speed ahead and try to make the channel on the left of the rocks—where the bit of water was going. I gave the signal to the engineer, adding a private one of my own that meant "Give her all you've got"—but she didn't make it quite. Her head swung past, but she struck amidships, partly on the rocks and partly on the foredeck, with a great portion of her starboard side torn away. What with the crashing of timber, hissing of broken steam pipes, roar of the water, the din was tremendous.

My first thought was naturally for the boat, and I got all hands dumping over the cargo, thus relieving her of a great deal of the strain. The current held us tightly on the rock, so that there was no chance of sliding into deep water. To make a long story short, we were able a couple of days afterward, thanks to a drop in the water, to bulkhead between the sides and solid keelson and so float her to a nearby beach.

The *Ruth's* finish must have been equally exciting. It appears that when the engines were stopped above the elbow and they began to back the boat into the eddy, the wheel picked up a log which jammed the wheel dead. As it takes only eleven seconds to drift from the elbow to the rocks, there was no time to do anything, and she went straight to her doom. The passengers and crew were gathered forward, but the engineer had a lively run for it. She struck head on. Her stem was smashed in, and the foredeck climbed the rock, making a landing stage, as it were, for the passengers. There seems to have been a good deal of panic, and for a time, danger that some of them would be crowded off the rock which was not big enough to hold the whole crowd—some seventy all told. After the boat struck,

she swung across the stream and no wonder those standing on the foredeck sought something more stable.[60]

Less than a month after the disaster the *Gwendoline* was patched up and ready for service again,[61] and she was soon joined by the new *North Star,* 130 feet long.[62] It was none too soon, for Fort Steele was now at the peak of its boom, with 2,000 prospectors in the hills, supplies could not be delivered fast enough. The town of Jennings was full of miners camped in tents awaiting transportation, the hotels were packed, and there were twelve or more cars of merchandise awaiting shipment to Fort Steele. The *North Star* arrived at Fort Steele on her maiden trip on June 27, making the remarkably fast time of thirty-one hours, under command of Captain J. D. Miller. She was described as "a beautiful specimen of the swift water craft" and "a model of light steamboats."[63]

With the *Gwendoline* and *North Star* making four trips a week, the profits rolled up and consequently attracted the inevitable opposition. A new company, called the Kootenay River Transportation Company, was formed by Captain M. L. McCormack, who had held commands on the Mississippi, Minnesota, St. Croix, and Red River of the North. Capital was raised among Spokane mining-men and skilled shipwrights were brought from Stillwater, Minnesota, to build a new steamer just above Jennings, which was launched in November as the *J. D. Farrell,*[64] after one of the backers, a Spokane mining magnate.

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(60) This account was written by Captain Armstrong many years after the event first appeared in the Nelson *Daily News* and is reprinted in Olga W. Johnson, *op. cit.,* pp. 81–82. A variant of the story appeared in the Spokane *Spokesman-Review,* January 2, 1949, in an article entitled "Steamboating on the Kootenai," by Mrs. Guy Brock. An eye-witness account by J. F. Harris, one of those aboard the *Ruth,* was published in the *Spokesman-Review* and reproduced in Jim Wardner, *op. cit.,* pp. 137–139. The Fort Steele *Prospector,* May 15, 1897, carried an eye-witness account by Peter Desormeau, a crew member of the *Gwendoline. See also* account in Victoria *Colonist,* May 12, 1897.

(61) Fort Steele *Prospector,* June 5, 1897. Shortly after the disaster it was rumoured that Captain Armstrong planned to put the *Annerly* back into commission. *Ibid.,* May 15, 1897.

(62) For reminiscences concerning the *North Star* by one of its builders, Lon McGill, *see* Olga W. Johnson, *op. cit.,* pp. 84–87. The machinery for this steamer came from the old *City of Salem.*

(63) Fort Steele *Prospector,* July 3, 1897.

(64) *See* J. D. Miller *MS.,* "Life and Travels"; also Olga W. Johnson, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

On western rivers it was the ideal of every steamboat-owner to create and maintain a monopoly, always, of course, at the expense of the public. When a rival appeared, it was the custom to try to buy him off the river or else to make some sort of a "deal" to mutual advantage. With big profits foreseen for the year 1898, the rival steamboat companies on the Kootenay decided to pool their freight earnings rather than indulge in ruinous competition. Under a deal made in April, 1898, the *North Star* and *Gwendoline* were to get three-fifths of the gross earnings, while the *J. D. Farrell* was to get two-fifths, each company to pay its own running expenses. Passenger fares were not to be divided, and if a boat was disabled, she was not to receive any share of the business done by either of the other boats.

So eager was Captain McCormack to get the cream of the passenger trade for the *J. D. Farrell,* in advance of his rivals, that he set out from Jennings on April 16, heavily loaded with freight, before the river had risen sufficiently high to float the steamer across the bars. As a consequence, she took twelve wearisome days to reach Fort Steele. It was said of the trip that the *J. D. Farrell* was on every bar between Jennings and Fort Steele, and the bar on the boat was the first to give out. She was aground on one bar 5 miles below Elk River for five days. Supplies (notably whisky) ran out, and these had to be packed to the boat by horses from Tobacco Plains.[65] On her arrival at Fort Steele on April 28, which opened navigation for the season, the paddle-wheels of the *J. D. Farrell* were worn out from threshing the bottom of the Kootenay River. She was a handsome vessel and introduced such luxuries to the river as electric light and bathrooms. She was greeted by a salute of dynamite sticks from the joyous populace while the Fort Steele Brass Band played lively airs from the bridge over the river and later from the steamer's deck.[66]

Another steamboat was launched in East Kootenay water on April 27, 1898, at Moyie City on Moyie Lake, where no steamer had yet appeared. She was a screw steamer, 50 feet long, called the *Echo*.[67] Projected in the summer of 1897 by Captains Armstrong and Sanborn,[68] construction of her had been started by Captain Sanborn during the winter.[69] Both of these skippers, however, went to the Yukon, lured

(65) *See* J. D. Miller *MS.*
(66) Fort Steele *Prospector,* April 30, 1898.
(67) Moyie City *Leader,* April 30, 1898.
(68) Fort Steele *Prospector,* July 31, 1897.
(69) *Ibid.,* October 16 and December 4, 1897.

by the Klondike excitement,[70] so the vessel was sold to Moyie merchants, who completed her.[71] Moyie was booming from the rich St. Eugene mine and construction of the Crowsnest branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was being rapidly pushed through from Crowsnest Pass to Kootenay Lake. The *Echo,* under command of Captain Edward Ward, plied Moyie Lake for two seasons between the now-extinct village of Swansea and Moyie City. She ran profitably carrying supplies and railway equipment until the completion of the Crowsnest line ended her usefulness.

The year 1898 marked the end of the prosperity of the Kootenay River steamboat trade and the end of the Fort Steele boom. The expected fabulous wealth of the Fort Steele goldfields proved a myth, and thousands of disappointed prospectors drifted away to the Klondike[72] or other eldorados. The new Crowsnest Pass railway by-passed Fort Steele entirely, so no longer was it the mercantile capital of East Kootenay. With the construction of a branch railway from Kimberley to Cranbrook, North Star ore was henceforth taken to the smelter at Trail by train, and no longer were there cargoes for the river-boats running south to Jennings. Eventually Fort Steele even lost its Government offices to Cranbrook, and to-day it is a western ghost town.

The sad tale of accidents on the Kootenay River continued during the 1898 season. In April the *North Star,* bound north under command of Captain J. D. Miller, with $30,000 worth of whisky and supplies for the Fort Steele Mercantile Company, struck the rocks in Jennings Canyon and knocked a hole in her starboard side big enough to put a wagon through. Captain Miller beached her on a sand-bar, got the cargo off, repaired her as she lay, and had her back on the run in a week.[73] The *J. D. Farrell* was less fortunate. On June 4, on her seventh trip down,

(70) *Ibid.,* January 15 and March 5, 1898.

(71) These were G. Campbell and A. T. Clark, of Moyie City, and Charles Theis, of Fort Steele, who had also acquired Armstrong's interests in the *North Star* and *J. D. Farrell* when Captain Armstrong went to the Klondike. *Ibid.,* May 7, 1898, and J. D. Miller *MS.*

(72) This exodus and the optimism of the Kootenay country is reflected in the following lines of doggerel published in the Fort Steele *Prospector,* February 26, 1898:—

Kootenay was Kootenay
When Yukon was a pup,
And Kootenay will be Kootenay still
When Yukon's busted up.

(73) *Ibid.,* May 7, 1898.

she ran into a hurricane in the canyon. The wind caught the boat aft and veered her enough to bring her stern against the rocks, stoving a hole in the side. Captain McCormack had barely time to bring her below the canyon to the shallows, where the passengers landed, when she sank out of sight, except for her pilot-house. There she lay for most of the rest of the season, until she could be salvaged at low water.[74] She made three trips after she was raised, but she hardly paid expenses. Laid up at Jennings, she never turned a wheel again until 1901, so she was a heavy loss to her owners. The *Gwendoline* and *North Star* ran profitably until October, by which time the Crowsnest trains were running to Wardner on the Kootenay River and the boom days of steamboating on the river were ended. They were laid up at Jennings and did not operate the next season.

In 1899 there was a report that Captain Miller had been examining the Canal Flats region with a view to bringing the *Gwendoline* over the land between the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers in order to permit operating her on the Columbia River.[75] There was also a proposal that the *Gwendoline* should be taken to Kootenay Lake and operated on the Lardeau River. C. M. Edwards states that she was loaded on flat cars at Jennings and launched in the Kootenay again below Kootenay Falls,[76] from which point the river is navigable to Kootenay Lake. This is substantiated by the following news item in the Golden *Era*:—

> The Gwendoline was wrecked a few days ago by running on a rock in the Kootenay River near Bonner's Ferry. . . . At the time of the disaster the Gwendoline was on the way to Kootenay Lake where it was intended she should join the trading fleet.[77]

Meanwhile business continued on a fairly profitable basis on the Upper Columbia, where the *Duchess* and *Hyak* plied with fair regularity. The *Hyak* was an extremely narrow shallow-draught vessel, 81 feet long, built in 1892 at Golden for operation at low water in the spring and autumn when the *Duchess* was unable to run. So narrow was the *Hyak*—only 11.2 feet amidships—that crew members working the capstans on the forecastle often found themselves suspended over the river while they hung on to the capstan bars for dear life.

(74) *Ibid.*, June 11, 1898.

(75) Golden *Era*, April 14, 1899.

(76) Letter from C. M. Edwards to the writer, dated July 9, 1948.

(77) Golden *Era*, June 30, 1899. This tends to substantiate, at least partially, the story given by Mrs. Guy Brock that the *Gwendoline* rolled off the flat cars a few miles below Libby and was hopelessly broken in the canyon as she was being transported to the Kootenay Lake. Olga W. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Navigation was much improved by the launching in April, 1893, of a new Government steam dredge from the Upper Columbia Navigation Company's yard at Golden. This vessel did much to deepen the dangerous sand-bars, build wing-dams at strategic points along the river, and remove snags and other perils to navigation. As a consequence, not only was it made possible for larger vessels to operate on the river, but freight capacity was increased and it became possible to push barges as well. After the river improvements the boats loaded as a rule to a depth of 2 feet, or 2½ feet in high water, pushing barges to a depth of 2 feet. In later years, side-channels were closed and the water further confined, so it became possible for steamers to push three or four barges at a time, up to a total length of 250 feet.

During the season of 1897 the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company indulged in an enterprise which has won it some fame in philatelic annals—the issue of its own private postage stamps. It was customary for the river-boats to make calls on the Columbia wherever a signal was hoisted on the bank. The bow would be run up on the shore and a dozen eggs collected or a message delivered. Prior to 1897 the company had the mail contract for the route, but in that year the stage-coaches took over the mail run. Settlers persisted in their old habit of signalling the boats to stop in order to hand over a letter for posting at Golden or points en route. This practice soon became a nuisance to the company, and, as a remedy, C. H. Parson, then secretary of the company, arranged for the transportation of letters by the company's steamers for a fixed fee, with prepayment required. In 1897 he ordered a lot of a thousand stamps to be printed, valued at 5 cents each or $1 a sheet. These stamps were about the size and shape of an ordinary postage stamp, with the letters "U.C.Co 5c." printed in red, outlined by a wreath of leaves in red. A few of these were sold to settlers and were actually used on mail. However, the Dominion postal authorities soon became aware that the company was violating the Government monopoly on the issue of postage stamps, and the practice ceased. A few of the rare Upper Columbia postal covers still exist and are among the most prized philatelic curiosities. The only other private letter post known to have existed in Canada was also in British Columbia, where Barnard's famous Cariboo Express issued their own franks during the Cariboo gold-rush days.[78]

(78) For details on this stamp issue *see* H. Warren K. Hale, "Canadian Locals," *BNA Topics* (official publication of the British North America Philatelic Society) III (1946).

During the seasons of 1898 and 1899 the lure of adventure far afield called away from the Upper Columbia many of the experienced steamboat-men and shipwrights. Mackenzie and Mann (Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann), who were largely interested in the Columbia River Lumber Company and the North Star mine, in 1897 received a Federal charter to build the Cassiar Central Railway, linking Telegraph Creek on the Stikine River with Teslin Lake and the Hootalinqua River in Northern British Columbia. It was planned that an all-Canadian rail and steamboat route to the Klondike goldfields would thus be provided. To handle the steamboat portion of the route, Mackenzie and Mann formed the Teslin Transportation Company, with Captain F. P. Armstrong as manager. In February, 1898, he left for Wrangell with an expedition of fifty men and 60 tons of machinery and supplies, which were packed into the Stikine River, where the 120-foot steamer *Mono* was launched in the spring. The majority of the men in this expedition came from Golden and had connection with either the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company or the Columbia River Lumber Company. Unfortunately, the Cassiar Central Railway scheme came to a sudden end when the Mackenzie and Mann charter was revoked by the Senate.[79] The *Mono* was wrecked near Wrangell, while bound for St. Michael's, at the mouth of the Yukon River, and the Golden party found themselves jobless. Captain Armstrong, however, joined forces with Captain John Irving, most famous of West Coast steamboat-men, and for two seasons commanded steamers on Tagish Lake, on the Lake Bennett–Atlin route, for the John Irving Navigation Company.

On the Upper Columbia River a new steamer arrived in 1899—the little 62-foot sternwheeler *Selkirk*—brought overland from the Thompson River on two flat cars and launched into the Columbia at Golden. This vessel had been built in 1895 at Kamloops by Alexander Watson for H. E. Forster, who used her privately on Kamloops Lake and Shuswap Lake. Subsequently, he acquired mining property in the Upper Columbia Valley and built a home at Firlands, opposite Sinclair Canyon. The *Selkirk* was brought over in April[80] and repairs undertaken by E. Fletcher, which were completed in time for her launching on May 26.[81]

(79) Details on the Cassiar Central Railway are to be found in John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times,* Toronto, 1931, pp. 151–188.

(80) Golden *Era,* April 14, 1899.

(81) *Ibid.,* April 28 and June 2, 1899.

She made her first run on July 6,[82] and was used thereafter for many years carrying ore and as a private pleasure boat. From 1912 to 1917 Mr. Forster was the district's representative in the Provincial Legislature. In later years he was brutally murdered, along with a friend, when shot by an Indian at his home at Number Five Creek.[83]

After the completion of the Crowsnest Pass branch line in 1898, the Upper Columbia steamers no longer ran south of Lake Windermere, for south-east Kootenay traffic was now handled by the railway. The tramway-line at Adela Lake was abandoned, and the little *Pert* withdrawn from service on Columbia Lake. Her hull was purchased by Captain Alexander Blakley, who constructed a new screw-propelled *Pert,* also known as the *City of Windermere,* at Golden in 1899.[84] He operated her until 1903, chiefly towing logs across Lake Windermere and as a low-water boat on the river in opposition to the *Hyak*. Captain Blakley, who began his steamboating career on Lake Huron, remained a prominent Columbia River pilot and shipbuilder until his death in 1913.[85]

A revival of mining in 1901 in the Columbia Valley gave a new impetus to the declining fortunes of the steamboats. Several silver-lead-zinc properties went into production, notably the Silver Giant at Spillamacheen and the Paradise at Spring Creek, a tributary of Toby Creek. During the winter months, ore was sacked at the mines, rawhided down the mountain trails, and taken by sleigh to the riverside, usually by Captain Armstrong, under contract. When navigation opened in the spring, the ore was shipped by steamboat to rail-head at Golden and then delivered at the Trail smelter. The Paradise mine, most prosperous of Columbia Valley properties, made its first shipment of ore in 1901, following the building of a wagon-road from the town of Peterborough (now Wilmer) up Toby Creek 11 miles to Jackpine at the mouth of Spring Creek. During the winter of 1900–01 the first 1,000 tons of ore were delivered at Peterborough Landing, to be picked up by the *Duchess* in the spring.[86]

There was also a temporary revival of steamboating on the Upper Kootenay River in 1901. In June the Great Northern Railway began

(82) *Ibid.,* July 8, 1899. The *Selkirk* opened the navigation season of 1900. *Ibid.,* April 13, 1900.

(83) Vancouver *Sun,* October 4, 1940.

(84) Golden *Era,* June 30, 1899.

(85) Golden *Star,* October 25, 1913.

(86) Cranbrook *Herald,* July 4, 1901.

a new branch line to tap the coal wealth of Fernie,[87] which followed the Kootenay River north from the main line to the boundary. In order to carry men and supplies to construction camps along the river, the contractors, A. Guthrie & Company, purchased the *J. D. Farrell* for $6,000 and took the *North Star* on charter. Captain J. D. Miller took command of the *J. D. Farrell* and Captain G. I. Evans of the *North Star*. After the latter had run the *North Star* aground on White's Bar and knocked some holes in her, Captain Miller took over the command, and his son, Captain Charles S. Miller, assumed command of the *J. D. Farrell*.[88] On the completion of the railway the contractors had no further use for the steamers, so the *J. D. Farrell* was laid up[89] and the Millers sold their minority interest in the *North Star* to Captain Armstrong on behalf of the Upper Columbia Navigation Company.

In the early summer of 1902 Captain Armstrong brought the *North Star* up from her winter quarters at White's Landing to Fort Steele,[90] and decided to attempt to take her through the old Grohman canal into the Upper Columbia River, where he hoped to put her in the ore trade. This project was one to tax the ingenuity of even the most optimistic of steamboat-men, for the canal was in a deplorable state, having been partly filled in and abandoned since the flood of 1894. In addition, the stretch of water between Columbia Lake and Lake Windermere had not been kept open for navigation. It was full of snags and riffles, and the low-level bridge near Dutch Creek had no lift-span. The size of the *North Star* seemed an even more insurmountable difficulty. She was 130 feet long, nearly twice the size of the little *Gwendoline*, which passed through the canal in 1894, yet the lock itself was only 100 feet long. No steamer the size of the *North Star* had yet attempted to navigate the narrow twisting Upper Columbia River.

Captain Armstrong was equal to the difficulties as they arose. Early in the spring he took a crew of men to Canal Flats to clear away obstructions in preparation for high water.[91] At last, when he considered the river at the right level for the voyage, on June 4, 1902, he cleared the *North Star* from Fort Steele to Golden.[92] Passage of the steamboat

(87) Fort Steele *Prospector*, June 29, 1901.

(88) Details from the J. D. Miller *MS*.

(89) Later she was taken apart, shipped west, and rebuilt on Lake Pend d'Oreille. Olga W. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

(90) Wilmer *Outcrop*, May 15 and 22, 1902.

(91) Canterbury *Outcrop*, April 3, 1902.

(92) Fort Steele *Prospector*, June 7, 1902.

through the Grohman canal took two weeks of toil and completed for all time the destruction of that unhappy public work. The vessel proved 9 inches too wide, as well as too long, for the lock, so Captain Armstrong cut off the guard-rails of the steamer. Then he tried hacking down the lock gates, and eventually burned them. In their place he built two dams fore and aft of the *North Star,* made with ore sacks filled with sand. An artificial lock was thus created, long enough to float the steamer, and at the same time strong enough to keep the Kootenay from running wild into the Columbia. His next step was to blow up the forward dam with dynamite, and the *North Star* passed triumphantly through on the flood, battered and scarred, but hooting and tooting and waking the echoes from the mountains as she steamed down Columbia Lake.[93] The difficulties were not over, for the vessel had to be squeezed down the rapid and shallow stretch of the Columbia between Columbia Lake and Lake Windermere, and many new scrapes and scars were added to the *North Star's* battered hull. In the course of the passage a tree crashed through the cabin, narrowly missing the captain's little daughter, Ruth. As for the low-level bridge near Dutch Creek, Captain Armstrong met this obstruction with his usual ingenuity. He built a " sheer-legs " on the bank, lifted the span up bodily with power from the ship's steam capstan, passed under the span, and then replaced it. It was like lifting oneself by one's own boot-straps.

At Adela Lake (Mud Lake) the *North Star* halted while her crew pulled up the abandoned tramway rails, which were loaded on the steamer and later shipped to the Paradise mine, where they still do duty. Finally, on July 1, 1902, the steamer sailed down Lake Windermere to be greeted enthusiastically on all sides.

There was a ring of harmony and melody and it might well be said enterprise in the great voice of the steamer North Star as it sailed down from the head of Windermere lake Tuesday evening, calling at Windermere, Canterbury, Athalmer and Wilmer—her deep bass whistle echoing over hill and dale and re-echoing from peak to peak of the Rocky and Selkirk mountains. The difficulties of bringing the North Star through from Kootenay river have been referred to before in these columns. While many said it could not be done today it is accomplished and the steamer is little the worse of the trip, in fact considering the route the damage is nothing as only a little work is necessary to put her in good repair.[94]

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(93) Wilmer *Outcrop,* June 26, 1902.

(94) *Ibid.,* July 3, 1902. Canterbury, on the west side of Lake Windermere, is now the village of Invermere. On May 1, 1902, the name Peterborough was officially changed to Wilmer, and the newspaper formerly published at Canterbury was moved to Wilmer. *Ibid.,* May 1, 1902.

Of Captain Armstrong, the paper said: "he is the most enterprising man we know of in this Province and there is nothing too big for him to undertake—more, he accomplishes every time."[95] The steamer reached Golden on July 2, where she was greeted with equal pleasure. Shortly afterwards the citizens of the valley gave a lavish banquet in honour of the captain, in which course followed course, and wines and spirits flowed almost as freely as the Columbia River. For this sumptuous affair a programme was printed, entitled:—

> Complimentary dinner tendered Capt. F. P. Armstrong by a Few of His Friends in token of their appreciation of his indomitable energy in bringing the steamer 'North Star' to the Columbia River. Hotel Delphine, Wilmer, B.C., July 19th, 1902.[96]

The *North Star* made a few trips during the season of 1902 with Paradise ore to Golden, but she was not a success, being too large for the many twists in the river and a very heavy fuel-consumer, so that she could run economically only in favourable high-water conditions.

Steamboat navigation usually closed on the Upper Columbia in mid-October, but in the autumn of 1902, because of mild weather, low-water boats ran much later than usual. As a consequence, when winter suddenly struck in November, three of the steamers were caught in the ice. The *Hyak* was frozen in near Wilmer; the *Selkirk* ran on a bar 12 miles south of Golden and was seized in the grip of the ice before she could get off; and Captain Blakley's *City of Windermere* was frozen in with a heavy load of freight at Canyon Creek. "The air must have been nearly warm enough to melt all the ice in Columbia River when the captains of the different boats and their crews discovered the fact that they were icebound," commented the Wilmer *Outcrop*.[97]

The old *Duchess* had seen the end of her days, and that winter she was dismantled and her venerable engines and boilers placed into a new steamer, a little longer but of more shallow draught, with a shovel-nosed bow, which made it more convenient for river-bank landings. The Columbia River trip was now being widely advertised as a tourist attraction, particularly as a side-trip from Golden for Canadian Pacific Railway passengers, so the new vessel was provided with improved stateroom accommodation. Launched in March, 1903,[98] she was named the

(95) *Ibid.*, July 10, 1902.
(96) *Ibid.*, July 24, 1902.
(97) *Ibid.*, November 13, 1902.
(98) *Ibid.*, March 19, 1903. She opened the navigation season of 1903 in mid-April, arriving at Wilmer. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1903.

Ptarmigan, after a mining property at Red Line Creek, about 28 miles from Wilmer, which had commenced ore shipments in 1902. Principal owner of the mine was Paulding Farnham, a member of the New York jewellery firm of Tiffany's, who presented the new steamer with an elaborately designed eagle.

The steamer *North Star,* after only one season on the Columbia, was seized by the Canadian Customs at Golden and impounded. She was an American-registered vessel, built at Jennings, and Captain Armstrong had neglected the formalities of changing her registry or paying duty. Since his brother, J. F. Armstrong, was Government Agent at Cranbrook in 1902, no embarrassing questions were asked at first, but later the authorities were less obliging and seized the steamer. Captain Armstrong was not greatly upset, for the *North Star* had proved impracticable for the river. She lay for many years at Golden, and at intervals Captain Armstrong appropriated parts of her machinery and equipment, which reappeared under a new guise in other steamers. About 1912 her hull was cut in half and used thereafter as a freight-barge.

Early in 1903 the old Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company sold its assets, including the steamers *Hyak* and *Ptarmigan,* to the Columbia River Lumber Company. Most of the original shareholders had left the valley. T. B. H. Cochrane had returned to England in 1899, there to accept a royal appointment as Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight. Lord Norbury had also returned to England. The Honourable Frank Lascelles had climaxed his many eccentricities, in 1901, by shooting and killing his Chinese servant at his home at Columbia Lake,[99] and thereafter the valley knew him no more.

For a short time the new company was known as the Upper Columbia Navigation Company, but this was soon changed to Upper Columbia Transportation Company. Captain Armstrong remained as manager, although he no longer held any financial interest. An important addition to the company's trade was the growth of the logging industry on the tributary creeks of the Columbia, such as Toby, Horsethief, and Dutch Creeks. A steady stream of men and supplies poured into the logging camps, all of which meant business for the river-boats. Logging commenced on a large scale from Dutch and Toby Creeks in 1905, the logs being run down the Columbia River to the sawmill at Golden, in the spectacular fashion employed on the Ottawa and other Eastern Canadian rivers. The loggers were a hard lot, recruited in Eastern Canada,

(99) Cranbrook *Herald,* June 6, 1901.

and Captain E. N. Russell recalls that more than once he was forced to turn his steamboat's fire-hose on a hundred or more drunken lumberjacks in order to quench their high spirits.[100]

The little *City of Windermere* changed hands in 1903, being purchased from Captain Blakley by Captain E. N. Russell, who had arrived in the Columbia Valley from England in 1894. The little steamer resumed her old name of *Pert*,[101] and ran for a couple of years in opposition to the Upper Columbia Transportation Company until Captain Russell sold out and joined the employ of the older company. The *Pert* was abandoned on Lake Windermere, but Captain Russell continued in command of steamers on the river until 1914. Later he became park superintendent at Yoho, Glacier, Kootenay, and Revelstoke National Parks.

The period between 1905 and 1914 marked the land and railway booms in the Columbia Valley. Many investors, particularly from England, were persuaded to sink money in land projects, but unfortunately the valley did not flow with milk and honey, as might have been expected from the prospectuses. The soil is very shallow, extensive irrigation was necessary, and crops, with a few exceptions, failed to live up to expectations. It is a good country for raising horses, and the valley south of Golden has some fertile alluvial land, but the district is far away from markets, and there were more heart-breaks than fortunes in those days of booming optimism.

One of the projects which was expected to bring prosperity to the valley was the construction of the Kootenay Central Railway,[102] linking the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Golden with the Crowsnest branch line. Surveys began in 1904, and construction started the next year, but the rails got no farther south from Golden than Spillimacheen, and there they remained for several years. Work was not resumed until 1913, and at last in 1915 the Kootenay Central made the link with the Crowsnest line. Alas, for expectations, the railway brought little profit, either for the valley or the investors. The First World War

(100) Conversation with Captain E. N. Russell by the writer.

(101) Wilmer *Outcrop*, April 30, 1903. She became the first steamer in 1903 to reach Lake Windermere.

(102) The projectors of this railway were R. L. T. Galbraith, J. A. Harvey, Hugh Watt, J. B. Langley, W. R. Ross, of Fort Steele, and Dr. J. H. King, of Cranbrook. *See* chapter 79, "An Act to Incorporate the Kootenay Central Railway Company," British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1901*, Victoria, 1901, pp. 403–407.

struck a blow at the prosperity of the valley, from which it never recovered. The Kootenay Central Railway killed steamboat traffic on the river, but it, too, has fallen victim to road competition, so now there is very little traffic, even for the infrequent trains.

Yet between 1905 and 1914 business on the river boomed as it had never done before, as tourists poured into the valley by the thousands to view the beauties of the Windermere country and the Lake of the Hanging Glaciers, at the head of Horsethief Creek. Navigation was further improved by a new sternwheel dredge and pile-driver called the *Muskrat,* built by the Dominion Government in 1904 to replace the old dredge of 1893. In charge of the *Muskrat* was the veteran engineer, the Honourable Fred Aylmer, after whom the town of Athalmer is named.[103]

A new vessel to arrive on the river in 1905[104] was the gasoline-launch *Gian,* owned by Captain Northcote Cantlie, a nephew of Lord Mount Stephen. This eccentric Scotsman was one of a long succession of " characters " for which the Columbia Valley was famous. He preferred champagne for breakfast and always kept with him as a personal attendant a piper in full Highland regalia. In the summer of 1906 Captain Cantlie, always a sportsman, made a proposition to Captain Armstrong, also a sportsman of the first order. He offered to stake $100, payable to the Golden Hospital, that the *Gian* could outrace the *Ptarmigan* between Wilmer and Golden. The race started bright and early one Sunday morning, although there were a few false starts, perhaps due to Cantlie's propensity for breakfast champagne. However, the *Gian* finally managed to get away, and flew down the river in fine style, the *Ptarmigan* threshing and blowing some distance behind. But Captain Armstrong knew the river far better than did his adversary, and after two hours the *Ptarmigan* drew alongside the *Gian.* Cantlie's piper piped as he had never piped before, but to no avail, and Armstrong drew ahead. Then came the crowning indignity. As the *Ptarmigan* passed the *Gian's* stern, two of the daring young men aboard the sternwheeler reached across and plucked the piper bodily from off the *Gian* and lifted him aboard the *Ptarmigan,* which crossed the boom at Golden in triumph.[105]

In 1907 the *Ptarmigan,* after having hit a snag and sunk near Redrock, just above the " S " on the river near Spillimacheen, caught fire and her upper works were destroyed.[106] However, she was soon raised

(103) Athalmer is the ancient Saxon spelling of the noble Aylmer family.
(104) Wilmer *Outcrop,* August 24, 1905; Golden *Star,* July 25, 1905.
(105) *Ibid.,* August 30, 1906.
(106) Golden *Star,* July 13 and 20, 1907.

and brought to Golden, where repairs were effected, and in a few weeks she was back on the river[107] and operated during the 1908 season.[108] Her place was taken next year by the *Isabella McCormack,* a powerful 95-foot vessel built at Golden for the Columbia River Lumber Company by Captain Alex. Blakley and named after the daughter of J. D. McCormack, then manager of the company's mill at Golden.[109] The new steamer proved herself the fastest steamboat yet to operate on the river, making the run from Golden to Athalmer in thirteen hours and the down-river run in six hours, averaging nearly 17 miles an hour. She proved too unwieldy for the river, and after operating for only two seasons she was dismantled and replaced by the *Klahowya* in 1910, which soon became a favourite tourist vessel.

The *Isabella McCormack,* renamed *Isabell,* was taken to Athalmer and converted into a floating hotel and house-boat, where the Upper Columbia Transportation Company entertained tourists in generous style. Typical of the gay period is the invitation issued for a house-warming party aboard the *Isabell,* held on July 16, 1910, at Athalmer. The card of admittance read: "Dancing will commence at 9:30, Mountain Time, and continue till midnight, Honolulu Time. U.C. Trans. Co., per F. P. Armstrong." Then was added the cheerful foot-note, "This entitles you to grub on the 'Klahowya.' Hold on to it." The report in the Golden *Star* of this great social event is particularly fulsome but did include the following pertinent details concerning the two steamers:—

> As this boat [the *Klahowya*] is intended to be used by the tourists during the day it is not fitted with cabins (though two are to be constructed) but contains two large well furnished saloons, a promenade deck, and a buffet, where a colored waiter is in constant attendance to serve hot tea and coffee or a dainty luncheon. The house boat "Isabel" beautifully fitted with staterooms, lounging rooms, a large dining room and kitchen accommodation, receives the passengers from the "Klahowya" and this break in the 100 mile journey is a most pleasant one.[110]

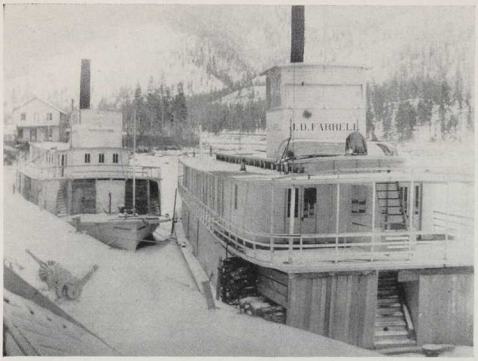
The *Isabell* served as a hotel until 1914, when the hull was sold to Burns and Jordan, the railway contractors for the Kootenay Central. They occupied it for a year, and then R. Randolph Bruce, later Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, purchased the house-boat, and it was here he

(107) *Ibid.,* July 27 and August 3, 1907.

(108) *Ibid.,* April 28, May 2, and July 11, 1908.

(109) The Golden *Star,* December 24, 1908, announced that another steamboat was being built, which presumably was the *Isabella McCormack.* She is mentioned for the first time as arriving at Golden, May 12, 1909. *Ibid.,* May 15, 1909.

(110) *Ibid.,* July 23, 1910.



The *J. D. Farrell* and *North Star* in winter quarters, Jennings, Montana.

The *Klahowya* leaving Golden.

(Courtesy of Bruce Ramsay, Vancouver, B.C.)

An Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway "cover," 1898.

brought his bride, Lady Elizabeth, to live until his new home was built at Invermere. The *Isabell* was then allowed to sink into the mud of the lake, where she remains to-day.

The decision to build the *Klahowya* was announced early in January, 1910,[111] and her framework was constructed at the Fraser River Lumber Company at Millside, New Westminster.

A unique method is being employed in the construction of the new boat. When the frame is completed here [New Westminster] she will be shipped on to the Columbia river country, where she will be finished on the ice. The ice is pretty thick during the winter on most of the lakes and rivers in the Kootenay and Captain Armstrong, and later other builders in that part of the province, hit upon the ingenious device of building blocks and platform on the ice and constructing the boat thereupon. When the boat is completed, the square of ice upon which the boat and its support rests, is cut away from the rest of the ice and the weight of the vessel gradually depresses the ice, the boat gliding smoothly into the water.[112]

By February construction had been resumed near Golden,[113] and by June the vessel was in operation.[114]

In 1911 the *Nowitka* was built at Golden by George Rury for the Upper Columbia Transportation Company to run as a freight-boat in conjunction with the *Klahowya*.[115] She was a shallow-draught shovel-nosed steam-scow, equipped with the ancient engines from the first *Duchess,* vintage of 1840, a boiler resurrected from a defunct sawmill, pilot-house and capstan from the *North Star,* steering-wheel from the *City of Salem,* an old Lower Columbia River veteran, and bits and pieces from various other long-forgotten steamboats. She had a draught of only 16 inches, but by pushing barges ahead of her could handle heavy freight cargoes.[116]

Meanwhile, in 1911, Captain Alex. Blakley resumed competition on the river against Armstrong with the old *Selkirk,*[117] which he purchased

(111) *Ibid.,* January 15, 1910.

(112) *Ibid.,* January 22, 1910.

(113) *Ibid.,* February 26, 1910.

(114) *Ibid.,* June 16, 1910. In April, 1910, it was announced by the Upper Columbia Transportation Company, that the *Windermere* would open navigation on May 3 (*ibid.,* April 16, 1910) and there is a report that she did operate (*ibid.,* May 14, 1910).

(115) "Navigation opens on the Columbia early next week when the well-equipped passenger steamer 'Klahowya' will commence tri-weekly service between Golden and Windermere and the new up-to-date passenger and freighter 'Nowitka' will maintain a semi-weekly schedule between those points." *Ibid.,* April 15, 1911.

(116) Letter to the editor by Captain Armstrong, Nelson *Daily News,* May 12, 1920.

(117) Golden *Star,* March 25 and April 1, 1911.

from H. E. Forster. This little vessel had been equipped with new Wolverine gas-engines in 1906, which were considered a wonderful innovation for a sternwheeler in those days. Business on the river boomed merrily, so in 1912 Captain Blakley built at Golden the new 75-foot passenger-steamer *Invermere* to compete with the *Klahowya* for the flourishing tourist trade. She was a twin-screw half-tunnel vessel with Kahlenberg reversing gas-engines.[118] Captain Blakley, with his son, Captain John Blakley, ran the *Selkirk* and *Invermere* until 1913, when they sold out to Captain E. N. Russell.[119]

Another passenger-vessel appeared on the river in 1913. This was the twin-screw gasoline-launch *Colvalli,* originally built on the coast as the *Little Willie* and brought overland to the Columbia by the Columbia Valley Irrigated Fruit Lands Limited,[120] who used her to bring prospective land-purchasers up from Golden. She was equipped with two Clifton gas-engines, which gave her a speed of 18 knots and made her the fastest vessel ever to appear on the river. While taking the *Colvalli* to winter quarters in October, 1913, Captain Alex. Blakley had a heart attack and fell out of a canoe and was drowned 10 miles south of Golden.[121]

In the winter of 1913 Captain Armstrong built a new steamer at Spillimacheen for Burns and Jordan, the railway contractors, then constructing the Kootenay Central Railway.[122] She was christened the *F. P. Armstrong* and, under the command of Captain John Blakley, was employed during the season of 1914 carrying workmen and railway supplies, moving scows and steam-shovels, between Spillimacheen and Columbia Lake.

The First World War brought a sudden end to prosperity in the Columbia Valley. Every able-bodied man joined the forces, and farms and mines were allowed to revert to nature. Steamboats were redundant after 1914, for the Kootenay Central Railway was completed the next year,[123] so the romantic era of steamboating came to a sudden close.

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(118) *Ibid.,* February 17, 1912.

(119) *Ibid.,* October 17, 1914.

(120) *Ibid.,* July 12, 1913.

(121) *Ibid.,* October 25, 1913.

(122) In the spring of 1913 it was announced that Captain Armstrong would build two new steamers for the railway contractors (*ibid.,* April 26, 1913), but evidently only one was built that winter.

(123) The last spike on this railway was driven on December 3, 1914, at a point a little to the south of Athalmer. *Ibid.,* December 5, 1914.

The *F. P. Armstrong* was abandoned near Fairmont, north of Columbia Lake, where her bones lie to-day. The *Klahowya* was dismantled and her equipment shipped to The Pas, Manitoba. The *Nowitka* lingered for a few years alongside the sawmill wharf at Golden, where her paddle-wheel remains to-day.

Captain F. P. Armstrong and Captain John Blakley both rendered distinguished service in the First World War. Captain Armstrong was commissioned in the Inland Water Transport branch of the Royal Engineers and was first sent to the Tigris River to assemble and operate river-steamers carrying men and supplies for the Mesopotamia campaign. En route to Basra, he was twice torpedoed but saved his own life and those of several shipmates. He was later sent to the River Nile, where his superb specialized knowledge led to his appointment as superintendent in charge of all military vessels on the river. Captain Blakley also served on the Tigris River with the Inland Water Transport, was engaged in cross-Channel supply transport with the Royal Engineers, and later transferred to the Royal Flying Corps. After the war he secured a civilian pilot's licence and flew one of the first privately owned aeroplanes in the Kootenays. In the Second World War his experience as a river steamboat-man was again put to use, and he acted as a river pilot for the United States Army boats on the Mackenzie River.

After the war Captain Armstrong joined the Dominion Public Works Department and was in charge of river improvement in the East and West Kootenays, his intimate knowledge of river work rendering him particularly valuable in this work. As a swift-water man he had few equals, and he knew the Columbia River intimately from its source to its mouth. He made two canoe trips from the headwaters of the Columbia to Astoria, one of which is described in *Down the Columbia,* by Lewis R. Freeman.[124]

Appropriately enough, Captain Armstrong piloted the last commercial voyage made by a steamboat on the Upper Columbia. In May, 1920, he took over temporary command of the *Nowitka* for a solitary trip up-river. It was a melancholy voyage, for its purpose was to drive piles for a bridge at Brisco, half-way between Golden and Windermere, thus closing commercial navigation forever. Captain Armstrong took the opportunity offered by the trip to load a barge with ore that he had left on the river-bank twenty-four years earlier.[125] Thus for the last

(124) Lewis R. Freeman, *Down the Columbia,* New York, 1921, *passim.*
(125) Golden *Star,* May 6, 1920.

time did he tackle the Canyon Creek rapids, the familiar twists and turns of the " S " and the many other hazards of that inland waterway. A few days later he wrote of his experience:—

> Having been in charge of the first boat, as well as the last, memories naturally crowded on me as I stood at the wheel of the " Nowitka." . . . With the barges we had ahead last Saturday we made up a craft 246 feet long and 23 feet beam. The water is as low as has ever been known, so navigation may be considered to have gone out with a flourish. It shows really, what has been done for the improvement of the river. Besides the clearing of sweepers and snags, side channels have been closed and the water confined. It would have been quite impossible to navigate such a craft in the early days.
>
> The trip was made without incident except for the clearing away of a big cottonwood or two that were laying over the river, and the dodging of others that had been thrown into the stream by beavers. Oh, yes. An enterprising, but mistaken rancher had put a telephone line across the river since my day, and we, of course, carried it away. I did hear some wire rattling about the windows of the pilot house, but I supposed some of the farmers who had been using the pile driver lately had been using hay wire for a trip line and it had got adrift somehow. Afterwards, I heard we had put the whole rural telephone system on the blink for a couple of days. . . .
>
> Then the object of our trip was unique—that of the steamboat and pile driver to put the quietus on navigation—an object I hated to be connected with, even indirectly—and mine to get a barge up to some ore I left on the bank of the river 24 years ago. It was the last chance and I took it.[126]

Late in 1922 Captain Armstrong was badly hurt in an accident at Nelson and subsequently died of his injuries at the Vancouver General Hospital on January 26, 1923, less than twenty-four hours after his old friend and fellow Upper Columbia River pilot, Captain F. H. Bacon, had died in the same ward in the same hospital.[127]

Sternwheel steamboating is not entirely dead on the Upper Columbia River. Captain John Blakley, who operates a hotel at Radium Hot Springs, has a love for the river deeply bred into his system, and in 1948 he and his three sons built a modern 54-foot sternwheeler on the riverbank at Radium, north of Athalmer. Launched by Mrs. Blakley, it was christened the *Radium Queen*. Built on strictly utilitarian lines, uncompromisingly rectangular, she is no thing of beauty, but Captain Blakley, who knows every inch of the river, can turn her on a dime. She is equipped with a 100-horsepower Chrysler gas-engine and is used by her owner for hunting and pleasure parties on the river. Low-level bridges at Brisco, Athalmer, and other points on the river are now the principal

(126) Nelson *Daily News*, May 12, 1920.
(127) Vancouver *Province*, February 2, 1923.

obstacles to navigation, but in building the *Radium Queen,* Captain Blakley kept this problem in mind. He equipped his vessel with a pilot-house on hinges, so that she is able to slip safely under the obstructions, except at extreme high water.

It is a far cry from the glad old days of the *Duchess* and the *Klahowya* and the *Invermere,* but at least the thrash of the paddle-wheel is again ploughing up the muddy bottom of the Upper Columbia.[128]

NORMAN HACKING.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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(128) The writer wishes to make grateful acknowledgment of the generous assistance given by many of the pioneers of East Kootenay in the preparation of this article. Particular mention should be made of Captain E. N. Russell and Captain John Blakley, last of the river captains.

APPENDIX

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:—

[R] *List of Vessels on the Registry Books of the Dominion of Canada,* 1887–1914.

[U.S.] *List of Merchant Vessels of the United States,* 1893–98.

[S] Note-books of the Steamboat Inspectors for British Columbia, 1886–1914.

[N] Contemporary newspaper records.

UPPER COLUMBIA RIVER STEAMERS: 1886–1913

1. *Cline.*

   Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1887, by and for Jack C. Hayes.
   Dimensions: 31′ x 9.3′ x 4′ [S].
   Engines: 5½″ x 8″ [S].
   Gross tonnage: 20 [S].

2. *Colvalli* (ex *Little Willie*).

   Twin-screw tunnel boat; launched at Seattle, 1909, and removed to the Columbia River, 1913, by the Columbia Valley Irrigated Fruit Lands Limited.
   Dimensions: 54.7′ x 10.3′ x 3.5′ [R].
   Engines: Twin gas-engines, 6 h.p. [R].
   Gross tonnage: 17.12 [R].

3. *Duchess.*

   Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1886, by and for F. P. Armstrong.
   Dimensions: 60′ x 17′ x 4′ [S]. Loaded draught, 14 inches.
   Engines: 8″ x 30″ [S].
   Gross tonnage: 32 [S].

4. *Duchess.*

   Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1888, by Alexander Watson for F. P. Armstrong.
   Dimensions: 81.6′ x 17.3′ x 4.6′ [R].
   Engines: 8″ x 30″ [S].
   Gross tonnage: 145.48 [S].

5. *F. P. Armstrong.*

   Sternwheeler; launched at Spillimacheen, 1913, by F. P. Armstrong for Burns and Jordan.
   Dimensions: 81′ x 20′ x 4′ [R].
   Engines: 4 h.p. [R].
   Gross tonnage: 126 [R].

6. *Gian.*

   Screw gasoline-launch; owned by Northcote Cantlie, 1905.
   Engines: 14 h.p. [N].

7. *Hyak.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1892, by F. P. Armstrong for Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company.
Dimensions: 81′ x 11.2′ x 3.9′ [R].
Engines: 2 h.p. [R].
Gross tonnage: 39 [R].

8. *Invermere.*

Twin-screw tunnel boat; launched at Golden, 1912, by and for Alexander Blakley.
Dimensions: 75′ x 13′ x 3.7′ [R].
Engines: Twin gas-engines, 1½ h.p. [R].
Gross tonnage: 66 [R].

9. *Isabella McCormack* (renamed *Isabell*).

Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1908, by Alexander Blakley for the Columbia River Lumber Company.
Dimensions: 94.9′ x 18.8′ x 3.5′ [R].
Engines: 3 h.p. [R].
Gross tonnage: 178 [R].

10. *Klahowya.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1910, by George Rury for the Columbia River Company.
Dimensions: 92′ x 19′ x 3.5′ [R].
Engines: 3 h.p. [R].
Gross tonnage: 175 [R].

11. *Marion.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1888, by Alexander Watson for F. P. Armstrong.
Dimensions: 61′ x 10.3′ x 3.6′ [S].
Engines: 5½″ x 8″ [S].
Gross tonnage: 14.78 [S].

12. *Nowitka.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1911, by George Rury for the Columbia River Lumber Company.
Dimensions: 80.5′ x 19′ x 3.5′ [R].
Engines: 8″ x 30″ [S] 4 h.p. [R].
Gross tonnage: 113 [R].

13. *Pert* (ex *Alert*).

Sidewheeler; hull originally built at Golden, 1887, by Fred Wells; rebuilt as paddle steamer at Golden, 1890, for F. P. Armstrong; and in 1899 rebuilt as a screw steamer by Alexander Blakley. Also known as *City of Windermere.*
Dimensions: 49.8′ x 10′ x 2.6′ [R].
Engines: 1 h.p. [R].
Gross tonnage: 6 [R].

14. *Ptarmigan.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Golden, 1903, by F. P. Armstrong for the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company.
Dimensions: 110′ x 21′ x 4′ [S].
Engines: 8″ x 30″ [S].
Gross tonnage: 246 [R].

15. *Selkirk.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Kamloops, 1895, by Alexander Watson for H. E. Forster; and removed to the Upper Columbia River, 1899.
Dimensions: 62′ x 11.2′ x 3.6′ [R].
Engines: 2 h.p. [R]. Converted to gas-engines, 1906.
Gross tonnage: 58 [R].

UPPER KOOTENAY RIVER STEAMERS: 1893–1902

1. *Annerly.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Jennings, Montana, by B. W. Jones and H. S. DePuy for the Upper Kootenay Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 92.5′ x 16′ x 4.4′ [U.S.].
Gross tonnage: 128.08 [U.S.].

2. *Gwendoline.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Wasa, 1893, by F. P. Armstrong for the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company. Rebuilt at Golden, 1893.
Dimensions: 63.5′ x 19′ x 3.2′ [R]. Lengthened, 1896, to 98′ [R].
Engines: 4 h.p. [R].
Gross tonnage: 90.59 [S].

3. *J. D. Farrell.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Jennings, Montana, 1897, for the Kootenay River Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 130′ x 26′ x 4.5′ [U.S.].
Gross tonnage: 359 [U.S.].

4. *Libby.*

Screw steamer; launched at Libby, Montana, 1894 by Tom Flowers.
Dimensions: 77.5′ x 10.2′ x 5.4′ [U.S.].
Engines: 20 n.h.p. [U.S.].
Gross tonnage: 39.86 [U.S.].

5. *North Star.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Jennings, Montana, 1897, by Louis Paquet for the International Transportation Company.
Dimensions: 130′ x 26′ x 4′ [U.S.].
Engines: 200 n.h.p. [U.S.].
Gross tonnage: 265.39 [U.S.].

6. *Rustler.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Jennings, Montana, 1896, for the Upper Kootenay Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 124′ x 22′ x 4′ [U.S.].
Engines: 317 n.h.p. [U.S.].
Gross tonnage: 258.09 [U.S.].

7. *Ruth.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Libby, Montana, 1896, by Louis Paquet for the International Transportation Company.
Dimensions: 131′ x 22′ x 4.5′ [U.S.]. Loaded draught 22″.
Engines: 10″ x 24″ [N].
Gross tonnage: 315.02 [U.S.].

MOYIE LAKE STEAMER

1. *Echo.*

Screw steamer; launched at Moyie, 1898, by F. P. Armstrong and I. B. Sanborn; completed by Messrs. Campbell, Clark, and Theis.
Dimensions: length, 50′ [N].
Gross tonnage: 10 [N].

SOME NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF VANCOUVER ISLAND*

The title of this paper would naturally lead one to expect that it would consist mainly, as well it might, of long columns of drab figures, incomprehensible and often unrelated, or of a maze of statistics calculated to be of interest only to the domed heads of members of a statistical society. Perhaps it will be agreed, and with relief, that long series of figures cannot find a comfortable home in a short paper, consequently only a bare minimum of facts will be quoted—a few lighthouses for guidance rather than a detailed chart of a long and intricate course. As a Provincial historical association, objection might be taken to presenting a paper which deals only with some 3 per cent of the area of this Province. There are, however, many reasons for so doing and thus risking the wrath of its readers.

In the first place, while Vancouver Island is a very small part of the 365,000 square miles of British Columbia, its area of 12,400 square miles is in fact nearly as large as that of several nations which have long been powers in this world. It is actually larger than other countries which have been and are to-day counted of importance in the comity of nations. In that category will be found Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, and Switzerland, and also Holland which has long been mistress of a vast and rich empire and sailed her ships of war to the very heart of Britain.

In the next place, the natural riches of this Island are such that had it been placed in either the orbit of Europe or even adjacent to the east coast of the United States of America, it would almost certainly have been to-day the home of some millions of people and an area of world importance.

Then one could justify a paper on the Island merely on account of its remarkable, and mostly neglected, harbours and inlets. In what other area, from Alaska to Cape Horn, can berthing be provided for so many ships at such a small cost? A striking feature of this immense Pacific coast-line is its lack of safe anchorages, let alone harbours. Yet as long as goods are carried across the seas in ships, good anchorage and harbours will be desirable and valuable. Our fine hydrographic charts

* The presidential address delivered before the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Victoria, B.C., January 18, 1952.

give abundant proof this Island has available scores of harbours. An outline is now submitted of the uses to which these harbours and riches have and may yet be put.

Vancouver Island was opened for colonization just a century ago, so this seems a fitting moment to review briefly what was expected of that step, what has actually taken place, and what the near future may promise. Who can reasonably predict the far future in these times of rapid and deep changes?

There is ample proof that the Island's geographical position and natural resources had struck Britons forcibly and favourably. Several authors of early books and pamphlets describe it as the "England of the Pacific."[1] They pointed to its island situation, facing the teeming millions of Asia, as similar to that of Britain in relation to the Americas. They prophesied that as Britain owed much of its growth because it stood at the gates of trade across the Atlantic so would Vancouver Island prosper because it stood at the gates of the trade across the Pacific. Even cautious statesmen spoke in high terms of the advantages and prospects of this Island. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who, as Colonial Secretary, was in an excellent position to form a true opinion of Vancouver Island resources, gave it high praise. He crystallized his view in seven striking words: "A magnificent abode for the human race."[2] Few would not agree with Lytton's view, but some might wish to look deeper and to ask to what extent the human race has been attracted to this "magnificent

(1) "We shall now proceed briefly to survey these several districts of British North America . . . and we begin with Vancouver Island. This 'England of the Pacific'—as this island . . . has been called. . . ." In "British North America," *Edinburgh Review,* CXIX (1864), p. 452. Matthew Macfie, in his *Vancouver Island and British Columbia,* London, 1865, p. 39, wrote: "So that Vancouver Island has been not inaptly designated the England of the Great Western Ocean. . . ." James Edward Fitzgerald, in *Vancouver's Island,* London, 1848, p. 4, wrote: ". . . it occupies very much the same position with respect to the Pacific which Great Britain does with respect to the Atlantic Ocean." In this Gilbert Malcolm Sproat concurred: "The country is on the highway of civilized nations; it stands to America on the Pacific Ocean, as Great Britain stands to Europe on the Atlantic." G. M. Sproat, *British Columbia,* London, 1873, p. 26.

(2) "Already, by the Pacific, Vancouver's Island has been added to the social communities of mankind. Already, in the large territory which extends west of the Rocky Mountains, from the American frontier up to the skirts of the Russian domain, we are laying the foundations of what may become hereafter a magnificent abode of the human race. . . ." Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton, *Speeches of Edward, Lord Lytton,* London, 1874, Vol. ii, p. 91.

abode," how wide these "gates of the Pacific" have actually been opened to allow for the passage of trade. To many the result would be sadly disappointing. J. D. Pemberton, a man of wide experience and sound judgment, in 1860, compared Vancouver Island and British Columbia to California, very much to the latter's disadvantage.[3] Yet ninety years later that thin, sand State supports a population little short of that of the whole of Canada and does so in unparalleled affluence. As for this "England of the Pacific," this "magnificent abode for the human race," after two generations its population was barely that of an English county town, and now, after three generations, it is an "abode" for far fewer than a single one of London's twenty-eight boroughs. It might well be asked: What has been the growth of Vancouver Island's population?

In 1853, ten years after Fort Victoria was established, the white population of Vancouver Island was given as 450.[4] Apart from a census as of December 31, 1854,[5] no reliable figures seem available from then until 1881, when the population had grown to 17,000,[6] a rate of growth of a little less than 600 a year. The next decade was, however, a period of rapid gain, as by 1891[7] there were nearly 36,000 inhabitants. The annual rate of growth had more than trebled, to 1,900 a year. Probably

(3) "And if it can be at the same time shown, as I think it can, that our natural advantages are in many respects, in point of situation and products, superior to those of California, this consideration may tend to increase exertion, and may prompt us to enter into friendly and not unsuccessful competition, to share the commerce which San Francisco now monopolises." J. D. Pemberton, *Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia,* London, 1860, pp. 5–6.

(4) "The population of the Island in the end of the year 1853 was about 450 souls, men, women and children; of these 300 are at Victoria, and between it and Soke; about 125 at Nanaimo; and the remainder at Fort Rupert." W. Colquhoun Grant, "Description of Vancouver Island," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* XXVII (1857), p. 273.

(5) W. Kaye Lamb (*ed.*), "The Census of Vancouver Island, 1855," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1940), pp. 51–58. Dr. Lamb commented (p. 52): "It will be seen that the population of Victoria decreased slightly and totalled only 232 at the end of 1854, but the population of the Island as a whole had increased to as much as 774 by that date."

(6) Canada, Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1880–81,* Ottawa, 1882, Vol. I, p. 94, gives the population of District 190 (Victoria) as 7,301, and of District 191 (Vancouver Island) as 9,991, for a total of 17,292.

(7) Canada, Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941,* Ottawa, 1950, Vol. I, p. 565, gives the following tabulation of Census District No. 5, Vancouver Island: 1881, 17,292; 1891, 35,744; 1901, 50,886; 1911, 81,241; 1921, 108,792; 1931, 120,933; 1941, 150,407.

the prospect of a Canadian Pacific Railway and the building of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway had had a good deal to do with this strikingly faster growth. Then for the next ten years, 1891 to 1901, the gain slowed down, and at the turn of the century we told off 50,866 persons.[8] The growth rate for the first half-century was therefore nearly 1,000 a year, but there had been violent fluctuations.

The first decade of the twentieth century saw a sudden surge forward throughout Canada. The population of the Province more than doubled, rising from 179,000 to 392,000.[9] That of Vancouver Island grew from 51,000 to 81,000,[10] or at the rate of 3,000 a year. Yet it is significant that Vancouver Island's rate of growth in this decade, in spite of immensely greater facilities for travel, only exceeded that of the 1880's by approximately 50 per cent. The pull of the great body of the Mainland was beginning to be felt; the natural law of the greater attracting the lesser had come into play—or work. This force continued to be effective. From 1911 to 1921 the annual growth of Vancouver Island slowed to 2,800 a year, from 81,000 to 109,000,[11] and in the next decade, 1921 to 1931, when most of the continent was bursting with activity, Vancouver Island's growth shrank to a sluggish 1,200 a year. In these twenty years, 1911 to 1931, Vancouver Island only added some 2,000 souls a year, about the same rate of growth of the 1880's. In the same period the Mainland had rushed forward at the rate of 26,000 a year, or thirteen times as fast as the Island.

The "tragic thirties" saw a change. The Island added nearly 30,000, the Mainland 93,000. This strange but notable change in pace continued through the 1940's and was indeed even more marked. Vancouver Island added 63,000 people, the Mainland 172,000, so the population acceleration of the Mainland versus the Island had decreased from thirteen times to less than three times.[12]

Population figures, of course, mean little unless comparisons are made between one period and another and between one area and another area. Copious comparisons will not be made, and it is to be hoped that they will not seem odious comparisons. One would like to deal with the

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.* The total Provincial population is given as: 1901, 178,657; 1911, 392,480; 1921, 524,482; 1931, 694,263.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) *Ibid.*

(12) *Ibid.* The *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951,* Ottawa, 1951, Vol. I, pp. 83–86, gives the total for that year for Division No. 5 as 215,003.

amazing difference in population growths of similar areas, such as Canada and the United States of America, discovered and colonized at the same time, by much the same stock, with many similar resources, though each possessing some resources the other had not got. Yet in the course of a few generations the smaller area grew to eleven times the population and twenty times the wealth of the larger area.

Similarly, the far greater growth of the three Pacific Coast States as compared with the Pacific Coast Province is startling and, surely, significant. But to deal with Vancouver Island. It is natural to say, off-hand, that so small an area as 12,400 square miles cannot possibly support more than a few hundred thousand people at the outside. The error in such an argument is easily demonstrated.

Belgium is 1,000 square miles smaller than Vancouver Island. Its population of 8½ millions is more than half that of all Canada! Luxembourg, with an area of only 1,000 square miles, has a population double ours of ten years ago. Denmark is little bigger in area than Vancouver Island, is very largely agricultural, and yet has more millions than we have hundreds of thousands. Holland is almost exactly the size of Vancouver Island. Its population is large enough and vigorous enough to govern an empire. Lastly, for this purpose, Switzerland. There is a land with no seaboard to bring it trade and wealth and people, a land of steep and high mountains with difficult farming conditions because of its precipitous terrain and high average altitude. Yet, though little larger in size, its people, sturdy, vigorous, splendidly educated, well fed and clothed, number more than twenty times ours. That they have achieved without forests or fisheries to speak of, with unimportant minerals, and without ships or coast-line. Scenery and climate they have, and put it to good use. But the wealth and happiness of the Swiss comes from the skill and industry of its millions of craftsmen. Almost all their raw materials have to be imported, but what splendid use they make of those materials that they have to buy all over the world. This Island has so much natural wealth which Switzerland has not. When that wealth is allied in the same measure to the skill and industry typified by the Swiss, then this will be in fact "a magnificent abode" for great numbers of the human race and will have gone a long way to being an "England of the Pacific."

There is one other factor in this population question to be dealt with here. When considering the numbers in the countries of Europe and those here, it is not unreasonable to point out that Europe has been

populated by whites for many, many centuries. They have only been on Vancouver Island for a single century. But one of the astonishing changes in world conditions is the terrific population growth in this last century. After all, Britain, only a single lifetime before Fort Victoria was built, counted fewer people by far than California alone numbers to-day. No one actually knows what the world's population has been through the centuries or even now. What is certain is that more people have been added in the last century than in many previous centuries put together.

It is interesting to examine what have been some of the decisive factors of the last century of time, at least those which affect the everyday life of the ordinary person, which are in large part responsible for the growth of population.

The whole era can rightly be termed the age of invention and machinery. One man to-day, with machinery, can do what all the men in the world, working together, could not have done a few generations ago. Two or three men to-day, with one machine, can do what it took scores and sometimes hundreds of men to do without machinery. An inspection of any great manufacturing plant to-day gives ample proof of this. Two years ago the writer of this paper visited one of England's great steelworks. In one building a score of men were sweating around a mass of metal. In the next building two men were effortlessly operating a machine. According to information provided by the official guide, the two men would produce the same result as the score and with vastly less physical effort. As machines became available, they would be installed if capital were also available. This replacement of men by machinery often causes a shudder of fear and a storm of protest. Yet perhaps the answer to the problem of displaced labour is now being found. Certainly the search for the remedy to that tragedy is one of the greatest tasks facing governments.

For centuries we have believed in the law of "supply and demand." When supply has exceeded demand, we have experienced crises and too often crashes with all their tragedy of broken homes and lives, starvation and death. Yet, so far, in the history of the world, surely true demand has always immeasurably exceeded supply. Surely there can never have been a crash simply because demand has been satisfied. Is not the real trouble the fact that it is only the financial ability and flexibility to satisfy human demands which has been less than supply. Demand is practically inexhaustible; it is financial ability to satisfy that demand which fails.

This financial question is a vital part of the problem of developing Vancouver Island because so many of its resources lie deeply hidden under a dense cover of forest and rock. To find these hidden riches is often costly. To develop them involves immense capital sums for the provision of power and for access, whether roads, rail, or docks, or all of these, and, of course, for machinery. In the neighbourhood of a billion dollars is now being spent in this Province for industrial development. Excluding the vast Alcan project, a large part of that sum is for developing industry on Vancouver Island.

What are the principal resources of Vancouver Island and how have they been used? They can be easily remembered as the five "f's"—furs, farms, fisheries, forests, factories. Besides these are minerals, climate, and scenery.

Our earliest economy was a fur economy. Its first period was neither long nor large. But, as sometimes happens, a decadent industry revives. The fur trade, as the Hudson's Bay Company of the 1850's knew it, has practically vanished. But it has been far more than replaced by the modern fur-farm, where captive animals take the place of the wild. It is a matter of experience that our relatively damp Island climate produces a more valuable fur than does the cold, dry climate prevalent in most of Canada. The fur trade has long ceased to be a matter of trap-lines and traps. The growing of fur animals in captivity is a highly scientific branch of farming and one of real importance. Fur-farms are found at very many places on the Island, and the pelts produced here bring high prices in world markets, and while there are ladies in a prosperous world, they are likely to go on doing so.

One of the main determining factors for the selection of Fort Victoria as the Hudson's Bay Company centre in 1843 was the fine arable farm lands available close to the harbour of "Camosack."

From the very superficial examination that has been made, it is ascertained there are several good harbours in that neighbourhood no place however has as yet been found combining all the advantages required, the most important of which are, a safe and accessible harbour, well situated for defence, with Water power for Grist and Saw Mills, abundance of Timber for home consumption and Exportation and the adjacent Country well adapted for tillage and pasture Farms on an extensive scale.[13]

. . . I made choice of a site for the proposed new Establishment in the Port of Camosack which appears to me decidedly the most advantageous situation. . . . As a harbour it is equally safe and accessible and abundance of timber grows

(13) Simpson to the Governor and Committee, March 1, 1842, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

near it for home consumption and exportation. . . . at Camosack there is a range of plains nearly 6 miles square containing a great extent of valuable tillage and pasture land equally well adapted for the plough or for feeding stock. It was this advantage and distinguishing feature of Camosack, which no other part of the coast possesses, combined with the water privilege on the canal, the security of the harbour and abundance of timber around it, which led me to chase [choose] a site for the establishment at that place, in preference to all others met with on the Island.[14]

J. D. Pemberton, a trained surveyor, estimated the area of "open and connected" arable lands near Victoria at 100,000 acres. He also stated that somewhat similar areas occurred in the Cowichan, Nanaimo, and Puntledge Valleys. He claimed the Island's farm lands were "able to supply in affluence a large population," and that "exploration had led to finding 'open land' where least expected." An acre of apples at that time, 1860, could be planted for £30 to £40 and would yield £200 at "its lowest selling price." He went on to say that hops, hemp, and hay would all pay well; that potatoes were excellent; that wheat yielded 20 to 40 bushels an acre.[15] The British fleet then provided a good market.

But farming everywhere is subject to serious ups and downs. On Vancouver Island the attraction of high wages in industry and especially forestry has drawn away people from farming. The late Dr. S. F. Tolmie recounted in the 1920's that he thought there was less land farmed in Saanich then than when he was a boy. Of the known arable land in the south-east quarter of the Island, only some 15 per cent is now used. The Island is a heavy importer of farm produce, and the rattle of milk-cans from the Fraser Valley coming off the Vancouver boat is a formidable obstacle to late-sleeping passengers.

Owing partly to the relatively high cost of clearing much of our Island land, only crops which yield a high dollar-per-acre sum can be profitably grown. Fortunately the climate of much of the Island is such as enables farmers to grow such crops. The satisfactory marketing of these crops in large quantities is a problem for solution. But, intrinsically, high-value crops, yielding up to $2,000 an acre, such as seeds, both vegetable and flower, medicinal herbs, bulbs, flowers, foundation nursery stock, choice vegetables such as asparagus, are grown here to equal and usually surpass in quality those grown almost anywhere else. In brief, this Island is suited by nature to become one of the most important seed, bulb, flower, and nursery gardens of the world. In this field it has a golden future.

(14) Douglas to McLoughlin, July 12, 1842, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.
(15) J. D. Pemberton, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 21, 23, 50.

The sea-otter was the earliest form of wealth yielded by the sea off this Island, but ruthless slaughter soon killed them off.[16] Whales, while not fish, can be put into "fisheries" without much strain. The Island has long been the home of some whaling industry, but it is not of first importance in point of dollar yield. Sealing was for nearly forty years a major factor in our economy. Close to a hundred sealing-schooners wintered in Victoria, and the industry long gave a good living to whites and Indians.[17] Perhaps rapacity became too much; in any case, in the late 1890's, by treaty, sealing was abandoned.

Fish, of course, are the historic and main food of Island Indians. But it has been very far from even an important item of food for white Canadians, who consume less fish *per capita* than almost any nation. The Honourable R. W. Mayhew, Federal Minister of Fisheries, has brought his great business acumen to the bettering of that position with excellent results. The value of British Columbia's fisheries has grown from $14,000,000 in 1921 to an estimated $90,000,000 in 1951.[18] Refrigeration has had much to do with that, and it is a far cry from the barrelled fish of early days to the fine cold-storage plants and trains of to-day. Salmon, halibut, and herring are all of immense and growing importance. National and international steps have been taken to conserve and improve the supply of this splendid food. One of the great fish-banks in the world lies just off the south-west coast of Vancouver Island. To it repair scores of sturdy fish-craft, equipped with ingenious instruments and fishing-gear.

The most marked feature of Vancouver Island is its luxuriant and magnificent mantle of forest, reaching from far up the shoulders of its mountains down to their feet, in the sea. Yet in the beginning the timber for Island houses was imported, often from California—redwood-built homes still stand in Victoria—and the spars this British colony sent to

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(16) T. A. Rickard, "The Sea-otter in History," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XI (1947), pp. 15–31.

(17) "The importance of the industry may be judged by the following particulars: There are sixty-five schooners of a net tonnage of 4,292 registered, valued at $614,500. Eight hundred and seven whites and nine hundred and three Indians are employed . . . some $350,000 is paid in wages. The value of the skins has averaged $750,000 per annum for the past three years." R. E. Gosnell, *The Yearbook of British Columbia,* Victoria, 1897, p. 265.

(18) British Columbia, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, *British Columbia, Facts and Statistics, 1951,* Victoria, 1952, p. 17.

Britain were brought in from America's Puget Sound.[19] However, soon the infant colony began to take advantage of the resources immediately at hand.[20] "Enterprising British merchants" began cutting timber for export in Barkley Sound in 1860. W. Colquhoun Grant, the Island's first independent settler, set up a sawmill at Sooke which was taken over by the Muir family. Logging—with oxen—went on for years in the Alberni Valley until it ceased for lack of logs.[21] It is interesting to compare this "lack of logs" with the present annual cut.

It is heartening to know that a high proportion of the construction timber of Canada—some put it at 25 per cent—grows on Vancouver Island. For years dark clouds hung over this greatest of Island industries. Only a small part of each log was used. Worse still, vast areas were denuded of trees and stayed denuded. The timber industry faced extinction, but, fortunately for those who seek to live here, this calamity was avoided, largely by man's determination and ingenuity. Improved machinery made trees available which had previously been untouchable. New uses for timber were found, amongst them lamination. Immense demands for pulp and paper arose and new markets were found. As its own timber stands dwindled, the United States became an avid buyer of Canadian forest products, both for construction and paper. British Columbia timber, and most of that from Vancouver Island, began going to scores of countries, now able to buy because of the tremendous expansion of world wealth during the last fifty years.

The wealth we ourselves derived from each tree almost doubled as new methods, introduced by such companies as those headed by H. R. MacMillan, made it feasible to turn to value not 50 per cent of a tree but no less than 95 per cent. The superb quality of our forests, the insatiable and growing world demand for such quality product with consequent rapidly rising prices, renewed the grave danger of exhaustion. This danger the Government faced with courage. The brilliant report

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(19) "The spars sent to England in 1859, had to be procured on the American side; as . . . no business of the kind had up to that time been established either on the island or the mainland." J. D. Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(20) For an account of the development of the early lumbering industry on Vancouver Island *see* W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938), pp. 30–53, 95–121.

(21) G. M. Sproat, one of the promoters of this venture, made it clear that this mill was closed because it did not yield a profit and because the supply of available logs had been exhausted. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

of the Royal Commission headed by Chief Justice Gordon McG. Sloan[22] laid bare the facts and suggested the cure. The forestry department under the Honourable E. T. Kenney and the Chief Forester, Dr. C. D. Orchard, acted with vigour and vision. Forest-management plans were introduced which restricted annual cuts so as to ensure a steady perpetual yield. No more important step or measure has been taken for the material well-being of this Island.

What a giant stride it has been from the minute mill of the 1850's to the vast, acre-covering plants of the 1950's; from the few dollars paid out in 1851 for wages and salaries to the $125,000,000 and more of the Island payroll for business and industry in 1951.[23] Yet the past has been very chequered. In the early fur-trade days the Island made nothing. It even imported from the United States timber for its houses, bricks for its buildings, and spars for the British market. Naturally its economy was unstable, but this did not long continue. The earliest Victoria *directories*[24] soon showed a surprising number of industries being carried on. Wood and metal works of many types, boat-yards, breweries, rice-mills, clothing-mills, and the like began, and many did well. Their detailed story would be worth telling, but it is a long one. Some of them have lasted till to-day; others were bought up by Mainland or eastern interests and the local branch closed. Soap is an instance and, in recent times, matches. The Island exports considerably over $2,000,000 annually from each of four ports,[25] though largely, it is true, primary products. However, the share taken by manufactured or semi-manufactured articles is growing again.

This may be a good place to deal very shortly with the problem of manufacturing wages. There are few things which could not be made here as well as anywhere else; in some cases our natural conditions are exceptionally favourable, particularly in textiles because of the water

(22) *Report of the Commissioner . . . relating to the Forest Resources of British Columbia,* Victoria, 1945, *passim.*

(23) British Columbia, Department of Labour, *Annual Report . . . 1950,* Victoria, 1951, p. 10, gave the Vancouver Island payroll as $127,741,000.

(24) Edward Mallandaine, *First Victoria Directory,* Victoria, 1860; second issue, Victoria, 1868; third issue, Victoria, 1869; fourth issue, Victoria, 1871; also F. P. Howard and G. Barnett, *British Columbian and Victoria Guide and Directory for 1863,* Victoria, 1863, *passim.*

(25) British Columbia, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, *Monthly Bulletin,* Vol. V, No. 2 (May, 1951), gives the following figures for exports in the year 1950 from Vancouver Island ports: Victoria, $18,361,248; Nanaimo, $24,553,019; Port Alberni, $5,575,249.

and climatic factors. But the manufacturer has to compete for his labour with the workers in those primary industries to which nature has given us great advantages over all rivals. Our stands of immense first-growth timber and some of our fisheries are instances of this. Those industries can, and do, pay very high wages. How is the employer who has not similar advantages to compete, especially when public and semi-public bodies have, almost perforce, to pay wages which appear to be the highest in Canada in their lines? Yet an economy based on primary and service employments alone is bound to be unstable and therefore undesirable.

It must be emphasized that the great industries begun in the last decade on this Island owe their existence to a bold policy of developing electrical power, apparently far ahead of needs. No great industry can live without great blocks of power, but the credit for looking so shrewdly and boldly ahead belongs in large part to the Honourable John Hart, for many years Premier of this Province. In the past five years the installed electric power on Vancouver Island has more than trebled, rising from 47,000,000 to nearly 155,000,000 kwh.,[26] and an additional 50,000,000 kwh. is now being developed.

Without means of transportation, any country, at best, remains fallow. The relatively slow growth of Vancouver Island, and indeed of British Columbia, is due primarily to the lack of available communications. As early as 1860, Pemberton drew attention to this when he pointed out the rapid growth of California, Oregon, and Washington and ascribed it very largely to the 8,000 miles of post road which tied those areas to the East.[27] He strongly advocated a land and water link from here, via Hope, Vermilion Pass, the South Saskatchewan River as far as Elbow, thence overland to Fort Garry, and on by way of the Red River to join the eastern railways. The route could be opened, he claimed, for £200,000, and he was confident that it would rapidly pay for itself. He contrasted our roadless policy with that of the United States, which not only built four main routes to the West, one involving crossing 75 miles of waterless desert, but, on the plea of subsidizing

(26) British Columbia Power Commission, *Power Means Progress,* Victoria, 1951, p. 4, gives the Vancouver Island hydro-electric installations as 154,469,000 kwh.

(27)". . . America has already connected her possessions on the Pacific with the Eastern States, by 8131 miles of mail-coach road. . . ." J. D. Pemberton, *op cit.,* p. 94.

mail contracts, also spent £550,000 annually on what was really for the development of the colonies. With the opening of the British route, emigrants from Great Britain landing at Portland, Maine, could reach Vancouver Island as cheaply as those from the Atlantic Coast could reach the Pacific, except for the then Atlantic passage of 50 shillings.[28] Have we, north of the 49th parallel, even yet quite learned the value of good communications? When will our one Trans-Canada highway be finished?

Few, if any, areas as rich as Vancouver Island can have been so starved for communications. To-day, after a century of settlement, in spite of the immense riches the Island has produced, it has not got one single road from end to end or from side to side. The building of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway in the 1880's saved the Island from utter backwardness. But the need to-day in an area such as this is for roads. The 1951 Census showed that in the last decade the rich but roadless Clayoquot-Tofino area, with a payroll of over $2,000,000 per annum,[29] has actually lost people[30] while the rest of the Island has gained 44 per cent. Surely the reason is lack of a road.

We began as a very promising infant. Our British godparents thought very well of us. Actually our infancy was troubled with a number of ailments, and so our early growth was puny. Then, it was in 1860, James Douglas proclaimed Victoria a free port. Rapidly its trade and wealth increased. The Island began to overtake those infants to the south, which had grown so much taller and were so much sturdier. But in 1866 this rich and strong food of free port was taken away, and the Island became a sort of increasingly minor Siamese twin of the vast colony of British Columbia. Our young, and often flourishing, industries were swallowed up by our larger twin, and then later by Eastern Canada. The gains made during the 1880's were not kept. A great Eastern magnate vowed he would make the grass grow in the streets of Victoria. Fortunately for this Island it possessed in R. P. Rithet a rugged and thrusting pioneer citizen, who built the Outer Wharves, from which so

(28) *Ibid.*, pp. 90–101 *passim.*

(29) British Columbia, Department of Trade and Industry, *Regional Industrial Index of British Columbia,* Victoria, 1952, p. 264, gives the 1950 payroll of this area as $2,275,090.

(30) Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951,* Ottawa, 1952, Bulletin 1–2, Vol. I, Table 5, p. 83, gives the following comparative figures for Census Subdivision E (Clayoquot-Barkley Sound): 1941, 3,250; 1951, 2,786.

much of Victoria's progress has sprung. He is reputed to have told the Easterner: "And I am here to see that you do not succeed." King Coal, with which industry Dunsmuir is the historic name, also kept the Island going and growing for several decades. Now we are 100 years old. We begin to hold our own. Our Island-based fishermen again sail the seas; our farm products reach distant and rich markets; our factories again begin to throb. Most of all, our vast and dense forests ring with giant machines and strokes of powerful men. So as we come striding strongly down the straight, past the grandstand of history, in the first-century lap of our long race through time, there is bright promise that we may yet become a "magnificent abode for millions of the human race," a young "England of the Pacific."

H. CUTHBERT HOLMES.

VICTORIA, B.C.

"RECORD OF A TRIP TO DAWSON, 1898": THE DIARY OF JOHN SMITH*

"The Trail of '98" is slowly being obliterated by time. It has, none the less, taken its place in the "epic of the North." Of the many thousands who hopefully set out, by diverse routes, to reach the golden Klondike, a few became wealthy, some died on the trail, and many turned back in disgust before they ever reached the Yukon. The majority of the gold-seekers, apparently, did finally reach the diggings, made a little money on the creeks, "blew it in" in Dawson City, and many of them came "outside" again with barely enough money to pay their passage home. A few of those who arrived in the Klondike in the eventful summer of 1898 seem to have carefully studied the situation on the creeks, found it not to their liking, and returned home before the freeze-up. Among them was the author of this diary, the late John Smith, of Coquitlam, B.C.

Smith recorded that "every likely spot within 50 miles of Dawson is staked out, tho' all the claims are by no means working, only a very small per cent of them." One day in Dawson City he waited seven hours outside the post-office "& then got no letter." At the Land Recorder's office he waited from Monday until Friday afternoon "to ask one or two questions." In disgust he then decided to take a river-boat down the Yukon to St. Michael, where he obtained a passage to Seattle. He had seen enough of the Klondike.

John Smith was an Englishman, an East Anglian by birth. According to information most kindly and generously furnished by his daughter, Mrs. S. P. Jones, of Whonnock, B.C., he was born on May 28, 1859, at Crownthorpe, Norfolk. He was a graduate chemist and for five years had his own shop in Liverpool. On April 9, 1887, at Kentish Town, Middlesex, he married Frances Rose Middleton. In 1892 he decided to emigrate to Canada, and on July 16 of that year he and his family embarked on the Beaver Line S.S. *Lake Ontario* at Liverpool for Montreal. His destination was Vancouver, where he arrived on August 2, 1892. Except for his brief sojourn in the Yukon and Alaska in 1898, he lived in British Columbia for the remainder of his long and useful life.

* The original manuscript *diary* was presented to the Provincial Archives by Mrs. S. P. Jones, of Whonnock, B.C., a daughter of John Smith.

Shortly after his arrival in this Province, Smith purchased a farm at Coquitlam and worked on it until he left for the North on March 15, 1898. He was back home again late in August. The following year he became Municipal Clerk of the Municipality of Coquitlam. When the City of Port Coquitlam was incorporated in the boom days of 1913, John Smith was appointed City Clerk, and this position he held until his retirement in 1937. On April 21, 1900, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and on March 31, 1913, he became Police Magistrate for the City of Port Coquitlam. The latter office he held for many years. From April 10, 1933, until his resignation on July 25, 1945, he was a Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the Counties of Vancouver and Westminster. He lived quietly in retirement at Port Coquitlam until his death on January 23, 1950[1]

The most significant fact about John Smith's diary is that it is one of the very few which have come to light which describe the Stikine River route to the Klondike—a route by way of Telegraph Creek, Teslin Lake, Teslin River, Lewes River, and the Yukon River. The Stikine trail was much longer than the more usual routes from Skagway and Dyea over the Chilkoot and White Passes. Its chief title to fame was that it was widely advertised as the "best all-Canadian route." Before describing this route in detail, it will be best to list and discuss other well-known, and some less well-known, routes to the Yukon and Alaskan goldfields.

The Alaskan and Yukon gold-rushes were the last of the great series that commenced in California and spread through Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, to Colorado, and even to South Dakota and north to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and British Columbia. The Alaskan rush had its faint beginnings in the early 1880's, and gold was discovered on the Yukon in 1883. The next gold strike in the Klondike was in 1896, and the rush which began in 1897 was at its height in 1898. Transportation was the greatest problem, and coupled with it was the so-called "battle of the trails."

What was often termed the "earliest route" was by way of St. Michael on the Alaskan coast and up the Yukon River to Dawson. The distance from Seattle to St. Michael is about 2,700 miles. At St. Michael, which is situated on Norton Sound and not at the mouth of the Yukon River, the gold-seekers were transferred to flat-bottomed river-

(1) Port Coquitlam *Herald,* January 27, 1950; Maple Ridge *Gazette,* February 3, 1950; Vancouver *News Herald,* January 26, 1950. *See also* New Westminster *British Columbian,* February 15, 1945.

steamers for their journey up the Yukon. From St. Michael to Dawson the distance is variously given from 1,600 to 1,700 miles; practically the whole journey was up the Yukon, often against a very swift current. The chief drawback to this route was that it was only open to navigation from June to September.

The two best-known routes were up Lynn Canal to Skagway and Dyea and over the Chilkoot and White Passes. The Chilkoot Pass route started from Dyea. The road up to the summit was long and hard, and many fell by the wayside, especially the "tenderfeet" who had no experience of either mountaineering or prospecting. From the top of Chilkoot Pass the trail led 27 miles to Lake Lindeman, the head of navigation on the Lewes River, one of the chief tributaries of the Yukon. The distance from Lake Lindeman to Dawson is, approximately, 575 miles. Horses were employed on this trail from Dyea to the foot of the pass, 18 miles, but all freight had to be packed by the miners up the steep ascent of the pass. The Chilkoot Pass trail had been used, according to Tappan Adney in 1898, "for the past sixteen years by miners entering the Yukon."[2]

The White Pass route was discovered by Captain William Moore in 1888. It started 4 miles from Dyea and ascended the Skagway River. The top of the pass is 2,800 feet above sea-level and 20 miles from salt water. This route was slightly longer than that over the Chilkoot Pass, and both trails lead to the headwaters of the Lewes River. Dr. T. A. Rickard states that during the winter of 1897 "not less than 33,000 men and women passed through Skagway on their way to Dawson over the trails of Dyea and the White Pass."[3] Thousands of them were stalled at Skagway, Dyea, and White Pass City "owing to their inability to transfer their outfit across the range after the snow had fallen."[4]

A third route up Lynn Canal was the so-called "Dalton Trail," named after its discoverer, John Dalton, a trader. It has been described by E. Jerome Dyer, as follows:—

> From Chilkat Pass to the mouth of the Nordenskiold River on the Lewes; distance about 170 miles. Though this distance is taken from the Pass, Dalton's

(2) Tappan Adney, *The Klondike Stampede,* New York, 1900, p. 17. The first party seems to have crossed in 1880. *Cf.* F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States,* Toronto, 1942, p. 334. The Lewes River was named for John Lee Lewes of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(3) T. A. Rickard, *Through the Yukon and Alaska,* San Francisco, 1909, p. 145.

(4) *Ibid.*

actual trail begins at Chilkat Inlet, passes to the west of Chilkat Pass, and while occasionally touching the river at the point above-mentioned, it passes at no great distance from the Lewes right on to Fort Selkirk. Dalton will not permit anyone to accompany him on this route.[5]

The so-called "Edmonton Route" is a good example of the propaganda which was at work in Eastern Canada to acquaint gold-seekers with the desirability of taking an overland route entirely through Canadian territory. There were many variants of this route, but in the main they narrow down to two—the Mackenzie River route and the Liard River route. In either case the trail was long and hard; in fact, the Liard River route was extremely dangerous. Tappan Adney waxes sarcastic on the subject of the "Edmonton Route," but it should be remembered that attempts were made, some of them successfully, to reach the Klondike via the Mackenzie and via the Liard.

Via Edmonton. By courtesy designated a "trail." The insane desire of Canada to find an all-Canadian route to her new possessions has led to the suggestion as possible routes those used by the Hudson's Bay Company to reach the Yukon. From Edmonton a wagon-road of 96 miles to Athabasca Landing; thence by small boat, 430 miles, to Lake Athabasca; thence down the Slave River, across Great Slave Lake, and down the Mackenzie River, 1376 miles, to the neighborhood of Fort McPherson, near the mouth of the Mackenzie; thence up Rat River and over an all-water connection at McDougall's Pass into the Porcupine; and thence down the Porcupine to the Yukon, 496 miles—a total distance from Edmonton of 2398 miles (Mr. William Ogilvie's figures). There the would-be Klondiker, 303 miles below Dawson and against a hard current, is practically farther away from his destination than if at Dyea or Skagway.

The other "route" from Edmonton ascends the Athabasca River to Little Slave Lake; thence by portage to Peace River; ascends that river to a point towards its source; thence overland by a ramification of "routes" to the Liard; up that river and thence by another portage to the head of the Pelly, and down that river to Fort Selkirk; an exceedingly difficult trail, abandoned forty years ago by the company that first discovered its existence.

The above briefly describes the "trails" by which the Canadians, the merchants of Edmonton, and the Canadian Pacific Railway propose to start human beings for the Yukon. It has been termed "the Athabasca back-door route." By the same token there are as many other "routes" to the Yukon as there are water-ways in the northwest of Canada between Montreal and the Rocky Mountains.[6]

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(5) E. Jerome Dyer, *The Routes and Mineral Resources of North Western Canada,* London, 1898, p. 196. Dyer carefully separates Dalton's overland route from Bound's overland route which crossed Chilkoot Pass and reached the Lewes River at Five Finger Rapids. It was to the east of Dalton's trail and was about 180 miles long. Tappan Adney, *The Klondike Stampede,* p. 17, confuses Dalton's and Bound's trails. Chilkoot Inlet runs into Lynn Canal near Pyramid Harbour.

(6) Tappan Adney, *op. cit.,* pp. 17–18.

The Stikine trail was probably the most feasible of any of the "all-Canadian routes." It started at Wrangell, Alaska, situated on Wrangell Island near the mouth of the Stikine River. The first 30 or 40 miles were in American territory. The exact location of the International Boundary was in dispute until 1903, but Smith states that the line was 32 miles from the Cottonwood Islands at the mouth of the Stikine.[7] After the "break-up," when the ice had gone out of the river, stern-wheelers plied between Wrangell and Telegraph Creek, but Smith and his companions went over the ice. The chief hazard on the lower Stikine was the Little Canyon, situated about 25 or 30 miles within Canadian territory. This canyon has been described as "a gorge three-fifths of a mile long and a few hundred yards wide."[8] Above the canyon the river is navigable as far as Glenora, 125 miles from its mouth and to Telegraph Creek, 12 miles above Glenora. The Grand Canyon of the Stikine blocks navigation on the main stream for 45 miles. The trail to the north left the river at Telegraph Creek. The Dease Lake trail skirts the Grand Canyon to the confluence of the Tanzilla River and then follows the course of that river up-stream to Dease Lake.

Gold was first discovered in the Stikine country in 1861 by Alexander "Buck" Choquette, a French-Canadian.[9] A rush at once took place, followed by another smaller one in 1862. Choquette explored the river and its tributaries to Dease Lake and then on by Dease River to the Liard. He also went up the Tahltan River as far as Egnell. The Collins Overland Telegraph line was planned to extend north from California and Oregon to Alaska, where it was to cross Bering Strait and to join up with a proposed Russian telegraph-line across Siberia. The telegraph was actually completed in 1866 for use as far as Fort Stager, a supply depot at the confluence of the Kispiox and Skeena Rivers. It never reached Telegraph Creek.[10]

In 1897 and 1898 there were many proposals for constructing a trail and even building a railroad up the Stikine to Telegraph Creek and

(7) *See* entries for March 23 and 26, 1898.

(8) Arthur J. Beanlands, *British Columbia, Its Present Resources and Future Possibilities,* Victoria, 1893, p. 27. This publication was issued by the Government of British Columbia.

(9) A. S. Trueman, *Placer Gold Mining in Northern British Columbia, 1860–1880,* 1935, a M.A. thesis in the library of the University of British Columbia.

(10) Corday Mackay, "The Collins Overland Telegraph," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* X (1946), pp. 187–215. The line was eventually completed to the Yukon during the gold-rush.

overland to Teslin Lake. The Vancouver *News-Advertiser* of May 22, 1897, contained the following news-item:—

> Mr. John C. Calbreath, for many years resident at Telegraph Creek, on the Stickeen River, B.C., has been directed by the Provincial Government to explore the new route suggested for a trail to Teslin Lake the source of the Holalinqua River, a tributary of the Lewis [*sic*] branch of the Yukon. . . . When this trail is opened, an easy route to the Yukon gold fields will be provided. . . .[11]

Later in July, quoting from the Victoria *Colonist,* the *News-Advertiser* stated that Calbreath was building the trail and that A. E. Mills, one of his party who had just arrived in Victoria, reported that the party left Telegraph Creek on May 26 and got the trail through to the lake on June 28. The route apparently followed an old Hudson's Bay Company trail and is thus described: "The route was found on the whole level, with clumps of scrubby woods or some swamp lands to encounter in places, but is pronounced by Mr. Mills to be a very good trail and a very feasible way into the Yukon."[12] A scow was built at Teslin Lake and sixteen miners set off for the Klondike. On their return they reported that they had come back in nine days and "could have done so in six."

These glowing reports led to a rush of miners to the Stikine by way of Wrangell, Alaska. As usual, the gold-seekers underestimated the difficulties. Inspector P. C. H. Primrose, of the Royal Canadian Northwest Mounted Police, in his report for 1898, dealt with the subject at some length.[13] During the summer of 1898 there were fourteen to sixteen steamers operating between Wrangell and Telegraph Creek. Most of them were "finely appointed boats, with electric light, etc." The Inspector thus commented on the unfavourable reports which had come back from the gold-seekers who had travelled the Stikine–Teslin Lake route:—

> Quite a lot has been written and said as to the hardships, sufferings, etc., of those who attempted to get to the Klondyke by this route, and doubtless there were some of both, but I wish to point out that quite a large number of these people were totally unaccustomed to work of this discription [*sic*], in my opinion, knowing little of camp life or cooking, handling an axe or pick, etc., working of animals or properly taking care of themselves.[14]

Many of the miners were burdened with non-essentials. Usually they planned to get up to Glenora on the ice, but many were too late and

(11) Vancouver *News-Advertiser,* May 22, 1897.

(12) *Ibid.,* July 18, 1897.

(13) Annual Report of the Royal Canadian Northwest Mounted Police for 1898, Part III, Yukon Territory, pp. 57–63, Canada *Sessional Papers, 1899,* No. 15.

(14) *Ibid.,* p. 62.

had to wait for the steamers. As a result, they arrived at Glenora short of funds and then were confronted by a packing charge from that point to Teslin Lake of $800 per ton. Wild stories were circulated that 3,000 miners were destitute. This Inspector Primrose categorically denied.

> . . . there was no destitution, as there was plenty of food, and of the 2,500 who went in by this route, I have records of about 1,300 having come out, so that when you take into consideration those in business, and settled at Glenora, Telegraph Creek, Dease Lake and Teslin, and those who got through to Teslin and down the river, the ones remaining who are prospecting cannot be very many.[15]

According to the map in E. Jerome Dyer's volume *The Routes and Mineral Resources of North Western Canada,* there were at least two routes from the Stikine River to Teslin Lake. The first went north-west from Telegraph Creek and then crossed the Tahltan River not far from Tahltan Lake. It then struck northwards, overland, to Chees-mina [Chismaina] Lake and north by an unnamed river to Teslin Lake. The other route, which led overland from the Skeena River, did not touch Telegraph Creek, but crossed the Stikine just above the mouth of the Tahltan. It followed the course of the Tahltan and crossed the same height of land used by the trail from Telegraph Creek. It then followed the Kaketz River to Egnell, where there was a Hudson's Bay Company post. From Egnell the trail went down the Sheslay River to its junction with the Inklin River. At this point it went overland, skirting Chees-lina and Chees-mina Lakes to the river, already mentioned, that flows north from the latter lake to Lake Teslin. From John Smith's diary it is not certain that his party exactly followed either of these routes, but it would appear that they more closely approximated the first than the second route.

None of the 1898 maps can be taken too seriously. In most cases the map-makers had no personal acquaintance with the country, and they set down as well-marked routes what probably were little more than blazed trails. Tappan Adney shrewdly wrote as follows regarding the Stikine route:—

> None of the new maps agree where the trail is, but the route is being pushed by the Canadian government as an all-Canadian route to the Klondike. A company has chartered the only steamer available at Wrangell and is taking over saw-mill machinery, building steamers, and preparing for the spring "rush" that way.[16]

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(15) *Ibid.*

(16) Tappan Adney, *op. cit.,* p. 17. Adney was evidently describing conditions prevailing on the Stikine during the winter of 1897–98.

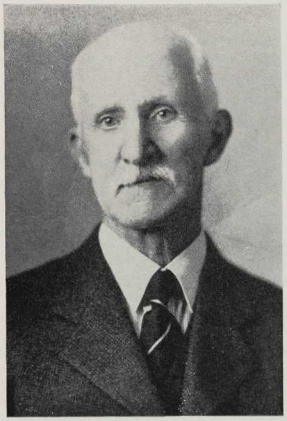
The *Evening Standard* of London, England, for October 7, 1897, contained a lengthy report from a special correspondent on the subject of the Stikine route, from which the following excerpt has been quoted by Dyer:—

Another route which is growing in favour, owing to the difficulties of the mountain passes this Fall is the Sticheen [*sic*] River route, also known as the "All Canadian," because it is confined to Canadian territory. It has the additional recommendation of having being approved by Dr. Dawson, Director of the Geological Survey, who travelled by way of Teslin Lake ten years ago, and advocated the building of a road in this direction. The head of navigation is still called Telegraph Creek, and this route is signified on the map with the name of "Government Trail." Whether it exists anywhere but on the maps may be doubted, and the Government, of course, have accepted no responsibility beyond having the country explored. Still, people who have travelled by different routes claim that this is the best. An old prospector reports that the trail from Telegraph Creek to Teslin Lake cannot be more than 115 to 120 miles long, and he describes the country as comparatively easy of travel. The trail is fairly level, and though some parts are swampy, there is plenty of timber to make corduroy, i.e., to make a solid road over the bog by putting down brushwood and laying logs across it, a safe if not a very comfortable mode of travelling. Dr. Dawson says of this route:— "The river is navigable for the ordinary flat bottom boats from Salt Water to Telegraph Creek, a distance of 150 miles, from Telegraph Creek to Teslin Lake is about another 150 miles through what is believed to be a flat and not very difficult country, but very little is known about it. Mr. St. Cyr, a surveyor on the staff of the Department of the Interior, is making a survey of the country at the present time. He is expected to come out this Autumn, and when he does the practicability of the route will probably be settled. From Teslin Lake there is no difficulty whatever, there being navigation for stern-wheelers right down to the mouth of the Yukon. If this route proves practicable it will greatly facilitate ingress and egress to and from the Yukon country."

There is a very general opinion as to the value of this route, and, besides the Government Surveyor, the chief engineer of the Kootenay division of the Canadian Pacific Railway is investigating the locality with a view to the construction of a railway. . . . The Sticheen [*sic*] route involves a stretch of uncertain river navigation from Wrangell to Telegraph Creek, while the Taku Inlet has the advantage of a deep water terminus open all the year round.[17]

It is not to be wondered that speculation in railway construction ran wild. Numerous petitions were presented to the British Columbia Legislature for charters for railway companies, and at its session in 1897 no less than three companies were incorporated. The Stickeen and

(17) E. J. Dyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152. Dr. George M. Dawson (1849–1901) was one of Canada's greatest geologists. Much of his best work was done in Northern British Columbia and the Northwest Territories. His report for 1887 is still often quoted. The Taku Inlet route is marked on Dyer's map as leading from this inlet up Taku and Nakina Rivers and overland to Teslin Lake.



John Smith.

Teslin Railway, Navigation and Colonization Company was chartered "for the purpose of constructing a railway from a point at or near Glenora, on the north-westerly bank of Stickeen River, to a point at or near the Southern end of Teslin Lake, and also for the purpose of building, equipping and maintaining a line of steamers on Stickeen River and on Teslin Lake."[18] The British Columbia and Yukon Railway Company was authorized to build a railway from a point "at or near the head of Lynn Canal, and thence by the most feasible route to the North boundary line of British Columbia."[19] In addition, the American firm, the Yukon Mining, Trading and Transportation Company, was given permission to build a line of railway from the head of steamboat navigation on Taku Inlet to Teslin Lake.[20] All three companies were eligible for land subsidies from the Provincial Government to the extent of 5,120 acres per mile under the provisions of the *Northern Railways Aid Act*.[21] However, nothing came of any of these proposals, and in 1899 their land subsidies were cancelled.

Of much greater importance was a proposal brought forward by Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann,[22] which project had the active support of

(18) "An Act to Incorporate the Stickeen and Teslin Railway, Navigation and Colonization Company," British Columbia *Statutes, 1898,* Victoria, 1898, chap. 71. The incorporators were Alexander Begg, Alexander L. W. Begg, Roderick Begg, and Ralph Begg, all of Orillia, Ontario. Capitalization was set at $2,500,000.

(19) "An Act to Incorporate the British Columbia and Yukon Railway Company," *ibid.,* chap. 49. The incorporators were H. C. Beeton, A. Drucker, and C. H. Wilkinson, of London, England, and E. E. Billingshurst, of Victoria, B.C.

(20) "An Act to authorize the Yukon Mining, Trading and Transportation Co. (Foreign) to construct a line of railway from the head of steamboat navigation on Taku Inlet to Teslin Lake," *ibid.,* chap. 77.

(21) "An Act to authorize the Grants of Land Subsidies for and in aid of Certain Lines of Railway in Cassiar District," *ibid.,* chap. 38.

(22) Sir William Mackenzie (1849–1923) and Sir Donald Mann (1853–1934), both natives of Ontario, had first got their start in the business and financial world as contractors during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They entered partnership in 1886, but it was not until 1895 that, with the assistance of two fellow contractors, James Ross and H. S. Holt, they seriously began to promote the planning and building of railways by buying up the charter of the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company. The first railway Mackenzie and Mann actually built was from Gladstone to Dauphin, Manitoba, and on to Lake Winnipegosis. Then the partners looked eastward and sought to establish a new line of railway between Winnipeg and Port Arthur, Ontario. In 1899 the Canadian Northern Railway Company came into existence. With the assistance of Z. A. Lash, K.C., in 1902 they incorporated as Mackenzie, Mann and Company, and they built the third Canadian transcontinental railway with rather dire results. The Stikine railway venture was typical of the men and their methods.

the Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, who, after an on-the-spot investigation in the fall of 1897, determined to open an all-Canadian route. On January 27, 1898, Sifton wrote to Major J. M. Walsh, Commissioner of Yukon Territory:—

> We signed a contract yesterday for the construction of a railroad from the Stikine River to Teslin Lake. The contract is in the hands of Messrs Mackenzie and Mann, and they are to build a wagon road in six weeks, with stopping places every twenty-five miles, and have a railroad in operation by September 1st. You will be able to take a steamboat on the river next September and come out like a Christian.[23]

To facilitate the construction of this line the Government was prepared to make a land grant of 25,000 acres per mile in the Yukon Territory[24] —the last land grant to be undertaken by the Federal Government. Mining rights were handed over to the company in these lands, on which they were to pay a royalty on any gold extracted. No competitive charter was to be granted for five years, and the regulative provisions of the Railway Act were waived for ten years. Although the legislation passed the House of Commons, some months later it was defeated in the Senate, and the scheme came to naught.[25]

Mackenzie and Mann sent out survey parties and even began some preliminary work. Tappan Adney recorded that railway "tickets were sold in the principal cities of Europe and the United States for through passage to Dawson," but when the unfortunate gold-seekers arrived at Telegraph Creek, they found no railway in existence, only a horse-trail of 150 miles on which there was insufficient forage for their animals. The steamer *Anglian* was constructed on Teslin Lake to ply to Dawson. It was Adney's opinion that a deputation of Yukon miners that had left Dawson in the autumn of 1897 for Ottawa was at least partially responsible for the defeat of the proposed Railway Bill. They opposed the granting of the franchise on the grounds that Mackenzie and Mann were expecting to make a profit of $34,000,000 on the deal; that the narrow-

(23) Quoted in John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in relation to His Times,* Toronto, 1931, p. 163. This was reported in the Victoria *Colonist,* January 27, 1898.

(24) In so far as construction in British Columbia was concerned, this was provided for in "An Act to Incorporate the Canadian Yukon Railway Company," British Columbia *Statutes, 1898,* chap. 50, and the railway was made eligible for the land-grant subsidies provided in the *Northern Railways Aid Act.*

(25) On this subject in addition to John W. Dafoe, *op. cit.,* pp. 151–188 *passim, see also* S. J. McLean, "National Highways Overland," in A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, *Canada and its Provinces,* Edinburgh, 1914, X, p. 453.

gauge railway would be useless for seven months of the year. It was estimated that 3,750,000 acres of mineral lands in the Yukon would be handed over.[26] Other authorities gave much lower figures and, doubtless, political factors entered into the decision in the Canadian Senate. But the entire incident is a good example of the psychology of the gold-rush.

Still another proposal to utilize the Stikine route must be mentioned. One of the principal opponents of the Mackenzie and Mann venture was Sir Charles Tupper, veteran leader of the Conservative Party. At the time he was chairman of the London board of directors of an English company which, on December 11, 1897, had been registered in Victoria as The Klondyke Mining, Trading and Transportation Company of London, with capitalization of £250,000. Its mining department was under the management of G. A. Strickland, and its trading and transportation department was headed by the Honourable Edgar Dewdney, recently retired as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Associated with him in a local board of directors were J. T. Bethune, C. H. Lugrin, and Caldwell Ashworth. The Victoria *Colonist* gave the following summary of its plans:—

> Already one ocean steamer has been purchased and will reach Victoria in January. River steamers for the Stickeen and Yukon will be constructed or purchased. Trading stations will be established at suitable points. An interesting feature of the company's business will be the maintenance of a line of transportation during the present winter from Wrangell to Teslin Lake, using two-horse sleighs. When the ice breaks up passengers taken there by the line will be carried by the company to Dawson City. The company will at the earliest possible day forward supplies up the Stickeen on the ice, and expects by having a strong force of teams constantly at work to be able to keep a good snow road open. The plan is to take care of the men from the day they leave Victoria until they reach Dawson City, providing them with food, shelter and transportation.[27]

Later in December the company began advertising "The Klondyke —a great Through Water Route from Victoria to Dawson City." An expedition "accompanied by eighty teams of horses, sleighs and three trains of dogs" was to be led over the route by Dewdney and Ashworth. They were to leave Victoria on the steamer *Amur*,[28] which they had

(26) Tappan Adney, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

(27) Victoria *Colonist*, December 11, 1897.

(28) The steamer *Amur* was a three-masted steel screw steamer built at Sunderland, England, in 1890, of 907 tons, with the following dimensions: Length, 216 feet; breadth, 28.1 feet; and depth, 11.2 feet. *Lloyds Register of British and Foreign Shipping, 1902–3*, London, 1902. She was brought out to this coast by the

brought out from England for the run to Wrangell, about February 15, and from thence the party was to proceed over the ice on the Stikine River to Glenora or Telegraph Creek and follow a snow road to Teslin Lake.

At Teslin Lake boats and scows will be built to convey the party and their outfits to Dawson City as soon as the Hootalinqua opens; that is the expedition will follow the ice down that fine navigable stream, thereby avoiding the dangerous White Horse rapids, and arrive at Dawson City at the earliest possible date thereafter in the spring.[29]

For a fee of $500 the company thus undertook to provide transportation, food, and shelter from the time of leaving Victoria until arrival at Dawson, and free carriage of 400 pounds of luggage. Actually the *Amur* did not sail until March 3.[30] Dewdney was in charge of the expedition, but he went no farther than Wrangell, for by March 12 he was back in Victoria with a report from C. J. McLennan, in charge of the company's river operations, that 15 miles of road had already been opened.[31] As might be expected, the original plans were impossible of completion, but it is to this organization that Smith makes reference in his diary as the "Dewdney outfit."[32]

Such were the conditions when John Smith and his party set out for the Klondike in 1898. He was indeed fortunate that one of his partners was a carpenter, and that he was himself accustomed to hard manual labour and to dealing with emergencies as they arose. John Smith's diary sheds new light on the Stikine–Teslin–Dawson trail.[33]

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VANCOUVER, B.C.

Klondyke Mining, Trading and Transportation Company in 1898, and after the collapse of this venture she was sold to the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company in 1899.

(29) Victoria *Colonist,* December 21, 1897.

(30) *Ibid.,* March 4, 1898.

(31) *Ibid.,* March 13, 1898.

(32) *See* entry in the diary under date April 6. Other writers sometimes referred to this expedition as the "Tupper outfit."

(33) An interesting short account of this route was written by Alexander Begg, "The Stickeen–Teslin Route," *B.C. Mining Record,* III (December, 1897), pp. 26–27.

RECORD OF TRIP TO DAWSON, 1898*

March 15th 1898. Left home for Vancouver, in company of Jack McLean,[1] en route to Dawson City, N.W.T. We drove into Westminster with Timlick's[2] wagon & went on from there to Vancouver by train. G. Alderson[3] took our two horses over for us by road, & put them in a livery stable to await the departure of the steamer " Islander "[4] for Wrangel.[5]

16. The steamer was to have left today, but owing to an accident she was detained in Victoria, and as we could get no definite information as to when she was likely to arrive we dare not leave the town. We spent the day in getting our outfit together and having it taken down to the wharf. We also made an arrangement with a Carpenter, Joseph Bennett[6] of Sapperton, to go with us, we to give him his grub, etc, & he to assist us in any way possible.

17 & 18. Waiting about in Vancouver. It was very wearisome, as we were so near home & yet we could not leave the town. We also had to exercise the horses every day. There was no room on the " Islander " for Bennett

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* In the preparation of the introduction and foot-notes to this diary the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mrs. S. P. Jones, of Whonnock, B.C.; to Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Miss Madge Wolfenden, and Mr. A. F. Flucke, of the staff of the Provincial Archives; and to Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, who, years ago, made a study of the Klondike gold-rush.

(1) Presumably John Beeton McLean, a farmer at Coquitlam, according to *Henderson's British Columbia Gazeteer and Directory . . . for 1898,* Victoria and Vancouver, 1898, p. 152.

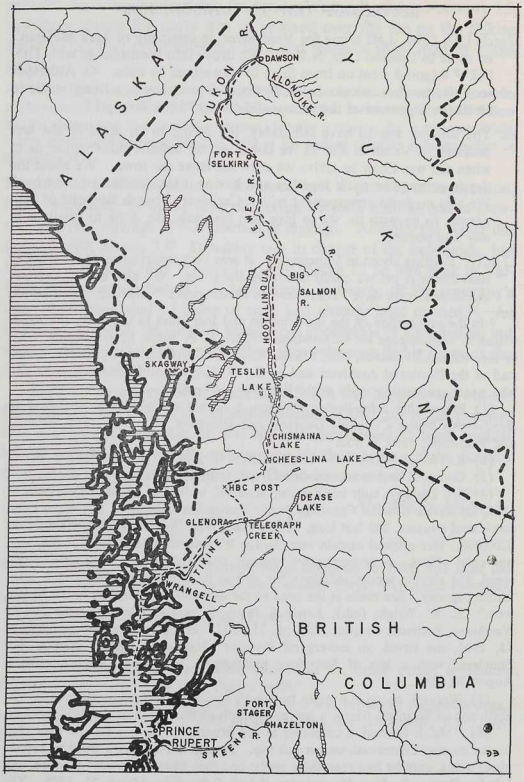
(2) R. Timlick is also listed as a farmer at Coquitlam. *Ibid.,* p. 152.

(3) George Alderson was another farmer from Coquitlam. *Ibid.,* p. 152.

(4) S.S. *Islander,* built in Glasgow, Scotland, arrived at Victoria December 9, 1888, for service with the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company. She was a twin-screw steel steamer, 240 feet long, 42 feet beam, and 14.8 feet hold, and cost over $200,000. Her original captain was George W. Robertson, and John T. Walbran was chief officer. A contemporary account described her as possessing "great speed, has elegant accommodations for several hundred passengers, and a large freight capacity. She ranks at the head of the modern-built steamers in the Northwest." E. W. Wright (ed.), *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest,* Portland, Oregon, 1895, pp. 351–352. In the early morning of August 15, 1901, she struck an iceberg off Douglas Island near Juneau, Alaska, and foundered with a loss of forty-four passengers. Vancouver *News-Advertiser,* August 20, 1901.

(5) Wrangel, or, as it is more frequently spelled, Wrangell, is situated on the north end of Wrangell Island, a few miles south of the mouth of the Stikine River.

(6) " Mr. J. Bennett, a carpenter at the Brunette Mills, left for the Klondike, on the steamer Centennial, on her last trip. Bennett did not say a word to anyone about going, until he had everything ready, and then bade the ' boys ' goodbye, and left for Dawson." New Westminster *British Columbian,* March 21, 1898. The newspaper was in error as to the boat that Bennett took for his trip.


ALASKA
YUKON R.
DAWSON
KLONDIKE R.
YUKON
FORT SELKIRK
LEWES R.
PELLY R.
HOOTALINQUA R.
BIG SALMON R.
SKAGWAY
TESLIN LAKE
CHISMAINA LAKE
CHEES-LINA LAKE
HBC POST
DEASE LAKE
GLENORA
TELEGRAPH CREEK
TAKINE R.
WRANGELL
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
FORT STAGER
HAZELTON
PRINCE RUPERT
SKEENA R.

so he sailed ahead of us on a small & very cranky steamer the " Thistle,"[7] leaving at 10 p.m. on March 18th.

19. The " Islander " came in today at 6 p.m. & immediately commenced to load up. There was a big crowd & only those who got on first at Victoria could get berths to sleep in. We were glad to get some bales of hay to lie on. We had some trouble in getting the horses on board, but when once they were on, we got a very good stall for them. There were also on board 20 oxen, 6 other horses & about 100 dogs.

March 20 (Sunday). A lovely morning. We started at 6 a.m.[8] & watching Vancouver receding from our view, wondered, when we should see it again. The passengers, all of whom are bound for the Klondyke,[9] via either Wrangel or Skagway, seem a very decent & steady lot of men. The scenery is very beautiful only we are a little to early for it, to see it at its best, as where are now snow & ice will soon be lovely waterfalls. The whole way up to Wrangel, except just crossing Queen Charlotte Sound, the land is quite close on both sides. It is very mountainous & is much like sailing up some long narrow mountain lake. We saw quantities of ducks of various kinds, & some of the passengers amused themselves by shooting at them with their rifles. It is getting colder & we find out that our thick mackinaw clothes are not wind proof by any means.

22. Arrived at Wrangel at 2 p.m. today, thus making a very fast trip. The tide was out so the steamer was so far below the pier that we could not get the horses off until 2 a.m. on the 23rd & as the Pier is long, rotten, very narrow & no rails on the sides, it was not a very pleasant job to do in the darkness. However we got them safely ashore & finding it impossible to move about the town in the dark we tied them to a rail fence and patiently waited until morning. We then found that we had to move them to the other side of the bay, and as there are no streets in Wrangel passable for a horse, we led them across the mud at low water, to the other side to what is called " The Government bonded stables." This we found to consist of a small patch of boggy land, covered with snow, with no shelter of any kind whatever, & only one or two trees big enough to tie the horses to.

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(7) S.S. *Thistle* was a wooden screw steamer built in 1890 by McAlpine & Allen, of Vancouver, for her owner, Captain William Manson. She was 116 feet in length, 26 feet beam, and 9.4 feet in depth, with a registered tonnage of 222. *Lloyds Register of British and Foreign Shipping, 1892–93,* London, 1892. She made her trial run on September 28, 1890, and was subsequently used in the halibut trade, and during the Klondike gold-rush was pressed into service on the Skagway run. *Lewis & Dryden,* pp. 377, 421.

(8) " The str. Islander called at Vancouver, Saturday, on her way north, and left, about midnight, with over 350 Klondikers and their outfits, 20 oxen, horses, &. The str. Thistle left on Friday night, with 90 passengers and a full load of freight." New Westminster *British Columbian,* March 21, 1898.

(9) Smith uses this spelling consistently throughout his diary. The more common form of spelling is Klondike.

23. After making our horses as comfortable as possible we went back to the town & made arrangements with a small steamer called the " Louise "[10] to take our outfit & ourselves to " Cottonwood " Island,[11] which is about 6 miles distant & is just at the mouth of the Stickine River. Jack was to go with the horses at night and I was to follow with the outfit the next day. Wrangel is a dreadful place. It is built on a boggy hill side & is more an Indian settlement than anything else. There are several very fine " Totem " Poles in the town, most grotesquely & wonderfully carved, & as high as 60 feet. The indians choose a nice straight tree, cut off the top & peel it and then proceed to carve on it figures of men & animals & birds, & paint them. There are lots of toughs & gamblers in town & only one U.S. Marshall to act as police. We had some difficulty in getting all our outfit cleared thro the customs, & in looking it over found several things missing including our stove, so we bought another in Wrangel.

24. Jack left last night with the horses & I left today at noon. Bennett came in on the " Thistle " early this a.m. & we were very pleased to see him, as the steamer had been so slow coming up that we began to fear that she was lost. On our arrival at the Island we found everyone very busy getting ready to start up river, as it was freesing [*sic*] very sharp & the ice was firm & in good shape, whereas for four weeks previously it had been all water & slush. There was a large tent belonging to the company who brought us from Wrangel & we slept in that.

25. A lovely morning. Packed all our outfit onto the two sleighs we bought in Vancouver and another one 12 feet long which we got this a.m. & tied behind one of the other sleighs. Then at 12 o'clock we started on our 150 miles trip up the Stickine to Telegraph Creek.[12] Our horses " Star " & " Pete " were very fresh & the ice was good so we made good time & got to the 15 mile camp at night. As this had been several times previously used, we found places dug out in the deep snow for our horses & plenty of green fir boughs all ready cut for ourselves to sleep on. The Stickine is a very wide & rapid river, running between huge mountains & the scenery is very fine indeed & must be still more beautiful when the snow melts.

26. Fine & frosty. Arrived at the boundary line (32 miles from the Island) between Alaska & B.C. about noontime. There is a mounted police sta-

(10) S.S. *Louise* was a small steamer of 328 tons registry, 165 feet in length, 36.5 feet in beam, and 5 feet in depth. She had been built at Unalaska in 1898. *1912 Record of American and Foreign Shipping,* New York, 1912, p. 709.

(11) This was a small group of low wooded islands at the mouth of the Stikine. They were named in 1887 by Lieutenant-Commander C. M. Thomas, U.S.N. *See* M. Baker, *Geographic Dictionary of Alaska,* Washington, D.C., p. 198.

(12) Telegraph Creek was so named because supplies for the Collins Overland Telegraph Company were brought up the Stikine to that point in preparation for the construction of the line north from Fort Stager. Because of the successful completion of the Atlantic cable, this portion of the telegraph-line was abandoned.

tion here & goods are examined & if bought in the states, duty must be paid. Ours being all bought in B.C. we had no trouble at all. At this point, and every day after this, we met men going back. They had been strugling [*sic*] all winter on the ice & there had been nothing but snow & cold rains, making the ice quite unfit to travel on, & they were disheartened & tired out. We were exceedingly fortunate in getting hard frosts & fine weather all the way up. After leaving the boundary,[13] we could only make about seven miles, as a blizzard of small snow was blinding us, Jack walked in front, & I drove " Star " & Bennett drove " Pete," but at last we could no longer see the traill [*sic*] so had to stop in an exposed place with no shelter whatever. We fed the horses, put up the tent & were having supper when I failed to hear the horses eating. We rushed out & sure enough, both were gone. A nice plight to be in. It was still snowing heavily & was almost dark. We started out opposite ways after them, but I had not gone far before I met a man leading them, to our great relief. We made sure of them this time, but it is not easy to secure a horse, if there are no trees, as you can't drive a stake into the ice & if you tie them to the sleighs they pull everything about. It is very tiring for the horses, as they won't lie down on the snow & ours never laid down until many days after this when we got onto some bare ground. We did not have any trouble with the cold ourselves. The tent soon warmed up & we found our sleeping bags very cosy. Of course early in the mornings it was cold & if our clothes happened to get wet the night before they were always frozen quite stiff & had to be thawed out.

27 (Sunday). Started at 6 a.m. We traveled just behind McKenzie & Mann's railway outfit[14] & they broke the traill [*sic*] for us. We had very good going for some time, & then we got into a bad place where the ice was rotten & we had to take the horses out & haul the sleighs with block & tackle. Two of the railway teams went thro' the ice but were pulled out again. We had 2 or 3 miles of bad going over a deep snow drift, when the snow was full of holes, so that you just plunged up & down, making it bad for the horses & breaking the sleighs. The mountains on both sides of the river are magnificent & we passed a big glacier which looks lovely in the sunshine, the deep crevasses in it, being of a bright green tint.

28. Very fine a.m. Had 4½ hours of very good going until dinnertime & then it got soft again & the river shews signs of breaking up. There is almost always, running water on one side or the other & occasionally on

(13) The International Boundary had not yet been definitely settled, but a provisional boundary-line had been established. The island in question was probably Wrangell Island, but may have been the Cottonwood Islands.

(14) Even although the fate of their bill in the Canadian Parliament had not been finally decided, Mackenzie and Mann had gone ahead with preliminary work. A correspondent to the Victoria *Colonist*, April 15, 1898, reported ". . . one section of the Mann & Mackenzie party with about thirty-five light teams had reached Glenora before he left [about April 1st or 2nd] and other sections were to be found at intervals of about thirty miles along the route."

both sides of us. It began to snow about 4 p.m. & snowed all night. We are catching up & passing all the teams on the river. Our horses are fresh, while most of the others have been struggling for a month thro' the snow & slush which was all over the river until this frost set in. The men with handsleighs have a hard time of it, always having to make relays, so that even if they can take half their outfit at once they must travel 30 miles in order to make 10. We saw a flock of Ptarmigan today. They are very pretty looking birds in their white plumage. We also see large flocks of little snow birds, & a great number of ravens.

29. Did not get off until 7:30 a.m. A team went thro' the ice just ahead of us, but we managed to get round the hole safely. The ice is getting rotten and the going is bad & very unsafe. We were very nearly in the water once, one end of the sleigh swinging quite over the edge of the ice.

30. There is quite a lot of water on the ice today. At noon we passed thro' the canyon,[15] where the river is quite narrow & runs between high rocks. The ice & snow were piled up in great masses at the other end, & we had to double our teams (put both horses onto one sleigh) in order to get through. It is now raining & is very mild. Some of the teams with poor horses make very slow progress, & the unfortunate dogs too have a wretched time of it whenever the going is bad.

31. We had a bad time of it last night. We were just going to camp, being all very tired, when we came to a place where about 16 or 20 teams were camped. The men said, "You may as well unhitch, boys, you can get no further tonight." We found a team had just gone thro' the ice, the water was rushing furiously & there was a bridge of ice not more than 7 feet wide to cross over. While for some distance beyond it, the ice was all big cracks. We saw at once that our only chance to get over was to do it at once, as the ice was going fast, great pieces continually breaking off. So we took the horses out & led them over very carefully, partly unloaded the sleighs & drew them over with the blocks. Then we could find no place to camp until we had gone 1½ miles further & then we came to an outfit whose horses had played quite out. So we decided to stop there altho it was wet & slushy, but it was almost dark, & the horses (& ourselves too) were very tired. It is snowing heavily this a.m. & the ice is getting worse & worse. It has been raining almost all day, since 10 a.m. & there is 6 inches of water & slush on the top of the ice. It makes it very hard work walking, as we have to wear gum boots. I shall be very thankful to see the last of this river. We have passed hundreds of hand sleigh men & dog teams since we started & the great majority of them will never reach Telegraph Creek.

April 1. Fine again this morning. Had some fairly good going today & some very rough. We saw a man taking a photo of about 10 or 12 dog teams all stretched out in a line. Whenever the ice is good the dogs get along famously, but when it is bad or the snow is soft, they can hardly do any-

(15) Presumably the Lower Stikine Canyon, a truly formidable obstacle.

thing & they get thrashed unmercifully all day long. We reached Glenora[16] this evening. It is a wretched place of six or eight houses, & the men who live [in] them are all indian traders. The railway outfit have many tons of horse feed & supplies here & are putting up a huge tent.

2. Arrived at Telegraph Creek at noon today, & here I am thankful to say we leave the Stickine. It is 12 miles from Glenora & all the way was good except about 300 yards where the water was running over the ice rapidly & was a foot deep, & everything on the sleighs got very wet. We passed by one hole where McQuean of Vancouver, lost two horses & his sleigh only a few hours before we came up. Also one man went down under the ice in one hole & was carried down by the current & managed to get out at another hole some yards down. There are a number of very neatly built log cabins here, mostly inhabited by indians, & there are also 2 large stores, but they are almost sold out of everything. The country here is not nearly so mountainous & there seems to be lots of very good land fit for grazing stock & for farming, but the winters are long & very cold, going as low as −70° F. There are quite a number of outfits here, most of them bound for Teslin, but some are going to Dease Lake in the Cassiar Country.

3 (Sunday). We decided to stay here all today to give the horses a rest.[17] We walked a mile or two up the traill [*sic*] to see what it was like & found it very bad going. There is about 2 miles of very steep climbing to do, & the trail is only about 3 feet wide, in some places very rocky & in others all mud, & under the mud is ice. Our sleighs were rather too wide so we made a narrow wooden sleigh, but could only take up about 400 lbs at each trip. I wrote home from here, leaving my letter at one of the stores & it will be sent down the Stickine to Wrangel in a day or two, by dog team. Cost 50 cts. each letter.[18]

4. Moving up the hill all day. We pitched our tent about 3 miles up on a very uncomfortable place, there being about 3 feet of deep snow. While Jack was driving " Star " up on one trip, both horse & sleigh fell over into the ravine about 30 feet, but alighting in very deep snow no damage was done & we soon had everything hauled up again. I made the acquaintance today of Mr. Fripps, of Mission, B.C. who is going thro' to Dawson & is sketching & taking photos for the London Graphic.[19]

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(16) This little community had sprung into existence during the 1862–63 goldrush to the Stikine country.

(17) From Telegraph Creek the party began its trek overland to Teslin Lake.

(18) The cost of sending a letter from Telegraph Creek to Wrangell is fairly typical of the expenses incurred on the Stikine route.

(19) Charles E. Fripp was born September 4, 1854, and was the son of George A. Fripp, a well-known landscape artist. He was frequently commissioned by the London *Graphic* to undertake assignments for them all over the world. *Who Was Who, 1890–1916,* London, 1920, p. 261. According to a letter from Mrs. T. W. Fripp, of Victoria, B.C., " The Fripp you ask about was the elder brother 'Charles

5. Jack & Joe went on with the sleighs this a.m. with half loads, & I stayed behind at the tent, baking bread & getting our things into shape. It is snowing now & is wet & uncomfortable. There has been a long procession passing all day long of horse & dog teams & hand sleighs. Jack & Joe were not back until late. They report a bad trail in between high banks of snow so that it is impossible to pass one another, & on the return journey they were kept in one place for 3 hours, waiting for a chance to pass. Our horse "Pete" has a great dislike of the dog teams, & today he ran away but soon brought up against a stirrup & did not do much damage. As soon as the leading dog is passed, they all try & crowd into the trail again quite up against the horses legs.

6. A fine & frosty morning, so we started at 4 a.m. in order to take advantage of the frost. We were a few minutes too late in getting off as we were just behind the "Dewdney" outfit,[20] who have about 8 or ten horses & sleighs, & they are also taking 3 passengers, one of whom is Mr. Fripps the artist. Their horses did not keep to the trail very well, and were continually stepping off the frozen crust of the trail & getting down into the deep snow, so that we were kept for 2 or 3 hours behind them. If either horse or man goes only 1 foot off the trail, he is instantly floundering in

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E. Fripp' of both my husband and R. Mackay Fripp. He was the artist for the Graphic paper of London, England and travelled in many parts of the world sketching for that paper. He did live in Mission for a time and before that he and my husband lived together on our ranch at Hatzic. Later when he married he made his headquarters in England where he died." His death occurred on September 20, 1906. *Cf.* D. A. McGregor, "Fripp Painted B.C.'s Beauty," Vancouver *Province,* July 24, 1952. The Victoria *Colonist,* March 4, 1898, when reporting the departure of the "Dewdney outfit" stated: "One of the saloon passengers who will make Dawson his destination is Chas. E. Fripp, a correspondent and sketch artist of the London Graphic." Fripp's reports were published in the London *Daily Graphic,* but several of his sketches appeared in the weekly London *Graphic,* August 27 and September 3 and 10, 1898. One of these is reproduced in this *Quarterly.* Fripp's reports were none too complimentary to the Canadian route, judging by his account in the *Graphic* of September 3, 1898. "After the delays I myself had experienced on the Stikine river, and the accounts of the unsuccessful efforts by parties who attempted the journey between January and March . . . after delays from changes of temperature softening the snow and forming foot-deep slush, which heavy sleighs could only pass by laboriously making a trail . . . it is only possible for me to conclude that information such as that is not worth the snap of the fingers. . . . It seems as if the Canadian, instead of opening up the route only wishes to get people to spend their money in the country, and thus to kill the golden egg without delay." The editor of the journal commented: "At any rate the route is a failure this year."

(20) The Victoria *Colonist,* April 15, 1898, gave the following information regarding the progress of this undertaking: "Mr. Saunders also heard of the Dewdney party, one half of which has landed at Glenora. The other half, according to the progress they were making, ought also to be there soon."

4 feet or more of wet soft snow & it is very difficult to keep the horses just in the middle, indeed some of them, when tired, step off purposely & lie there in the snow & it takes quite a long time & a lot of hard work to get them back on the solid part again. I saw a big flock of Ptarmigan today. Tonight we camp about 3 miles over the summit & about 13 miles from Telegraph Creek, on a swampy flat, where the snow is not very deep & a small clump of Spruce trees give both shelter & firewood.

7. Our difficulties are increasing. The trail is blocked & owing to the deep soft snow on each side, we can't pass, & if anything happens to those in front of us, we just have to wait. We can only take half loads now. We have camped tonight on the top of a tremendous hill which runs down to the Talntan[21] river. We shall have to let our sleighs down with a rope for ½ a mile as it is almost a sheer descent & is all solid ice. The horses we lead down by the pack traill.

8. Got everything safely down the hill today, after some very hard work. We crossed the river & camped just on the other side, making about 1 mile travelled today.

9. Moved up the mountain today, making six trips with each horse. The hill was about as steep as Telegraph, but not nearly so rough or so dangerous. After getting up we went on about 3 miles further, over fairly good sleighing & taking half loads, then another big hill to go down to another river. Going down this hill we fastened big fir trees with all the limbs left on behind the sleighs to act as brakes. We had about 1½ miles over a lake of very good going.

10 (Sunday). The teams are gone forward with half loads & I am staying behind at the tent, baking bread, etc. There was a sharp frost last night & it is a lovely day. There are some very nice fellows from Missouri, U.S.A. camped close to us. The south side of the hills are mostly bare of snow, but it is very deep & soft on the North side. We came up today, with the first lady we have seen on the traill. She is from New Zealand & [is] on her honeymoon.

11. We came today about 14 miles, & now have to make narrow sleighs, 21 in. wide, as the traill is so narrow. The route was thro' a very narrow valley with high mountains on each side. Some places were quite open & in summer would be swamps, others had very small timber growing in them. After dinner we could only make 2 miles over the worst piece we have yet come. We camped on a steep hill side & had considerable difficulty in staying in the tent all night, as we kept slipping down the hill side all the time.

12. Only came 1½ miles today, as the trail is thro' the brush & it all has to be cut out. The[re] are quite a number of us working at it. Lost my pocket knife today.

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(21) "Talntan" is Smith's spelling of Tahltan. This river is a tributary of the Stikine, which joins it some 12 to 15 miles above Telegraph Creek.

13. Came five miles today over a terrible traill. The ice in the river[22] was very rotten & every now & again we would have to take to the banks & cut our way along. The last half mile was thro' a lovely piece of country, just like a park with beautiful clumps of trees. We camped at the foot of a tremendous hill where there is an old, deserted, Hudson Bay Post.[23] We are now 50 miles from Telegraph. There are a lot of Indians here, who are earning big money by packing up the big hill. We are making very narrow wooden sleighs to get up this hill with. It is a terrible climb of almost 4 miles & is all bare ground & in some places it is very sticky mud, with ice under it.

14. Have been working with a lot of men all day on the hill, widening out the worst places. In some places the ground is frozen like iron & we can do nothing with it. Two men came in to supper with us, just in from Teslin Lake & they will carry mail to Telegraph for us.

15. Moving stuff up the hill today. We can only make 2 trips a day, & take 250 lbs to each horse.

16. Moving stuff up the hill today. The horses & men are all getting played out on this terrible hill. Owing to our having good horses, we are getting along better than anyone else. Those who left Telegraph with us, are now behind & we catch up new people every day.

17 (Sunday). Rested all a.m. In aft: Jack & I went up the hill to tramp the snow & make some sort of a road for the teams. There were 16 more men, but we could only do about 2 miles. It was very hard work. We walked in 2 & 2s, & the two in front went on their hands & knees, & then when they were tired they fell back & the next two took their place, & so on.

18. The weather keep[s] lovely. We are still at the foot of the hill. It is crowded at the top & no good place to camp in. Nothing but soft snow 4 feet deep. Went out with my rifle in aftn. but saw nothing. The country is very beautiful here. A great many men from Westminster & Vancouver are here.

19. Moved tent & everything up to the summit.

20. Moving on thro' deep snow, awfully hard going, except where we crossed four very small lakes were [*sic*] it was pretty good.

21. Came about 6 miles with ½ loads on.

22. Travelling very slowly. The country is more rolling since leaving the summit & the nights are much colder, but the days are lovely & bright.

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(22) The river here mentioned is probably a tributary of the Sheslay River. On Dyer's map it is termed "Kakets River."

(23) On Dyer's map there is a Hudson's Bay Company post located approximately 50 miles north-west of Telegraph Creek which is called Egnell. At the present time there is a telegraph-station on the Dominion Government telegraph-line at this point called Egnell.

After dinner we travelled 8 miles over 2 small lakes & a river, which was splendid going.

23. Started about 5:30 a.m. & came 4 miles over a river & then 4 miles of rough bare ground. The country is now flat & swampy & covered with small bushes. We got some fresh Caribou meat today & found it very good.

24 (Sunday). Came about 10 miles. Some bare ground & some wading thro' 12 inches of water on top of the ice.

25. Did 7 or 8 miles, some very rough & part over lakes, which was mostly good.

26. Did about 10 miles down a narrow creek, full of willow bushes & covered with Moose tracks at the bottom it ran into the Nyaline River.[24] Crossing this river was very risky. It was running furiously, & we had to follow it for about 1 mile, crossing & recrossing it, as the ice was best sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. It had high, rocky banks, about 150 ft. high & was very pretty. At the other side is the Nyaline Hill, which has only a very narrow pack traill,[25] so that we must pack our stuff up on our backs for ¾ mile & then it gets better.

27. Packing up the hill all day long. There was a little grass here, & we gave the horses a rest.

28. The ice on the river gave way today, & those behind us, will be delayed for some time, until the river falls a little. We got everything up the hill today & camped on the shore of a small lake. The road to this lake was all thro' swamps & bogs.

29. Did 3 miles over a most villainous trail. Swampy bogs & water 6 to 12 inches deep.

30. Did about 7 or 8 miles. Passed over 4 lakes when it was good, but rather soft & wet near their edges. We saw 3 Caribou on one of the lakes. Joe went after them, but after floundering thro' deep snow for 2 or 3 hours, gave up the chase in disgust.

May 1 (Sunday). A lovely day very hot. Came to a lake 4 miles long[26] where we camped for the aftn & night & we also sold our horses, but had the use of them to haul our outfit to the other end of the lake. This lake was only passable early in the morning, as over the thick ice was a foot of water & then thin ice which was soft & rotten after the sun got up. There is a large outfit here (part being ahead at Teslin Lake) who have machinery to build a steamer with on Teslin lake. They are building

(24) The Nyaline River would appear to be the Nahlin River, a tributary of the Inklin River, which joins the Taku River flowing into Taku Inlet.

(25) This refers to an old Hudson's Bay Company trail.

(26) This lake would seem to be Chismaina Lake. The river is not named on most modern maps. Presumably the Smith party built its boat at this lake, which, in the entry for May 25, is named Long Lake.

scows & will move all their stuff to Teslin as soon as the ice goes out, & the river raises a little. At the end of this lake is a river 45 miles long, which flows into Teslin Lake.

2. Moved to the end of the lake, very early this a.m. where we found quite a small town of tents & everyone busy whipsawing lumber to build their boats with. The ice is almost out of the river but the river is not high enough yet to go down it.

3. Jack started to walk into Teslin today, with the engineer of the steamboat company. It is very pretty where we are camped. The lake in front & high hills all round, covered with green timber. The snow still being about 2 feet deep. The weather is hot, just like July, & the camp looks very picturesque & animated.

4. Shot a duck this a.m. The rivers are now beginning to open & the country is full of ducks & geese. We are getting some logs today to whipsaw into boards to build our boat with.

5. Cloudy, with one or two showers. Saw a lot of swallows today.

6 & 7. Washing & mending clothes, etc. Jack is not yet back from Teslin so we can't get on with the boat building, as he & I do the whipsawing, but it does not matter as the ice is not out of the lake yet & the river is very low, tho' rising a little every day.

8 (Sunday). A very windy & rather cold day. There are no "Sundays" work going on for the whole seven days in the week.

9. Shot 3 grouse with my rifle. Got out a lot of natural "knees" for the boat.

10. Making boat knees all day.

11. Jack got back from Teslin today. It will be 2 weeks yet before the ice goes out of Teslin Lake. Two boats left today for Teslin & had only gone 2 miles when one was swamped in the rapids. They were loaded with steamboat machinery.

12. Whipsawing lumber all day. It is very hard & rather difficult work.

13. Whipsawing lumber all day. It is very hard & rather difficult work.

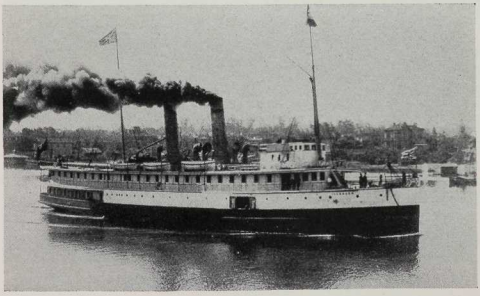
14. Whipsawing lumber all day. Joe Bennett started laying out the boat. All this time people have been straggling in every morning. The ice on the lake is now too rotten for teams, but men & dogs cross it early in the a.m.

15 (Sunday). Had some hymn singing in camp tonight.

16. Whipsawing all day. Sent a letter home by 2 men who were going back.

17. Working on boat all day. She is flatbottom, sharp at boat [both] ends, 21 ft. 9 in. long, 3 ft. 6 in. wide in bottom, & 5 feet on top. Everyone in camp is boat building, there must be about 40 boats now being built, & good timber is getting scarce. The snow is almost gone, & the ice is

The *Thistle*.



The *Islander*.

Telegraph Creek, painted by Charles E. Fripp and published in the weekly London *Graphic*.

Dawson City, showing Klondike City.

slowly breaking up, but otherwise there is not the slightest sign of spring yet.

18. Working on boat all day.

19. Caulking boat. One small boat started yesterday & capsized, & the two men in her lost everything they had. This is a terrible river, all rocks, snags & rapids.

20. Very windy. Finished boat.

21. Started this a.m. for Teslin & made 38 miles to a waterfall 30 feet high. We had some exceedingly narrow escapes in the rapids, but only struck one rock & managed to get along all right. We crossed 2 small lakes, & in places, the river itself, was deep & smooth, but for some 20 miles, we just flew along, in & out of rocks & whirlpools & snags.

22 (Sunday). Stayed in camp all day. The falls are very beautiful & to pass them we haul[ed] the boat overland about ¼ mile. Some indians shot a moose yesterday & caught a little moose calf about 2 days old. It is a queer looking little thing & has a very long & ugly upper lip. Walked a little way down the river today. It looks rather worse than better & is running like a mill race.

23. Portaged all our outfit & our boat over by noon time, & went down the river for six miles. The first mile & a half was very bad, nothing but sharp turns & huge rocks, but the rest of the way the river was lovely, with a nice steady current. We camped at night at a spot where we must make a 3 mile portage, as there are rapids & falls that no boat could get through. These portages take up no end of time & make lots of hard work as everything has to be packed on our backs.

24. Packing all day ½ way across the portage. The traill is thro' woods & is covered with wet spongy moss, but it is not as hard as the big hill was. The river & scenery here is lovely. The banks are about 200 feet high & quite straight up & down, & the rapids look beautiful from the top of the banks.

25. Took all our outfit half way across & 2 loads quite across. We have only to take the boat 1½ miles & then we can take her down empty to where all the stuff is cached. We took the boat a short distance today with blocks, but is [it] was awfully hard work. Joe is building a boat below the rapids for some Californians & one of them " Mr. Mason " is working with us in Joe's place. Out of 15 boats that left our last camp on Long Lake, no less than 6 have been completely smashed up.

26. Finished packing our outfit over the portage & got the boat a little further, but it was such terribly hard work that we gave it up until tomorrow. The mosquitoes are now getting troublesome, & the trees & bushes are getting a green tinge on them.

27. Got our boat over & took her down to the lower portage where our outfit was cached. It was the worst piece of water I have ever seen a boat go

down. It was 2½ miles & we ran it in 10 minutes, then to make a landing we had to throw a long rope ashore & men caught it & twisted it quickly round a stump. Just as we were starting our boat another boat set out & almost immediately it had a huge hole knocked in it & the 4 men in her jumped ashore as she was swept past by the water. The river is about 40 yds. wide & except that it is wider, it reminds me very much of the " Stride " at Bolton Abbey.[27] I was not at all afraid as there was no time, once you are fairly started it is all you can do to keep clear of rocks that you think of nothing else & in a few minutes it is all over. Joe finished building the Californians boat today. It is built below this portage so that they saved this trouble & danger. It is lovely weather.

May 28 (My birthday). We left our camp this a.m. & arrived at Teslin Lake about 9 a.m. Teslin town site is on a hill side overlooking the lake, & on the opposite side of the lake to the saw mill. It is covered with a dense growth of small timber, over part of which the fire has run this spring. There are numerous tents & about six log stores & saloons going up, but only 2 houses finished so far, and as the Stickine-Teslin route has proved a complete failure (being much longer and much more expensive than the Skagway traill) the town is not likely to be much of a place. The lake itself is about 100 miles long[28] & about 7 miles wide. It has low mountains on each side of it & three or four quite small islands. We rowed over to the saw mill this aft. It is only one small circular saw. They are building a steamboat 75 ft. long for Dawson trade. Food here is very scarce, flour & bacon being $1 per lb. & hardly to be had at that price. We shall stay here some days as the lower end of the Lake is still blocked with ice.

29 (Sunday). Stayed in camp all day. The little saw mill has a steam whistle which blows at 7 a.m. 12 noon & 6 p.m. so we are quite civilized here.

30. Walked back on the pack trail to the Canyon, to see if the mail has come in, as we hear it is on the way from Telegraph Creek. Two more boats have been upset & everything lost & 9 dogs drowned.

31. Still waiting for the ice to go out. Crossed the lake today & walked into the country on the other side. It is hilly & swampy with hardly any open land or any grass. The timber is mostly small spruce & cottonwoods, & there is quite a dense growth of berry bushes of various kinds, & everywhere are tracks of moose & caribou. The country must be a hunter's paradise at the proper season.

June 1. Rowed down the lake a couple of miles to a small rocky island which was completely covered with blue flowers. Coming back we had a taste

(27) Bolton Abbey is situated in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 22 miles northwest of Leeds.

(28) Smith exaggerates the length of Teslin Lake. It is 75 to 80 miles long. The modern town of Teslin on the Alaska Highway is on the east side of the lake at the mouth of the Nisutline River. The Teslin townsite referred to here was evidently nearer the head of the lake.

of what the lake can do when a sudden wind gets up. Jack has gone back a few miles today, hoping to get news of some sort.

June 6th. Started off in our boat for Dawson. On the lake we were delayed ½ day by headwinds, but we reached the end of the lake by 10:30 p.m. of the 9th. In many places the lake has a sandy beach like the sea shore & is fine for bathing. The mosquitoes being particularly troublesome on the shore where there were any bushes, we always endeavoured to camp for meals or sleeping on some sandy spit where they were not so numerous, as soon as we were out of the lake we got the benefit of the swift current, first of the Hootalinqua,[29] then the Lewes,[30] & finally the Yukon River. The river scenery all the way down is very fine. On the Hootalinqua especially the benches are wonderful. They vary from a few feet in some places to 200 ft. in others above the river. On the top & their steep sides also, are as smooth as the finest tennis lawn, they are covered with grass & clumps of trees making a most lovely & park-like country. In other places the banks would be 200 to 300 ft. high, & would be cut into deep ravines every few yards, making the banks look like castle battlements. Everywhere we saw millions & millions of "sand martins," & in one place we saw six whiteheaded eagles nests, all in about ¼ mile of each other, & they all had the old birds on them. We also saw a few ducks & geese. Here & there we would come across traces of early prospectors, some of the old camps being apparently 1 dozen years old, judging by the tree stumps left. We saw no other boats until we reached the foot of the Hootalinqua, where the Lewes River begins, & here is a police station & all the travel via "Skagway" & "Dyea" enters the river. From this point on, all the way to Dawson there were never less than a dozen boats in sight & at some points, such as the Big & Little Salmon & Pelly Rivers, there were hundreds. At the mouth of the "Pelly" especially, (which is a big river 850 miles long) were hundreds of men, building "Caches" up on the trees, to store their outfits while they went up river prospecting. These caches are usually built by selecting 4 trees growing fairly close together, cutting them off about 12 feet from the ground, & then building a little house on top. This keep[s] them out of the way of bears, especially if something is left hanging loose, & also somewhat lessens the danger from fires. It was always, at the points, a most animated & busy scene. Some men would be building caches others small boats to pole up stream with, while the ground would be covered with dried fruit & rice & all kinds of eatables spread out to dry, after, maybe,

(29) The Hootalinqua River flowing out of Teslin Lake is now called the Teslin River.

(30) The Lewes River takes its rise in a series of lakes on the boundary between British Columbia and Yukon Territory. Lake Labarge may be considered to be a widening of this river. On modern maps the name "Lewes River" appears north of its confluence with the Teslin River. Smith's statement is, therefore, possibly correct. This river was named by Robert Campbell for John Lee Lewes of the Hudson's Bay Company.

some upset in the rapids. There is no trouble at all from Lewes River to Dawson, altho' the current is exceedingly swift, except the Five Fingers & Rink Rapids. There a [are] numerous sandbars, which don't hurt anything, but if a big heavy scow or raft runs on one it is hard work to get it off & sometimes they are stuck for good. The " Five Fingers " are caused by 4 huge rocks, some 100 ft. or more high, which standing in the bed of the river, breaking it up into five narrow channels, & also backing the water up. The right hand channel is the only available one; it is not dangerous if the boat is kept well in the middle, & allowed to take the dip, which is quite 3 feet, as slowly as possible. Then after dropping down this dip, you encounter about 10 or 12 huge ripples & then it is all over. Of course the pace you go through is tremendous. Three miles further on, a line of small rocks stretching almost across the river form the " Rink Rapids," but the right hand channel here is quite easy. There are also numerous log jams to be avoided, but careful steering & a good look out will carry you safely on. The principal stopping place on the river is " Fort Selkirk "[31] which is an old Hudsons Bay post. The N.W.M. Police have large barracks here. It is just where the Pelly joins the Yukon, but on the opposite side. Teslin Lake, Hootalinqua, Lewes & Yukon River are practically in one straight line & it is hard to say when you leave one & enter the other. All the other rivers enter on more or less of an angle.

June 17. Dawson City at last. We stayed first at " Klondyke City "[32] (better known locally as " Louse-town) thinking it was Dawson, but found that Dawson was on the other side of the Klondyke.

The town is built on a flat of some 600 or 700 acres, the entire centre of which is a dreadful & evil smelling swamp. It is surrounded on all sides (& opposite, across the Yukon) by high hills. All along the Yukon the bank is sufficiently high & firm for the main street (it is flooded for a day or two when the ice goes out). This street is knee deep in mud (or was) but is gradually being made passable by putting down boards & piling sawdust on top. At the far end of the main street, farthest from the Klondyke, are some huge warehouses belonging to the big Alaska trading companys. The rest of the street is made up of saloons & gambling rooms, except on the river side which is lined with small stores of all kinds, mostly temporary ones of boards, for summer use only. The

(31) Fort Selkirk was originally founded by Robert Campbell in 1848 on a point between the Yukon and Pelly Rivers, but because of flooding caused by ice-jams in 1852 the post was moved across the river and a short distance below the mouth of the river, where its remains are still visible. It was burned by the Indians on August 1, 1852. It was used by the Royal Northwest Mounted Police during the Klondike excitement and was reoccupied by the Hudson's Bay Company in June, 1938. *See* C. Parnall, "Campbell of the Yukon," *The Beaver,* June, 1942, pp. 4–7; September, 1942, pp. 16–18; and December, 1942, pp. 23–27.

(32) For a description of Klondike City *see* Tappan Adney, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–178.

saloons, & all permanent buildings are of logs, chinked with moss & with 6 in. of soil on the roofs which are almost flat, there being hardly any rain here. The hill at the back, which is being rapidly stripped of timber, is covered with log cabins & tents. There are literally thousands & thousands of tents, so crowded together that it is quite a job to find your own. There are three hospitals several chapels & an English Church. The streets are thronged by crowds of men walking backwards & forwards with apparently nothing to do. The police have large barracks & offices here, all well built of logs sawed flat on three sides the fourth side having the bark left on, being the outside. There is a very nice English C.M.S. clergyman here,[33] who, with his wife, has been about six years, at various missions on the Yukon. The Klondyke River is a broad, shallow, rushing stream of very clear water, the Yukon being an exceedingly muddy river, & the two run side by side & do not mix until almost past Dawson. To get to the mines, which are all on the creeks running *into* the Klondyke (not on the Klondyke itself), you have to cross the Klondyke by a narrow foot bridge (a kind of suspension bridge) which costs the modest sum of 50 cts. each way. Three miles up the river is another bridge & ferry, the charge being the same. The largest Creek is Bonanza & fifteen miles up it, over a villainous trail, is Eldorado, which is probably the richest Creek in the world. At the junction of these two creeks, called " The Forks " there is quite a town of almost 100 log cabins & two hotels. On Eldorado Creek I have seen from No. 36 over *100 lbs.,* (no mistake, *not* oz) of gold, washed out in 24 hours. Of course this does not go on the year thro', it takes months of very expensive labour to get ready for the " Wash-up ". All the creeks, almost, head from one central mountain called " The Dome," which is something over 3000 ft. high, & from its top the whole country for miles & miles may be seen, & in the distance the Rocky Mountains. Everywhere, (even on remote creeks) you meet men prospecting, or toiling along with their packs on their back, & always in " indian file " as the trails are seldom wide enough to walk two abreast. There are a large number of pack animals (horses, mules, & donkeys) packing up the principal creeks, the charge varying from 20 cents per lb. to " The Forks " (15 miles) to 60 cents per lb. to " Dominion Creek " (45 miles), but you never see a man without his pack. The nights being in June & July, just as light as the day, is the best time for travelling, as it is then cool & pleasant, but the days are very hot. There is frost on almost every night throughout the summer. Our time in Dawson was mostly spent out in the country, travelling up & down the creeks, hunting for a location, but every likely spot within 50 miles of Dawson is staked out, tho' all the claims are by no means working, only a very small per

(33) In the *Church Missionary Intelligencer,* n.s. XXII (1897), pp. 848–849, Bishop Bompas wrote from Fort Yukon on July 30, 1897, that the Rev. F. F. Flewelling of the Canadian Church Missionary Association, who was ordained on March 28, 1896, had been placed in charge of the mission to the Indians in the Klondike, and that the Rev. R. J. Bowen had been placed in charge of the mission to the miners.

cent of them. There is always a crowd of men waiting outside the Post Office & the Recorder's office. I waited 7 hours, for my turn at the P.O. one day, & then got no letter, also having occasion to go to the Recorder's Office to ask one or two questions, I waited from Monday until 3 p.m. on Friday before my turn came.

Finding that there was apparently not the slightest chance to get anything I decided to return home, & took one of the river steamers " The John Cudahy "[34] to St. Michael's, 1800 miles downstream from Dawson, on August 11th. We were only six days going down to St. Michaels, though the up trip takes 15 to 20 days. There is nothing on [of] special interest going down the Yukon except the ½ doz. or so, mining camps " Circle City " " Rampart City " " Fort Yukon "[35] etc., & the numerous Indian villages where all kinds of curiosities in furs, fish skins & models of canoes etc. can be bought. St. Michael's on Behring Sea is a terrible place. Rains every day in Summer. There are no trees anywhere in sight, but the Island is a hill covered with bright green moss & grass & is so wet & spongy that you can scarcely walk in it anywhere. The water too is so bad that the Alaska Commercial Compy. have a large plant for distilling all their drinking water. The town consists of the A.C. Co. stores & warehouses & the U.S. barracks & ¼ mile away another store & large buildings belonging to the North American Trading & Transportation Co. & which they call " Fort Get There " by way of distinction from the other company's place. There is a very large hotel at " Fort Get There " as St. Michaels is a busy place in summer, with a large trade in Furs, Seal skins & whale oil & also for all supplies going up the Yukon. Two days after arriving at St. Michaels, we took the S.S. Roanoke[36] for Seattle & after an eight days voyage (a record trip) got safely to Seattle, & thence home by train. The Roanoke having accommodation for *200* passengers & carrying almost *600,* the sea voyage, particularly the eating department, was not all bliss, but when a man is returning home from the Klondyke he is not over particular.

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(34) The *John Cudahy* was built at Unalaska in 1898 by the North American Trading and Transportation Company and arrived at Dawson on August 10, 1898. She was of 819 tons registry and could make the round trip between St. Michael and Dawson in seventeen days, being the fastest ship in this company's fleet of river-boats. W. D. McBride, "Saga of Famed Packet and Other Steamboats of the Mighty Yukon River," *Cariboo Digest,* Winter, 1948, p. 111.

(35) For descriptions of these towns *see* Tappan Adney, *op. cit.,* pp. 455–460.

(36) S.S. *Roanoke* was an iron screw steamer of 2,354 tons registry, 267 feet long, 40.5 feet in beam, and 21.9 feet in depth. She was built in 1882 at Chester, Pennsylvania, for the North American Trading and Transportation Company. *Lloyds Register of British and Foreign Shipping, 1902–3.*

My trip may be briefly summed up as follows,

17	miles	train to Vancouver
800	,,	Vancouver to Wrangel in S.S. Islander
160	,,	Wrangel to Telegraph Creek, by horse sleighs on ice of Stickine River.
180	,,	Telegraph to Teslin by sleighs & boat
650	,,	Teslin to Dawson in row boat
1800	,,	Dawson to St. Michael's in River Steamer " John Cudahy "
2400	,,	St. Michaels to Seattle in S.S. Roanoke
100	,,	Seattle to West. Junction
3	,,	West. Junct. home
6110	miles	

more or less, probably more.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the reading-room of the Provincial Library on Friday evening, January 18, with the President, Major H. C. Holmes, in the chair. Greetings and reports of activity were presented by Captain C. W. Cates, Chairman of the Vancouver Section, and Mr. F. H. Johnson, Chairman of the Victoria Section, which gave ample evidence of the continuing interest in the affairs of the Association. The President gave a brief résumé of general activity throughout the year. Owing to the unfortunate illness of the Honorary Secretary, Miss Madge Wolfenden, no report was available, and her duties during the meeting were assumed by Mr. F. H. Johnson.

The Honorary Treasurer, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, presented a creditable report, showing a balance of $303.65. In the previous year there had been a marked drop in the membership, but thanks to intensive work by membership committees the figure rose this year to 434, an increase of 51 over the previous year, and in every instance membership had been placed in good standing for the year 1950 as well. Membership is distributed as follows: Victoria Section, 169; Vancouver Section, 147; members-at-large, 118. The Editor of the *Quarterly* presented his annual report, which indicated that the circulation was in excess of 500. It was regretted that delays in publication had been serious but unavoidable and made more difficult the collection of membership dues. It was hoped that by the publication of combined issues it would be possible to bring the *Quarterly* once again on to a regular schedule. The problem was definitely not a lack of suitable material, but essentially one of lack of time for the editorial work involved. It was the Editor's firm conviction that the present standard of editorial work should be maintained, and in this the meeting heartily concurred.

Major F. V. Longstaff presented the twenty-ninth annual report of the Marine Committee, which was approved, and the recommendation made that the Honorary Secretary should gather together all of this Committee's reports to have them accessible for general reference.

The presidential address, entitled *Some Notes on the Economic Past, Present, and Future of Vancouver Island,* was read by Major H. C. Holmes. The text of this address is printed in this *Quarterly*.

The report of the scrutineers was then presented. The new Council met immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting, when the following officers were elected:—

Honorary President - - - -	Hon. W. T. Straith, Q.C.
President - - - - - -	Mr. D. A. McGregor.
First Vice-President - - - -	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, D.D.
Second Vice-President - - -	Mr. H. C. Gilliland.
Honorary Secretary - - - -	Miss Helen R. Boutilier.
Honorary Treasurer - - -	Mr. J. K. Nesbitt.

Members of the Council—
Burt R. Campbell. Dr. M. A. Ormsby.
Captain C. W. Cates. Dr. W. N. Sage.
Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Councillors *ex officio*—
Major H. C. Holmes, Past President.
Mr. F. H. Johnson, Chairman, Victoria Section.
Mr. John Gibbard, Chairman, Vancouver Section.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Editor, *Quarterly*.

VICTORIA SECTION

A regular meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, November 22, with the Chairman, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, presiding. Miss Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Provincial Archivist, read a paper entitled *The Early History of Saltspring Island* that had been prepared by Mr. A. F. Flucke, formerly on the staff of the Provincial Archives and at the moment attending a course in librarianship at the University of Toronto. In a very comprehensive manner the history of the island was traced from the arrival of its first inhabitants in the wake of the gold-rush of 1858 to its establishment as a municipality in 1873 and the final annulment of the articles of incorporation ten years later. The Chairman expressed the appreciation of the meeting to Miss M. Wolfenden for her assistance in the presentation of the paper.

The annual meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday, December 18, with the Chairman, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, presiding. The Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. E. Potter, gave a verbal report of the year's activity, and the Chairman took the occasion to express the thanks of the Section to those who had given so much of their time in the preparation of the excellent series of addresses that had been presented. The Honorary Treasurer's report showed a membership of 166, with a creditable bank balance. The work of the special membership committee was noted with special appreciation. The report of the ballot for the election of the Council was received and accepted. The speaker of the evening was the Chairman, who selected for his subject *Captain Arthur Edward Kennedy and the Irish Famine*. Anyone wishing to understand the character of Arthur Edward Kennedy, Vancouver Island's third Governor, would have to know the story of his part in the Irish famine in order to appreciate the unfaltering courage and devotion of the man. Kennedy was assigned to one of the most difficult administrative regions, County Clare, at a time when the conditions in Ireland had reached the point that the people had become completely disheartened, were willing to accept relief, and even to resort to mob violence to resist any attempt to place themselves on a self-supporting basis. By force of character, Kennedy succeeded where force of any other kind would have failed completely. The Provincial Archivist, Mr. Willard E. Ireland, in moving a vote of thanks to the speaker, pointed out that as Kennedy was Governor here such a short time, he has remained relatively unknown, but that, as a result of Mr. Gilliland's studies, the enigma was in process of being solved.

U.B.C. LIBRARY

The new Council met immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting, at which time the following officers were elected:—

Chairman - - - - - - -	Mr. F. Henry Johnson.
Vice-Chairman - - - - -	Mr. R. E. Potter.
Honorary Secretary - - - -	Mrs. K. C. Drury.
Honorary Treasurer - - - -	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Members of the Council—

Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Dr. D. L. McLaurin.
Mr. R. P. Bishop.	Major H. T. Nation.
Mrs. K. C. Drury.	Mr. G. H. Stevens.
Miss W. Copeland (*co-opt.*).	Miss K. Graham (*co-opt.*).
Mrs. J. E. Godman (*co-opt.*).	Mr. Willard E. Ireland (*ex officio.*).

The first regular meeting of the new year was held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, February 21, there having been no January meeting as the Section had acted as host for the Association's annual meeting. Mr. F. Henry Johnson presided, and over forty members were in attendance. The programme for the evening was provided by Mr. Wilson Duff, Anthropologist of the Provincial Museum, who showed a film *The Alberni Indian Dances* and provided a running commentary. The film had been produced by Dr. Clifford Carl, Director of the Provincial Museum, and Mr. Duff and was shot on the Alberni Indian Reserve. It is a record of the native dances and ceremonials of the Indians of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. The Nootka Indians, the hunters of sea-mammals, were noted for their love of ceremony and ritual, and the dances filmed were a revival and reinterpretation of their tribal heritage. Original masks were used, many representing supernatural beings, from whom the Indians received their powers. The costumes were of cedar-bark. The dances in the film included the Men's Head-dress Dance, Sea Serpent Dance, Humming Bird Dance, Haida Victory Dance, Women's Head-dress Dance, and the Cannibal Dance. Mr. Duff pointed out that British Columbia's culture is distinctive in that it stems directly from Indian culture and art. This film is an important step toward the preservation of the old and the enrichment of our present culture. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered by Mrs. J. E. Godman.

At the regular meeting of the Section held on Thursday evening, April 24, in the Provincial Library, Captain C. W. Cates, Past Chairman of the Vancouver Section, was the speaker. Member of a pioneer family with ready contacts with the Indians of the coastal region and a member of the British Columbia Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs, Captain Cates was eminently qualified to speak on *Folk Lore of Our Coast Indians.* The facility with which he dealt with Indian names and his sympathetic approach were ample evidence of his warm and deep interest in their welfare. Of particular interest was the thread of similarity that ran through many of the legends as preserved by oral tradition from tribal groups widely separated geographically. Mr. G. H. Stevens expressed the appreciation of the meeting to the speaker for his interesting lecture.

VANCOUVER SECTION

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, November 13. The Chairman, Captain C. W. Cates, took the opportunity

RARE BOOKS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

of paying a tribute to Captain F. W. Pamphlet, a native son, pioneer, and recorder of pioneering, who passed away on Saturday, November 9, at the age of 80. The speaker of the evening was Mr. B. A. McKelvie, popular journalist and long-time student of the history of this Province. Speaking on *Brother Twelve,* in his inimitable fashion, Mr. McKelvie reconstructed for his audience one of the most fantastic incidents in the colourful past of this Province. The founder of this movement, James Arthur Wilson, came to Victoria from Calgary in 1901 as an employee of the Dominion Express Company. The son of a missionary to India and of an Indian princess, he was a telegrapher and master mariner as well as theosophist and mystic. In 1924 he was at Nanaimo, jobless, sick, and broke. A year later from Genoa, Italy, he commenced a letter campaign depicting himself as one who had been visited by the "Higher Powers" and inducted into their mysteries. From the proceeds of this activity he published the *Aquarian Foundation,* describing his association with the great spirits of all time and claiming that he had been chosen to round out their number, hence Brother Twelve. To him had been revealed the spot chosen for the "ninth coming of man"—a reincarnation not preceded by death. This spot was Cedar-by-the-sea, near Nanaimo, and later extended to DeCourcy Island as the flock grew. The venture was a financial success from the start. The first convert, Alfred Barber, a retired London chemist, and his wife, Annie, turned over their entire life savings. O. H. Hess, from Carthage, Virginia, cabled $20,000 immediately, "as a start." Brother Twelve banked at Nanaimo twice weekly, and weekly at Ladysmith and Chemainus, and monthly at Victoria and Vancouver, and the man handling the Chemainus account informed the speaker that in five years he had deposited more than $200,000. Roger Painter, a wholesale poultry-dealer from Florida, gave up a million-dollar-a-year business to serve the brotherhood and recalled on one occasion he handed over $90,000 in cash. When the cult finally broke up, the damage suits against Wilson averaged more than $25,000 per claimant. The disciples were generally of better than average education and financial circumstances, and were sincere and good-living people. The secret of Brother Twelve's power was fear. In 1927 he had installed the finest recording system west of the Rockies, completely covering his property and registering the slightest aside. He was thus able to play one man against another, building up mutual distrust, which only complete faith in himself could resolve. The beginning of the break-up in the affairs of the group occurred when, on a trip to the East to collect funds, Wilson met the wife of an American doctor whom he later installed in the "House of Mystery"—a *sanctum sanctorum* serving as a recording-room and love-nest—as Isis. Bob England and William L. Comfort thereupon instituted proceedings at Nanaimo charging misuse of funds. Mrs. Wilson objected to Isis and departed. The case collapsed when the fainting of counsel for the claimants in the hot, stuffy courtroom was interpreted as a visitation from the supernatural. Isis went insane after the birth of Horus. In 1930 Brother Twelve recovered his prestige, bought DeCourcy Island and became "Amos de Valdez." A former wife, whom he had married in 1916, became "Zuro de Valdez" as Madame Z in charge of women. In this year Wilson went to England to procure a yacht and left as deputy spiritual head of the colony Roger Painter, with orders to destroy the Honourable Joshua Hinchcliffe, Minister of Education, and the Honourable Harry Pooley, Attorney-General, by "ectoplastic attack." Both survived the attack, and in 1932 Brother Twelve expelled twelve

men from the sect as a consequence. For five years the speaker and Mr. Victor Harrison, Nanaimo lawyer, tried to persuade these exiles to file charges, but to no avail. Finally Mr. McKelvie produced a charm from a great Haida medicine-woman; this dispelled the power of ancient Egypt, so the witnesses testified, and Brother Twelve departed, vanishing in his yacht after destroying the settlement and taking with him 43 quarts of gold. He died in Switzerland in 1939. The Provincial Police were called into the case at the instance of Karl Rudy, of Chicago, whose young wife had been lured away by Brother Twelve, and to this day her disappearance remains an unsolved mystery. Mr. Noel Robinson expressed the appreciation of the meeting to Mr. McKelvie for his enthralling account.

The annual meeting of the Section, which was to have been held on Tuesday, December 18, through unforeseen circumstances had to be postponed until Tuesday, January 15, when it convened in the Grosvenor Hotel with Captain C. W. Cates in the chair. The Honorary Secretary's report indicated that six informative lectures had been delivered throughout the past year, with good attendance at all meetings. In addition, the Section had appointed Mr. George Green as its representative on the "Friends of the Library" organization in Vancouver. The Honorary Treasurer's report showed a satisfactory credit balance, with Section membership standing at 147. The appreciation of the Section was extended to the Honorary President, Mr. E. G. Baynes, for his unfailing interest, as typified in making available meeting-space in the Grosvenor Hotel. The Chairman's annual address, *From Sail to Steam in Coastal Waters,* recalled the transition not only from sail to steam, but from steam to diesel, a subject on which, by virtue of his life-long association with marine affairs on the Coast, the speaker is a recognized authority. The protected waters of the coastal area favoured the canoe, and canoe-building was an hereditary occupation amongst the Indians. So skilful did the Indians become that the symmetry and design of their canoes have not been improved upon in modern ship-building practice. The old square-riggers, unlike the schooner yacht, could not tack close to the wind, and were consequently severely handicapped when approaching Victoria or Vancouver. One hundred and seventy-five of these vessels were wrecked on the west coast of Vancouver Island alone. By 1880 sea-going steam-tugs were meeting them off Cape Flattery, towing them into harbour and later out to sea again. The Union Gas Works of San Francisco in the 1880's developed the first gas-engine in the world, and it was introduced into British Columbia by Andy Linton. The speaker earned his engineer's certificate on their company tug *Hammer,* the first large gas marine tug on the Coast. Other phases in the technical improvement of engines as the result not only of the world wars but also of the era of prohibition in the United States were recounted.

The results of the election were as follows:—

Honorary Chairman - - - - -	Mr. E. G. Baynes.
Honorary Vice-Chairmen - - -	Dr. W. N. Sage. Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.
Chairman - - - - - - -	Mr. J. E. Gibbard.
Vice-Chairman - - - - - -	Mr. D. A. McGregor.
Honorary Secretary - - - - -	Mr. T. D. Buchanan.
Honorary Treasurer - - - - -	Rev. F. G. St. Denis.

Members of the Council—

Mr. W. E. Blackburn.	Mr. R. A. Hood.
Mr. J. A. Byron.	Mr. Noel Robinson.
Miss Helen Boutilier.	Mr. A. P. Woollacott.
Mr. George Green.	Miss Kate McQueen.

Captain C. W. Cates (*Past Chairman*).

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, February 26, when the speaker was Mr. Arthur P. Woollacott, who had chosen as his subject *Mackenzie and His Voyageurs*. Mr. Woollacott, the author of a book by this same title as well as numerous other historical articles, is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and a "voyageur" in his own right, having traced on foot and by canoe the route of Sir Alexander Mackenzie on his epic crossing of the continent in 1793. With the passing of time, Mackenzie's outstanding contribution to the exploration of the Canadian West has tended to be forgotten; consequently, the speaker's detailed recounting of this, the first, crossing of the American Continent north of the Isthmus of Panama did much to restore the explorer to his true significance in our history. By virtue of his personal familiarity with the terrain covered, Mr. Woollacott was able to create a vivid impression of the hazards and difficulties encountered and overcome by Mackenzie.

A meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, March 25. The speaker on that occasion was Dr. Charles E. Borden, lecturer in archæology at the University of British Columbia, on the subject *Archæological Reconnaissance of Tweedsmuir Park*. Progressive flooding of 300 square miles by the creation of the Alcan power reservoir in Tweedsmuir Park constituted a grave threat to our knowledge of the pre-history of a portion of the Pacific Northwest, particularly in a region that was least known from an archæological point of view. In the summer of 1951 the Provincial Government sponsored a rapid reconnaissance of the park in order to determine its archæological resources, with a view to further investigation at a later date. Dr. Borden was in charge of this survey, and his address constituted a report of his activity in seeking out the vestiges of pre-historic Indian civilization. Only one more season remains to complete the work, for, with the completion of the dam, some 500 miles of shore-line will be flooded. This archæological emergency had arisen along one of the great immigration routes to the Americas. Dr. Borden gave a brief description of the areas to be affected: Eutsuk, Tetachuk, and other rivers, now flooded; Eutsuk Lake, not yet flooded; and Tahtsa and Whitesail Lakes, just east of the Coast Range, to be flooded. The entire flooded area was the hunting-ground of the Cheslatta Indians, a branch of the Carriers, who apparently used the western section only in the summer. The Cheslatta traded with the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola on the coast at a later date, but it is not certain that the trade was carried on in pre-historic times. Dr. Borden and his two companions explored 400 miles of river-margins and lake-shores, made 600 investigations, and discovered 130 sites, half of which were hunting-sites and thirty others were house-pits. Ootsa Lake yielded forty-two sites, of which only two could be regarded as permanent. The artifacts discovered suggested two different cultures: one using obsidian, basalt, and quartz implements, and the other, much cruder, employing rhyolite for preparing hides, cutting meats,

etc. At one site a great mussel from the coastal area was found, suggestive of the coastal contact. The lecture was illustrated with an admirable series of slides. Dr. M. Y. Williams, in proposing a vote of thanks, expressed the good wishes of the Section to Dr. Borden for the continued success of his investigation during the coming summer.

A meeting of unusual interest was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, April 22, when the Vice-Chairman, Mr. D. A. McGregor, read a paper prepared by Mr. Frank Kelley on *Sealing on the North Pacific*. The story of pelagic sealing, an important industry in the early days of British Columbia, was a subject with which Mr. Kelley was very familiar, for, as an old-time member of the staff of the Victoria *Colonist*, he knew many of the sealing captains, was privileged to read many of their log-books, and often met the schooners when they came into Victoria with the season's catch. At the turn of the century, Victoria was a port of call for the Pacific sealing fleet, which intercepted and slaughtered, almost to extinction, the seal herds on their way to the breeding-grounds in the Pribilov Islands. Mr. Kelley's paper goes a long way to record the story of a vanished industry. By way of introduction, he outlined the habits of the seal. Most of its life is spent at sea, save for the three or four months spent on the land during the breeding season on the barren, rocky islands in Bering Sea. When this season is over, the seals leave the islands, but where they go is still somewhat of a mystery, but early in the new year they turn north again, and in February and March are off the coast of Mexico and California. On their northward voyage they never enter the inside passage but stay in the open sea, reaching the northern islands in May and June. Pelagic sealing began in a small way before the coming of the white man, for the Indians used to hunt the seals, not so much for their pelts as for their meat and oil. When the Russians came to Alaska, they began the commercial exploitation of the seal. British Columbia's interest began after the acquisition of Alaska by the United States in 1867. At the height of its importance as many as sixty schooners operated out of Victoria in this industry. They were, for the most part, small vessels, ranging from 30 to 130 tons, and according to size, carrying crews of up to thirty men—hunters, steerers, and boat-pullers. The trade was profitable but dangerous, for storms often were encountered and schooners were lost. The method of hunting was wasteful, for it was hardly possible to distinguish whether seals were male or female, and, consequently, when the latter were killed, the unborn pups were also lost. In 1911 Great Britain, the United States, Russia, and Japan, by agreement, brought an end to pelagic sealing. By treaty the United States agreed to pay the Canadian Government a percentage of the yearly take on the Pribilov Islands. In 1867 the seal population was estimated to be between two and three million, by 1911 it had been reduced to 200,000; thanks to rigorous control of slaughtering it has now been restored to nearly its former strength. This industry caused considerable friction between Canada and the United States, for the latter claimed that Bering Sea was closed to Canadians, and many schooners were seized by revenue cutters. This action was protested by Great Britain, and in the end an international tribunal which met at Paris disallowed the American contention and awarded indemnities, which were later valued in excess of $425,000. With the signing of the 1911 treaty the

schooners were tied up in Victoria Harbour; for months they lay above Point Ellice Bridge until eventually many of the better ones were sold at auction and others burned. The vote of appreciation was tendered by Mr. Noel Robinson.

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Kamloops Museum Association was held in the City Hall on Tuesday evening, February 12. Both the President and Vice-President were unavoidably absent, consequently, the Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Earl Robinson, opened the meeting. Right Rev. Frederic Stanford, Bishop of Cariboo, offered prayers in memory of His Late Majesty King George VI. Mr. J. J. Morse was then elected to chair the meeting. One of the highlights of the evening was the presentation to the Natural History Section of the Museum of a pair of mammoth-tusks by Mr. W. E. Noble. Other reports made note of donations throughout the year, giving ample evidence of the continued interest and support that the Association is receiving. Mr. B. R. Campbell's report noted that, through the kindness of Mr. George Brown, of Vancouver, a considerable collection of books and manuscripts had been made available to the Museum. The Secretary paid high tribute to all those who had given of their time during the tourist season to be in attendance at the Museum and also at the adjoining Fort Building. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—

President - - - - - Mr. R. G. Pinchbeck.
Vice-President - - - - Alderman Helen J. Millward.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - Mrs. David Arnott.
Committee Chairmen—
T. S. Keyes (Natural History). Burt R. Campbell (Photographs).
J. J. Morse (Indian Lore). R. B. A. Cragg (House).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Norman Hacking is a frequent contributor to this *Quarterly* on subjects relating to the marine history of this Province. He is the marine editor of the *Vancouver Daily Province.*

H. Cuthbert Holmes, immediate Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association, has served in various capacities, including the presidency of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce and is an ardent protagonist of Vancouver Island development.

Dr. Walter N. Sage is Head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia and author of numerous books and articles relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest in general and of British Columbia in particular.

Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

British Columbia: Its History, People and Industry. By Fred H. Goodchild. With a foreword by Byron I. Johnson, Premier of British Columbia. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951. Pp. 219. Map and ills. $4.50.

This reviewer has very pleasant memories of a conversation with Sir Stanley Unwin during the course of his visit to Western Canada in the spring of 1949. On that occasion this well-known British publisher expressed the opinion that considering the growing interest in British Columbia to be found in Great Britain and elsewhere, the time would seem to be opportune for the publication of a book that would serve as a guide to this Western Province. Such a book would have to be more than a history and more than a travel narrative, and certainly something less formidable than any official Government manual with its apparently inevitable emphasis upon statistics.

Presumably it was hoped that Mr. Goodchild's book would meet this need. In design, well it might, for within its covers have been amassed a wealth of information about British Columbia arranged, generally speaking, in topical order. The geography, geology, and climate of the region are described and its early history recounted. This is followed by separate chapters devoted to the story of the development of the great basic industries, and, in addition, such topics as communication by land, sea, and air, law enforcement, the press and radio, and provision for the health, welfare, and education of its inhabitants come under survey. Certainly the text is not overburdened with statistics, the most important of which are grouped in an appendix for easy reference. In addition, the book is admirably illustrated with well-chosen and well-produced representative photographs. The index provided can only be described as moderately satisfactory. In its plan, consequently, one can offer little by way of criticism, for a sincere effort has been made to provide a comprehensive view of the innumerable facets of British Columbia's past and present.

However, the execution of the plan leaves much to be desired, for the book is seriously marred by inaccuracies. Admittedly some of them might be considered of minor significance, but the frequency with which they recur will make the serious reader mistrustful of the book as a whole.

Despite the fact that Mr. Goodchild has done "considerable Parliamentary reporting," it is all too apparent that he is peculiarly unaware of the process of evolution of government in this Province. Writing of the career of Richard Blanshard, the first Royal Governor in what is now British Columbia, the statement is made "On March 11, 1850, Blanshard . . . read the document setting up responsible government in the new colony" (p. 30) and in the very next sentence there is added "In 1856 a legislative assembly of seven members was granted." Actually Blanshard had nothing whatsoever to do with the introduction of representative, let alone responsible, government, and the document he read on that occasion was simply his commission as Royal Governor. If responsible govern-

ment had been instituted in 1850, why then the necessity for the *British Colonist* newspaper in 1858 to jump "into the fight . . . for responsible government" (p. 195). Moreover, responsible government could never precede the establishment of representative government, as is implied. It is a technique, rather than a form, of government designed to deal with the intricate question of the relationships between the executive and legislative branches of government. It was not "the centenary of responsible government" that the Legislature "duly noted" in 1950 (p. 42), but the centenary of the inauguration of British rule in the Pacific Northwest.

Nor, for that matter, does the author appear to be any more conversant with present-day governmental organization in the Province. While the British North America Act of 1867 may rightly be considered "the source of power of the provincial government," it is incorrect to consider it "the constitution of British Columbia" (p. 44). Evidently Mr. Goodchild is unaware of the fact that British Columbia is one of the few Provinces of Canada to have passed through its own Legislature its own Constitution Act. To be even more precise, it must be pointed out that at no time did the Honourable A. D. Turnbull hold the position of "Provincial Secretary and Minister of Health" (p. 173), but he was Minister of Health and Welfare, which fact is correctly reported in the appendix (p. 215). The social and health services in this Province are not grouped under one authority, with four divisions headed by Deputy Ministers (p. 173), for responsibility for the administration of mental institutions is vested in the Department of the Provincial Secretary, which, far from being a "third division" (p. 174) of a non-existent "Department of Health" (p. 179), is one of the senior Cabinet posts.

It would serve no useful purpose to list the errors noted *seriatum*, but some, at least, must be noted, as they illustrate what is perhaps the most serious weakness of this book—the failure of its author to pursue his researches more carefully into the antecedents of the many facets of the Province's growth that he is attempting to describe. Had this been done, many of these errors, which are perhaps more irritating than significant, would have been eliminated. The role of the Hudson's Bay Company in the development of the area is not well presented. Credit is quite properly given to the North West Company for having first penetrated into the trans-montaine region, but it is wholly incorrect to state that it was soon followed "by its rival, The Hudson's Bay Company" (p. 83), for that company's activity west of the Rocky Mountains was its inheritance from the Canadian company at the time of the union of the companies in 1821. The Hudson's Bay Company's great royal charter never gave the company any proprietary rights in British Columbia; indeed, such rights as it did secure for a limited period of time on Vancouver Island were secured at a much later date and in return for its undertaking the colonization of the Island. Consequently, it seems quite unfair to criticize the company for failure to foster the development that might have altered the present location of our southern boundary. Two of the great Nor'Westers are given some consideration; but, unfortunately, one is misnamed, for it is Daniel *Williams* Harmon, not *William* (p. 119), and it is regrettable that the myth of David Thompson's "race to the Columbia" (p. 35) is repeated when that story has been so thoroughly "debunked."

Frederick Seymour did not succeed Douglas "as governor of the united colonies" (p. 38), but became Governor of the Mainland colony in 1864 and continued as Governor after the union of 1866—details which, curiously enough, are reported correctly in the appendix (p. 213). The first capital of the united colony was not Victoria, as is stated on page 37, but was New Westminster, the transfer to the Island city not taking place until 1868. In passing it might also be noted that Victoria was never named officially or unofficially by the fur-traders *Fort Camosun* (p. 149), a fact which has been well proven. Moreover, the Governor who brought the colony into Confederation was *Anthony,* not *James,* Musgrave (p. 38), an error again that was eliminated in the appendix, and to be strictly correct it is not proper to refer in 1853 to "Governor Sir James Douglas" (p. 142) when his knighthood was conferred many years later. While the Act establishing the Mainland colony of British Columbia was passed by the Imperial Parliament in August, 1858, the date of the formal inauguration of the colony is more properly November 19, 1858 (p. 37).

In dealing with each of the main industries of the Province Mr. Goodchild has attempted to present something of their historic origin as well as their tremendous expansion. It is unfortunate that in the chapter dealing with the lumber industry no use was made of the careful researches done by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb into the early history of that industry on Vancouver Island, where development antedates that on the Mainland by many years. One cannot but remark that quite frequently emphasis is placed upon developments in the Vancouver region, with which the author was more conversant, to the unfortunate detriment of other portions of the Province. One wonders, too, why so little consideration was paid to the rise of the pulp and paper industry. In so far as the development of the coal resources of the Province are concerned, while due recognition is given to the earliest discoveries at "Suquash" (Fort Rupert) (p. 127), the author then apparently confuses this incident with the Nanaimo workings. It is correct to say that "the discovery of coal near Nanaimo on Vancouver Island remained unrevealed" until after the signing of the boundary treaty (p. 36) simply because the deposits there were unknown. The negotiations in the late 1840's between the Hudson's Bay Company and William H. Aspinwall for his Pacific Mail steamers had reference to the northern deposits in the neighbourhood of Fort Rupert, which post was built in 1849 to facilitate their exploitation (p. 150). One can hardly expect omniscience from any author, particularly when so many subjects are under review, but it is a little disturbing to find him unaware of the historic background of his own profession. "The first paper in the province" did not appear in 1851, nor was it printed in French or published by Bishop Demers (p. 194). At that date Demers was not a resident on Vancouver Island, and although admittedly in the fall of 1858 he did co-operate in the publication of *Le Courier de la Nouvelle Caledonie,* it was not devoted "solely to religion" and had been preceded by at least two other newspapers, *The Victoria Gazette* (June 25, 1858) and the *Vancouver Island Gazette* (July 28, 1858).

In the chapter on place-names—always a subject of great interest—it is unfortunate that more specific reference had not been made to the greatest of the researchers in this field, the late Captain J. T. Walbran. Had this been done, an

error such as attributing the naming of Queen Charlotte Islands and Sound to the consort of George III (p. 67) would have been eliminated. In point of fact the Islands were named in July, 1787, by Captain George Dixon after his vessel *Queen Charlotte,* and the Sound by S. Wedgborough in 1786 after the Queen. Surely it should be recognized that Prince George owes its origin to the old North West Company post, Fort George, that had been founded in 1805. In addition, it is a little surprising to find Manning Park named " in memory of Hon. E. C. Manning, the minister of lands and forests " (p. 205), when actually it was named after the highly respected Chief Forester, E. C. Manning. It must also be pointed out that although popularly referred to as the emblem of British Columbia, the dogwood, or for that matter any other bloom, has never been given official recognition.

It would perhaps be unfair to criticize this book for the omission of material when doubtless limitations of space made extremely onerous the already difficult problem of selection. However, the title of the volume definitely includes the people of the Province, and it is to be regretted that only scant attention is paid to the original Indian inhabitants of the region—a subject of curiosity, if not genuine interest, elsewhere. Similarly, one might have expected some reference to some of the minor ethnic groups and religious sects that have contributed to the development of the country, particularly, for example, the Doukhobors and the Mennonites.

British Columbia will, doubtless, achieve a wide circulation. It is a brave attempt to fill a long-felt want, particularly since even the Provincial Government has never seen fit to reissue its *Manual of Provincial Information* since 1930. It is unfortunate that the execution of the undertaking did not keep pace with the excellent objective in view.

WILLARD E. IRELAND

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Steamboats in the Timber. By Ruby El Hult. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1952. Pp. 209. Map and ills. $4.

Ships of the Inland Sea: The Story of the Puget Sound Steamboats. By Gordon R. Newell. Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1951. Pp. xii, 241. Ills. $3.50.

Development of the Pacific Northwest depended largely upon transportation, and in the early days steamboats loomed large in the life of the people. In recent years steamboating in the West has greatly declined, due to the advent of faster and more modern means of travel. But there are many who look back to the days when the sternwheeler and paddle-steamer were in their prime, and enthusiasts are responsible for such organizations as the Steamship Historical Society of America and the Puget Sound Maritime Historical Society.

Two members of the latter society have recently had books published on the subject of steamboating days in the Pacific Northwest. Miss Hult's book is the more specialized, as she writes of steamboating on Lake Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, which lasted from 1880 to 1938. Mr. Newell attempts to cover a wider field, with the story of Puget Sound steamships from the Hudson's Bay Company's pioneer *Beaver* of 1835 to the present day.

Although the history of steamboating on Lake Coeur d'Alene is specialized, it is certainly not dull. The fabulously rich mining and timber country of Northern Idaho provided much of the wealth that built the City of Spokane, and during its heyday at the turn of the century this section of the "wild and woolly west" was at its wildest. Miss Hult's book has recaptured the spirit of the times. The author tells us that steamboats were used more extensively on Lake Coeur d'Alene than on any lake west of the Great Lakes. Steamboating was an integral part of the life of the country, and so without straying too far from her subject, Miss Hult links it up with the fabulous Coeur d'Alene mining booms of the eighties, the timber boom of the early years of this century, and the fantastic railway boom caused by the building of the Chicago, Milwaukee and Pacific Railroad.

The author was born on the shores of the lake, and she knows the country intimately and lovingly. Much of her material comes from the recollections of old-timers. It must be granted that such information is not always too reliable, but it gives the narrative vigour and colour, which would be lost by too dull a reliance on strict historical research. The book ably recreates an almost forgotten era of the West's development. Whether one is interested in steamboats or not, it can hardly fail to be of interest. *Steamboats in the Timber* is well illustrated by many good photographs of the lake steamers and their skippers. Since it is a product of the Caxton Press, it is hardly necessary to say that the printing and general format are excellent. It is only to be regretted that Miss Hult did not produce in an appendix a list of the Coeur d'Alene steamboats with their dimensions and other salient features, for the benefit of those who like their details in easily accessible form.

Ships of the Inland Sea, by Gordon R. Newell, attempts a more ambitious project—a survey of steamboating on Puget Sound. Unfortunately, Mr. Newell has been swamped by the enormous amount of material at his disposal. As a consequence, there are many gaps in the history, many interesting facts have been omitted, and many incidents have not been sufficiently checked for historical accuracy. For a good part of his book Mr. Newell relies for his information on the invaluable Lewis and Dryden's *Marine History of the Pacific Northwest,* which was published in 1895. No one can write on our early marine history without consulting Lewis and Dryden, but the compilers of that excellent source-book were only human, and they were guilty of many errors, which Mr. Newell has apparently not seen fit to check.

The author is apparently unaware of the numerous articles on maritime matters published in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly.* Had he read Dr. W. Kaye Lamb's definitive article on the *Beaver,* he would not have repeated the old legend that her launching was attended by King William IV and 150,000 people, nor would he have said that the "*Beaver* had been intended for river trading" (p. 6), or that she was "a man-of-war first and a trading vessel second" (p. 7). And surely he knows better than to say that the *Beaver* found a deep-water grave "on the Vancouver Island rocks" (p. 114).

There is much other evidence of careless writing. On page 13 the author says the steamer *Traveler,* which was lost in 1858, made "occasional trips to Victoria and Vancouver," some twenty-eight years before the latter city existed. There are numerous mistakes in spelling, such as *Alexandria* for the Canadian steamer

Alexandra, Wealleale for *Waialeale,* once well known on the Vancouver–Tacoma run, and *Cassair* for *Cassiar.* The author does not seem to be aware of the fact that the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, which played such an important role from 1883 to 1901 in Pacific Coast shipping, was in no way connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

There are some curious omissions. No mention is made of the steamer *Premier,* later so well known in British Columbia waters as the *Charmer.* She was an American vessel, until her famous collision with the *Willamette* on Puget Sound, but no mention is made of this incident. Many of the *Princess* liners played a most important role in the history of Puget Sound steamboating, but they are mentioned only once in rather cavalier fashion. The famous *Princess Victoria,* surely the greatest Sound steamer of them all, is mentioned not at all, although presumably she is the steamer referred to on page 149, when Mr. Newell writes "The *Whatcom* raced the four-cylindered Canadian Pacific liner to Victoria in 1905, and beat her." There are no further details. If the *Whatcom* outraced the *Princess Victoria,* it would be interesting to know when and where and how. There are many details that Mr. Newell should have elucidated more fully. One of the early steamers on the Vancouver–Tacoma run was the *Mainlander.* We are told (p. 131) that she suffered a "fatal ramming from the hard-luck tug *Bahada,*" but there is no "when, where, and how" this interesting event occurred. The exciting rate war between the *Chippewa* and the Canadian Pacific Railway steamers on the Seattle–Victoria run is dismissed with only a sentence.

Despite its faults, there is much in the book to commend it. Mr. Newell writes with admirable verve, and occasionally he can be pungent, as when he refers to the modern stream-lined *Chinook,* presently on the Seattle–Victoria run. "No effort has been spared to make it look as little like an honest steamboat as possible," he writes. "The *Chinook* is modern and luxurious and almost as fast as the steamers launched in 1900." The book is notable for its handsome format and many fine photographs. Appendices list most of the Puget Sound steamers, steamboats still in operation, the names of many old-time captains and engineers, and the present tow-boat fleet.

NORMAN HACKING.

NORTH VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Fifteenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society. Vernon: The Vernon *News,* 1951. Pp. 219. Map and ills. $2.50.

Although well-written, authoritative general histories of Canada have appeared in recent years, adequate works covering the development of the various Provinces of Canada have been slow in coming. Like the other Provinces, British Columbia has felt the want of competent, modern general treatises on the history of the Province, not so much, admittedly, in the political as in the economic and social fields of history. Before adequate general histories of the political, economic, social, and cultural activities of the Province can be written, however, the basis for such works—the collection of historical material on a local rather than a Provincial level—must be accomplished. Fortunately, several local historical associations in the Province have taken up the problem of collecting and preserving the links with our past.

The Okanagan Historical Society, since it was founded in September, 1925, has been contributing valuable material on the past development, not only of the Okanagan Valley, but also of the Province as a whole. *The Fifteenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society,* ably edited by Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, of the History Department of the University of British Columbia, maintains the pattern of previous *Reports.* A member of the Society since 1929, and editor of the *Report* in 1935, 1939, and from 1948 on, Dr. Ormsby again has done a fine job of editing the material contained in the *Report* of 1951. As in previous volumes, the edition of 1951 is devoted to many aspects of life in the Okanagan Valley, dealing with topics as varied as local folk-lore, the possibility of Oriental, Jewish, and Welsh arrivals in British Columbia before the coming of the commonly accepted discoverers, co-operative marketing, pioneer schools and teachers, the visit of a famous American general to Osoyoos Lake, and reminiscences and stories of pioneers of the Okanagan Valley.

Rev. John C. Goodfellow, in "Our Unknown Ancestors," discusses the possibilities of "parallel cultures in widely separated areas," and the need for more research before anthropologists and archæologists can definitely relate, or discount, the apparent similarities of races in regions widely separated, and in different epochs. In the first of several sketches of Okanagan personalities, Dr. Ormsby has edited the autobiography of the first settler in the North Okanagan, A. L. Fortune; Jabez Kneller has written an account of his arrival in Armstrong on September 1, 1892, and of his first few years in the Okanagan Valley; J. P. Parrott describes pioneer days in Peachland; H. J. Hewetson contributes an appreciation of Commander Thomas Willing Stirling, R.N., O.B.E., of Kelowna; Faith Norris has written an account of the life of Mrs. Myles MacDonald, an Armstrong pioneer; Mrs. M. Pidoborozny has outlined the life on an Enderby pioneer, Graham Rosoman; Flora Cooper has described the life of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Bell, early arrivals in Vernon; and, lastly, Allan Davidson contributes more material on the life of Tom Dominique, an Indian well known to the people of Westbank.

In the realm of social history, Harry W. Hobbs, Allan H. Davidson, Georgina Maisonville, H. D. Pritchard, and Clarence Fulton discuss the history of pioneer education in the Okanagan Valley, including schools at Rutland, Westbank, Penticton, and Vernon, and give the details of the first teachers, pupils, and school buildings in the various localities, as well as the subsequent development of the educational facilities.

Communal rather than biographical material is represented by Charles LeDuc's notes on the early settlement and settlers in the Spallumcheen area; by Jean Webber's discussion of the Coldstream Ranch and the development of the Municipality of Coldstream after its incorporation in 1906; by Katie Lacey's article on the record of the settlement at Kruger Mountain, west of Osoyoos, and by H. H. Whitaker's account of the early history of Kaleden, dating back to 1909.

Harry D. Barnes' article on the development of the Nickel Plate mine from 1898 to 1932, reprinted from the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* is included in the *Fifteenth Report,* as is F. M. Buckland's piece on co-operative marketing, a discussion of the attempts of Okanagan—particularly Kelowna—farmers "to solve, through co-operation, the problem of distribution of surplus products," and

including the minutes of the Kelowna Shippers' Union from 1896 to 1898. C. Noel Higgin has produced a good account of the Summerland–Naramata ferry service, which he and his partner originated in March, 1908, and which was maintained by others for approximately ten years, until its need disappeared.

Hester E. White's story of the visit of General William Tecumseh Sherman to British Columbia in 1883, and the reproduction of a portion of the official "Report of Journey Made by General W. T. Sherman in the Northwest and Middle Parts of the United States in 1883," prepared by J. C. Tidball, colonel, aide-de-camp, brevet brigadier-general, as printed in the *Report of the Secretary of War,* 1883, is certain to be of interest to residents not only of the Okanagan, but also of British Columbia generally. The late B. R. Atkins contributes a brief note on the first Federal election at Yale, in December, 1871, during which two voters were responsible for the election of a member of Parliament to represent the vast Yale riding. The Victoria *British Colonist* of October 24, 1871, indicates that Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) C. F. Houghton had offered himself to the electors of Yale constituency prior to the actual polling-date, but, according to B. R. Atkins's account, reinforced by R. E. Gosnell's story in the Vancouver *Daily Province* of March 11, 1928, Houghton's name, or any other name, had not been placed officially before the electors until the last day of the filing of nominations for the election of 1871.

Some of the Okanagan Valley's place-names are outlined by Reginald N. Atkinson, and the pioneers commemorated by the names of Penticton's streets and avenues are the subject of an article by Miss D. K. Stewart, G. B. Latimer, and H. H. Whitaker.

A customary feature of the *Report,* "Recent Books Mentioning Okanagan," is again included in the edition of 1951. Poems, brief notes on pioneers, illustrations, and other features complete the volume. Dr. Ormsby, Mrs. R. L. Cawston (the assistant editor), and the printers, the Vernon *News* Limited, are to be congratulated on producing another fine collection of material on the history of the Okanagan Valley.

W. W. BILSLAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Pioneer Days of Nakusp and the Arrow Lakes. By Kate Johnson. Nakusp, B.C., 1951. Pp. 146. Ills. $2.50.

". . . every week old timers go to their last reward, in many cases taking with them precious information relative to the early days." So states the authoress at the beginning of her book, and to the task of gathering as much of the information as remained she has evidently devoted herself with admirable enthusiasm and energy. The result, produced to celebrate the diamond jubilee of Nakusp, is a slim volume crammed with intimate local detail concerning the people and the communities of the Arrow Lakes region. It is a personal little history, and Mrs. Johnson is to be congratulated on assembling so many glimpses of the activities of the pioneers of this area.

The author begins with a brief geographical and historical description of the region, dealing, perhaps rather disjointedly, with the Kootenay and Arrow Lakes Indians. In recounting the so-called " Kootenay Indian Incident " on page 5, Mrs. Johnson has confused A. W. Vowell, Stipendiary Magistrate for the Kootenay at the time, with I. W. Powell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia. This, however, is not surprising in view of the fact that Vowell was present at the discussions with Chief Isadore, and two years later became Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Province, following Mr. Powell's retirement in 1889.

Under topical sections, some of which are almost ludicrously brief, the author gives us a multitude of details concerning the growth and development of Nakusp. Individuals, businesses, buildings, institutions, and social groups are expatiated on with varying consistency. Other communities of the region—Arrowhead, Beaton, Brooklyn, Deer Park, and many more—are handled similarly, although at shorter length. Throughout these are interspersed anecdotes, odd items of local interest, and biographical sketches of general regional interest. The final section, dealing with the steamboats that plied the Columbia River and the persons associated with them, is probably the best from a purely historical point of view.

On reading through this history, one is led to the conclusion that both time and money were lacking. If this happens to be the case, it is much to be regretted. Many repetitions of incidents, and of statements concerning the native people of the area, confused spellings of Indian names, such as Kitanaqa, Kitonaqa, Kutenai, Kitunaha, for the Kootenay people, could have been eliminated with more careful editing. This reviewer has never heard of a native group called the " Marine Indians," and doubts very much that the " Haidahs " (Queen Charlotte Islands Indians) or the " coast tribes " ever " hunted along the lakes," as stated on page 11.

In the section on Columbia River steamers, the statement at the beginning that " the *Alpha* was the first steamer to ply the waters of the Columbia and the Arrow Lakes " is contradicted (and, to this reviewer's knowledge, rightly so) farther along and in other places throughout the book. In these cases the credit is given to the old *Forty-Nine* under Captain Leonard White.

Local colour is the strong point of Mrs. Johnson's work, and the wealth of detail contained is at times startling. But the organization of the material leaves much to be desired. This again seems largely due to haste in preparation. Sections follow one another with no regard for continuity and little regard for proportion. A section headed " Early Day Ball Games, 1897—(Sandon vs. Nakusp) " has nothing at all to say about the game. A similar instance is the section headed " Nakusp 1898," under which is briefly related the finding of the body of one Lottie Davis, apparently a female of rather dubious character who had wandered into the woods while under the influence and had died of exposure. This reviewer feels sure that this incident was not the highlight of Nakusp's history in that year.

Again, presumably because of printing expenses, the value of the many extremely interesting pictures, which by themselves make this history worth while, are marred by poor printing and page composition. These illustrations could have been an outstanding consideration in reviewing this book, and it is too bad that they have been so poorly reproduced. The book has no index, although the table of contents in front is erroneously labelled so. This, however, only partially covers

the headings in the book and, with a few exceptions, refers only to the various communities discussed.

As mentioned before, this history of Nakusp and the Arrow Lakes is personal in its emphasis—it might even be termed domestic since so many of the details are of the homey, anecdotal type—of homes, enterprises, and the course of private lives. One will find few references to the effects of political events or legislative measures on the communities concerned. Even the subjects of roads, railways, and mining, vitally important in the development of the region, are dealt with in a very cursory manner. Mrs. Johnson has certainly made a contribution in gathering together so much local detail, and in substance she has produced something valuable. It is all the more to be regretted that a little more time and money could not have been spent in order to produce a more readable and historically attractive publication.

A. F. FLUCKE.

TORONTO, ONT.

David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions, 1808–1812. Transcribed from a photostatic copy of the original manuscripts and edited with an introduction by M. Catherine White. Missoula, Montana: Montana State University Press, 1950. Pp. clxi, 345. Maps and ills. $7.50.

Miss Catherine White, of the University of Montana Library, has done a splendid piece of work in the preparation of this important volume. The preface and introduction, along with the exhaustive foot-notes which are a feature of the whole book, are a tribute to her sound scholarship and unflagging industry. She acknowledges her debt to Dr. J. B. Tyrrell, T. C. Elliott, and Dr. Elliott Coues, and she has built on their solid foundation. She has done more. For the first time she has published important journals of David Thompson, which throw light not only on his explorations in Montana, but also in Idaho, Eastern Washington, and British Columbia. Her bibliography of over forty pages is almost a model. There are few, if any, important omissions, and she lists both Canadian and American sources.

To British Columbian readers the most important section of the book is Part VI, which deals with Thompson's journey in 1811 from his winter encampment on the Big Bend of the Columbia River to Clark's Fort (February 27 to June 3, 1811). Thompson's journal and Miss White's illuminating foot-notes enable the reader, for the first time, to trace this all-important journey in detail. It is regrettable that she does not mention that Simon Fraser had in 1808 named the Thompson River after the explorer who, he mistakenly thought, was encamped on its upper waters. David Thompson never actually saw the Thompson River.

The appendices to the volumes are important. They provide valuable biographical information regarding fur-traders and map-makers. The second appendix takes issue with the late Professor Arthur S. Morton on his conclusions regarding "the Columbian Enterprise."

Miss White is to be congratulated for the valuable addition to the all too few volumes which deal with the career of that great explorer and fur-trader whom Dr.

J. B. Tyrrell has termed "the greatest practical land geographer that the world has produced."

WALTER N. SAGE.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. Series III, No. 7. Edited by J. A. Jackson, Gordon W. Leekie, and W. L. Morton. Winnipeg: Advocate Printers Ltd., 1952. Pp. 39.

It is a matter of regret that the necessity to economize has forced the editors of this, the seventh, number of the Third Series to publish only three of the papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba during the seasons 1949–50 and 1950–51. If the unpublished papers are of the same calibre as those that have already appeared in print, Western Canadian history is indeed the poorer because of the sadly restricted publication policy that inadequate financial support has forced upon an old and significant local history society.

This is the first time that a paper by J. L. Johnston, able and indefatigable Provincial Librarian of Manitoba, has been published. Mr. Johnston's amazing knowledge of Manitoba and, for that matter, Prairie history has made him an invaluable assistant to researchers all across the country, and at long last some of his own research appears over his signature. From information gathered from hither and yon, he has pieced together the fantastic story of *Lord Gordon Gordon,* confidence man and swindler *par excellence* of the period 1868–1874. Although his actual identity still remains a mystery, Lord Gordon's activity is now most carefully detailed and documented, commencing with his deceptions in Forfar, Scotland, and ending with his suicide at Headingly, Manitoba. The full story of his clash with Jay Gould is told, a story almost unbelievable at times that cannot but leave with the reader a glimmer of admiration for a scoundrel who outsmarted, at least temporarily, one of the giants of American racketeering. Perhaps even more amazing than the financial intricacies that are revealed in this account are the international complications that followed the abortive attempt at the arrest of "his lordship" in Manitoba by Minnesota citizens. Mr. Johnston has done an admirable piece of research on an incident that had far greater implications than the sculduggery that gave rise to it would seem to suggest.

The second paper, *Steamboating on the Red,* written by Mrs. R. F. Basken (*née* Molly McFadden), is a short survey of steamboat traffic on the Red River, from its inception on June 10, 1859, with the arrival of the *Anson Northup* at Fort Garry to its conclusion on June 7, 1909, with the arrival at Winnipeg of the *Grand Forks.* Naturally, within the limits of nine pages few details could be given, although a fairly full account is given of the *Anson Northup* or *Pioneer,* as she later was called, and also of the *International* and *Selkirk.* However, as a ready-reference source for information on the steamers on the Red River, this article will be of considerable value.

Roy P. Johnson, member of the editorial staff of the Fargo *Forum* and specialist in the history of the Red River valley, contributed the third paper, on *The Fenian "Invasion" of 1871.* This incident he considers "one of the most fabulous

episodes in the history of our Canadian and American frontier," and when one realizes all the elements that are brought together in this article, one is inclined to agree. The invasion occurred at an extremely critical juncture in the history of Manitoba, when the Province was slowly recovering from the effects of the rebellion. Indeed, it was probably the result of the rift between Riel and W. B. O'Donaghue. Much information is given on the prior and subsequent career of the other leader in the foray—the impulsive General John J. O'Neill. Mr. Johnson has produced an interesting and contemporaneous description of the invasion in the form of two newspaper dispatches of October 5 and 16, 1871, by George I. Foster, correspondent for the Yorkton *Courier,* who was also clerk of the Federal Court at Pembina, and who later, in his capacity as Court Commissioner, was to try O'Neill and his associates for violation of the Neutrality Act.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Towards the Last Spike. By E. J. Pratt. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1952. Pp. 53. $2.

British Columbia should be thrilled by this poem. Professor E. J. Pratt, of Victoria College, University of Toronto, a Newfoundlander by birth, has long been recognized as one of the chief Canadian poets of this generation. *Towards the Last Spike* should add to his reputation.

It was, no doubt, inevitable that a Canadian poet should put into verse the well-known story of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it is eminently fitting that a native of our newest Province should have accomplished the task. His poem is outstanding. He calls it a "verse panorama," and so it is. In a series of unforgettable word-pictures he has told the tale from the Terms of Union in 1870 to the driving of the last spike at Craigellachie in Eagle Pass, British Columbia, on November 7, 1885. As a historical narrative, the work is sound. There are a few places where the author has sacrificed historical accuracy in order to heighten the dramatic effect. He postpones, for example, British Columbia's threats of secession till the railway is well under construction.

Professor Pratt has brooded long over his subject. He has recreated the years from 1870 to 1885. Nothing of importance is omitted. His most important contribution is probably in the vivid portrayal of the men who planned and built the railway; the lengthy list of Scots—"Oatmeal was in their blood and in their names"; the non-Scots, to coin a phrase, Onderdonk, J. J. Hill, Shaughnessy, and, above all, William Cornelius Van Horne. He is not, however, unmindful of the political figures—Sir John A. Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and Edward Blake. He praises Sir John A., is fairly kind to Alexander Mackenzie, but highly critical of Edward Blake. The financiers also—George Stephen, Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), Richard B. Angus, to mention only a few—pass before us in stately procession. The financing of the road and its political implications are well described.

The finest poetical passages deal with the building of the line across the Prairies, the piercing of the north shore of Lake Superior, and the penetration of the almost

insurmountable mountain barrier. At long last the work is accomplished. The gap from Savona's Ferry to Craigellachie is at length closed, and the rails from the east and from the west meet. Donald A. Smith drives the golden spike and the work is done.

British Columbia is portrayed as a lady who has to decide between her sailor-lover, California, and her long-distance wooer, Sir John A. Macdonald. She nearly deserts Alexander Mackenzie but is faithful to Sir John A. Macdonald.

Towards the Last Spike must be read in full to be properly enjoyed and understood. Professor Pratt's achievement has been notable!

WALTER N. SAGE.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

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ATLIN, 1898–1910: THE STORY OF A GOLD BOOM*

There's gold, and it's haunting and haunting;
It's luring me on, as of old;
Yet it isn't the gold that I'm wanting,
So much as just finding the gold.
It's the great, big, broad land 'way up yonder,
It's the forests where silence has lease;
It's the beauty that thrills me with wonder,
It's the stillness that fills me with peace.[1]

So Robert Service described the irrational impulse which drives prospectors into wildernesses in search of the precious yellow metal. Knight errant of a century that knows no romance, the prospector heads alone for the unknown interior. Driven by an insatiable desire to see what lies over the next hill, across the near-by creek, or around the approaching bend, he pushes on, always seeking, seldom finding. If he does discover a rich deposit, he rarely remains for long at the scene of his find to develop his claim. All too often he dies a lonely death on the trail. Only on his strong arms, his broad back, and his nimble wits can he rely. Minor accidents on the trail assume major proportions when the prospector finds himself far from any doctor or friend. A wrong turn, a mis-step, a sudden snow-storm, or a rock-slide can bring serious hardship, injury, or even death to him. He is frequently lost for weeks at a time. His precious supplies are often inadequate. He is exposed to all the dangers of forest fires, wild beasts, and the tricks of nature. Still he travels on. If he succeeds, for a short time he basks in the admiration of the mining world. Then, his brief moment of glory ended, he returns to his wilderness home. If he falters or fails in his quest, he can appeal to no one for sympathy. He belongs to no union. He cannot strike. He gets no special treatment from any benevolent

* The substance of this article was read before a meeting of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, October 18, 1951. The writer wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance afforded him by three early residents of the Atlin district now living in Victoria, Mrs. H. W. Ebbs-Canavan, Mrs. Henry Esson Young, and Mr. Alfred Carmichael.

(1) Robert W. Service, "The Spell of the Yukon," in *Songs of a Sourdough*, Toronto, 1907, p. 31.

group of law-makers or from charitable organizations. In his old age he is usually penniless, but, unlike his contemporary city dwellers, spurns the quiet life of easy retirement in a centre of civilization. He goes on to the end of his days, and frequently dies alone. Only some wild canyon or deep forest knows the secret of his death.

To such a man, and to many more like him, the Province of British Columbia owes much. There is scarcely an area in the Province in which the searchers for gold have not played an important part in the exploration, development, and settlement of the country. From the time of the Fraser River gold-rush of 1858 to the discovery of the Atlin fields in 1898, prospectors combed the Interior of the Mainland of present-day British Columbia, seeking the precious gold which would make their fortunes. Despite virtually impenetrable mountain ranges, impassable rivers, and heavy forests, the Argonauts pushed their way deeper and deeper into the Interior, constantly pioneering the way for a structure of civilization more permanent than any that they could hope to establish. Behind the prospectors were to come the road and railway builders, the merchants, the doctors, the teachers, the men of God, the farmers, the newspaper editors, and all the other types of men found in any community. To the prospectors, however, belong the honours attached to the discovery and exploration of many of the remote regions of the Interior of British Columbia.

In 1858 miners flocked to the banks of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. From their arrival stemmed the formation of the Crown Colony of British Columbia. In the 1860's gold discoveries on the creeks of the Cariboo led to the construction of the Cariboo Road by the Royal Engineers. In the 1860's and 1870's the gold-seekers had penetrated to the Omineca district. In 1873 findings on Thibert, McDame, and Dease Creeks in the Cassiar district led more miners into the northern part of the Province. The vast Cassiar region, previously unknown to white men, slowly began to assume an identity as the prospectors worked north and west toward the remote boundaries of the Province. A knowledge of the patterns of the innumerable lakes, rivers, and mountains gradually emerged. The political boundaries, however, remained virtually unknown, and adequate surveys and geological explorations still seemed to lie in the future. The problems of transportation and communication, moreover, appeared to render unlikely any great development in the Northern Interior of British Columbia. Until 1885 and the completion of the first Canadian transcontinental railway, the

Canadian Pacific, British Columbia was absolutely devoid of railways. Between 1886 and 1900 Vancouver Island and the southern portion of the Province were covered with a fairly complex network of railways, but not a mile of trackage was built north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific. Without railways, settlement of a permanent nature seemed barred to Northern British Columbia. In the 1890's, however, events occurred in the Yukon which expedited the development of the Far North.

Gold had been discovered in various portions of Alaska and the Yukon prior to 1897, but it was in 1897–98 that strikes rich enough to attract large numbers of miners were made. Then it was that the hordes of gold-seekers began to pour into the Yukon and Alaska, and, along the route, to penetrate any area likely to have gold-bearing creeks. Many of these wanderers, after travelling to within short distances of their goal, were lured aside into discoveries easier to reach than the Yukon. The gold-rush to the Atlin Lake country in 1898 was one of the richest off-shoots of the rush to the Klondike.

It is difficult to say definitely who was the first white man ever to see Atlin Lake. Many prospectors and fur-traders might easily have penetrated to the Atlin region prior to the days of the gold-rush.[2] Dr. G. M. Dawson, a prominent member of the Geological Survey of Canada in the early days of that organization's existence, believed it possible for Michael Byrnes, an explorer for the unfortunate Collins Overland Telegraph scheme, to have penetrated to the most remote sources of the Lewes River in 1867.[3] While Dawson himself examined portions

(2) Victoria *British Colonist,* June 8 and August 1, 1868.

(3) G. M. Dawson, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T., and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887,* Montreal, 1888, pp. 168B–170B. In a letter to Colonel C. S. Bulkley, dated February 19, 1867, Edmund Conway, district engineer for the Collins Overland Telegraph party, said that between April and October, 1866, Michael Byrnes travelled 1,500 miles for the telegraph company, from Quesnel to Fort Fraser to Babine Portage, back to Quesnel, and then again to Fort Fraser. It is unlikely, therefore, that Byrnes was able to penetrate much farther north than Fort Fraser in 1866. On October 1, 1866, Conway placed Thomas Elwyn in charge of the explorations northward from Babine Portage, and instructed him to send several small parties toward the Skeena, Take [Taku?], and Chilkat Rivers, and also toward Dease House and the Yukon River. Bulkley's *Journal* makes no further mention of explorations by Byrnes or Elwyn in 1867. By 1867, also, the Collins Overland Telegraph scheme was over. It therefore seems improbable that Byrnes did much northern exploring in that or subsequent years. C. S. Bulkley, *Journal and Letters of Col. C. S. Bulkley, U.S. Army; Telegraph Trail Expedition, 1865–1867,* 1865–1867. Photostat in Archives

of the Yukon and Northern British Columbia in 1887, he explored neither Taku Arm of Tagish Lake nor Atlin Lake. From Indians, however, he concluded that a large river entered Taku Arm, from the east, about 20 miles up the arm, and that this river flowed from the west side of a very long lake which was almost parallel to Taku Arm. A Tagish Indian, said Dawson, had called this long lake "A-tlin." Into the southern end of this lake flowed several feeders, one of which Dawson thought Michael Byrnes had used to reach Atlin Lake in 1867.[4] Dawson definitely stated that, contrary to contemporary belief, the main portion of the headwaters of the Lewes River came from Taku Arm and from this unexplored lake to the eastward.

In 1892 the Government of British Columbia decided to send a group of four men to track-survey the north-western portion of British Columbia, and chose N. B. Gauvreau, a Provincial land surveyor, to lead the party.[5] Gauvreau was instructed first to track-survey that portion of British Columbia north of the Tahltan River to the 60th parallel of north latitude, and then to return by way of the Chilkoot and White Passes, surveying as he went. Gauvreau travelled by ship to Telegraph Creek, arriving there on May 28, 1892, and on June 1, with a pack-train, set out into the unknown land to the north of Telegraph Creek. In his later report, Gauvreau mentioned that, in 1891 and 1892, the Hudson's Bay Company had constructed a trail from the junction of the Tahltan and Stikine Rivers, 13 miles above Telegraph Creek, to its post at Egnell, near the junction of the Shesley and Hackett Rivers, and that the company had abandoned its original plan to continue the trail to Teslin Lake. Gauvreau apparently followed this trail along the Tahltan and Hackett Rivers to Egnell. After travelling northward to Teslin Lake, he eventually returned southward to the junction of the Inklin and Taku Rivers. Thence he ascended a tributary of the Taku River to Sloko Lake, crossed over to Pike Lake, and descended the Pike River to Atlin Lake. Bad weather and the lateness of the season prevented Gauvreau's party from

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of B.C., pp. 161–162. Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka, United States Army, who explored the Yukon and Alaska extensively, believed that Byrnes had reached Lake "Takho" [Tagish Lake] ". . . or some lake very near it . . . ," but that Byrnes was recalled when the telegraph scheme collapsed, and had apparently left no record of his travels. Frederick Schwatka, *A Summer in Alaska,* St. Louis, Missouri, 1893, pp. 117–119.

(4) Dawson, *op. cit.,* pp. 168B–169B.

(5) British Columbia, *Crown Land Surveys for the Year Ending 31st December, 1892,* Victoria [1893], p. 483.

track-surveying Atlin Lake, but the group did explore the lake sufficiently thoroughly to gain an accurate picture of its size and nature. Gauvreau made no mention of miners on the creeks of Atlin Lake, nor, apparently, did he, or any of his men, attempt to pan for gold. His contribution to Atlin's development as a mining camp was the supplying of the first accurate on-the-spot survey of the topography of the Atlin area.

Gold, the reason for Atlin's existence, was apparently discovered there long before the Atlin gold-rush took place. Some of the first people to arrive in Atlin in 1898 claim to have found the remains of primitive mining operations at least fifty years old.[6] It is possible, therefore, that, prior to the acquisition of Alaska by the United States from Russia in 1867, Russian explorers had attempted a crude form of prospecting. American and Canadian prospectors also had probably investigated the country, but, failing to find pay-dirt or else running short of supplies, had had to leave the findings without adequately working them.

The most generally accepted and logical account of the practical discovery of the Atlin goldfields credits Fritz (Frederick) Miller with being the father of the camp.[7] Born at Linden, Hanover, Germany, on April 24, 1874, Miller left Germany for America in 1891, and, in September of that year, joined his brother, George F. Miller, in Juneau, Alaska. Fritz Miller finished his formal education in Juneau between 1891 and 1894, and then, following his brother's example, became a prospector and miner. Between 1894 and 1897 he prospected in various parts of Alaska and the Yukon Territory, working at Circle City for three years, and then visiting Dawson and St. Michael before returning to Juneau, via Seattle, in 1897.

It is not definitely known why Miller went to the Atlin area in 1898 to look for gold. Atlin Lake was certainly well apart from the beaten path to the Klondike. From his actions, however, it seems logical to

(6) Victoria *British Colonist,* June 8 and August 1, 1868; Atlin *Claim,* March 26, 1904; T. J. Kelly, "North to the Sixtieth Parallel," *Shoulder Strap,* No. XX (December, 1949), p. 31; and E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present,* Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II, p. 499.

(7) Source material for the biographical details of the life of the discoverer of Atlin is sketchy and contradictory. Fritz Miller apparently kept diaries regularly, but no trace of them has ever been found. The Atlin *Claim* of September 3, 1904, on the occasion of Miller's death, has a fairly lengthy biographical sketch, but contradicts itself in several instances. W. H. T. Olive, in his *Trail of '98: Memoirs, MS.,* Archives of B.C. [hereafter cited as Olive *Memoirs*], also contributes somewhat to the existing confusion about the discoverer of the Atlin goldfields.

assume that before he headed for Atlin Lake he knew of gold in paying quantities in the district. A diary which Miller kept has, unfortunately, been lost. Otherwise the reasons for Miller's choice of the Atlin country would probably be clear. From the various conflicting accounts of the discovery,[8] however, it is possible to piece together a credible account of what probably happened.

A romantic story about the arrival in Juneau of a dying prospector with a sack of gold and a rough map of his discovery led George F. Miller, the brother of Fritz, to decide upon an investigation of the area north-east of Juneau. About 1896 he ventured alone into the area supposedly shown on the map, and found some traces of gold along a waterway—later known as Pine Creek—on the eastern shore of Atlin Lake. After having several accidents and dodging Indians, of whose intentions he was uncertain, he returned to Juneau, convinced that the area which he had explored had potentialities as a gold-producing region, but also determined not to endure again the nightmarish hardships of his journey. In 1897 he and his partner, Lockie McKinnon,[9] another long-time prospector, built the Circle City Hotel in Juneau, and there George Miller was joined by his brother and Kenneth McLaren[10] in the winter of 1897–98. In January, 1898, when Juneau was swarming with miners bound for the Klondike discoveries, George Miller told his brother, Fritz, and Fritz's partner, McLaren, about the possibilities of Pine Creek, and they decided to investigate further.

In January, 1898, in the depths of winter, Fritz Miller and McLaren set out by dog team, following the trail over the White Pass of the miners bound from Skagway for the Klondike.[11] North of Bennett, however,

(8) Olive, *Memoirs,* pp. 30–31, 261–262; Vancouver *Province,* August 15 and 27, 1898; *BC. Mining Record,* IV (December, 1898), p. 20; Vancouver *Sun,* magazine section, January 13, 1951, p. 9.

(9) McKinnon was born at Lake Ensley [Lake Ainslie?], Nova Scotia, in 1866, and, after mining in the Cassiar district in the 1880's, arrived in Alaska in 1887. He and George Miller worked in the Porcupine area in the early 1890's, and, after building the Circle City Hotel in Juneau in 1897, he continued to prospect while Miller operated the hotel. In 1912 McKinnon returned to Juneau, where he lived until his death in 1946. Whitehorse *Star,* May 3, 1946.

(10) Kenneth McLaren was born in Blue Mountain, Pictou, Nova Scotia, about 1866, and died in Atlin in May, 1931. He and Fritz Miller were buried side by side beneath a massive monument erected in their memory by the people of Atlin. Whitehorse *Star,* May 22, 1931.

(11) J. C. Gwillim, *Report on the Atlin Mining District, British Columbia,* Ottawa, 1901, p. 6B.

they left the Klondike trail, heading east over the ice by way of Tutshi Lake and River to the Taku Arm of Tagish Lake. After travelling along Taku Arm to Graham Inlet, they followed the inlet to its head, and crossed the narrow piece of land separating them from Atlin Lake. On February 10, 1898, they landed on the silent, frozen shores of Atlin Lake. The two men found shallow deposits on Pine Creek, as George Miller had told them that they would, and began work. They soon exhausted their supplies, and had to return to Juneau. In the summer of 1898, however, they returned and resumed their mining. On this trip they were accompanied by six other prospectors and miners. They finally staked their claims about 6 miles above the mouth of a creek flowing in a south-westerly direction into the east shore of Atlin Lake, about half-way up the lake. Because of the light growth of pine which grew along the creek, they named the waterway Pine Creek. The party found many small nuggets, and from each pan took gold-dust ranging in value from 60 cents to $6. Miller subsequently told a newspaper reporter that he took over $120 in gold from the ground on the first day on which he operated his sluice-boxes, July 3, 1898.[12] On July 3, also, the following statement was fastened to a stake post on Pine Creek:—

NOTICE

At a meeting of the Free Miners on Pine Creek held on the 3rd day of July 1898 Mr. Frederic [*sic*] Miller was appointed Free Miners recorder for That Creek. Any person therefore staking claims must record his claim with Mr. Miller within ten days of date of staking.

Mr. Miller has in his possession the rules and regulations regarding Placer Mining & will explain any of the rules and laws as therein laid down.

D'A. E. Strickland
Inspector.
Acting Gold Commissioner[13]

On July 25, 1898, Miller and McLaren officially staked their claims, and on July 30 they registered them before Captain D'Arcy E. Strickland, the officer commanding a detachment of the North West Mounted Police at Tagish Lake.[14]

The lack of adequate knowledge of the geography of the new gold-producing area immediately became apparent. Miller and McLaren, thinking that their discovery was in the Northwest Territories, staked

(12) Atlin *Claim*, June 17, 1899.

(13) British Columbia, Special Commission, 1899, Miscellaneous Exhibits and Shorthand Notes of Cases, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(14) *Ibid.* From the document recording the discovery claim.

under the Yukon placer-mining regulations and, when they recorded their discovery at Tagish Lake, secured discovery rights under the same mining laws. In 1898, unfortunately for the discoverers of Pine Creek, the mining regulations of the Northwest Territories and British Columbia differed. The Northwest Territories regulations allowed the first discoverers of gold on any creek to stake claims of 1,200 feet in length and any subsequent stakers to mark out claims of 250 feet.[15] The mining laws of British Columbia, on the other hand, allowed a discovery claim of but 250 feet and other subsequent claims of 100 feet in length.[16] From the first official staking in the Atlin area, therefore, difficulties were to arise which would seriously hamper subsequent development. Of the legal tangles, however, more will be said later.

Despite efforts by Miller and his group to keep secret the news of their discovery, reports of the finding of gold in the Atlin region soon spread. By July 31, officials of the Bennett Lake and Klondike Navigation Company had heard of Miller's discovery from Captain Strickland at Tagish Lake, and investigated. They found Miller's party on Pine Creek, bought a sample of gold from Miller, and sent it to Victoria for display purposes.[17] The news of the discovery was thus known in the capital city by August 13. By August 5, Skagway was filled with rumours of the new goldfields. During August, 1898, the miners began to arrive at Atlin Lake, first in twos and threes and then by hundreds. Between August 5 and the end of the 1898 mining season, approximately 3,000 people visited the Atlin area.[18] The rush to Atlin had begun.

The influx of 3,000 people into an area previously unmapped necessarily lifted the cloud of ignorance of the geography of the region. To most people, in 1898, Atlin Lake was an entirely strange name. There were no adequate maps of the area. Few white men had ever reached the Atlin Lake country, and the Indians in the region were not numerous. A forbidding terrain seemed to present a barrier to any travellers wishing to go east of Bennett Lake. The miners soon found, however, that a natural waterway led through the Coast Mountains which, at first glance, had seemed to bar any explorations. The original discoverers of Atlin

(15) Chapter 29, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1900,* Victoria, 1900, pp. 113–115; Canada *Gazette,* Ottawa, 1898, Vol. XXXI, p. xliii.

(16) Chapter 26, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1891,* Victoria, 1891, pp. 141–175.

(17) Olive *Memoirs,* p. 261.

(18) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for the Year Ending 31st December, 1898,* Victoria, 1899, p. 985.

used a combined water and land route, striking out westward across the ice and snow from Bennett Lake to reach the eastern shore of Atlin Lake. Subsequent gold-seekers, however, after reaching Skagway, at the head of Lynn Canal, followed the Skagway River Valley, went up over the summit of the White Pass, pushed on to Cariboo Crossing (now known as Carcross) at the northern end of Bennett Lake, turned eastward to Tagish Lake, and thence southward along Taku Arm to Golden Gate at the western end of Graham Inlet. From Golden Gate the miners sped eastward along Graham Inlet to the Atlin River. They ascended the turbulent Atlin River to Atlin Lake, and crossed the lake, usually in leaky skiffs, to the east shore, where the gold deposits were to be found. From the arrival of thousands of miners in the Lake Atlin area in September and October, 1898, dates our knowledge of the geography of the region.

Atlin Lake, in the north-west corner of British Columbia, is one of the largest lakes in the Province.[19] The name "Atlin" comes from an Indian word "aht-lah" meaning "big water."[20] The lake covers an area of approximately 246 square miles, 66 miles long and from 2 to 5 miles wide. Into its northern tip, extending to the Yukon Territory, flows the Lubbock River, emptying Little Atlin Lake. Atlin Lake drains a basin of 4,402 square miles, and, in turn, is drained by the Atlin River, which flows into Graham Inlet on Taku Arm, part of the chain of waterways which forms the headwaters of the Lewes River. The lake itself and the region which it drains lies between the 59th and 60th parallels of latitude, and between the 132nd and 134th degrees of longitude. Within Atlin Lake are numerous islands, the largest of which are Teresa, Copper, and Sloko, all at the southern end of the lake.

The country surrounding Atlin Lake is mountainous: to the west loom the Boundary Ranges of the Coast Mountains; to the north and east lies the Teslin Plateau, part of the larger Yukon Plateau; while to the south is the Taku Plateau, a division of the Stikine Plateau. From the south-western tip of the lake almost to the sea-coast at Juneau sprawls the magnificent Llewellyn Glacier, one of the unknown beauty spots of British Columbia.

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(19) The topography of the Atlin area is adequately described in British Columbia, Department of Lands and Forests, *Telegraph Creek and Atlin Land Recording Districts* (Land Series, Bulletin No. 23), Victoria, 1949, pp. 7–11.

(20) Chief Henry Taku Jack explains the meaning of the word in the Vancouver *Province,* March 25, 1948.

The climate of the district is not as severe in the winter-time as one might expect to find it in an area relatively far north. The temperature, nevertheless, often falls, and remains, well below zero for considerable periods. Atlin Lake freezes over in the winter, and is usually ice-bound from early in January until late in May or early in June. The transition from winter to summer is rapid. Summer lasts from early in June until early in October. The summer days are very long and are usually rainless. The average annual rainfall at Atlin is approximately 12 inches.[21]

In the summer-time the temperature is such that the local residents can, and do, grow all types of hardy garden produce. The forest growth is relatively light, but white spruce, Banksian pine, balsam, cottonwood, and white poplar are common. North and east of Atlin Lake wild fruit, particularly wild raspberries, black and red currants, gooseberries, and cranberries are abundant. Wild game also is plentiful. Fish, game birds, moose, caribou, black, brown, and grizzly bears, mountain-sheep, goats, lynx, all types of foxes, wolves, and many other fur-bearing animals dwell in the area.

In the early years of Atlin's development as a mining camp, gold production was hampered by several factors, among which were legal tangles and unwise legislation affecting gold-mining. The first difficulty which Atlin faced arose from the lack of knowledge of the exact geographic position of Atlin. Fritz Miller, Kenneth McLaren, and others, accepting the word of the North West Mounted Police officer at Tagish that Atlin Lake was in the Northwest Territories, had registered the original discovery claim and about forty subsequent claims on Pine Creek under Northwest Territories mining laws. When the area was found definitely to be within British Columbia, the mining laws of the Province were accordingly applied, and, since claims under Provincial and Territorial regulations varied in size, caused considerable confusion.

In the late summer and early fall of 1898 the creeks and rivers flowing into Atlin Lake swarmed with miners, real or self-styled. Before the year was out, every creek, gold-bearing or not, in the district had been prospected and staked. In the early summer of 1898, of course, there were no governmental officials on the spot to do all the necessary tasks required in any mining community. Bennett had a detachment of North West Mounted Police and an official of the British Columbia Government, Captain W. J. Rant, who acted in the dual capacity of

(21) British Columbia, Department of Lands and Forests, *Telegraph Creek and Atlin Land Recording Districts*, p. 9.

Magistrate and Gold Commissioner.[22] At Tagish, also, Captain Strickland commanded another police post. Between the two communities there was not a single representative of any government, Provincial or Federal. From Bennett Lake, Captain Rant at first attempted to direct governmental administration in the Atlin region but, finding the task impossible at such a distance, appointed two Acting Mining Recorders, Norman W. F. Rant, his son, and John J. McKenna, a constable at Bennett Lake. The two men established their offices at Discovery camp on August 5, 1898,[23] and were soon swamped by clerical work. Shortly after their arrival, all the claims which Fritz Miller's party had staked under Territorial laws were "jumped" and restaked under Provincial mining regulations.[24] Rant and McKenna, unfortunately, complicated matters by recording these new applications for the claims previously registered. In fact, they allowed some claims to be staked and recorded three or four times.[25] In partial justification of these Mining Recorders at Bennett and Atlin, however, it must be said that, inexperienced, understaffed, and overworked as they were, they could not possibly cope with the deluge of applications for free miners' licences and recordings of claims. Rant and McKenna, lacking even proper recording books, could not tell the miners which creeks had or had not been staked.

On December 1, 1898, the Provincial Government fortunately appointed as Gold Commissioner a man who was capable of restoring order to the confusion existing in the community.[26] On December 29, 1898, Joseph Dee Graham arrived in Atlin, armed with the powers of Gold Commissioner for both the Atlin and Bennett Lake Mining Divisions. An ex-soldier in the British Army, a former member of both the Victoria City and Provincial police forces, and one-time Government Agent at Revelstoke, Graham[27] was an experienced and competent official, a man who knew how to give orders and ensure their execution.

(22) *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Police . . . of British Columbia for the Year Ending 31st October, 1897,* Victoria, 1898, p. 669.

(23) *B.C. Mining Record,* IV (December, 1898), p. 20.

(24) "Return of the Commission under the Provisions of the Bennett-Atlin Commission Act, 1899," in British Columbia, *Sessional Papers, 1899,* Victoria, 1900, p. 495.

(25) *B.C. Mining Record,* V (August, 1899), p. 12; Victoria *Colonist,* January 8, 1900; British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1899,* p. 643.

(26) *Loc. cit.*

(27) Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail,* November 27, 1897; Atlin *News Miner,* June 29, 1940.

His commanding manner, which later helped to bring about his downfall, was at first a valuable asset to him. Under Graham's efficient dominating direction, order slowly emerged from chaos. He immediately enlarged the office staff, and set Norman Rant to work straightening out as best he could the tangled and confused applications for recording claims.[28]

In June, 1899, the Provincial Government of Premier Charles Semlin aided Graham's work by appointing Justice P. Æ. Irving, a Judge of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, as a special commissioner to settle the disputes arising from the difficulties caused by the uncertainty as to the boundary between the Province and the Northwest Territories, and by the manner in which the Mining Recorders at Bennett and Atlin had conducted their offices prior to the arrival of Graham.[29] In the summer of 1899, Justice Irving held his investigations in Atlin. Virtually all work in the community ceased while the miners waited to hear his decisions. In Irving's primitive courtroom some of the leading lawyers of the Province appeared on behalf of the various participants in the legal battles. A future Premier of the Province, Richard McBride, Q.C., pleaded the case of Miller and McLaren, the discoverers of the camp. Mr. Justice Irving decided that all claims staked under Northwest Territories law could be restaked as claims of 100 feet under Provincial regulations.[30] Miller and McLaren's discovery rights were confirmed, and the two men were directed to restake their claims under Provincial law. By the passing of a special Statute[31] in 1900, Miller and McLaren were ensured ownership of a claim 598 feet long and 1,000 feet wide. With the completion of Justice Irving's commission, the camp again hoped to return to serious mining.

In 1899 the Provincial Government further complicated Atlin's development by passing an amendment to the "Placer-mining Act." By this amendment, commonly known as the "Alien Exclusion Act,"[32]

(28) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1899,* p. 643.

(29) Chapter 52, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1899,* Victoria, 1899, pp. 161–162.

(30) "Return of the Commission under the Provisions of the Bennett-Atlin Commission Act, 1899," in British Columbia, *Sessional Papers, 1899,* Victoria, 1900, p. 495.

(31) Chapter 29, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1900,* Victoria, 1900, pp. 113–115.

(32) Chapter 50, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1899,* Victoria, 1899, pp. 155–156.

Joseph Martin, the Attorney-General in the Semlin Government, barred any further issuings of free miners' licences to non-British subjects. Anyone not a British subject who had acquired a licence or claim prior to the passage of the Act, however, could retain his licence and claim. By this Act the Government hoped to retain the gold and trade of Atlin for Canadian subjects.[33] Unfortunately, since many of the miners in Atlin in 1899 were Americans, the amendment caused an uproar in the community. Atlin's American residents sent a protest to the President of the United States who, in turn, notified the Canadian Government.[34] In 1900, therefore, the Federal Government disallowed the amendment on the grounds that, by dealing with aliens, the Act invaded a legislative field which belonged to the Federal sphere.[35] The damage, however, had already been done. Many American miners, after enduring great hardships to reach Atlin, found, upon their arrival, that they were unable to acquire mining licences.[36] Many others who had planned to go to Atlin went elsewhere.[37] To acquire claims before the "Alien Exclusion Bill" became law, some of the American miners already in Atlin staked hurriedly and carelessly, often, unknowingly, applying for claims already granted.[38] With the disallowance of the "Alien Exclusion Act," however, the miners of Atlin could once again work their claims, knowing that they would not lose them because of any Act of the Provincial Legislature.

Atlin was not yet free of administrative problems. By 1900 the community had divided into two groups—placer-miners and hydraulic companies. The miners felt that they were being unfairly treated by the Provincial Government, which had granted hydraulic leases on several of the richer creeks, including Pine.[39] J. D. Graham adhered strictly to the regulations of the Provincial mining laws, and began to lose the respect and admiration of the placer-miners. Complaints against Graham's administration of his office reached Victoria, and, in self-protection, Graham asked the Government to hold an investiga-

(33) So stated the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Legislature in 1899. Victoria *Colonist,* January 24, 1900.

(34) *Ibid.,* February 1, 1900.

(35) Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia,* Vol. II, p. 505.

(36) Victoria *Colonist,* January 8, 1900.

(37) Dawson *Klondike Nugget,* March 15, 1899.

(38) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1899,* p. 644.

(39) Victoria *Colonist,* August 17, 1900.

tion.[40] The Government complied, sending Chief Justice A. J. McColl of the Supreme Court of British Columbia to examine the conduct of public business in the Bennett and Atlin Mining Divisions.[41] In August, 1901, Chief Justice McColl held his hearings in Atlin, and returned to Victoria to prepare his report. In January, 1902, however, Justice McColl died, and since no copy of his report is known to be in existence, it is possible that he did not have an opportunity to present a copy to the Government.[42] In 1902 a Select Committee of the Legislature further investigated Graham's activities.[43] As a result of these findings, Graham resigned in June, 1902, and was succeeded as Gold Commissioner by J. A. Fraser. Newspaper-men in Atlin, Victoria, and Vancouver agreed that Graham had most faithfully and competently discharged his duties in a trying position, and that he had been the victim of a vicious, mud-slinging campaign. The Atlin *Claim* paid a last tribute to the retiring officer, saying that he had been a good man for the office which he had held, and that he had done a good job.[44] At the time of Graham's resignation, the *Claim* also praised the government of Premier E. G. Prior for its choice of J. A. Fraser as the new Government Agent.[45] Fraser remained as Gold Commissioner for twenty years, finally being succeeded by C. L. Monroe in 1922. During Fraser's régime, he conducted his duties fairly and honestly, thus eliminating any further complaints against the officials of the Government.

When the Atlin goldfields were first discovered, a horde of inexperienced gold-seekers flocked to the area, staked claims wholesale, and then began a mad digging for gold. Many of these people knew

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(40) Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail,* August 2, 1901.

(41) Victoria *Colonist,* July 10, 1901; April 24, 1902.

(42) M. C. Holmes, *Royal Commissions and Commissions of Inquiry under the "Public Inquiries Act" in British Columbia, 1872–1942; a Checklist,* Victoria, 1945, p. 22.

(43) Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail,* June 6, 1902; Victoria *Colonist,* April 18, 19, 24, and May 7, 9, 1902.

(44) Atlin *Claim,* June 7, 1902; Victoria *Colonist,* July 25, 1902. After Graham left Atlin he travelled widely, trying mining in Death Valley and then living in France and England. He returned to British Columbia in 1906 and settled on Vancouver Island. He served Canada in World War I, even though he was then 60 years old, and after the war returned to Vancouver Island, where he lived until his death in 1940. Atlin *News Miner,* June 29, 1940; Victoria *Colonist,* May 11, 1940.

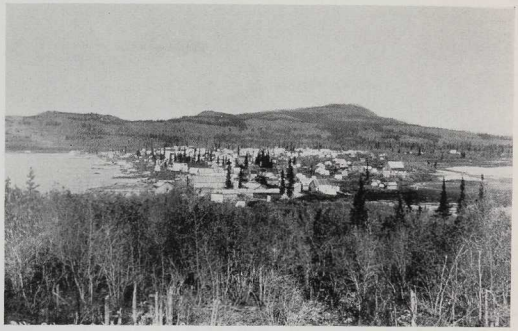
(45) Atlin *Claim,* June 7, 1902.

Miiler and McLaren, discoverers of the Atlin goldfield, during the proceedings of the Irving Commission, 1899.

Front row, left to right: Fritz Miller and Kenneth McLaren.

Back row, left to right: E. M. N. Woods, Mining Recorder, Atlin; Lockie McKinnon, pioneer prospector; and Richard McBride, counsel for Miller and McLaren.

A miners' meeting to protest the size of the mineral claims, held on First Street, Atlin, April, 1899.



Atlin, October 6, 1899.

Atlin, 1900.

little or nothing of mining methods, and, after a brief period, abandoned their quest, either returning south or remaining in the camp as labourers working for experienced miners or big companies.[46] At first those miners who knew their business did well in Atlin. On many of the creeks, on Pine and Spruce in particular, they could extract enough gold by shallow workings to gain an adequate reward. As the first rich returns began petering out, however, the Atlin goldfields followed the pattern of all other gold-bearing areas. Deeper diggings, more costly heavy machinery, and high freight rates were among the factors which forced the free miners to abandon or sell out their claims. In place of the individual miners, the big companies, with their expensive hydraulic machinery, began to appear as a major factor in 1899 and 1900. In 1899 the Atlin Lake Mining Company installed the first hydraulic plant in the district on Birch Creek, and by 1901 there were also hydraulic operations on Pine, Boulder, Wright, and Spruce Creeks.[47] For a few years the placer and hydraulic methods operated side by side on many of the creeks around Atlin Lake. Gradually, however, Spruce Creek, Atlin's largest gold-producing stream, became the only major stronghold of the individual miner. As the free miners abandoned creek after creek as unprofitable, the hydraulic companies moved in and made these areas pay. At various times in Atlin's history, almost every major mining company in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States conducted hydraulic mining operations in the Atlin area.

The gradual acquisition of leases by the hydraulic companies did not come about without protests and struggles from the individual miners.[48] For example, the *Report of the Minister of Mines* for 1901, commenting upon the gradual transition of the Atlin camp from ordinary placer-mining to hydraulic methods, stated that the process would have been quicker and easier if some of the free miners owning worthless placer claims had not been holding these useless claims merely to embarrass the large companies and force them to " buy off " the placer-miners.[49] At the same time, the *Report* went on to say, the rights of legitimate individual miners should be protected and the holdings of

(46) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1899,* pp. 644–652.

(47) Victoria *Colonist,* November 14, 1902; Atlin *Claim,* September 2, 1899; December 22, 1900.

(48) *Ibid.,* May 9, 1903; Vancouver *Province,* July 7, 1902.

(49) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1901,* p. 933.

free miners should not be buried under hydraulic tailings. By 1903 the day of large numbers of individual placer-miners on the creeks of the Atlin fields was over. The Atlin *Claim* stated that it was sorry to see the end of the individual miners, and that it regretted that many of the pioneers were leaving the district.[50] Nevertheless, added the *Claim,* the working of deeper ground meant that hydraulic mining was in Atlin to stay, and only through hydraulicking—with all it implied—could the camp acquire the capital to work the goldfields properly.

In the summer of 1902 the hydraulic interests of Atlin formed the Atlin Mine Operators' Association to achieve a general reduction in costs of mining through lowering of the mineral tax, reducing freight charges, and curtailing the profits of the retailers.[51] In January and February, 1903, the association met in Victoria, and succeeded in persuading other mining men of the Province to form the British Columbia Mining Association.[52] A. C. Hirschfeld, the editor of the Atlin *Claim,* and R. D. Fetherstonhaugh, the director of the operations of both the Nimrod Syndicate and the Atlin Mining Company, were prominent in the formation of the new body, Hirschfeld broaching the matter to the Victoria and Vancouver Boards of Trade and Fetherstonhaugh directing the committee which drafted the rules of the new group. The British Columbia Mining Association adopted virtually the same objectives as the Atlin Mine Operators' Association, pledging itself to work for the elimination of all grievances of hydraulic and free miners, and to permit development of the vast mineral riches of the Province.[53]

In 1903 a new type of mining operation—dredging—appeared in Atlin. The British American Dredging Company announced in May, 1903, that it planned to import a 600-ton dredging plant from Milwaukee. By May, 1904, the dredge was in operation on Gold Run. The company first built a dam, and then floated the dredge across it. The dredge took up the gravel, washed it, performed all the processes of " gold-getting," and then deposited the tailings behind. The British Columbia Dredging Company, a subsidiary of the British American,

(50) Atlin *Claim,* October 17, 1903.

(51) *Ibid.,* January 31, 1903.

(52) Vancouver *Province,* January 15, 1903; *B.C. Mining Exchange,* V (January, 1903), pp. 1–3, and V (February, 1903), pp. 1–2.

(53) *B.C. Mining Exchange,* V (May, 1903), p. 5, and V (June, 1903), p. 4; Victoria *Colonist,* November 4, 1903.

also had a dredge operating on Spruce Creek in 1904.[54] Dredging, unfortunately, proved an expensive failure in Atlin, and by 1908 had been abandoned.

In April, 1905, steam-shovels were introduced into Atlin's mining picture.[55] Steam-shovels offered the advantages of not requiring as much water as the hydraulic process, nor as much room for the dumping of the tailings. R. D. Fetherstonhaugh imported the first steam-shovel from Toledo, Ohio, to operate on Spruce Creek for the Northern Mines Company.[56] In 1906, also, the vast Guggenheim interests appeared in Atlin, forming the Atlin Consolidated Mining Company, and introducing a steam-shovel and electric dump-car system on Tar Flats.[57]

Over the years the hydraulic method of mining proved the most profitable in Atlin, but quartz-mining was also tried. In 1899 some engineers working for the Yukon and White Pass Railway Company had located a promising quartz proposition on the east shore of Taku Arm, 10 miles south of Golden Gate and 25 miles from Atlin.[58] They formed the Engineer Mining Company, and started work. By 1906 these engineers had exhausted their funds in development work. In 1907 a group headed by Captain James Alexander took over the Engineer mine. For a few years thereafter the mine was idle, hampered by inheritance litigation, but in 1924 the mine resumed operation under the management of New York interests. The Engineer mine always seemed to be a good prospect which was going to start paying "next year." "Next year" never seemed to come. The ore samples appeared rich, and, consequently, thousands of dollars were spent in preparation, but always more money was needed before the mine could really start producing.

Other attempts at quartz-mining were made in Atlin. In 1900, for example, the Nimrod Syndicate introduced Atlin's first stamp-mill on its property at Munro Mountain, north-east of Atlin.[59] For the first five years of Atlin's history, however, the individual miners and the hydraulic companies dominated mining activities in the region. In 1904

(54) Atlin *Claim*, January 21, 1905.

(55) *Ibid.*, April 15, 1905.

(56) *B.C. Mining Exchange*, VII (April, 1905), p. 7.

(57) Atlin *Claim*, May 12 and August 11, 1906.

(58) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1914*, p. K 89.

(59) Vancouver *Province*, July 30, 1900; Victoria *Colonist*, April 3, 1900, and March 8, 1901; Atlin *Claim*, April 14, 1900.

several quartz propositions which previously had been worked only sufficiently to satisfy the annual assessment were given more serious attention. Among these were the " Beavis " ledge, owned by C. E. W. Johnston and H. Maluin, and the " Yellow Jacket " group on Pine Creek which in 1904 began operating a small stamp-mill to crush ore.[60]

Quartz-mining did not become a major factor in Atlin's development until 1938. In 1929 and 1930 mining engineers had devoted considerable attention to the area around the junction of the Tulsequah and Taku Rivers, about 50 miles south of Atlin. In 1935 the Polaris-Taku Mining Company acquired quartz interests on Whitewater Creek, a tributary of the Tulsequah River, and in 1938 began producing.[61] As a result, the 1938 production figures for the Atlin district showed a marked increase. In 1942, however, the Polaris-Taku mine closed down because of the war, and did not reopen until 1946. This mine has been the only major producer of lode gold in Atlin's history.

From 1880 onward, British Columbia had experienced a large influx of Oriental immigrants.[62] In the 1880's the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had imported many Chinese for its railway-construction crews. In the 1890's Chinese and Japanese immigration reached proportions alarming to the white population of British Columbia. The Orientals, accustomed to lower living standards than the whites, were willing to work for lower wages. Large companies, therefore, found it profitable to hire Orientals rather than whites. In the 1890's and early 1900's the Provincial Government tried to limit Oriental immigration by various Statutes. In each case, however, the Federal Government was forced to intervene since it, and not the Provincial Government, had control of immigration matters. Feeling in British Columbia against Oriental immigrants, therefore, became bitter. Atlin inherited some of this bitterness when she experienced two " invasions " by Orientals. Oriental labour, in fact, caused the only serious labour-capital disputes in the history of the Atlin goldfields.

In 1898, when men were scarce in Atlin, miners could earn $10 a day plus board. In 1899, after the influx of thousands of men, wages fell to 50 cents per hour, with the men boarding themselves. In 1900

(60) *Ibid.*, July 30 and October 22, 1904.

(61) British Columbia, Government Travel Bureau, *Stikine and Atlin Land Recording Districts* (Bulletin No. 23), Victoria, 1939, p. 3; British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1937*, pp. B 40–41.

(62) For further details on Oriental immigration to British Columbia *see* C. J. Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, Toronto, 1941, *passim*.

and 1901 wages paid by the various companies varied so much that the men finally decided to organize, and thus achieve a standard wage. In May, 1901, therefore, the men met in Discovery and agreed to form the Atlin District Miners' Union, and affiliate themselves with the Western Federation of Miners.[63] The group decided that $5 for a ten-hour working-day was a reasonable wage. The Atlin *Claim* stated editorially that the action of the miners was a mistake.[64] The newspaper felt that all classes of the community should have been present at the meeting, and that all Atlin should have representation in any association representing the community. The miners thought otherwise, but, nevertheless, allowed the proposals for a union to lapse temporarily.

In 1902 R. D. Fetherstonhaugh decided that the difficulties which his company had experienced with white miners could best be overcome by the introduction of Oriental labour. He thus precipitated Atlin's first serious labour conflict. In March, Fetherstonhaugh announced that he was bringing in Japanese to work the property of the Atlin Mining Company on McKee Creek.[65] The citizens of Atlin heard of Fetherstonhaugh's intentions, and held a protest meeting on March 12. When the Japanese arrived, Fetherstonhaugh rushed them out to his property on McKee Creek. On March 28 about ninety miners organized themselves into an unarmed party, and marched out to McKee Creek to interview Fetherstonhaugh and his new employees.[66] The representatives of the miners told the mine manager and the Japanese that they would not stand for Oriental labour in the district, and that they would boycott any man or company who hired Orientals.[67] Fetherstonhaugh was powerless to resist, and agreed to send the Japanese out by the first boat. Only the Japanese cooks remained.

After the Japanese question had been settled to the satisfaction of the miners, John Kirkland suggested, in a letter to the *Claim,* that the labour element of the camp unite in a miners' union.[68] Strikes, said Kirkland, should be, and would be, avoided if both the miners and employers remembered that they both should have at heart the best

(63) Atlin *Claim,* May 18, 1901.

(64) *Ibid.,* May 25, 1901.

(65) *Ibid.,* March 15, 1902.

(66) "Return to an address to . . . the Lieutenant-Governor . . . relating to the introduction of Japanese into the Atlin district in . . . March, 1902," in British Columbia, *Sessional Papers, 1902,* Victoria, 1902, pp. 843–844.

(67) Atlin *Claim,* March 22 and 29, 1902.

(68) *Ibid.,* March 29, 1902.

interests of the camp. Lest any employer should again try to introduce cheap labour, however, the miners should once and for all display their opposition to such practices by forming a strong union. On June 2 the miners officially united in such a union, selecting Kirkland as president, J. Thompson as vice-president, and H. Brown as secretary.[69]

For the rest of 1902 the labour scene in Atlin was peaceful. Work was plentiful; there was not an idle man in the camp; and the miners were earning from $5 to $6 per day.[70] In May, 1903, however, trouble arose on Pine Creek over the wages paid by the Pine Creek Power Company. A number of men went on strike and formed a new union. Miners on the other creeks were unsympathetic to the strikers, and the strike failed.[71]

Between 1903 and 1904 the effects of hydraulic operations had become apparent, and the number of free miners had dropped from 900 in 1903 to 600 in 1904.[72] Even with the drop in the labour-supply, however, the unemployment picture in 1905 was so gloomy that Kirkland wrote to the *Claim* in March, stating: "The poor labourers of Atlin are out of work and starving. . . . We are fighting for what jobs there are like dogs over a bone. There are not jobs to go around us all now."[73]

In 1907 Atlin had its second experience with Orientals. In April, J. M. Ruffner, the manager of the Pine Creek Power Company, introduced twenty-one Japanese to work the company's property.[74] In May the citizens of Atlin again protested the introduction of Orientals, and in June most of the Japanese left. As a result of Ruffner's experiment, the miners of Discovery formed the Miners' Protective Association to fight any further importation of Japanese.[75]

In August, 1907, the first permanent union appeared in Atlin, when the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners opened a branch of that organization in the district. One of the major aims of the branch was the prevention of the introduction of any more Orientals into Atlin. By now the Atlin *Claim* had changed its editor and its views. On

(69) *Ibid.*, June 14, 1902.
(70) *Ibid.*, September 13, 1902.
(71) *Ibid.*, May 23, 1903; *B.C. Mining Exchange*, V (June, 1903), p. 5.
(72) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1905*, p. J 68.
(73) Atlin *Claim*, March 11, 1905.
(74) *Ibid.*, April 27, 1907.
(75) *Ibid.*, May 11, 1907.

August 31, 1907, it said, editorially: "We hope that all . . . the men in the camp . . . come forward and unite with this movement; . . . with a powerful organization behind us we need not fear any labour troubles. . . ."[76] In subsequent years Atlin had few strikes. Over the years, except for the early protest against the introduction of Orientals, Atlin's labour history, on the whole, has been serene.

From 1898 to the present day, Atlin's annual gold production has fluctuated widely, reflecting both local and world economic conditions. In 1898, the first year of recorded mineral production for the region, Atlin's placer-gold output was 3,750 ounces, valued at $75,000.[77] The figure was low because of the short working season remaining after the news of the discovery reached the outside world in August. In 1899, when an estimated 4,000 miners were in Atlin, the output soared to 40,000 ounces, valued at $800,000. That record of placer output has never since been exceeded. From 1900 to 1907 the production figures remained relatively stable, varying from 15,000 ounces in 1901 to 26,500 ounces in 1904. The average gold output for this eight-year period was about 21,000 ounces. Between 1898 and 1907, Pine, Spruce, Boulder, and McKee Creeks were the leading producers of placer gold.

In 1908 Atlin's gold production slumped sharply because of several factors, including the abandonment of dredging operations, the failure of the Atlin Consolidated Mining Company to operate as a result of difficulties with its steam-shovels, and development work which almost eliminated any production by the Pine Creek Power Company, another large producer of placer gold.[78]

From 1898 to 1949 Atlin's total mineral production was valued at $22,539,892.[79] Of this total, 667,714 ounces of placer gold accounted for $15,394,502; 201,882 ounces of lode gold accounted for $7,089,161; and small quantities of silver, copper, and lead accounted for the remaining $56,000. To the placer-mining total, Spruce Creek contributed almost one-half of the output, and Pine, Boulder, Ruby,

(76) *Ibid.*, August 24, 1907.

(77) The annual gold production of the Atlin District between 1898 and 1930 is summarized in British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Placer-mining in British Columbia . . .* (Bulletin Series, No. 2, 1930), Victoria, 1930, p. 18.

(78) British Columbia, Department of Mines, *British Columbia, the Mineral Province of Canada . . . 1909*, Victoria, 1910, pp. 29–30.

(79) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1949*, p. A 25.

and McKee Creeks, in that order, were the other major producers of placer gold.[80]

An interesting, if relatively unimportant, part of Atlin's gold-mining history is the discovery of large nuggets. Spruce Creek seems to have contributed most of the large nuggets recorded. In 1899 it offered one of 83 ounces, and in July, 1901, one of 36 ounces.[81]

One of the most glamorous aspects of Atlin's history is the story of the construction and operation of the White Pass and Yukon Railway. Before 1898 the idea of a railway up over the tortuous White Pass was considered a fantasy. The gold-seekers who entered the Yukon and Alaska in 1897 and early in 1898 via the Skagway and White Pass route had to follow a rough trail through the rugged valley of the Skagway River, across the summit of the White Pass, and through swampy country to Bennett Lake.[82] From Bennett Lake to Dawson the Argonauts followed a water route, except for several portages past rough rapids. Prior to 1898 several transportation companies had organized and built rude facilities to aid, at a heavy price, the weary travellers. For example, the " Brackett " toll-road from Skagway to White Pass City, a distance of approximately 13 miles, was available to those who could pay $20 for each ton of supplies that they had with them. Even with such aids, however, the Skagway River-White Pass route was a terrible ordeal. Hundreds of people either turned back at their first view of the pass or else died in their attempts to cross the divide. Nevertheless, it is estimated that, in 1898, 25,000 people crossed the White Pass and Chilcoot Pass routes on the way to Dawson.[83]

Early in 1898 four men gathered in Skagway to discuss the possibilities of a railway from Skagway over the White Pass, skirting the east shores of Summit, Lindeman, and Bennett Lakes, to the Watson River, at the northern end of Bennett Lake. From there the projected railway was to run to an as yet unchosen point on the Lewes River. These four men were: Sir Thomas Tancrede, an English engineer representing the firm of Close Brothers of London, England; Samuel H.

(80) British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Placer Gold Production of British Columbia* (Bulletin No. 28), Victoria, 1950, pp. 17–20.

(81) Atlin *Claim*, July 15, 1899; July 13, 1901.

(82) S. H. Graves, *On the White Pass Pay-roll*, Chicago, 1908, p. 34. Graves was the president of the White Pass and Yukon Route during the turbulent days of the construction of the railway.

(83) W. D. MacBride, " Story of the White Pass Railroad," Whitehorse *Star*, March 8, 1946.

Graves, the American representative of the same firm; E. C. Hawkins, an American engineer; and Michael J. Heney, an Irish-Canadian with considerable experience in railway construction.[84] From the meeting of these men sprang the White Pass and Yukon Railway.

Five surveying parties left Skagway in May, 1898, to find a feasible route through the rugged terrain between Skagway and Bennett Lake. The distance from Skagway to Summit was only 14 miles as the crow flies, but the selecting of a railway route was so difficult that when the surveyors were finished their work, they suggested a final route 20 miles long which utilized parts of all five surveyed lines to the summit of the White Pass.[85]

The railway company had legal as well as physical difficulties to overcome. The proposed line would pass through American territory from Skagway to Summit Lake, through British Columbia from Summit Lake to the 60th parallel, and through the Northwest Territories from the 60th parallel to Whitehorse. The company, therefore, had to obtain three railway charters—one each from the United States, Canadian, and British Columbian Governments. The charters, moreover, involved no assistance from the three Governments to the company in the way of land or money subsidies.

In April, 1898, men, horses, and materials were landed at Skagway, and in May the construction of the line began. On July 21, 1898, the first train began operating over a completed section of track 4 miles long. This train was the first one ever to run in Alaska.[86] By August 7 there were 2,000 men working on the railway. On August 9 but 700 of these men were left, since, on August 8, the news of the Atlin strike had caused 1,300 of the workers to throw down their tools on the construction gangs and head for the new goldfield. Most of these men were in such a hurry that they did not bother to pick up their pay-cheques, although they took with them nearly every pick and shovel that the company owned. The rush of the workers to Atlin caused the railway considerable inconvenience, delaying completion of the line for several months. Not until October was the company able to refill its labour ranks. On February 22, 1899, the construction crews completed track-laying to the summit of the White Pass,[87] and on July 6, 1899,

(84) *Ibid.*, March 8, 1946.
(85) Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
(86) Whitehorse *Star*, March 8, 1946.
(87) Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

the first train reached Bennett, the end of the first section.[88] The second section, from the head of Bennett Lake to the foot of the White Horse Rapids, was completed on June 8, 1900, and the link from Bennett to Cariboo Crossing was finished on July 29, 1900.[89] It is interesting to note that J. H. Brownlee, one of the two surveyors of the Atlin townsite, laid out the site of Cariboo Crossing—now Carcross—for the company in September, 1899.[90]

The construction of the White Pass and Yukon Railway was one of the really brilliant engineering feats of history. In 21 miles the railway rises from sea-level, at Skagway, to a summit of 2,865 feet, at White Pass. The highest point on the line is at Log Cabin, 2,916 feet above sea-level.[91] At some points the track climbs at a gradient of 4 per cent. The construction costs from Skagway over the summit of the White Pass averaged $100,00 per mile. The line, when completed, was about 110 miles long, 20 miles of it in Alaska, 32 in British Columbia, and 58 in the Yukon Territory. One estimate states that over 35,000 men, at one time or another between May, 1898, and October, 1900, helped to build the railway. The construction of the White Pass and Yukon Railway was a gigantic feat.

The White Pass and Yukon Railway Company did not limit its operations to a single enterprise. In July, 1898, the company had acquired control of the British Yukon Navigation Company, the British Columbia Yukon Railway Company, and the Pacific and Arctic Railway and Navigation Company. In May, 1901, the White Pass Company also assumed the operation of the facilities of the Canadian Development Company, thereby acquiring nine steamers, wharves, buildings, and a sizeable marine trade.[92] In June, 1900, the White Pass Company took another step which brought it virtual control of the freight and passenger traffic to Atlin.

In February, 1899, a group of men from Victoria had obtained a charter from the British Columbia Legislature to build a tramway or railway, to be known as the Atlin Short Line Railway and Navigation Company, across the isthmus from Taku Arm, near the mouth of the

(88) London *Times*, December 19, 1899.

(89) Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

(90) Atlin *Claim*, September 30, 1899.

(91) The engineering details of the railway may be found in Whitehorse *Star*, March 8, 1946.

(92) Canada, Department of Transport, *A Statutory History of the Steam and Electric Railways of Canada, 1836–1937*, Ottawa, 1938, p. 635.

Atlin River, to Scotia Bay, on the west shore of Atlin Lake.[93] The new company also acquired powers to construct telegraph-lines, to utilize the Atlin River for electric power purposes, and to build wharves and other facilities for steamship services. On June 6, 1899, J. H. Brownlee, the company's president, officially opened the tramway.[94] In addition to the narrow-gauge railway, the company also constructed wharves at Taku and Scotia Bay. The John Irving Navigation Company temporarily acquired control of the Atlin Short Line Railway in the navigation season of 1899,[95] but Brownlee resumed the direction of the line in the fall of the same year.[96] During the summer of 1899 a wagon-road across the portage from Scotia Bay to Taku was used for hauling most of the freight.[97] In February, 1900, Captain John Irving planned to construct a second tramway across the peninsula in competition with the Brownlee concern,[98] and in March, 1900, began construction of the John Irving Tramway.[99] Protests from Brownlee's group, however, led to the temporary suspension of construction work on the Irving tramway,[100] and in June, 1900, the dispute between the two groups was settled by the intervention of a third company, the White Pass and Yukon Route, which bought the assets, steamers, wharves, and tramway of the Irving Navigation Company, and completed the railway.[101] With the acquisition of the line from Taku to Scotia Bay, the White Pass and Yukon Route gained control of the transportation facilities of the Atlin area.

On July 18, 1900, the first "train" crossed from Taku to Lake Atlin.[102] The line, when completed, was but 2¼ miles long, one of the shortest, if not the shortest, railways in Canada. The fare, one way, was $2, one of the highest rates in the world. The passengers sat on their baggage during the journey. One of the engines used on the railway was known as the "Duchess." The "Duchess" had originally been used to haul coal from Wellington to Departure Bay on Vancouver

(93) Chapter 79, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1899*, Victoria, 1899, pp. 343–346.
(94) Atlin *Claim*, June 10, 1899.
(95) *Ibid.*, August 19, 1899.
(96) *Ibid.*, February 17, 1900.
(97) *Ibid.*, August 26, 1899.
(98) *Ibid.*, February 17, 1900.
(99) *Ibid.*, March 31 and April 7, 1900.
(100) *Ibid.*, May 5, 1900.
(101) *Ibid.*, June 23 and July 5, 1900.
(102) *Ibid.*, July 21, 1900.

Island, but was taken to Atlin in 1899 by Captain Irving. It is still in the Atlin area, a reminder of one of the past glories of the region.

Other railways for Atlin were projected in subsequent years, but none of them ever materialized. In 1899, for example, the Atlin Southern Railway Company proposed to build a line from Log Cabin, via Atlin, to Telegraph Creek.[103] Between 1900 and 1902 the Pacific Northern and Omineca Railway Company evolved plans to construct a railway from Kitimat Inlet, via Hazelton, to Atlin or Teslin Lakes.[104] In 1902 the Coast Yukon Railway Company schemed to build from Kitimat Inlet, via Hazelton, Teslin, and Atlin, to Dawson City.[105] The Atlin *Claim* repeatedly urged both the Provincial and Federal Governments to support these railway projects.[106] The *Claim* argued that an all-Canadian railway route to the Yukon was essential, and that any of the proposed routes would keep northern trade in the hands of Canadian business-men. The arguments of the *Claim,* however, were fruitless. The period between 1900 and 1915 was a booming one for railway construction in Canada, both the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern Railways being conceived and constructed in that period, but the major portion of the construction was on an east-west basis rather than to the northland. Not one of the railways which planned to originate from, or pass through, Atlin ever materialized. The only real railway which Atlin ever had was the White Pass and Yukon Route.

The high freight rates to Atlin were a serious handicap to mining operators: the White Pass and Yukon Route, in the first place, had been a very expensive line to build; in addition, the Company had to import all its coal for its engines from distant southern ports; moreover, goods shipped in or out of Atlin required excessive handling to reach the community, incoming goods, for example, going by boat to Skagway, by rail to Bennett, by boat to Taku, by tramway to Scotia Bay, and by boat again to Atlin; finally, as far as the Atlin trade was concerned, the railway company operated at a heavy loss for the six

(103) Chapter 80, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1899,* Victoria, 1899, pp. 347–356.

(104) Chapter 50, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1900,* Victoria, 1900, pp. 247–253; Chapter 90, Canada, *Statutes . . . 1902,* Ottawa, 1902, pp. 169–171.

(105) Chapter 58, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1903–04,* Victoria, 1904, pp. 387–391; Chapter 108, Canada, *Statutes . . . 1903,* Ottawa, 1903, pp. 115–116.

(106) Atlin *Claim,* November 30, 1901; November 21, 1903.

winter months, and, accordingly, had to make its profit in the short summer.[107] As a result, from the time of the completion of the White Pass and Yukon Route, Atlin waged a continual battle with the company for a reduction in freight rates. Not until the appearance of air transportation in the late 1930's, however, did Atlin's dependence upon the transportation company end. Shortly thereafter the company abandoned most of its services to the community.

The Yukon gold-rush, as it did in so many other ways, assisted in the provision of steamship services to the Atlin Argonauts. During the winter of 1897–98 various navigation companies had ships sailing from Bennett Lake to Dawson. The demand for steamers, scows, rowboats, and even canoes for transport to the various goldfields was so great that Bennett, soon to be a ghost town, had a tremendous shipbuilding boom between 1898 and 1900, when the completion of the White Pass and Yukon Railway ended Bennett's brief flurry as an important transportation point to the North. Between 1898 and 1900 Bennett was a booming city of white canvas, log cabins, slab palaces, and iron warehouses.[108] Ship-builders at Bennett, particularly Michael King, worked night and day to supply the demands for boats. In the spring of 1899, for example, there were five steamboats under construction on Bennett Lake and one on Atlin Lake. Ships' captains were working long hours—eight hours on duty and eight hours off for weeks at a time—to try to meet the demands for their services.[109]

In the fall of 1898, when the news of the Atlin strike reached Bennett, the Bennett Lake and Klondike Navigation Company immediately began operating steamers from Bennett to Taku, at the mouth of the Atlin River. This Company's steamer *Flora* was the first ship ever to follow the water route from Bennett, along Tagish Lake, down Taku Arm, and along Graham Inlet to the future Taku City.[110] The company left the miners to make their own way across the portage to Atlin Lake, by boat across the lake, and by trail to the goldfields.[111] Fortunately, the country between Taku and Scotia Bay was fairly easy to cross. On the west side of Atlin Lake the miners built crude, leaky boats and, usually bailing frantically, crossed the lake. The Bennett Lake and Klondike Company operated the *Olive May* between Bennett

(107) Victoria *Colonist*, January 16, 1901.
(108) Vancouver *Province*, June 20, 1900.
(109) Olive, *Memoirs*, p. 264; Atlin *Claim*, May 6, 1900.
(110) Vancouver *Province*, August 20, 1898.
(111) Olive, *Memoirs*, p. 264.

and Atlin in the season of 1899.[112] In 1899, also, Captain John Irving built the *Gleaner* at Bennett and the *Scotia* at Taku. The *Gleaner* was launched on May 2, 1899, and Captain Irving himself commanded her on her first trip to Taku on May 6. The *Scotia,* a sternwheeler, was launched on June 7, 1899, and, under the command of Captain E. W. Spencer, made her maiden voyage across Atlin Lake on June 8.[113] The *Scotia,* the first real ship to navigate the waters of Atlin Lake, was 80 feet long, had engines of 80 horse-power, could carry 70 tons of freight, and had twelve berths for passenger accommodation. She served for many years, and finally was beached on the lake-shore.[114]

The John Irving Navigation Company offered a regular steamer and railway service from Atlin to Bennett between June and October, 1899. Except for the ships of the Bennett Lake and Klondike Navigation Company, the Irving firm had a virtual monopoly of the transportation service from Bennett to Atlin, and charged what the people of Atlin believed to be excessive rates.[115] In 1899 the company also controlled Atlin's two wharves, forcing other steamers, including the *Ruth* and the *William Ogilvie,* to land their freight and passengers on log-booms.[116] In June, 1900, however, the White Pass and Yukon Route bought out Captain Irving's interests in Atlin,[117] and for the next thirty-five years controlled the community's transportation facilities.

In November, 1899, the first wreck affecting Atlin occurred when the *Olive May,* the steamer owned by the Bennett Lake and Klondike Company, struck a rock near Tagish and sank.[118] Thus, Atlin lost one of the ships serving her. When the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company's steamer *Islander* struck an iceberg and sank in Taku Inlet near Juneau, in August, 1901, Atlin was again affected. J. W. McFarlane, who had directed the taking of the decennial Federal census in the Atlin area in 1901, was on the ship, and although he saved himself, he lost his census returns. As a result, he had to return to Atlin to retake the census.[119]

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(112) Atlin *Claim,* August 12, 1899.

(113) *Ibid.,* June 10, 1899.

(114) In 1942 the officers of the White Pass Company's boat *Norgold* were using the *Scotia* as their headquarters. Atlin *News Miner,* June 6, 1942.

(115) Atlin *Claim,* August 19 and September 9, 1899.

(116) *Ibid.,* September 9, 1899.

(117) *Ibid.,* June 23 and July 5, 1900.

(118) *Ibid.,* November 11, 1899.

(119) *Ibid.,* August 31, 1901.

In subsequent years several small vessels served the community. In October, 1904, a paddle steamer, the *Atlinto,* was launched near Discovery Wharf.[120] W. J. Smith designed and built the *Atlinto* for himself and J. D. Durie to undertake freighting and towing on the lakes around Atlin. For some time Smith also operated a sidewheeler, the *Lady of the Lake.*[121]

One of the transportation difficulties facing the Atlin community was the unnavigability of the Atlin River. The swift little river was not impassible, but usually was not sufficiently deep to carry even such relatively small ships as the *Gleaner.* The Atlin *Claim* and Atlin's members of the Federal Parliament tried, unsuccessfully, either to have the river deepened or to have canal locks installed,[122] but nothing resulted. The expensive process of loading and unloading cargoes[123] at the tramway terminals at Taku and Scotia Bay remained for many years to raise the freight costs of the community. Only the introduction of the aeroplane ended Atlin's transportation difficulties.

For over fifty years, from 1898 to 1949, Atlin had no road connections with the outside world. For those travellers who went to Atlin in the early days, however, there were several alternative routes. J. C. Gwillim, who in 1899 and 1900 surveyed the Atlin Mining District for the Geological Survey of Canada, tells us that, prior to the arrival of white men in the region, the Taku Indians had portage-trails from Tagish to Little Atlin Lake and Teslin River, from Atlin Lake at the mouth of the Pike River to the upper waters of Taku River and thence to Teslin Lake, and from Surprise Lake to Gladys and Teslin Lakes.[124] The Indians rarely explored the surrounding country through which these trails passed. In fact, the trails themselves were not important highways of Indian travel.

In the fall of 1898 and 1899 the miners followed several overland routes to Atlin Lake. The "Fantail" route was a short winter trail for dog-sleds from Skagway over the White Pass to Log Cabin, southeasterly to Otter Lake, and thence across to Taku Arm and Atlin Lake. In 1898, at the close of navigation, the White Pass and Yukon Railway Company opened up a winter trail from Log Cabin, south of Bennett Lake, to Atlin, following virtually the same route as the existing "Fan-

(120) *Ibid.,* October 8, 1904.
(121) *Ibid.,* February 1, 1908.
(122) *Ibid.,* December 21, 1907.
(123) Victoria *Colonist,* January 16, 1901.
(124) Gwillim, *op. cit.,* p. 6B.

tail" trail.[125] To avoid the dangers of ice travel, the Provincial Government's Public Works Department in 1899 built a road from the west side of Atlin Lake, opposite Atlin townsite, to Golden Gate, 14 miles in distance.[126] A second route in common use in the early days was the "Tutshi" trail, from Log Cabin via Tutshi Lake to Atlin. It was 85 miles via the "Tutshi" trail, more northerly but safer than the shorter "Fantail" when the ice on the lakes was treacherous. Another route, the "Taku" or "Juneau" trail, led from the head of tide-water on Taku Inlet, 33 miles from Juneau, up the Taku River to the mouth of the Silver Salmon River, thence along the Silver Salmon, across a low divide to Pike Lake, and then via the Pike River to Atlin Lake.[127] The "Taku" route, rough and mountainous, was 115 miles long. A fourth approach was by way of the Telegraph–Teslin trail from Glenora to Teslin Lake, and thence across the ranges westward to Atlin Lake.[128]

At certain times in the winter, travel by road or trail to Atlin was difficult. At other times, however, it was relatively easy. In April, 1900, for example, an automobile actually travelled over the ice and snow from Bennett to Atlin.[129] On April 9, E. J. De Lamare, of Paris, France, visiting Atlin on behalf of two French publications, *Figaro* and *Revue Klondike,* set out with his driver from Bennett for Atlin. Behind, in a sleigh, came De Lamare's secretary, carrying extra gasoline and parts. Since the ice was just starting to thaw, the burner on the bottom of the car was under water for a good part of the trip. At one point, when repairs had to be made to the under-side of the machine, the men had to cut a hole in the ice because the car could not safely be overturned. Many breakdowns occurred along the way, and several small parts were lost. The top speed reached by the automobile was about 16 miles per hour. When the car arrived at Atlin on April 14, it had to be completely overhauled. It was, of course, the first automobile ever to visit the community, and caused considerable excitement among the residents. Although De Lamare visited Atlin on subsequent occa-

(125) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1898,* p. 989.

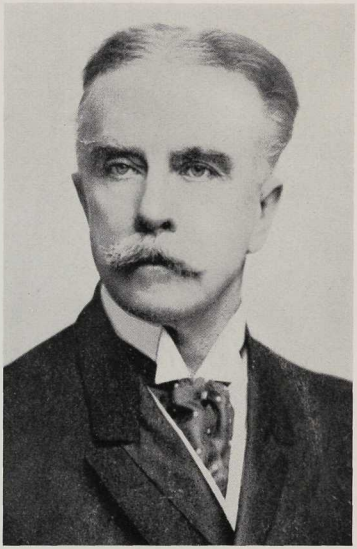
(126) British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works . . . 1899,* Victoria, 1900, p. 378.

(127) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1898,* p. 990.

(128) Gwillim, *op. cit.,* p. 6B.

(129) Atlin *Claim,* April 21, 1900.

Provincial Police buildings and officials, Atlin, 1899.



Dr. Henry Esson Young, M.L.A., for
Atlin riding, 1903–16.

sions to inspect his considerable mining properties in the district, he thereafter used normal methods of transportation.

In the early days Atlin had several stage services. In 1900 three stages ran daily from Discovery City on Pine Creek to Surprise Lake, a distance of 8 miles.[130] In 1903 J. Brookes operated a twice-weekly service from Carcross to Atlin.[131] The journey took two days and cost $15 each way. The operators of the stage varied the route to meet weather conditions since there was no real road between the two points.

Although Atlin did not gain a highway link with the outside world until 1949, members of the community tried on many occasions to get the Provincial and Federal Governments to provide roads connecting the region with distant points. The Atlin *Claim* was constantly suggesting possible road construction from the district to link Atlin with points either on the sea-coast or on the White Pass and Yukon Route.[132] In February, 1905, the citizens of Atlin met to discuss a proposed wagon-road extending from the already-constructed road between Atlin and McKee Creek to the south end of the lake, then south-eastward to the Taku River, and thence to the head of Taku Inlet.[133] A committee was appointed to collect $500 to hire an engineer to inspect the suggested route. In the summer of 1905 William Brown, an engineer; Hugh Molyneaux, the Provincial superintendent of roads for the district; and Lee Garden conducted the road survey. They reported that the best route for such a wagon-road would be via the Silver Salmon and Taku River valleys to the head of Taku Inlet. The total distance of this route would be approximately 140 miles.[134] However, nothing ever resulted from this survey.

In December, 1907, the Atlin *Claim* suggested another possible road connection—north from Atlin along the east shore of the lake, around the northern end of Little Atlin Lake, there to join the existing wagon-road to Tagish.[135] Like the proposed road to Taku Inlet, however, the road to Tagish did not materialize. In 1908 the Provincial Government agreed to build a road from Atlin to the 60th parallel, providing

(130) British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works . . . 1900,* p. 484.

(131) Atlin *Claim,* March 7, 1903.

(132) *Ibid.,* December 17, 1904; January 28, 1905; January 6, 1906; December 14, 1907.

(133) *Ibid.,* February 4, 1905.

(134) *Ibid.,* June 24, 1905; January 6, 1906.

(135) *Ibid.,* December 14, 1907.

the Dominion Government would extend the road through the Yukon to Carcross.[136] Again the plan fell through, and Atlin failed once more to solve its transportation difficulties.[137]

In 1898 Atlin was an isolated city of tents. All communications with the outside world were slow and laborious. The community lacked even a telegraph system. Important events in the Northwest Territories and the rest of British Columbia, however, were soon to remedy this deficiency. In 1899 the Federal Government announced its plans to build the Ashcroft–Yukon telegraph-line, a comprehensive programme of telegraph construction which would connect the Northwest Territories and Northern British Columbia with the rest of Canada.[138] From Bennett, lines would be built to Dawson and Atlin, and from Atlin another line would be built southward to Quesnel. The transcontinental telegraph system would be linked to these new lines by an extension from Ashcroft to Quesnel. J. B. Charleson, superintendent of the Dominion telegraph system in the Northwest, was in charge of the northern construction work. Under his direction, the line from Dawson, via Bennett, to Atlin was completed on October 4, 1899, thus linking Atlin with Bennett, Dawson, Tagish, Skagway, and Whitehorse.[139] In March, 1900, Charleson returned to Atlin to begin the construction of the line from Atlin to Quesnel. Work also began from Ashcroft, the other end of the line. The task was difficult because of the density of the forests and the mountainous nature of the country through which the telegraph-line had to pass. On September 26, 1901, after two years of work, the telegraph-line from Ashcroft to the Yukon was completed.[140] A branch line, meanwhile, had been finished from Hazelton via the Skeena River to Port Simpson, at the Skeena's mouth, by June 14, 1901.[141] Atlin became the repeating station for Dawson and other points west of Atlin, while Hazelton and Ashcroft, where the telegraph-

(136) *Ibid.*, March 7, 1908.

(137) Atlin's lack of a road connection with the outside world continued until 1949, when a link between Atlin and the Alaska Highway at Jake's Corners was completed jointly by the Provincial and Federal Governments. *See* Vancouver *Province*, February 10, 1944; Whitehorse *Star*, July 5, 1946; September 26, 1947; February 6, 1948; Vancouver *Sun*, August 8, 1949.

(138) Atlin *Claim*, July 29, 1899.

(139) *Ibid.*, October 7, 1899.

(140) *Ibid.*, September 28, 1901. The details of the cost and length of the telegraph-line may be found in Canada, House of Commons, *Official Report of Debates, 1902*, Ottawa, 1902, p. 4151.

(141) Atlin *Claim*, July 6, 1901.

line joined the national telegraph network, were the other repeating centres. Thus Atlin achieved telegraphic connections with the outside world.

Atlin was also provided with a telephone system early in her history. On August 3, 1899, George L. Rice announced that his firm, the Atlin Light and Power Company, proposed to construct a complete telephone service between Atlin and Discovery, on Pine Creek, and also to extend the line to Surprise Lake and to the various gold-producing creeks in the area.[142] By the end of August, 1899, the telephone-line was in operation.[143]

When Atlin first sprang to life on the lake-shore, she became a city of tents because of the lack of lumber for permanent buildings. Enterprising people, however, soon entered the logging and sawmilling industries to remedy the defect. In June, 1898, E. G. Tennant, travelling by boat from Dawson to the coast, had his boat capsized beneath him and, after two days of wandering in the bush, found Fritz Miller's camp on Pine Creek. He decided to remain in the area, and erected Atlin's first sawmill.[144] In 1899 the demand for lumber for office buildings, hotels, stores, residences, and, above all, for mining operations was so great that other mills soon appeared in Atlin.[145] George D. Sinclair, for example, was operating a sawmill by February, 1899.[146] Early in 1899, also, E. Rosselli and E. Ridd, both of whom previously had been connected with the Hastings Mill on Burrard Inlet, arrived in Atlin to take up sawmilling.[147] By April, 1899, Rosselli, the manager, had his Atlin Lake Lumber Company in operation. By January 15, 1900, the Atlin Lake Milling and Lumber Company, under the management of Captain W. S. Westcott, had joined the ranks of Atlin's producing mills.[148] On April 3, 1900, the Brown and Sinclair Mill at Surprise Lake also began turning out finished lumber.[149]

Atlin's sawmills at first did an excellent business. From 1899 to 1901 a large amount of construction work was done in Atlin. By the spring of 1901, however, the building boom, except for supplies to the

(142) *Ibid.*, August 5, 1899.
(143) Lake Bennett *Sun*, August 12, 1899.
(144) Atlin *Claim*, April 6, 1901.
(145) Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail*, April 29, 1899.
(146) Victoria *Colonist*, February 18, 1899.
(147) Atlin *Claim*, April 29, 1899; December 22, 1906.
(148) *Ibid.*, December 9, 1899; April 19, 1902.
(149) *Ibid.*, April 14, 1900.

miners, had ended. The sales and prices of lumber dropped sharply. In March, 1901, therefore, the owners of the mills entered into a combine to maintain rates.[150] Prices of lumber, thereafter, soared to prohibitive levels, and caused considerable distress among the small mining operators. In April, 1902, however, the price agreement ended, and competition soon restored prices of finished lumber to normal levels.[151]

In the early days the fortunes of Atlin's sawmills followed the fortunes of the gold mines. When gold production began to fall off after 1907, and again following 1916, most of Atlin's mills closed.

In odd ways Atlin's geographic position often entered into the progress of her development. The long and bright summer days allowed the miners to work their holdings to the maximum, and permitted local residents to carry on such leisure activities as gardening, hunting, and fishing after work-hours. The winter nights, however, were equally as long as the summer days. In the middle of winter, Atlin's dark, snow-covered, icy streets were lighted only by the lights from residences, sometimes by a bright moon, or by the reflection from the snow. When the blessing of electricity came to Atlin, therefore, the people of Atlin rejoiced.

In May, 1903, P. F. Scharschmidt and G. H. Sproat, on behalf of their new venture, the British Columbia Power and Manufacturing Company, purchased the old plant of the Skagway Light and Power Company.[152] The two men announced that they intended to move the plant to Atlin as soon as navigation opened, and to install the necessary machinery and fittings in the summer of 1903. Under the supervision of A. H. Hartshorn, the manager of the new firm, the light and power plant was installed in Atlin, and the electricity was successfully turned on for the first time on September 12, 1903.[153]

In anticipation of the arrival of electricity in the community, the Atlin *Claim,* editorially, spoke of the many advantages which the power company would give Atlin.[154] Electricity, said the *Claim,* reduced the risk of fire, promoted cleanliness, and permitted greater comfort in homes and stores. Even more important, the editorial added, the building of the new plant showed outsiders that Atlin had faith in herself. The *Claim* went on to urge that immediate steps be taken to subsidize

(150) *Ibid.,* March 23, 1901.
(151) *Ibid.,* March 26 and April 26, 1902.
(152) *Ibid.,* May 16, 1903.
(153) *Ibid.,* September 19, 1903.
(154) *Ibid.,* September 5, 1903.

the company in some fashion in order that a system of street-lighting could be established in the town.

The new electric power company was more than a mere light and power plant for the community: it provided power to mills and mining operations; it carried a full line of engineering supplies and fittings; it provided the community with electrical engineering, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, and machinist services; and it also operated a steam laundry. The rates were surprisingly reasonable for the time, lower than those charged in Whitehorse and on a par with those of Skagway.[155]

In November, 1904, the British Columbia Power and Manufacturing Company united with the Northern Lumber Company under the new firm-name of the Northern Power and Lumber Company.[156] In December the amalgamated firm moved to its new location. Without any interruption of service to the community, manager Hartshorn and electrician Harry Boardman directed the installation of a new power-house, a new wiring system, and enlarged street mains.[157] In the disastrous fire of May 29, 1905, the Northern Power and Lumber Company was the biggest sufferer. Everything owned by the company was completely destroyed. After the fire, F. T. Troughton, speaking for the firm, announced that the sawmill would be rebuilt, but that the power plant and the steam laundry would not be replaced.[158]

A minor industry in the Atlin area which had a brief, but successful, life was a brickmaking company. In the summer of 1899, clay suitable for brickmaking was discovered near Atlin. W. H. T. Olive investigated the possibilities of a brickyard in Atlin, and turned out a few bricks as an experiment.[159] He decided to undertake the project of supplying bricks not only for local use, but also for shipment to Dawson. In May, 1900, he announced that he would shortly open a building and contracting establishment, and, in addition, would provide bricks.[160] By July, 1900, his plant was in full production. The sales of bricks in Atlin were large, but the expected market in Dawson failed to materialize. A lack of transportation facilities prevented any large shipments of brick from Atlin. By the spring of 1901, however, Atlin's building boom was over,

(155) *Ibid.*, October 31, 1903.
(156) *Ibid.*, November 12, 1904.
(157) *Ibid.*, December 3, 1904.
(158) *Ibid.*, June 3, 1905.
(159) Vancouver *Province*, July 5, 1900.
(160) Atlin *Claim*, May 26, 1900.

and so was Atlin's first brickmaking venture. Olive apparently closed his plant in July, 1901.[161] For a brief period in 1904 Atlin again had a brickyard. In 1904, when the British Columbia Power and Manufacturing Company arranged an amalgamation with the Northern Power and Lumber Company, the company required a new site and building. Thomas Kirkland, an experienced brickmaker, was entrusted with the task of providing 20,000 bricks for the new building. Under his direction the Atlin Brick Yard on Discovery Road began operating its kiln on August 16, 1904.[162] Kirkland's plant was successful in its first contract, but thereafter soon languished for lack of orders. After 1904 Atlin had no real need for a brickyard since she saw little new construction work.

The Atlin area has agricultural as well as mineral possibilities.[163] The latitude of the area ensures long summer days, ideal for growing hardy vegetables. In the many creek-valleys, also, there are rich sandy-loam and deep black-loam soils. There are also large stretches of open country suitable for grazing lands. A combination of circumstances, however, has prevented the exploitation of the farming resources of the region. The greatest difficulties, of course, have been Atlin's geographic and economic isolation. The few farmers in the region lacked adequate transportation facilities for shipping their produce to outside markets. In addition, the risk of summer frosts is a formidable factor for prospective farmers to consider.

In Atlin's early period, however, several farmers successfully produced crops and vegetables for local use. In 1899 H. M. Wooldridge, a farmer from Manitoba, had established himself at Ten Mile Ranch near Carcross, Yukon Territory.[164] He imported cattle, horses, mowing-machines, and hay-presses, and settled down to serious farming. He raised oats, hay, turnips, potatoes, carrots, and all types of garden truck. He prospered. In October, 1902, for example, he sold 70 tons of hay for $70 a ton at the Atlin wharf. Wooldridge's success caused others to follow his example. R. Grierson tried market-gardening on Pine Creek in 1899 and 1900, and was reasonably successful.[165] Lee Garden, who

(161) In his advertisement in the Atlin *Claim,* June 29, 1901, Olive advertised bricks for sale. In the following issues he omitted bricks as one of his specialties.

(162) Atlin *Claim,* August 20, 1904.

(163) British Columbia, *Report of the Minister of Lands . . . for the Year Ending 31st December, 1913,* Victoria, 1914, pp. D 43–44.

(164) Atlin *Claim,* October 11, 1902; April 30, 1904.

(165) *Ibid.,* June 2, 1900.

started a ranch on Fourth of July Creek, was selling hay to local residents of Atlin by November, 1902.[166] By 1902, also, E. J. Hughes was operating a farm at Taku, and the Butler brothers had taken up land 6 miles below Hughes on Taku Arm.[167] The Butler brothers imported several thousand strawberry plants in 1905, and did a rushing business for several years selling the berries to the miners.[168] In the autumn of 1903 E. P. Queen established himself on a fine farming-site just north of Atlin townsite. In 1904 Queen had over 20 acres in cultivation.[169] His model farm was soon one of the scenic features of the Atlin area. He grew all types of hardy vegetables, oats, and hay, and found a ready market in Atlin for all that he could grow. When Atlin became a mining camp for big operators, however, the population declined, and farming suffered. Almost all of the long-term residents of Atlin, nevertheless, had private gardens, and had excellent results.

When the miners first began to arrive in the Atlin area in August, 1898, they pitched their tents indiscriminately along the creeks and began their feverish scrambling for claims and gold. With the miners came other men more interested in making money from the miners than by mining themselves. Among these non-miners were real-estate men who realized that if the boom were genuine, towns would soon spring up along the creeks. They, therefore, searched for likely spots to lay out townsites. In August, 1898, for example, three men—Arthur Sola, a speculator from Dawson; C. Little, a clerk in the Gold Commissioner's office at Bennett; and N. W. F. Rant, soon to be Acting Mining Recorder in Atlin—staked out and surveyed a townsite on the west shore of Atlin Lake opposite Pine Creek.[170] In the summer of 1898, also, speculators surveyed the Atlin townsite and laid it out in lots.[171] In 1899 J. H. Brownlee and R. C. Lowry, Government surveyors who also helped to survey the boundary between British Columbia and the Northwest Territories in 1899, resurveyed the townsite for the Government.[172] In May, 1899, these two men also surveyed Discovery (Pine City) on Pine Creek,

(166) *Ibid.*, November 15, 1902.
(167) *Ibid.*, October 11, 1902; April 30, 1904.
(168) *Ibid.*, June 10, 1905.
(169) *Ibid.*, April 30 and June 4, 1904.
(170) Vancouver *Province*, August 27, 1898.
(171) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1898*, p. 990.
(172) Revelstoke, *Kootenay Mail*, March 25, 1899.

near Miller's discovery claim.[173] In 1899 the Provincial Government cleared and graded the principal streets of Atlin and Discovery.[174] Along those streets, hotels, stores, and banks were erected, and between and around these buildings a city of tents sprang up. In May, 1899, the Federal Government completed work on its post-office in Atlin, and subsequently expanded the structure to house the telegraph offices for the Yukon telegraph-line. The only drawback to the new post-office was a complete lack of postage stamps.[175] Nevertheless, the postal service could distribute incoming mail.

In February, 1899, the citizens of Atlin held a mass meeting to discuss the business affairs of Atlin, and appointed a temporary town council to look after necessary civic improvements.[176] On the committee were L. D. Kinney, Dr. J. F. Phillips, A. J. Sammons, A. A. Douglas, G. D. Sinclair, M. R. Jamieson, and Colonel A. Hughes. The committee tried to cope with several serious problems, including public health, a water-supply, fire protection, and improvements to the streets. This committee was the nearest approach to municipal institutions ever made by Atlin. The committee soon disintegrated, and in subsequent years the Atlin Board of Trade attended to all matters relating to the public welfare of the community.

Prior to 1900 most of the Atlin offices of the Provincial Government were housed in tents.[177] Only the town's lockup was a frame building. The Gold Commissioner and his staff, the Registrar, the Chief Constable, and the Magistrate worked under almost incredible conditions. The tents were floored with rough lumber and banked on the sides with earth and snow. Nevertheless, the Government's clerks did their best under such conditions and in weather ranging from 20 to 50 degrees below zero. In January, 1900, the citizens of Atlin met to petition the Provincial Government for better quarters for the Government offices.[178] The petitioners pointed out that the Bennett and Atlin divisions of the Cassiar district had a population of over 9,000, and that the total assessed value of property in the area was about $295,000. The petition was sent to F. L. Carter-Cotton, Minister of Public Works in the Semlin Govern-

(173) Atlin *Claim*, May 6, 1899.

(174) British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works . . . 1899*, pp. 379–380.

(175) Atlin *Claim*, May 13, 1899.

(176) Victoria *Colonist*, February 18, 1899.

(177) *Ibid.*, January 8, 1900.

(178) Atlin *Claim*, January 27, 1900.

ment, and to C. W. D. Clifford and Captain John Irving, the two representatives of the Cassiar electoral riding in the Provincial Legislature. The petition must have hastened the Government's plans for permanent offices in Atlin, for contractor David Main began construction work on a Government building in the summer of 1900, and had the structure completed by August. On August 15, 1900, the building was officially opened.[179] In was a two-story building, 46 by 45 feet in dimensions. On the first floor were offices for the Gold Commissioner and the Registrar, the Court-house, quarters for the district Magistrate, and the records office. The second floor was to be utilized as living accommodations for the staff.

When the Atlin goldfields were first discovered, the machinery for preserving the peace in the region was poor. On January 25, 1897, the Provincial Government sent Captain W. J. Rant as Gold Commissioner and Stipendiary Magistrate and two constables to Bennett Lake, then a thriving centre on the route to the Yukon discoveries, to act as the representative of law and order in British Columbia.[180] In August, 1897, a detachment of Provincial police was also sent to Tagish Lake, Northwest Territories, to assist the Federal authorities in establishing a Federal customs-house there, and to protect the customs officers in the discharge of their duties until representatives of the North West Mounted Police arrived. After the discovery of the Atlin goldfields, the Federal police officers maintained order in the area until they discovered that Atlin Lake was in British Columbia. Thereafter the officers of the Provincial police administered the district. The first detachments of Provincial police to maintain control in the Atlin area were stationed at Bennett and Log Cabin, a customs-clearing house for those who were entering the Klondike from the south.[181] In March, 1899, Constable W. H. Vickers assumed direct charge of police matters in Atlin, taking up his post there, and in May he was joined by Constable Walter Owen, when Atlin became the central police post for the northern part of the Province.[182]

(179) *Ibid.*, August 24, 1900; British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works . . . 1900*, pp. 489–491.

(180) *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Police . . . of British Columbia for the Year Ending 31st, October, 1897*, p. 674.

(181) *Ibid.*, pp. 669, 673 .

(182) Both Vickers and Owen later became top-ranking officers in the Provincial police force, Vickers working on the headquarters staff in Victoria, until his death in 1929, and Owen holding the post of Inspector of Police for British Columbia as well as other high positions. In 1911 the Atlin police district, the central

One of Atlin's early problems was the lack of a resident Judge. Since 1899 the community had tried to secure the appointment of a Judge to solve legal questions which hampered mining development. Until 1905, however, Atlin was dependent upon a series of visiting Judges. In August, 1905, Judge F. McB. Young, brother of Dr. H. E. Young, arrived in Atlin as the area's first permanent Judge. Judge Young had been in Atlin in 1899, and seemed qualified to handle the problems peculiar to a mining community. Commenting upon Judge Young's appointment, the Atlin *Claim* said:—

> The cause of the complaints regarding the administration of justice in the district . . . [will] now be a thing of the past, and the officials of the government who . . . [have] been carrying on the duties of the judge as well as their own . . . [will] now be able to devote all their attention to the special duties entrusted to them.[183]

Atlin's population figures tell the story of Atlin's development almost as well as any other aspect of communal life. The population reached a peak in 1899, and ever since then has slowly declined. Before the close of the 1898 mining season, over 3,000 people visited Atlin.[184] Only a small percentage of these people spent the first winter in the community. In 1899 the population jumped considerably. The estimates of the number of people in the district in 1899 vary amazingly. Rev. F. L. Stephenson, writing in 1931, thought the figure to be about 22,000.[185] J. T. Wilkinson, a newspaper correspondent who visited Atlin in 1899 and 1900, estimated the total at approximately 8,000.[186] In an Atlin Board of Trade pamphlet advertising the district, the population figures for 1899 were given as 1,500 people in Atlin town and 4,500 more on the various creeks and in Pine City.[187] Judge F. W. Howay, usually a careful and accurate historian of British Columbia, estimated the population to be about 5,000.[188] Despite the discrepancies, however, a

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police point for North-western British Columbia, was amalgamated with the Prince Rupert district, and Owen moved to Prince Rupert as Chief Constable. *Shoulder Strap,* No. 9 (Winter, 1942), pp. 67–68; Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail,* December 17, 1898; Whitehorse *Star,* May 10, 1929.

(183) Atlin *Claim,* August 12, 1905.

(184) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1898,* p. 990.

(185) Vancouver *Star,* August 29, 1931.

(186) Vancouver *Province,* July 30, 1900.

(187) Atlin District Board of Trade, *The Atlin Gold Fields,* n.p., n.d., Archives of B.C.

(188) Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia,* Vol II, p. 499.

reasonable estimate of the population in 1899 is possible. There were 8,619 claims recorded in the Atlin district in 1899. Many of these, of course, were duplicate records because of the prevalent practice of claim-jumping, and many miners also recorded more than one claim. Before anyone could record a claim, he had to obtain a free miner's certificate, for which he paid $5. Government records for 1899 show that officials in Atlin collected about $19,000 in revenue from the issuing of certificates.[189] It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that there were almost 4,000 miners on the scene, and probably 1,000 other people. Judge Howay's statement, consequently, seems the most accurate estimate.

For the Provincial general election of 1900, the voters list of May of that year listed 675 qualified voters in the Bennett and Atlin Lake Polling Divisions.[190] Of these 675 names, 143 were listed for Bennett and 532 for Atlin. Many of the people in the district, however, were aliens, not qualified to vote. In 1900, also, females did not have the franchise, and, therefore, were not listed on voters rolls. In 1900, therefore, the population was probably between two and three thousand. The first flurry to Atlin was over, and the disappointed seekers for gold, who had thought to become rich overnight by picking up large nuggets lying in plain view on the banks of the creeks, had left Atlin. The Alien Exclusion Act of 1899 also had driven out many of the American miners. As Atlin gradually fell into the orbit of the big companies and as the free miners gradually found their operations unprofitable, Atlin's population steadily declined. In 1901 the decennial census showed 2,042 people in the Bennett and Atlin districts.[191] These two census districts, however, included a vast stretch of territory. Moreover, the first census returns for Atlin for 1901 were lost in the wreck of the *Islander,* and the subsequent figures were gathered after most of the miners had arrived in Atlin for the summer season.[192] In October, 1904, A. L. Belyea, K.C., estimated that Atlin's population in the working season of 1903–04 had been about 1,500, but that in the winter-time it had dropped to 750 people.[193] In

(189) British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1899,* pp. 648–649.

(190) Atlin *Claim,* May 19, 1900.

(191) Canada, Census Office, *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901,* Ottawa, 1902, p. 26.

(192) Atlin *Claim,* August 31, 1901.

(193) *B.C. Mining Exchange,* VI (October, 1904), p. 6.

November, 1909, 343 voters were registered for the Provincial general election.[194]

The first white woman ever to visit Atlin was probably Mrs. A. L. Short, who, in July, 1898, staked a claim with her husband on Pine Creek.[195] She was followed closely by Mrs. W. A. Turner, the wife of a dentist, who, in August, 1898, also staked a claim on Pine Creek.[196] Mrs. Turner died on April 5, 1899, and was buried in Atlin's cemetery.[197] The first girl to be born in Atlin was born on April 15, 1899, to a Mrs. Lowry at the Atlin House Hotel.[198] The parents named the child Atlintoo Marie. To express Atlin's pride in the first baby born in the community, H. B. Cameron, an auctioneer in Atlin, wrote a poem—more valuable for its historic record than for its literary merits—which the Atlin *Claim* printed:—

> Hail! And Welcome, little sunbeam,
> Fresh from Heaven's portals,
> What put it in your little head
> To come amongst us mortals?
>
> Whatever the reasons for your coming,
> If reasons ye have any,
> You're now the Queen of Atlin fair,
> And subjects you have many.
>
> So welcome, little one, once again,
> We'll stand by you, rather!
> That girl's all right who surely has
> All Atlin for godfather.[199]

The first white boy born in Atlin was Francis Henning, born in a tent on June 7, 1899.[200] He grew up in Atlin, and worked for Louis Schulz for many years. He became the president of the Atlin Board of Trade in 1940.[201]

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(194) British Columbia, *Voters Lists, 1909,* Victoria, 1909, p. Q 6. By 1924 Discovery (Pine City) was a ghost town. *See* British Columbia, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines . . . 1924,* p. B 80.

(195) British Columbia, Special Commission, 1899, Miscellaneous Exhibits and Shorthand Notes of Cases, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(196) British Columbia, Special Commission, 1899, Pine Creek, N.W.T., Stakings, No. 40 below to No. 30 above, Petitions of Right, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(197) Atlin *Claim,* April 29, 1899.

(198) *Ibid.,* April 29, 1899.

(199) *Ibid.,* May 6, 1899.

(200) *Ibid.,* June 8, 1907.

(201) Atlin *News Miner,* March 18, 1939; August 17, 1940.

In November, 1899, the Atlin Public School opened for the first time.[202] Since there was no adequate building for school purposes, classes met in a large tent which had originally been used by the Mining Recorder for the district.[203] One half of the school tent had a wooden floor; the other half was covered with sawdust. Two stoves, roaring furiously, tried to keep out the bitter cold of winter without setting fire to the flimsy walls. Despite the severe weather, the average daily attendance for the school-year of 1899–1900 was approximately fifteen.[204] The Atlin School Board could not attract a qualified teacher in 1899, and, in desperation, finally persuaded H. M. Wells to assume charge of the one-room school at a salary of $75 per month.[205] Wells did a creditable job in his first attempt, and, for his efforts, was warmly congratulated by the local residents when his term expired in June, 1900.[206] After his first teaching experience, however, he went prospecting on McKee Creek and could not be persuaded to reassume the teaching position. In September, 1900, Miss K. C. Smith, a qualified teacher, succeeded him.[207]

From the first classes in 1899 until August, 1902, the pupils of Atlin had no permanent school building. In the summer of 1902, however, the Provincial Government provided the money for a permanent structure,[208] and in September, 1902, Miss E. I. Miller, Atlin's fourth teacher in four years, was the first instructor to hold classes in the new building.[209]

Over the years the Atlin Public School changed little from its original form. From its inception it was an assisted, one-room elementary and junior high school. The attendance varied little, the average being between fifteen and twenty pupils. Those pupils who sought high-school levels of education either took correspondence

(202) Atlin *Claim*, November 11 and 18, 1899.

(203) British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works . . . 1900*, p. 491.

(204) Atlin *Claim*, June 30, 1900.

(205) *Ibid.*, September 30 and October 28, 1899; British Columbia, Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1899–1900*, Victoria, 1901, p. XXXIX.

(206) Atlin *Claim*, June 30, 1900.

(207) British Columbia, Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1900–1901*, p. XLI.

(208) Atlin *Claim*, August 30, 1902.

(209) British Columbia, Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1902–1903*, p. XLVI.

courses from the Department of Education in Victoria or else went to other centres, notably Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, or Vancouver or Victoria. The Atlin Public School, however, served the district's purpose admirably, for at no time did the district have a large school-age population.

Shortly after the influx of the first gold-seekers in 1898, Atlin found itself obliged to care for many destitute, sick miners. The Provincial Government appointed Dr. A. S. Monro as the local Public Health Officer.[210] He established his hospital headquarters along the lakefront. In addition to the Provincial Government's hospital, Dr. Monro and Dr. F. M. Boyle opened the Atlin City General Hospital on May 1, 1899, and on May 10 added to their staff Miss E. Elliott, Atlin's first qualified nurse.[211] Both of these hospitals, like most other Atlin enterprises in 1899, began their existences in tents. The Atlin City General Hospital was a private hospital, built entirely by private funds, and, therefore, was forced to admit only paying patients in order to support itself. The hospital operated by the Government attended to those people who were unable to pay for medical attention. In 1900 Atlin gained a third hospital, which soon supplanted the other two. On January 15, 1900, the first ground was broken for St. Andrew's Presbyterian Hospital,[212] and by spring of the same year the hospital had been completed. The building, a permanent structure, was 24 by 36 feet in area, had nine beds, an operating-room, and nursing-quarters. Members of the community voluntarily did most of the work on the new hospital, but the Presbyterian Missionary Society of Toronto subscribed the greatest part of the money for the building and the salaries of the staff.[213] Until 1906, in fact, that body paid the salaries of two nurses and a housekeeper, and also contributed heavily to the general maintenance of the hospital. In 1902, for example, this religious group provided for the addition of a ladies' ward to the main building.[214]

Although the institution was sectarian in its origin, it was absolutely a non-sectarian, charitable organization in its handling and treatment of patients. In 1902 the Provincial Government began the practice of granting money for the operation of the hospital and for the salary of

(210) Atlin *Claim*, May 6, 1899.
(211) *Ibid.*, April 29 and May 13, 1899.
(212) *Ibid.*, January 20, 1900.
(213) *Ibid.*, August 9, 1902.
(214) *Ibid.*, December 9, 1905.

the doctors.[215] In addition, the people of Atlin assisted the finances of St. Andrew's in every possible way. Dances, sports events, sales of hospital tickets, and other benefits enabled the hospital to maintain a satisfactory service to the public. Dr. H. E. Young, Atlin's member in the Provincial Legislature from 1903 to 1916, worked hard on behalf of the institution, gaining extra grants for the hospital, securing the appointments of resident physicians where possible, and in 1907 personally contributing a valuable set of surgical instruments.[216] Major C. W. A. Nevile, a resident of Atlin for almost forty-five years, also was prominent in the affairs of the hospital. Annually he contributed substantially to the funds of the institution, and he was secretary of the Hospital Board for many years.[217]

A medical difficulty which Atlin, together with other pioneer communities, faced was the lack of trained medical practitioners. The doctors who were in Atlin believed it more profitable to mine than to practise medicine. The Government made appointment after appointment to the posts of Provincial Health Officer and resident physician for Atlin. The appointees would remain at their posts for a short time and then would either take up mining or return south. There was little financial profit in attending to a population as healthy as Atlin's proved to be. In addition, the Medical Act of British Columbia barred from medical practice anyone who had not passed the medical examinations of the Province.[218] Since most of the few doctors in Atlin in the early period were non-residents of British Columbia, they could not legally treat patients. Despite many handicaps, however, Atlin's population, probably because of the healthy climate, had few serious epidemics, and thrived.

The first man of God to enter Atlin was the Rev. F. L. Stephenson. He had come from England to Victoria in 1883, and in 1889 was ordained a minister of the Church of England. After a period of work among the Indians of Metlakatla and Fort Simpson, he headed north in 1898 to attend to the gold-seekers at Bennett Lake. He walked over the White Pass and arrived in Atlin early in 1899. He held his first services in old hospital tents, but in the spring of 1900, with the aid of the miners of the area, was able to build St. Martin's Church, the only Anglican church within hundreds of miles. He remained in Atlin

(215) *Ibid.*, October 24, 1902.
(216) *Ibid.*, November 27, 1903; August 31, 1907.
(217) Whitehorse *Star*, February 19, 1943.
(218) Atlin *Claim*, September 27, 1902.

until March, 1906, when he went overland to Fort George to take up new duties administering to another pioneer community opening up in the path of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.[219] In 1908 the Rev. M. A. Jackson succeeded Mr. Stephenson in Atlin, and remained there until March, 1910.[220] After a few months under the guidance of the Rev. E. P. Laycock, St. Martin's remained without a resident clergyman from 1910 until 1927, when the Rev. Roy Manwaring arrived.[221]

The Presbyterian Church was also represented in Atlin's early history. The Rev. John Pringle, later famous for his Yukon exploits, arrived in Atlin from Glenora about January, 1899.[222] He remained in Atlin until September, 1901, when he went to Bonanza, Yukon Territory.[223] During his stay in Atlin he was the driving force behind the erection of Atlin's first church, St. Andrew's Presbyterian. Mr. Pringle was apparently an ideal type of clergyman for the rough and ready miners of Atlin. After the departure of Mr. Pringle, a series of Presbyterian clergymen served in Atlin. The Rev. J. Russell stayed there until June, 1902, and was succeeded by the Rev. E. Turkington, who remained in Atlin until July, 1905. He was followed by the Rev. W. J. Kidd for a three-month period. Thereafter, Atlin had no permanent Presbyterian minister, but was dependent upon occasional visits from travelling clergymen. On May 23, 1914, St. Andrew's Church was destroyed in one of the most destructive fires in Atlin's history.[224]

A teaching and missionary order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, played the leading role in the activity of the Roman Catholic Church in Atlin. Detailed information is unfortunately lacking, as there was no permanent resident priest until 1938.[225] In the summer of 1899 Father Whelan conducted services in Atlin.[226] It is possible that Father

(219) Mr. Stephenson served with distinction during World War I, being wounded in France, and, after the war, returned to British Columbia, where he continued his work until he retired in 1927. He died in January, 1941. Vancouver *Star,* August 26, 1931; Victoria *Colonist,* January 8, 1941; *North British Columbia News,* No. 124 (June, 1941), pp. 92–93.

(220) *Ibid.,* No. 18 (April, 1914), pp. 23–24.

(221) *Ibid.,* No. 70 (October, 1927), p. 261.

(222) Atlin *Claim,* January 7, 1899.

(223) *Ibid.,* September 21, 1901.

(224) *North British Columbia News,* No. 19 (July, 1914), p. 30.

(225) Much of the information of the activities of the Roman Catholic Church in Atlin was supplied by the Rev. Father G. Forbes, O.M.I., Vancouver, B.C., in a letter dated October 9, 1951, to Mrs. H. W. Ebbs-Canavan, Victoria, B.C., of which letter Mrs. Canavan kindly allowed a copy to be made.

(226) Atlin *Claim,* August 26 and September 2, 1899.

LeChesne may have visited Atlin in 1899, coming over from his mission post at Last Chance, Yukon Territory, and there is record of him having performed the rites of the Church in 1901.[227] Father Corbeil may also have visited the community in 1899, although the first reference to him in the local newspaper does not occur until 1904.[228] In addition, Father Morgan spent a month in Atlin in 1900.[229] In 1905 Father Godfrey began to visit Atlin regularly.

All these priests administered not only to Atlin's white population, but also to the Indians in the neighbouring Indian village, the majority of whom were Catholics. In July, 1907, Father F. J. Allard, O.M.I., of Conrad City on Windy Arm, opened a religious school and home for the children of Atlin's Indian village.[230] Without adequate funds, he maintained the school and establishment for some time, his sole financial support being voluntary financial contributions from the local residents. At the same time he administered to his white flock in the area. After Father Allard's tenure of office in Atlin, the town had many visiting priests, but the first really permanent one was Father Louis Delarue, O.M.I., who arrived in Atlin in the spring of 1938,[231]

One of the first signs of a new, prosperous community is usually the appearance of a local newspaper. The Atlin district was no exception. In April, 1899, Harry Cowan and W. J. MacKay, two Vancouver newsmen,[232] established a weekly, the Atlin *Claim*. The first issue outlined the future policy of the paper:—

> Take notice that we have this day located this newspaper as a paying proposition, to be known as The Atlin Claim, four pages, sixteen columns. Its general policy is to furnish such news as the publishers can gather from week to week. . . . It is our intention to serve the public to the best of our ability. We desire to fulfill the first duties of a newspaper and that [*sic*] is to supply the news. Too many papers think the first essential is to supply advice. . . . Our editorial columns will espouse all that makes for the good and welfare of the people of the district of Atlin. We are bound to no party or set of men, and will commend or censure as we feel occasion demands.[233]

During its existence the *Claim* tried to live up to its first declaration of principles. Cowan, the first editor and joint proprietor, remained with

(227) *Ibid.*, July 13, 1901.
(228) *Ibid.*, September 10, 1904.
(229) *Ibid.*, July 14 and August 11, 1900.
(230) *Ibid.*, July 27, August 24, and December 14, 1907; March 28, 1908.
(231) Whitehorse *Star*, June 17, 1938.
(232) Vancouver *Province*, April 1, 1899.
(233) Atlin *Claim*, April 29, 1899.

the newspaper until September, 1900, when he returned to Vancouver. MacKay suspended publication of the *Claim* on September 29, 1900, in order to have a vacation.[234] When the newspaper resumed publication in December, 1900, it had a new owner, A. C. Hirschfeld, Atlin's photographer and a man prominent in commercial and mining circles in the community.[235] Hirschfeld also made a declaration of future policy in his first issue, stating that the paper would be non-partisan and devoted to the mining and other interests of Atlin.

For a brief time in its early days the *Claim* had two local competitors, the Bennett *Sun* and the Atlin *Globe*. After the completion of the White Pass and Yukon Railway, Bennett was no longer an important construction centre for the railway-builders, and suffered a relapse. In August, 1900, therefore, the *Sun* ceased publication; the printing plant was moved to Whitehorse and was re-established there as the Whitehorse *Star*.[236] The other rival of the *Claim,* the Atlin *Globe,* made its first appearance on August 30, 1899, under the direction of William Baillie.[237] J. T. Bethune, the owner of the new venture, used the paper to support his interests as a candidate for the Cassiar district in the Provincial election of June, 1900.[238] On April 10, 1900, the *Globe* ceased publication, and was sold by the Sheriff of Atlin for rent due on the premises occupied by the newspaper.[239] R. Burde and J. T. Wilkinson acquired the plant, and transported it to Whitehorse to reopen it as the Whitehorse *Tribune*.[240] After 1900 the *Claim* had no real competitors.

A. C. Hirschfeld had many interests in Atlin and Vancouver, and was, therefore, usually content to leave the management of the *Claim* to others. In the winter of 1902–03, for example, D. Todd Lees managed and edited the newspaper.[241] James Simpson did the same in the winter

(234) *Ibid.,* September 15 and 29, 1900.

(235) *Ibid.,* December 22, 1900.

(236) *Ibid.,* August 18, 1900.

(237) *Ibid.,* September 2, 1899. Baillie apparently had been linked with the Kamloops *Sentinel* during the Federal election of 1896, and, thereafter, going to Vancouver and then to Atlin, finally seems to have disappeared. Kamloops *Sentinel,* December 14, 1934.

(238) Atlin *Claim,* April 14, 1900.

(239) *Ibid.,* April 21, 1900.

(240) *Ibid.,* July 14, 1900.

(241) *Ibid.,* October 4, 1902; February 13, 1904; March 4, 1905. Lees later founded the *B.C. Lumberman.*

of 1904–05.[242] The newspaper was a profitable venture since it was the only one in the district. Under Hirschfeld's management it gave good service to the people of Atlin. For a short time in 1901 and 1902 it offered a telegraphic bulletin, in addition to the regular weekly edition, to the public.[243] In 1903 the paper increased in size to an eight-page edition.[244] In May, 1905, however, Hirschfeld sold his newspaper interests to W. Pollard Grant, a prominent Atlin lawyer.[245] Grant, active in the political circles of the Liberal-Conservative Party, seemed to allow his political views to work against the prosperity of the paper. The number of subscriptions decreased, many of the merchants of Atlin withdrew their advertising support, and the paper had to suspend publication twice between October, 1907, and March, 1908.[246] Grant finally disposed of the paper to Hubert Faulkner in March, 1908.[247] Faulkner embarked upon a frantic, but unsuccessful, campaign to increase the circulation of the paper. Atlin's population, however, was now too small to support a newspaper, and in April, 1908, the last-known edition of the paper appeared.[248]

With the influx of miners in 1898 and 1899 to Atlin came the merchants, banks, and other commercial interests. By April, 1899, Atlin had representatives of three banks—the Merchants' Bank of Halifax, the first to arrive; the Canadian Bank of Commerce; and the Bank of British North America.[249] In addition, the community had several hotels, grocery-stores, hardware-stores, a jeweller's, a pharmacy, a photography-shop, a barber-shop, several hand laundries, and various other small merchants. At first, in fact, Atlin had too many businesses for its population. When the economic basis of the community gradually changed from that of a placer-mining camp, offering opportunities to many individual miners, to that of a hydraulic-mining region, with the appearance

(242) *Ibid.*, October 8, 1904.

(243) *Ibid.*, October 26, 1901.

(244) *Ibid.*, February 21, 1903.

(245) *Ibid.*, May 6, 1905.

(246) *Ibid.*, October 26 and November 16, 1907.

(247) *Ibid.*, March 14, 1908.

(248) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1908. Atlin subsequently had two other newspapers: the Atlin *Nugget*, which appeared briefly between August 8 and October 24, 1936, when the plant was destroyed by fire (Whitehorse *Star*, August 14 and October 30, 1936); and the Atlin *News Miner*, which, between December 17, 1938, and January 30, 1943, was published by the Whitehorse *Star* for distribution in Atlin.

(249) Atlin *Claim*, May 13, 1899.

of a few large corporations, the number of merchants and financial institutions began to decline. In November, 1903, for example, two of Atlin's most prosperous general merchants, A. S. Cross and N. C. Wheeling, found it expedient to combine their interests and to form the Atlin Trading Company, with its main store in Atlin and several small branch stores on the various creeks. In April, 1907, also, the Canadian Bank of Commerce announced the withdrawal of its branch from Atlin because of a decrease in banking business.[250]

The merchants of Atlin provided one of the most vocal expressions of opinion on the needs and rights of the community. On February 27, 1900, the Atlin Board of Trade held its first meeting, and elected J. A. Fraser and J. St. Clair Blackett as first president and first vice-president respectively. Commenting upon the formation of the Atlin Board of Trade, the Atlin *Claim* said:—

> Here we shall have a concensus of intelligent opinion on all matters concerning the community's welfare and steps taken to further it, instead of, as heretofore, depending on individual, and too often misdirected, effort.[251]

Among the other officials prominent in the subsequent history of Atlin's Board of Trade were A. S. Cross, who succeeded Fraser as president in July, 1902; A. C. Hirschfeld, who became president in July, 1903; and Major C. W. A. Nevile, who was president longer than anyone else, twenty-five years.[252] Among the achievements which the Board helped to accomplish were a permanent school building for Atlin and a school for Discovery; the substitution by the merchants of permanent buildings in place of tents, thus reducing the fire-hazard; the appointment of a night-watchman to patrol the town and to sound the alarm in case of fires; the appointment of a resident Judge for Atlin; appointments of Medical Health Officers and resident physicians for the community; better service by various officials of the Provincial Government in Atlin; improved sanitation for the town and protection of Atlin's water-supply from pollution; publication, in conjunction with the White Pass and Yukon Route, of a pamphlet advertising Atlin's possibilities; and the maintenance of Atlin's cemetery.[253] Virtually the only aspect of Atlin's development in which the efforts of the Board of Trade were unsuccessful

(250) *Ibid.*, March 16, 1903.

(251) *Ibid.*, March 3, 1900.

(252) *Ibid.*, July 11, 1903; Victoria *Colonist*, July 25, 1902; Whitehorse *Star*, February 19, 1943.

(253) Atlin *Claim*, February 16, 1901; January 11, 1902; January 10, 1903; January 16, 1904.

was the long struggle with the White Pass and Yukon Route for lower freight rates. All through its existence, the Atlin Board of Trade has maintained a running fight with the company on this question.

All new communities live in constant dread of one evil—fire. Towns and villages which mushroom overnight into habitations of considerable size usually grow in a haphazard manner. Whole blocks of wooden buildings, lack of adequate water-supplies, no fire-fighting equipment, and reliance upon volunteer fire brigades often permit dangers to accumulate which are revealed only when a serious fire strikes the community. On a windy Sunday afternoon late in August, 1900, Atlin had her first fire,[254] the lessons of which she never forgot. A fire began in the warehouse of the British America Corporation and, aided by some kegs of blasting-powder, which exploded, and a fierce wind, soon spread to the adjoining buildings. The cry of fire, hastily shouted through the streets of the town, summoned all Atlin to fight the blaze. From the dock the steamer *Scotia* quickly put her pumps to work. John Kirkland took charge of a volunteer fire brigade composed of the entire community, and, under his direction, the volunteers, after two hours of blazing destruction, eventually checked the fire. When the weary people of Atlin went to bed that night, the community had lost two hotels, a barber-shop, a photography-store, a restaurant, two general stores, a warehouse filled with goods, the building of the Board of Trade, an assay office, personal effects and homes, and forty cases of champagne belonging to E. J. De Lamare. The total loss was valued at $42,000, none of which was covered by insurance.

The people of Atlin immediately began rebuilding, and also planned how to combat any such disasters in the future. The burning of the Kootenay Hotel on December 24, 1900,[255] spurred Atlin's officials to hasten their plans. Through the efforts of C. W. D. Clifford and James Stables, Atlin's representatives in the Provincial Legislature, and J. D. Graham, Gold Commissioner, Atlin acquired a fire-engine in June, 1901.[256] Public subscriptions and a grant from the Government paid for the machine. The engine had two pumps and two hoses, 1,000 feet in all. The Atlin Board of Trade established a town fire committee and appointed John Kirkland as the fire chief.[257] He organized a fire brigade

(254) *Ibid.*, September 1, 1900.
(255) Victoria *Colonist*, January 8, 1901.
(256) Atlin *Claim*, April 20, May 25, and June 22, 1901.
(257) *Ibid.*, June 22, 1901.

and led in the construction of a fire-hall. The engine had its first real test on July 7, 1901,[258] when it was used to overcome what could have been a serious fire.

Climate forced Atlin to take precautions to protect her new fire-engine. For example, in the winter-time the fire brigade had to install runners on the engine to enable the equipment to be moved over ice and snow.[259] In addition, the town hired a night-watchman whose duties included keeping fires burning in the fire-hall to prevent the engine from freezing up. The Provincial Government contributed a portion of the expenses of this night-watchman.

The introduction of a fire-engine in Atlin also enabled the property-owners of the town to insure their buildings. Prior to the appearance of the fire-engine in June, 1901, insurance rates had been prohibitive because of the lack of protection against fire. After July, 1901, insurance premiums dropped sharply.[260] In the neighbouring town of Discovery, however, rates remained high because Discovery had no fire-engine.

Atlin had her share of serious fires. On May 29, 1905, she again suffered a disastrous blaze.[261] The extensive holdings of the Northern Power and Lumber Company, including a saw and planing mill, a large quantity of timber ready for the mill, the town's only electric-lighting plant, a steam laundry, a blacksmith-shop, and office-quarters were destroyed. The damage totalled over $40,000. The Atlin *Claim* reported that, since the fire occurred on a Monday afternoon, wash-day, the people of Atlin suffered considerable inconvenience through the burning of the laundry plant and all the washing for the week.

During the short summer season in the Atlin area the people were usually too busy taking advantage of every daylight hour to spend much time seeking recreation. In the long, dark winters, however, those people who remained in the community did not lack amusements. Organized entertainments and clubs were numerous in Atlin's early days. One of the first societies to open a branch in Atlin was the Arctic Brotherhood. This fabulous organization was born on the S.S. *City of Seattle* in February, 1899.[262] The ship was heading up Lynn

(258) *Ibid.*, July 13, 1901.
(259) *Ibid.*, November 9, 1901.
(260) *Ibid.*, October 29, 1904.
(261) *Ibid.*, June 3, 1905.
(262) *Ibid.*, October 29, 1899. *See also* J. N. Davidson, *The Arctic Brotherhood*, Seattle, 1909, *passim*.

Canal to Skagway, loaded with a merry crowd of men returning to the Klondike. To make the trip enjoyable, the master of the ship, Captain William A. Connell, decided to organize his passengers into a society of entertainers. The venture was so successful that the group of travellers met again in Skagway on March 6, 1899, to perpetuate the society. From this meeting sprang the Arctic Brotherhood, a purely fraternal and benevolent organization, with its motto of "Fidelity and Friendship," its watchword of "Mush On," and its insignia of a miniature prospector's pan filled with tiny gold nuggets. The only bar to membership was that stipulating that a member must have lived "north of 54." Even this rule was occasionally waived, as it was, for example, in August, 1909, in the case of the initiation of Lord Grey, the Governor-General of Canada; his aide, Viscount Lascelles; and Archdeacon H. A. Cody into Camp Dawson, No. 4, Arctic Brotherhood.[263] The society had as its chief aim the benefit of northern miners and prospectors living either in the Yukon or Alaska. The Brotherhood built a "Grand Camp" in Skagway, and by June, 1899, had 800 members.[264] In addition to its main body in Skagway, the Brotherhood established many branches in the north. J. D. Thagard was given the task of establishing a branch of the Brotherhood in Atlin.[265] He gathered the existing Atlin members of the Brotherhood, and on the occasion of the visit of Arctic Chief Thomas W. Farnsworth to Atlin on June 6, 1899, initiated several more members. On June 17 the group again met and chose its officers. These included Arctic Chief J. J. McKenna; Vice-Arctic Chief D. Hastie; Arctic Recorder L. B. Reid; Keeper of Nuggets W. A. Spencer; Camp Cook Dr. Lambert; Arctic Guide J. J. Burns; and Trustees Dr. A. S. Monro, Captain Langley, and Captain R. M. Caddel.[266] Captain Johnson and F. M. Woodruff donated property and Captain John Irving the necessary lumber for a club-house. The society was in full operation by the end of the summer. A branch also was established at Discovery.[267] Although the organization was primarily a social order, the Atlin branches of the Arctic Brotherhood, like all the other branches, did

(263) Whitehorse *Star,* July 15, 1938.

(264) Atlin *Claim,* June 10, 1899.

(265) Olive, *Memoirs,* p. 461.

(266) Atlin *Claim,* June 10, 17, and 24, 1899. *See also* Davidson, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

(267) *Ibid.,* pp. 95–99.

much for the local community, holding dances and entertainments to aid the hospital, the poor, and the unfortunate.

In the winter of 1902–03 the citizens of Atlin, mainly through the efforts of Mrs. E. M. N. Woods, organized an Operatic Society. On January 23, 1903, the group gave a creditable first performance of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Trial by Jury*.[268] The society then reorganized itself into the Atlin Musical and Dramatic Society, with Mrs. Woods as the first president, and Herbert Young, E. M. N. Woods, Mrs. J. St. Clair Blackett, and the Rev. F. L. Stephenson on the executive.[269] With the proceeds from the Operatic Society's performances, the new organization purchased copies of other plays which it hoped to perform. In November, 1903, the Musical and Dramatic Society expanded its scope to include a literary and scientific branch. In addition, the group purchased a piano, stage properties, and lighting facilities, and engaged the office and dining-room of the Grand Hotel for its performances. The society put on several productions and entertainments in the winters of 1903–04 and 1904–05, but eventually disbanded in March, 1905.[270]

Another organization which was prominent in Atlin's social life in the early days was the Atlin Club. W. J. Robinson, active in the affairs of the British American Dredging Company, was the father of this project. In October, 1903, he induced a group of his associates in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston to subscribe $100 each to the new enterprise. In addition, leading merchants of Atlin contributed to the project.[271] Robinson and his associates secured a beautiful site on the shore of Lake Atlin and let a contract to Letherday & Marcus, an Atlin construction firm. On October 16, 1903, construction began,[272] and the main building, 40 by 100 feet, was completed in the summer of 1904. In style the log-cabin structure was similar to the best club-houses of the Adirondacks in the State of New York. The interior was filled with books, pictures, banners, mineral displays, and photos donated by prominent business firms of Vancouver, Seattle, and Atlin. The building contained a library of 100 books and current magazines and newspapers, writing-rooms, dining-salons, a buffet, a

(268) Atlin *Claim*, January 17 and 24, 1903.

(269) *Ibid.*, January 31, 1903.

(270) *Ibid.*, November 14, 1903; February 25, 1905.

(271) *B.C. Mining Exchange*, VI (July, 1904), p. 14; VII (October, 1905), p. 6.

(272) Vancouver *Province*, November 3, 1903.

ladies' parlour, baths, a piano, dancing facilities, a bar, and rooms for billiards and cards. A French chef had charge of the kitchen. In addition, the organization sponsored gun, hunting, and fishing clubs. Future plans called for the construction of skating and curling rinks for winter-time amusement, and a lawn-tennis court for summer use. The club-owners, moreover, intended to build a bowling-alley and to buy a steam-launch for boating trips on the lake. The members also hoped eventually to build thirty cabins to rent to prospective tourists.[273]

On August 13, 1904, the inaugural dance was held at the Atlin Club. All Atlin attended, and the affair was a great success. The people of Atlin had seen nothing like this club since they had left civilization. They agreed with the Atlin *Claim's* announcement that the new building was " one of the most attractive, comfortable and best-equipped club houses north of Vancouver."[274]

The Atlin Club was the centre of social life in the winters of 1904–05 and 1905–06. Its membership was over 100, and on its membership rolls it proudly listed King Edward VII, Lord Roberts, Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, and Richard McBride, Premier of British Columbia. It also claimed to be the most northerly club in the British Empire.[275] In 1906 the Atlin Club, owned by its members, suddenly found that many of those members were leaving Atlin for good. By 1907 the club had been forced to disband, and a melancholy notice in the columns of the Atlin *Claim* on July 6, tells of the final fate of the club:—

For sale.—Atlin Club; including Building, Piano, Billiard Table, Bar Fixtures, Furniture, etc., as a whole or in separate lots. Apply to C. R. Bourne, Liquidator.[276]

Winter sports, including hockey, curling, and skating, were popular in Atlin from the inception of the community. Crude curling and skating rinks were fashioned out of the elements by the earliest of the pioneers. In December, 1901, Messrs, Dockrill and Olive opened the Atlin Skating Rink, with provisions for a lunch-counter and a ladies' dressing-room.[277] In November, 1902, Messrs. Lewis and Ward built a new rink, this time complete with a ladies' section, with a drop shutter to enable the feminine population of Atlin to watch hockey and

(273) *B.C. Mining Exchange,* VI (July, 1904), p. 13.
(274) Atlin *Claim,* August 6 and 13, 1904.
(275) *B.C. Mining Exchange,* VII (October, 1905), p. 6.
(276) Atlin *Claim,* July 6, 1907.
(277) *Ibid.,* December 14, 1901.

curling matches in lady-like seclusion.[278] Ice-boats, too, were fairly common on Atlin Lake both in the early and late periods of Atlin's development. On April 1, 1905, for example, the Atlin *Claim* mentioned a proposed race between three ice-boats—*The Flyer, Windbuck,* and *Third of December.*[279]

Atlin might have been isolated in the early days, but she was certainly not void of social activities. Those people who remained in the community through the long winters had many types of entertainment.

Atlin is a long way from the Federal and Provincial seats of government—Ottawa and Victoria—but it has always taken an active interest in political events. Since national affairs are conducted by Parliament at Ottawa, however, they have always seemed somewhat remote to Atlinites, and, except at election times, appeared to excite little comment from Atlin's newspapers or from Atlinites generally. Atlin first secured representation in Ottawa in the Federal general election of 1900, when George Ritchie Maxwell, a Liberal, defeated the Conservative candidate, James F. Garden, and thus secured the right to represent Burrard Electoral District, the riding which then included Atlin.[280] Although his over-all majority was over 625, in the voting at Bennett Lake, Atlin, Surprise Lake, and Pine City, Maxwell led Garden by only 13 votes.[281] In 1903 the Federal Parliament passed a Redistribution Act, among the clauses of which was one creating the vast Comox-Atlin district, formerly part of the Burrard and Vancouver electoral ridings. Maxwell had died in November, 1902,[282] and in the general election of 1904 William Sloan, running as the Liberal candidate, was returned by acclamation.[283]

(278) *Ibid.*, November 8, 1902.

(279) *Ibid.*, April 1, 1905.

(280) *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1901,* Ottawa, 1901, p. 136.

(281) Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail,* December 28, 1900.

(282) Born in Scotland in 1857, Maxwell was educated at Glasgow University, and became a minister in the Presbyterian Church. In 1885 he came to Canada, and in 1890 arrived in Vancouver. He was first elected to the House of Commons in the general election of 1896 for Burrard riding. He died in November, 1902. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1901,* p. 108; Vancouver *Province,* November 18, 1902.

(283) Sloan was born in Ontario in 1867, and came to British Columbia in 1887. In 1896 he went to the Yukon as a miner and did well on Eldorado Creek, one of the richest producers of gold in the entire Klondike gold-bearing regions. In 1900 he was unsuccessful as a Liberal candidate in the Federeal riding of Vancouver. He was subsequently elected to the Provincial Legislature in the general election of 1916, becoming Minister of Mines in the governments of H. C. Brewster and John Oliver. He was re-elected in the general elections of 1920 and 1924.

Re-elected in the general election of 1908, he resigned his seat to make way for William Templeman, Minister of Mines and Inland Revenue in the Laurier Cabinet, who had been defeated in the Victoria riding. Templeman, who won the by-election by acclamation, was the first and only representative of the Atlin area ever to hold a portfolio in a Federal Cabinet.[284]

In the Provincial political field, Atlin inherited two ready-made politicians when it came into existence. In 1898 the enormous Cassiar district, which included all of North-western British Columbia, was represented by Captain John Irving and C. W. D. Clifford,[285] who had been elected in the Provincial general election of August, 1898. Irving was a mariner who came from Portland, Oregon, via California, to British Columbia. From 1898 to 1900 he took a prominent part in Atlin's transportation affairs. Clifford, of English birth, took up mining and trading in Canada. In 1900, in the first Provincial election in which Atlin residents took part, the Cassiar riding re-elected Clifford, but rejected Captain Irving, in his place electing James Stables, a Scot.[286]

In 1902 the Provincial Government, through a Redistribution Act,[287] readjusted Atlin's political boundaries. Atlin became a separate riding, with one member in Victoria.

Prior to 1903 British Columbia had no real party lines in its political life, the members of the Legislature supporting this or that Premier

He died in 1928. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1928,* p. 387; Vancouver *Province,* March 2, 1928.

(284) William Templeman was elected by acclamation to the House of Commons in February, 1909. Born in Ontario in 1844, he came to Victoria in 1884 and entered the newspaper field, eventually becoming owner of the Victoria *Times.* Although he worked hard for the Liberal Party in British Columbia, he was unlucky in securing his own election. Defeated in the general elections of 1891 and 1896, he was able, through appointment to the Senate in 1897, to represent British Columbia in Ottawa. In 1902 he became a minister without portfolio in the Laurier Cabinet. In 1906 he was appointed Minister of Inland Revenue, and, resigning his seat in the Senate, won a by-election in Victoria riding. In 1907 he became the first Federal Minister of Mines upon the creation of that department. In the general election of 1911 he did not seek re-election in Comox-Atlin riding. He died in Victoria in November, 1914. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1910,* p. 243; Victoria *Times,* July 5, 1951.

(285) *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1898–1899,* pp. 242–243; Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail,* June 22, 1900.

(286) *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1903,* p. 381; Revelstoke *Kootenay Mail,* June 22, 1900.

(287) Chapter 58, British Columbia, *Statutes . . . 1902,* Victoria, 1902, pp. 223–224.

through personal loyalties or whims. This lack of party lines and party discipline led to such fluctuations and instability of government between 1898 and 1903 that in the general election of 1903 Premier Richard McBride introduced party lines into Provincial politics, entering the lists as a Liberal-Conservative. In the first election fought on party lines in Atlin, Dr. Henry Esson Young, the Liberal-Conservative candidate, defeated John Kirkland, a Liberal.[288]

Dr. Young was one of the outstanding figures in Atlin's history. Born at English River, Quebec, in 1867, he had obtained degrees at Queen's University, Kingston, and McGill University, Montreal, before coming to Atlin in 1899 to try mining. In medicine and politics he was far more successful than he ever was in mining activities. His skill as a physician, his kindliness, his sympathetic tact, and his wisdom soon secured the liking and respect of the rough mining community. He was re-elected in the Provincial general elections of 1907, 1909, and 1912. In February, 1907, Premier McBride recognized his supporter's ability by appointing Dr. Young to a Cabinet post as Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education. That post Dr. Young held until he retired from office with Premier McBride in December, 1915. In 1916 he withdrew from the Legislature and became Provincial Health Officer, which position he held until his death in October, 1939.[289]

The history of the Atlin area is similar to that of all mining communities—the first boom, the rush of thousands of miners, the making and losing of individual fortunes, the disappointments, the arrival of the big companies, the disappearance of the pioneers to other gold-rushes, and the gradual decline of the fortunes of the community. In addition, two world wars have hampered the region's development by curtailing the supply of labour, by making gold-mining a non-essential occupation, and by draining to other fields the capital necessary to finance the development of Atlin's mines. Coal deposits and other minerals, particularly tungsten, silver, and lead, have been discovered in the area, and, in some cases, attempts have been made to work these minerals as alternatives to gold-mining. So far, however, these efforts have been unsuccessful, and gold still remains, as it has been since 1898, the *raison d'être* of Atlin. Transportation problems have also hampered

(288) *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1905,* pp. 439–440; Atlin *Claim,* October 10, 1903.

(289) Atlin *News Miner,* October 28, 1939; Victoria *Colonist,* October 24, 1939.

the community. The costs of shipping ore are almost prohibitive, making low-grade ores economically unsound. Lack of transportation, too, has meant that any agricultural possibilities possessed by the area are valueless since the local market would not absorb any large output and an outside market is not available. In fifty years Atlin has changed from a bustling mining town of 5,000 people to a sleepy hamlet of 150 permanent residents. There is hope for Atlin, though, if gold ever recovers the pre-eminent position that it occupied before World War I. Without gold, however, there is still the lure of the unknown which yet attracts men to the north country.

W. W. BILSLAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

SPANISH NAVAL BASES AND PORTS ON THE PACIFIC COAST OF MEXICO, 1513–1833

The names Tehuantepec, Acapulco, Zacatula, Navidad, Manzanillo, San Blas, Mazatlan, and La Paz are to be found in the accounts of voyages of exploration under the royal flag of Spain. It was from these harbours at different times that the locally built small vessels under Spanish leaders eventually reached the waters of what is now the coast of British Columbia and made a temporary base on the shores of King George's Sound. It is the purpose of this article to draw together information descriptive of these important ports.

Possibly it would be well at the outset to deal with the name "Mexico." It was first given to the large city, founded in 1521 by Hernando Cortez, on the shores of the shallow lake Texcoco at an altitude of 7,500 feet in the centre of the lake district. The word "Mexico" is said to be derived from *Mexitl,* the god of war of the Nahua nation.[1] There is no doubt that the Spaniards retained the name Nueva España for the country of Mexico down to the recognition of its independence in 1833, but in France and England the words "Méxique" and "Mexico" were used long before as alternative names for the country. The Pacific Station of the British Navy was officially authorized in 1837, so that the official change in the name from New Spain to Mexico had come into being just four years before.

At first the American possessions of Spain were divided into two large vice-royalties of New Spain and Peru, the latter including all those in South America. Later on the two vice-royalties were divided into Peru, New Granada (with the under-governments of Guatemala, Porto Rico, and Caraccas), and the vice-royalties of Mexico and Buenos Ayres and the under-governments of Chile and Havana (including Florida). All the Spanish vessels which sailed in a north-westerly direction to explore the coast of what is now Mexico, the United States, and Canada were built in the vice-royalty of New Spain. They were very small, usually between 25 and 45 feet in length, and all their anchors and other ironwork were carried by Indians over the mountain trails from the Gulf

(1) H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico,* San Francisco, 1883, Vol. I, p. 13.

of Mexico to the Pacific[2]—no mean undertaking considering the poor condition of the trails and passes some 10,000 feet high. The planking for the hulls was probably rough and fastened together with wooden tree-nails. Many of the royal Spanish ships and vessels coasting the Pacific waters of New Spain in the early days were built at Navidad Bay, which is the Spanish for "nativity." This small, shallow bay is not of much account at the present time. The harbour of Acapulco was the eastern terminus of the route of the Philippine treasure-ships. A naval establishment was first made at the harbour of San Blas in 1774, that at Mazatlan being of more recent development. Following the sighting of the "great South Sea"—the Pacific Ocean—by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1513, some Spanish officers began to explore the Pacific coast for a new route to Cathay. In 1521 some small vessels were built at Zacatula, which is 225 miles south-west of Mexico City and near the mouth of the Rio de las Palsas, which enters the ocean in the Bay of Petacalco. Other shipyards were soon in operation at Tehuantepec, about 500 miles east of Zacatula, and at Navidad, about 200 miles north-west of the same port.[3]

Some years ago a bundle of old *Gazetteers* came into the possession of the writer and much useful information concerning these Pacific ports in Mexico was found therein. In 1791 Navidad was described as a "sea-port town of Mexico, in N. America, and in the province of Mychoacan, seated on the S. Sea, 350 miles W. of Mexico, and subject to Spain."[4] Seven years later it was referred to as "Natividad" in the province of New Galicia, 60 leagues south-west of Mechoacan.[5] In 1823 it is described as located in the province of Guadalajara "on a bay of the Pacific ocean, 150 miles sw of Guadalajara."[6]

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(2) George Davidson, "The Discovery of San Francisco Bay," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific,* second series, IV (1907), p. 13.

(3) The following outline will give an idea of ocean distances northward from Panama: to Salina Cruz on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is 1,160 sea miles, to Acapulco 1,437, to San Blas 1,948, and to Mazatlan 2,070. From Salina Cruz to Acapulco is 350 sea miles, Acapulco to Navidad 370, Navidad to San Blas 200, and San Blas to Mazatlan 150. San Francisco is 3,277 sea miles from Panama and 1,350 sea miles from Mazatlan.

(4) R. Brookes, *The General Gazetteer* (7th ed., rev. by W. Guthrie and E. Jones), Dublin, 1791.

(5) Clement Cruttwell, *The New Universal Gazetteer,* London, 1798, Vol. II.

(6) R. Brookes, *A General Gazetteer* (15th ed.), London, 1823.

In 1863, after Captain George Henry Richards, R.N., had handed over the survey of Vancouver Island to Commander Daniel Pender, R.N., he proceeded home in H.M. paddle-sloop *Hecate* by way of the west coast of America and the Cape of Good Hope to Woolwich, where the sloop was paid off early in 1864. On the way he added to the charts of some ports in Mexico, and this included Navidad. He recorded:—

Navidad head is a wedged-shaped summit, about 400 feet high, falling in shore to a low neck, and is remarkable when seen from any direction. On approaching it within 3 or 4 miles, it is seen to be an island, separated from the main by a low rocky ledge, which the water rises over. Off the head are three remarkable rocks, extending in a south-west direction; the centre one being white with a smooth round top, covered with vegetation, and about 70 feet high. These rocks give the head some slight resemblance to Farralone point, with the Frailes rocks (9 miles westward from it) when seen from the north-westward; but the peculiar shape of the wedge island would prevent the possibility of a mistake after the first glance. . . . After rounding Navidad head from the northward, at the distance of 2 miles, the white sandy beach of Navidad bay will be seen, bearing E. by N., distant 7 miles. At 2 miles southward from the White rock of Navidad there are 60 fathoms of water, and steering thence for the anchorage it gradually shoals to 40 and 30 fathoms. . . . As the bay is approached, Harbour Point, a very remarkable high white point, will be seen on the northern shore. Immediately round and inside this is the anchorage, a very fair stopping place during the fine season, but it is not recommended for a sailing vessel at other times, as there is a difficulty in getting out with a S.W. wind;—the best berth is in 7 fathoms water, sandy bottom, with Harbour point bearing S.S.W. a quarter of a mile, and the same distance from the eastern shore of the bay,—sailing vessels may anchor farther out, with the point bearing West, in 10 or 11 fathoms, but there will be more swell.

A single house stands in the north hook of the bay, and a lagoon within a few yards of the beach, where the water is fresh, and the natives say good, but it is not recommended to use it unless a vessel is in distress. At the south-east end of the bay is the north-west end of a long lagoon which here opens into the sea; a strong stream runs out of it, and there is sufficient depth for boats at half tide. There is a small village here, and some supplies of fresh provisions may be obtained. The anchorage off this end of the bay is not recommended.7

Acapulco was of much greater significance. A *Gazetteer* in 1791 described it as follows:—

A considerable town of Mexico, in America, seated on a bay on the South Sea. The harbour is very commodious, and will hold nearly 200 vessels. Every year they send a rich ship to Manilla, one of the Phillippine [*sic*] islands; and another returns annually from thence to the same port, laden with the best commodities of the East-Indies. The town itself is destitute of fresh water, and the climate during

(7) J. F. Imray, *North Pacific Pilot, Part I, The West Coast of North America*, London, 1885, pp. 102–103.

their summer months, extremely hot and unhealthy; they have no rain from the end of November to the beginning of May; and the town is almost deserted, except during the mart occasioned by the Manilla ships. The Chief Justice has 20,000 pieces of Eight per annum, and the comptroller and other officers little less than that sum. The curate though allowed but 180 pieces of eight per annum, yet his income is said to be worth above 14,000 arising principally from the burial-fees of strangers who die there, and on board the ships in the harbour. Within a league E. of Acapulco, is Port Marquis, a very good harbour, where the ships from Peru generally run in contraband goods.[8]

A later description, published in 1827, in mentioning the trade with Manila, added the information that in 1743 Commodore Anson captured one of these galleons valued at above £300,000,[9] and that the city did not contain above 4,000 inhabitants.

Of even greater importance was San Blas, for it possessed " the chief marine depot in all the country, having dockyards, magazines, &c. for the building and equipment of ships."[10] It was located on an island at the mouth of the Rio Grande or Santiago river. The following pilotage description, published in 1885, is of interest:—

SAN BLAS, the sea-port of the province of Jalisco, was formerly a large and important city, having a population of about 20,000. At present San Blas, proper has scarcely 600 inhabitants; it derives its importance however from being the port of entry for Tepic and Guadalajera and because it is situated in the centre of the trade in precious woods, as rosewood, mahogany, cedar, lignum-vitae, Brazil wood, &c.

The old town of San Blas was situated about three-quarters of a mile from the shore, on the landward slope of a steep hill, about 450 feet high, and almost perpendicular on the side toward the sea. It is at present a mass of ruins, with trees and bushes growing among them.

The present town of San Blas is situated on the low ground, on the eastern bank of the Estero which forms the harbour (called Estero del Arsenal.)

Eastward and westward of the hill is a stream; that westward of it, known as the Estero del Arsenal, is fronted by a bar 7 to 8 feet of water, immediately within which is a depth of 12 to 18 feet, and it is here that small vessels occasionally anchor;—that eastward of it, the San Christoval, is almost dry at low water. The west point of the Estero del Arsenal has a reef extending from it along the coast in a north-westerly direction nearly three-quarters of a mile, parts of which are above water. As the depth close to this reef is 12 to 18 feet, rapidly deepening seaward to 4½ fathoms, care is necessary to avoid it when approaching the port from north-westward. . . .

In making the port of San Blas, the saddle-peaked mountain of San Juan (7500 feet high), 18 miles E. by S. from the town, is an excellent mark. . . . The

(8) R. Brookes, *op. cit.* (7th ed.).

(9) R. Brookes, *The General Gazetteer* (18th ed.), London, 1827.

(10) *Ibid.*

usual anchorage at San Blas is in 4½ fathoms, sand, at nearly half a mile eastward of the Piedra de Tierra, or farther out in 5½ fathoms at about the same distance south-eastward from that rock. . . . The roadstead is very much exposed to winds from S.S.W. to N.N.W., hence ships should always be prepared for sea, unless it be in the months in which northerly winds are settled. In the event of the wind veering to westward, and a gale from that quarter being apprehended, no time should be lost in slipping and endeavouring to get an offing, as a vessel at anchor is deeply embayed, and the holding-ground is very bad. . . .

The anchorage should not be frequented between the months of May and December, because, during that period, the coast is visited by storms from southward and westward, attended by heavy rains, and thunder and lightning. It is, besides, the sickly season, and the inhabitants having all migrated to Tepic, no business whatever is transacted at the port.[11]

Travelling northward the next large city is the port of Mazatlan. Its official name is La Villa de Los Castillos, and it is the commercial centre of the west coast of Mexico and the most important city on the Pacific coast between San Diego and Panama, having a population of 30,000. A description from a geographical dictionary published in 1865 gives the following information: "Mazatlan, a port on the West coast of America, on the coast of California. It has considerably increased of late, at the expense of the neighbouring port of San Blas, which is very unhealthy, and is the principal outlet for the valuable mining district of San Sebastian."[12] The *North Pacific Pilot* of 1885 has a much more detailed description:—

From San Blas the coast trends about N.W. ⅓ N., 120 miles to Mazatlan, and is for the most part low, and covered with trees. It is believed to be clear of sunken dangers beyond a moderate distance from the beach. In the vicinity of Mazatlan the sea is said to be deeper at a corresponding distance from shore than it is near San Blas. . . .

The river Mazatlan is about half a mile wide at the entrance where the harbour is, and so very shallow that it can be entered only by small vessels at high tide. The sands are nearly all dry at low water, at which time the depth over the bar is only about 6 feet, and in the channel within 9 to 12 feet.

This port is easy of recognition, in consequence of the many islands with lofty conical peaks in its vicinity, there being no other port on this part of the coast which is fronted by a group of islands.

In 1827 the harbour of Mazatlan was surveyed by Captain Beechey, R.N., since which time it is believed that considerable changes have taken place in the depth of water, hence a pilot's assistance is indispensable to vessels entering the port. . . .

(11) J. F. Imray, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

(12) R. Brookes, *A General Gazetteer* (new ed.), London, 1865.

Mazatlan has of late years supplanted the harbour of San Blas in its commercial importance. The town stands on the west bank of the river, about a mile within the entrance. During the busy season it has a population of 14,000 to 15,000, but less at other times of the year. To the southward of the town is a pier extending off the custom-house. . . . Lighters are employed for loading and unloading.[13]

Perhaps it would not be inopportune to mention the circumstances surrounding the events when the virile peoples in South America, with the help of a British sea officer, were casting off the yoke of Spain and Portugal. The real driving force in the liberation of the young republic of Chile from the domination of Spain was a famous British naval officer, Thomas, Lord Cochrane, the tenth Earl of Dundonald. Lord Cochrane, formerly a captain in His Majesty's Navy, was invited by the Chilean Republican Government to undertake the organization and command of an improvised naval force to assist the young country in its struggle for freedom. He accepted the invitation in May, 1817, but his departure from England was delayed for more than a year. He finally arrived at Valparaiso in a merchant ship on November 28, 1818. Having come round Cape Horn, he proceeded to Santiago, the capital. There was prompt need for his leadership of the Chilean Navy. The Spanish Government had a squadron sweeping the coast and threatening Valparaiso. Lord Cochrane was appointed vice-admiral of Chile, admiral and commander-in-chief of the naval forces of the republic, and his flag was hoisted on December 22 in the *O'Higgins,* a fifty-gun frigate. He fought and defeated some of the Spanish ships in the harbour of Callao during a fog on February 21, 1819.[14] The Spanish officers named him *El Diablo.* Two hundred and forty years earlier Sir Francis Drake sailed the *Golden Hinde,* only 100 tons and 75 feet long, into the same harbour and despoiled a squadron of seventeen vessels, for which feat he won the nickname *El Dracone.*

Later when the nationalists of Brazil were attempting to throw off the authority of Portugal, Lord Cochrane, a man of strong character, was persuaded to come to their assistance. He sailed from Valparaiso

(13) J. F. Imray, *op. cit.,* pp. 116–117.

(14) Thomas Cochrane, eleventh Earl of Dundonald, and H. R. F. Bourne, *The Life of Thomas, Lord Cochrane, Tenth Earl of Dundonald,* London, 1869, 2 vols., *passim.* A shorter biographical sketch is to be found in Sir Leslie Stephen (*ed.*), *Dictionary of National Biography,* London, 1885–1903, Vol. XI, pp. 165–174. Lord Cochrane's own account of his activities is to be found in *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru and Brazil, from Spanish and Portuguese Domination,* London, 1859.

on January 18, 1823, and arrived at Rio de Janeiro on March 13, where he served as admiral under the Emperor, Pedro I. Despite his continual success afloat against the enemy, the ill-treatment he suffered at the hands of the ministers of the government caused him to give up his undertaking, and eventually he returned to England in June, 1825, rich in achievements but poorer in pocket. These eight years spent in serving both as a captain and as an admiral, under two flags, with poorly equipped ships and few effective seamen in his crews brought the British sailor little but ingratitude from the ministers and politicians.

After Chile, Peru, and Mexico had thrown off the yoke of Spain, a great burst of free trade ensued, the effects of which were felt from Valparaiso north to the Columbia River and ultimately to Vancouver Island. Numerous merchant vessels, under 500 tons, and flying the flags of many nations, crowded the harbours and roadsteads along the whole coast-line. This lifting of trade barriers can be clearly seen in the early history of the harbour of Saint Francis. This exceptional harbour has seen the royal flag of Spain lowered and the national flag of Mexico hoisted in its place in 1835. Subsequently, that green, white, and red ensign gave way to the Stars and Stripes in 1846. This latter ceremony took place on July 9 at Portsmouth Square.

During the years 1542–43 the first Spanish officers reached the entrance to the inlet of what was to be known as the Bay of San Francisco. These were Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and his pilot, Bartolome Ferrelo, who anchored their ship but did not land.[15] In 1579 Francis Drake sailed south along the Pacific coast and anchored in the bay named after him under Point Reyes on June 17. He landed and went through the ceremony of taking possession of the country for Queen Elizabeth by fixing a small brass plate on a post into the hole of which a silver sixpence had been secured.[16] It was not until 1936, however, that the actual brass plate was found not far from San Rafael by Mr. Beyrle Shinn, and it is now one of the cherished possessions of the University of California at Berkeley.

In March, 1776, Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza arrived by sea to select sites for the Presidio and Mission of San Francisco. The site finally chosen was located about 2½ miles south-west of the cove of

(15) H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest,* 1542–1706, New York, 1916, p. 38.

(16) R. P. Bishop, "Drake's Course in the North Pacific," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* III (1939), pp. 151–182.

Yerba Buena, which was on the south shore of the Golden Gate. In addition to the mission buildings, there were erected a presidio and a fort, the former being distant along the shore about 4 miles and from the cove nearly the same distance. Before the year 1835 the village of Yerba Buena did not exist. The literal translation of the name " Yerba Buena " is " good herbage " which was at the time taken to describe a little valley full of green creeping vine. C. F. Saunders writes: " This spot, which was not far from the Portsmouth square of today was known as ' El Parage de Yerba Buena,' the place of the good herb, because of a little creeping vine, very abundant thereabout. Its sweet aromatic fragrance, due to a volatile oil, a member of the Mint family."[17]

During 1769 the first overland party reached the shores of the Bay of San Francisco. This party was under the immediate command of Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega, who spent November 4 to 6 exploring the shores of the bay. Ortega's party had been detached from the expedition under Don Gaspar de Portola, who was a captain in a Spanish dragoon regiment. An account of this event as given by Z. S. Eldredge reads as follows:—

> On the 6th [November] they reached the end of the cañada [inlet], which suddenly turned to the east, and saw that the estero was finished in a spacious valley. To the cañada they gave the name of San Francisco. Travelling a short distance towards the east, they camped on a deep aroyo, whose waters came down from the sierra and flowed precipitately into the estero. They were on the San Francisquito creek, near the site of Stanford University.[18]

There is no doubt that the name of Saint Francis was given to the bay about sixty-seven years before it was applied to the village or town, the former being named in 1769 and the latter in 1836. The shipping at that time was confined to a few small coasting schooners from New Spain, an occasional whaler, and some brigs collecting hides. Consequently, up to the year 1836 whenever West Coast traders or seamen used the name San Francisco, they referred to the bay and not to the town.

A very rapid increase in population took place in the summer of 1848 in consequence of the gold discoveries, the numbers being about 900 in May and about 20,000 in the following December. Shortly thereafter attention was paid to security measures, for in 1853 Mare Island was set aside for the establishment of a permanent naval base,

(17) C. F. Saunders, *Western Wild Flowers,* New York, 1933, p. 278.

(18) Z. S. Eldredge, *The March of Portola and the Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco,* San Francisco, 1909, p. 41, foot-note.

the property having been purchased from G. W. Bissel, H. Aspinwall, and Mary S. McArthur on January 4. The first senior naval officer of the base was Commander D. G. Farragut, who took over the command on September 16, 1854. That almost forgotten service—the Pony Express—from St. Joseph to Sacramento in 232 hours was started on April 3, 1860, with the slogan " Overland to California in thirteen days " and lasted until 1862. The mail-bag carried 10 pounds and the rate for letters was $5 in gold per quarter ounce.[19] The Central Pacific Railroad from Omaha to Oakland was begun in 1864 and completed in 1869, a record rate of construction up to that time.

The Hudson's Bay Company had a post near the Presidio for a few years—the most southerly of all its establishments. Arrangements for this undertaking were completed by James Douglas, who went to California in January, 1840, in the ship *Columbia* and conferred with Governor Alvarado. Under the terms he negotiated, the Company was to be permitted to establish a post within the port of San Francisco and vessels might engage in the California trade if put under the Mexican flag and their commanders naturalized.[20] This agreement was approved by John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, and a commercial establishment was set up at Yerba Buena in 1841, the business being confined to the wholesale trade. In May, 1841, Chief Trader W. G. Rae arrived with his family and purchased the store of Jacob P. Leese,[21] which was then the only building on the site. The venture was none too successful, for debts began to mount, and on January 19, 1845, Rae committed suicide.[22] Dugald McTavish was sent down from the Columbia River to wind up the affairs of the Company in California. The property was bought by Messrs. Mellus and Howard, and the trade goods and books were removed to Fort Vancouver,[23] then headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest.

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(19) *Williams' Illustrated Trans-continental Guide of Travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean,* 1877, Vol. VI, p. 42.

(20) Alice B. Maloney, " Hudson's Bay Company in California," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* XXXVII (1936), pp. 15, 22. The original *diary* kept by James Douglas on this occasion is preserved in the Archives of British Columbia.

(21) J. S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco,* San Francisco, 1878, pp. 79, 89.

(22) Alice B. Maloney, *op. cit.,* p. 22.

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

JAMES EDWARD FITZGERALD VERSUS THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY: THE FOUNDING OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

During the century which has passed since the grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company on January 13, 1849, the legend has been perpetuated and strengthened that the Company sought control over the Island with the intention of frustrating that colonization which it was pledged to promote. The Company has been cast in the role of the cunning monopolist whose profits from the fur trade were dependent on the exclusion of settlement, Earl Grey as an unconscious dupe or willing accomplice, and James Edward Fitzgerald as an energetic, disinterested advocate of genuine colonization whose plans were frustrated by this powerful combination. The views expressed by Matthew Macfie almost ninety years ago remain generally accepted:—

> It is not generally believed that the company intended to yield literal compliance with the terms of the covenant agreed to between them and the Government. They could have no interest in promoting the colonisation of the island indiscriminately even by British subjects.[1]

This interpretation is based upon two assumptions: that the objective of the Company on Vancouver Island was the maintenance of a fur preserve and that the Company's professions of willingness to promote colonization were insincere. Neither of these assumptions is entirely correct, since each is an over-simplification.

The motivations of the Company in its desire for control over Vancouver Island can be understood only in the context of its general frontier policies. The areas of greatest profit during the period between the amalgamation with the North West Company in 1821 and the surrender of the chartered territory to Canada in 1869 were Rupert's Land and the Mackenzie River district. Could the Company have been certain that it would be permitted to enjoy in tranquillity the fruits of its monopoly in these territories, its zeal for expansion into outlying sections would have been less ardent. After the amalgamation with the North

(1) Matthew Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia,* London, 1865, p. 62. One of the first to dissent from the generally accepted view was W. Kaye Lamb, "The Governorship of Richard Blanshard," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XIV (1950), pp. 1–40.

West Company, and particularly after the election of John Henry Pelly as Governor in 1822, the policy was consciously developed of carrying the attack to opposition traders as far as possible from the "heartland" of the Company's power. Trading-posts were maintained in Canada, though they provided no profits or even sustained losses, in order to discourage free traders from attempts to cross from Canada over the height of land into Rupert's Land. The Company's posts along Lake Superior and Lake Huron yielded little profit, but were considered necessary to discourage intruders from the United States. To the west of the mountains, the Snake country was hunted long after its immediate economic value had ended to protect more profitable areas of the Oregon country from invasions of American traders.[2]

The chief architects of this policy appear to have been Sir John Henry Pelly and Sir George Simpson, the overseas Governor, but the decision to seek control over Vancouver Island was Pelly's alone. Simpson was convinced as late as September, 1848, that the assumption of responsibility for Vancouver Island would produce little, if any, benefit to the Company, that any attempt to colonize Vancouver Island from Great Britain was predestined to failure because of the superior attractions of Oregon and California in soil and climate, and that the Company would incur odium and expense in a useless undertaking.[3] Archibald Barclay, Secretary of the Company, shared this view. He wrote Simpson on October 13, 1848:—

> I quite agree with you as to the estimate of Vancr. Island. It is in my view *worthless* as seat for a colony. It is about the last place in the globe to which (were I going to emigrate) I should select as an abode.[4]

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(2) These statements, which the writer hopes to amplify in a forthcoming book, are based upon numerous communications between the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Company's North American representatives. *See* Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 12, 1827, and January 16, 1828, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 6/21; Simpson to McLoughlin, March 15, 1829, *ibid.,* D. 4/16. The writer acknowledges his obligation to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for their permission to cite correspondence preserved in their Archives.

(3) This opposition was expressed in Simpson to Pelly, October 3, 1848, confidential, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 4/70, and in a private letter to Archibald Barclay, September 7, 1848, the contents of which are indicated in Barclay to Simpson, October 13, 1848, private, *ibid.,* D. 5/23. *See also* Simpson to Governor and Committee, September 18, 1848, and Simpson to Pelly, November 22, 1848, *ibid.,* D. 4/70.

(4) Barclay to Simpson, October 13, 1848, private, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/23.

This opposition to involvement in Vancouver Island was shared by Edward Ellice, to whose views on political questions Pelly was usually inclined to defer. So strongly did Ellice oppose the grant to the Company that he was impelled to write his friend Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for Colonies, on September 14, 1848, appealing to Grey to reconsider his decision to issue such authority to the Hudson's Bay Company. Grey's reply that "I do not see what we cd. have done better"[5] did not satisfy Ellice, and he remained hostile to the project throughout the whole term of the Company's responsibility for the colonization of the Island. In a letter to Alexander Grant Dallas on September 14, 1859, Ellice declared:—

> I have always thought the Directors wrong, in accepting the grant of the Island from the Govt. & when that transaction was challenged in Parliament as a great boon to the Company, I stated my opinion that it was a most rash undertaking on their part, for the exclusive advantage of the public. Ld. Grey was wiser than the opposition who found fault with his policy. . . . There was no chance or hope of Revenue to defray the expense of such an establishment—& very little of emigrants, for agricultural settlements & Ld. Grey rightly thought that a large & unnecessary expense might be saved by inducing the H.B. Co. to undertake the temporary administration. Their only object in accepting it, was to protect their own establishments, which might have been exposed in the then state of the Pacific to the danger of plunder or destruction.[6]

The continued opposition of Ellice, the most influential liaison between the Company and the Whig Government, and the initial objections of Simpson, who devoted his life to the interests of the fur trade, suggests that the conventional thesis of the "fur trade conspiracy" should be revised. For the explanation of the involvement of the Hudson's Bay Company in the colonization of Vancouver Island, it is necessary to examine the motivations of the two men—Pelly and Grey—who bear almost exclusive responsibility for the decision.

The first suggestion that the Company might be used as a vehicle for colonization was apparently made not by Pelly, but by Grey. The first communication from Pelly to Grey after the conclusion of the Oregon Treaty was on September 7, 1846. In this letter, Pelly inquired whether the Hudson's Bay Company would be confirmed in the possession of lands around Fort Victoria which they had occupied prior to the ratifica-

(5) Grey to Ellice, September 23, 1848, Ellice Papers, National Library of Scotland (microfilm copy in the Public Archives of Canada, reel 35).

(6) Ellice to Dallas, September 14, 1859, *ibid.*, reel 28.

tion of the treaty.[7] Pelly desired the recognition by the British Government of the Company's rights north of the 49th parallel as the United States had done south of the boundary, but Grey's reaction was much more broadly conceived. He saw the prospects of American settlers moving into Vancouver Island, a power vacuum, with no effective authority to control them. Such occupation, he feared, might possibly result in the attachment of Vancouver Island to the United States, which gave ample evidence of an "encroaching spirit." Unlike his Under Secretary of State, James Stephen, Grey believed in the value of the Empire, but his enthusiasm did not extend to support of further levies on the British taxpayer for imperial purposes. The alternative was to assign the responsibility for the government of Vancouver Island to a private association, and the Hudson's Bay Company, with long experience in government of frontier areas and with large capital at its disposal, seemed to him admirably fitted for the task. He therefore asked his subordinates to consult with Pelly to determine "what measure may now safely and properly be adopted with a view to establishing more B[ritis]h settlers in this territory."[8]

After an interview at the Colonial Office on September 23, Pelly evinced a new enthusiasm for colonization under Company auspices,[9] and in ensuing months this conception attained greater magnitude, until on March 5, 1847, he made a suggestion of truly imperial proportions that the Company should receive the grant of all British territory north and west of Rupert's Land. Such a proposal was manifestly unacceptable to Stephen, and even Benjamin Hawes and Earl Grey, both of whom were sympathetic to the project of using the Company as the agency of the Crown in Vancouver Island, were apparently taken aback at Pelly's request, which was quickly refused.[10]

The motives which induced Pelly to seek such a colossal grant may be determined from the arguments he later employed to convince a

(7) Pelly to Grey, September 7, 1846, *C.O. 305/1,* in the Public Record Office, London.

(8) Note by Grey on Pelly to Grey, September 7, 1846, *C.O. 305/1.*

(9) Hawes to Pelly, October 3, 1846, *C.O. 305/1.*

(10) Pelly to Grey, March 5, 1847, and notes thereto, *C.O. 305/1.* The opposition of James Stephen and much of the correspondence between Pelly and the Colonial Office is amply described by Paul Knaplund, "James Stephen on Granting Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, 1846–1848," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* IX (1945), pp. 259–271. No effort will be made, therefore, to describe in detail the negotiations during this period.

skeptical Sir George Simpson of the advantages to the Company in its control over a colonization scheme. Obviously it was advantageous for Pelly to appeal to Grey on the basis of the Company's ability to advance British colonization, but Pelly also early came to the conclusion that if the Colonial Office did not find in the Company a satisfactory vehicle, it would turn to another joint-stock association to accomplish the objective. The prospect of another company being established with plenary powers in the territory west of the Rockies was a source of deep concern to Pelly. Not only would the fur trade and sales-shop business of the Company in New Caledonia suffer from the presence of a rival enterprise, but Vancouver Island or the Mainland territory in other hands might well serve as a base from which incursions might be made across the mountains into Rupert's Land.[11] This reasoning was compelling enough to convince other members of the London board, and Simpson himself was forced to admit that " it will unquestionably be more advantageous to the fur trade that it should be in the hands of the Company than of strangers."[12] Vancouver Island, then, of little value for the furs it provided, was nevertheless of importance as a protection to the trade, if in control of the Company, or as a threat to the trade in possession of opponents, whether British or American.

It is impossible to determine from available evidence whether or not it was a specific alternative proposal which stimulated Pelly's fears, but it is certain that James Edward Fitzgerald early became to Pelly the major threat to the Hudson's Bay Company's interests. During the spring of 1847 Fitzgerald was introduced to Benjamin Hawes of the Colonial Office by Anthony Panizzi, principal librarian of the British Museum. An introduction by Panizzi was of no small value to one desirous of a hearing, for Panizzi was an intimate friend of the most powerful leaders of the Whig Party. But aside from his association with Panizzi, Fitzgerald's credentials were not overly impressive. His family, though prosperous Irish gentry, were not notably influential, his position in the antiquities department of the British Museum did not suggest intimacy with the business world, and in his initial interview with Hawes, or indeed later, he gave no evidence that he was associated with men of sufficient capital to offer any prospects for the success of his schemes. Nevertheless, Hawes was impressed. Fitzgerald had ideas—that they were borrowed from Edward Gibbon Wakefield did

(11) Pelly to Simpson, October 27, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/23.
(12) Simpson to Pelly, November 22, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 4/70.

not lessen their attraction; he was " very energetic," and his antecedents were " highly respectable."[13] Hawes suggested that he write the Colonial Office a statement of his plans. The resultant letter, on June 9, 1847, was a faithful reproduction of the views of Wakefield on systematic colonization. Fitzgerald proposed that a joint-stock company be formed, to be called the " Company of Colonists of Vancouver's Island." The government of the colony and the management of the company would be vested in shareholders resident in Vancouver Island. The capital of the company and proceeds from the sale of land would be expended in the conveyance to the colony of young married couples. Land would be sold at a " sufficient price " which would ensure a proper balance between land and labour. For each hundred acres of land purchased, six labourers should be sent to the colony.[14] The scheme was not unfavourably received, but Grey and Hawes were not disposed to entertain it seriously until Fitzgerald could demonstrate financial support adequate to support the programme. This evidence Fitzgerald did not, and probably could not, provide. From July 15, 1847, when the Colonial Office made this request,[15] until February 12, 1848, he did not communicate with the Colonial Office, and when he renewed his correspondence, his original plan had been discarded for another with greater commercial prospects.

This change in emphasis was produced by the circulation of the information that important deposits of coal existed on Vancouver Island. Although the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company had been aware before the Oregon Treaty of the availability of this coal, and the Admiralty had expressed interest in its utilization for the steam navy in the Pacific,[16] this knowledge had not been widely shared, and until February, 1848, the Colonial Office itself was apparently imperfectly informed.[17]

On January 3, however, Samuel Cunard, having read about these coal deposits in the newspapers, wrote the Admiralty that unless action

(13) Note by Hawes on Fitzgerald to Hawes, June 9, 1847, *C.O. 305/1.*

(14) Fitzgerald to Hawes, June 9, 1847, *C.O. 305/1.* This letter is reprinted in *Report of the Provincial Archives Department of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1913,* Victoria, 1914, pp. V 54–62.

(15) Hawes to Fitzgerald, July 15, 1847, *C.O. 305/1.*

(16) Ogden and Douglas to J. A. Duntze, captain, H.M.S. *Fisgard,* September 7, 1846, *C.O. 305/1.*

(17) *See* note, Merivale to Hawes, February 16, 1848, on Fitzgerald to Hawes, February 14, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.*

was taken immediately to protect the coal, Americans in the Oregon territory would be likely to take possession of the coalfields.[18] On February 12 Fitzgerald appeared at the Colonial Office with a new plan, which he elaborated in a letter two days later. He had been informed that the United States Government had negotiated a contract with a New York group headed by William H. Aspinwall for the carriage of mail between Panama and the Columbia. To execute this contract, he estimated 20,000 tons of coal would be required annually, and he proposed to form a company to work the coal of Vancouver Island to supply this need, as well as the requirements of the Steam Pacific Navigation Company operating between Valparaiso and Panama. The advantage to the Colonial Office in using such a company as its agent in Vancouver Island, he argued, would be that the working of the coal deposits would require a considerable number of miners and that additional emigrants would be necessary to provide food for the mining community.[19] Again Fitzgerald displayed reluctance to name his associates, and they remained unknown to the Colonial Office, except for one John Shillinglaw of Soho, whose name appeared on the printed version of the plan espoused by Fitzgerald.[20]

The failure of Fitzgerald to produce evidence of substantial financial support is a fact of key importance. The files of the Colonial Office entomb many schemes of varying attractions, consigned to oblivion because their projectors could offer no evidence that men of standing in the " City " were willing to invest in the undertaking. What is remarkable about Fitzgerald's proposals is not that they were not accepted; rather, it is that they were given such serious consideration. The communications among the staff of the Colonial Office do not support the view that Grey connived with the Hudson's Bay Company in a corrupt bargain. The primary condition for eligibility as an instrument of colonization on Vancouver Island was capital. The Hudson's Bay Company possessed that capital; Fitzgerald and his friends apparently did not; and no other individuals or groups who possessed this necessary

(18) Cunard to H. G. Ward, Admiralty, January 3, 1848, enclosure in Ward to Hawes, February 5, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.*

(19) Fitzgerald to Merivale, February 14, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.* Reprinted in *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913,* pp. V 62–63.

(20) This printed proposal, produced for private circulation, is enclosed in Pelly to Grey, February 24, 1848, and in Fitzgerald to Merivale, February 21, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.* A copy of the proposal is in the *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913,* pp. V 63–64.

prerequisite presented themselves for consideration. Fitzgerald's effervescent enthusiasm and youthful vitality[21] could not outweigh the resources of capital and experience of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Grey, by mid-February, 1848, appears to have decided that the Hudson's Bay Company must be selected as the colonizing agent, but he was so much impressed with Fitzgerald's energy and enthusiasm that he conceived the hope that the young man might be enabled to take an active part in the enterprise through an agreement between Fitzgerald and the Hudson's Bay Company.[22] He therefore moved to reactivate negotiations with the Company, which had been suspended since Pelly's request of March 5, 1847, for a grant of all territory west of the Rocky Mountains.[23]

Pelly's views had not changed during the course of the year. He continued to desire as extensive a grant as possible for the protection of the fur trade in the interior of British North America. This objective he did not attempt to conceal, but he expressed the willingness of the Company to accept responsibility for the colonization of Vancouver Island and the extraction of its coal.[24]

Fitzgerald to this time had manifested no antagonism toward the Hudson's Bay Company. Indeed, in his letter to the Colonial Office on June 9, 1847, he had professed to believe that, since Vancouver Island produced little fur, the colonization of the Island by British subjects would form a barrier to American encroachments on the fur trade of the Company in the interior of the continent,[25] a conception completely in harmony with that of Pelly. These early professions of the compatibility of the Company's interests with colonization might be interpreted as being motivated by the desire not to antagonize the Company to the disinterest of his project. But this view is difficult to reconcile with Fitzgerald's later actions. Before February 16, 1848, when the Colonial Office had not yet made a decision on the selection of a colonizing agency, and apparently without any encouragement by

(21) Fitzgerald was 29 years of age when he made his first proposal in 1847.

(22) Note by Grey on Fitzgerald to Merivale, February 14, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.*

(23) Hawes to Pelly, February 25, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 8/3. Pelly, in a letter to Hawes, February 16, 1848, was the first to renew the correspondence, *ibid.*

(24) Pelly to Grey, March 4, 1848, *C.O. 305/1* and *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 8/4.

(25) Fitzgerald to Hawes, June 9, 1847, *C.O. 305/1,* reprinted in *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913,* pp. V 54–62.

the Colonial Office, he visited Pelly at Hudson's Bay House.[26] As Pelly stated, he was "quite hot about coals,"[27] his earlier ardour for the systematic colonization of the Island having cooled. The reason for this abrupt change of emphasis, Fitzgerald contended on June 2, 1848, was that " subsequently to the last conversation " he had had with Hawes and Merivale, Pelly had informed him that the Government had decided to award control of the Island to the Hudson's Bay Company. Fitzgerald stated:—

> Understanding that the matter was settled, I gave up all intention of taking any further part in it, because I did not believe that the Hudson's Bay Comy. could or would, effect the colonization of the Country. In consequence, however, of what passed between a friend of mine and Sir J. H. Pelly, I waited upon that Gentleman. He then offered to make us a grant of all the Coal Mines, upon terms which he specified in detail, and promised at the same time to assist us in procuring the Capital necessary to commence working the mines. I was therefore induced by these liberal promises to take up the Scheme again, and I expected we should be able to sail in the course of the Summer. . . . But on waiting upon Sir J. H. Pelly, in order to bring matters to a final settlement, he informed me that Sir George Simpson had been in communication with Messrs. Aspinwall, the owners of the Steamers destined to run on the N.W. Coast, and had issued orders that the Coal Mines in Vancouver Island should be immediately occupied, with a view to supplying coal to the steamers.[28]

The date of this conversation with Pelly is of some importance. If Pelly was not guilty of wilful misrepresentation, it could not have been before March 13, 1848, when the Colonial Office first informed the Company of its willingness to consider the grant of Vancouver Island to the Company.[29] It was almost certainly after February 24, for on that day arrangements were made for an interview between Fitzgerald and Hawes on an unspecified date.[30] But Pelly had described Fitzgerald as "hot about coals" in an interview with him prior to February 16, at which they apparently discussed an agreement by which Fitzgerald would receive aid from the Hudson's Bay Company in working the coal mines.[31]

(26) Pelly to Hawes, February 16, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 13/3; Fitzgerald to Merivale, June 2, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.* This latter letter is reproduced in *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913,* pp. V 65–66.

(27) Pelly to Hawes, February 16, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 13/3.

(28) Fitzgerald to Merivale, June 2, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.*

(29) Merivale to Pelly, March 13, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 8/4.

(30) Notes by Grey and Hawes on Merivale to Fitzgerald, February 24, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.*

(31) Pelly to Hawes, February 16, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 13/3.

Reconstruction of available information would seem to indicate that Fitzgerald first approached Pelly before February 16 with a proposal that the Company provide capital for him and his associates in the coal-mining project; Pelly expressed interest in such an arrangement but could not commit the Company without consultation with members of the Committee. Between March 13 and the beginning of April, a second interview was held. This was the meeting described by Fitzgerald in his letter of June 2. Meanwhile, Sir George Simpson at Lachine had received a letter from William H. Aspinwall inquiring as to whether he could buy coal from Vancouver Island for his steamers.[32] Simpson informed Aspinwall that he believed the Hudson's Bay Company could provide the ships with coal deliverable at Fort Victoria,[33] and on March 17, 1848, wrote the Governor and Committee of his correspondence with Aspinwall.[34] Pelly then suspended his negotiations with Fitzgerald; whether or not he was guilty of a breach of faith cannot be determined. But the sequence of events suggests that Fitzgerald ceased to promote his project of systematic colonization after he had read in the newspapers about the existence of coal on Vancouver Island and before the Hudson's Bay Company had been promised control over Vancouver Island, and that he attempted to negotiate an agreement by which the Company would underwrite his coal-mining operations. When these negotiations failed, he, in his wrath, resolved to repay the Company for its repudiation of him by a campaign to demonstrate its incapacity for colonization and to discredit its policies with the British public and with the Government. Before June 2, 1848, Fitzgerald had professed to believe the colonization of Vancouver Island to be compatible with the interests of the fur trade; after June 2 he expressed the conviction that colonization was "opposed to the interests of the H.B. Co. *necessarily*."[35] The energy which had produced the enthusiasm which had won the admiration of Earl Grey was now concentrated in the vilification of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Fitzgerald's criticisms of the Company, then, were scarcely the conclusions of a detached, unbiased observer, but they were eagerly accepted by those with whose preconceptions about this "evil monopoly"

(32) Aspinwall to Simpson, March 10, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/21.

(33) Simpson to Aspinwall, March 17, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 4/69.

(34) Simpson to Governor and Committee, March 17, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 4/69.

(35) Fitzgerald to Hawes, June 2, 1848, *C.O. 305/1,* and reproduced in *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913,* pp. V 65–66. The italics are Fitzgerald's.

they conformed. Most notable of these opponents was William E. Gladstone, who throughout most of his political career was the *bête noire* of the Hudson's Bay Company. The mind of Gladstone was shuttered and barred against all testimony favourable to the Hudson's Bay Company, but he received information prejudicial to the Company with uncritical enthusiasm. His knowledge of the interior of North America was unimpressive; but the Hudson's Bay Company was a monopoly; and, to him, monopolies were *per se* hostile to the public interest. The disaffected against the Hudson's Bay Company could always receive a sympathetic hearing from Gladstone. Alexander K. Isbister had found in him a champion;[36] and Fitzgerald, after he had been informed by the Colonial Office that an agreement would be consummated with the Hudson's Bay Company,[37] turned in his anger to Gladstone, who utilized Fitzgerald's information in attacks in the House of Commons on the proposed grant to the Company.[38] Also, Fitzgerald published in his own name and through others denunciations of the Company which abounded in vilification and misrepresentation.[39] An article in the *Daily News,* February 17, 1849, unsigned, but bearing the mark of Fitzgerald, contained the accusation that the Colonial Office was guilty of complicity and collusion in a corrupt bargain with a Company which not only was antagonistic to settlement, but guilty of demoralization of the aborigines who had been committed to its care:—

> The Hudson's Bay Company have kept their territories as inaccessible as the Jesuits kept Paraguay, but there all resemblance between the sway of the mercantile and of the priestly monopoly ends. The Jesuits kept their Indians in a state of constant pupilage which unmanned them, but they taught them habits of industry

(36) For a discussion of Isbister, *see* J. S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Company under Fire, 1847–1862," *Canadian Historical Review,* XXX (1949), pp. 322–335.

(37) Fitzgerald received this information at an interview with Merivale early in July, 1848. Note by Merivale on Fitzgerald to Merivale, June 30, 1848, *C.O. 305/1.*

(38) For the Fitzgerald-Gladstone correspondence, *see* Paul Knaplund, "Letters from James Edward Fitzgerald to W. E. Gladstone Concerning Vancouver Island and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1848–1850," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XIII (1949), pp. 1–21.

(39) *See,* for example, his *An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company with Reference to the Grant of Vancouver's Island,* London, 1849; also "Vancouver's Island—The New Colony," reprinted from *Colonial Magazine,* August, 1848; "Vancouver's Island, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Government," reprinted from *Colonial Magazine,* September, 1848; and "Vancouver's Island," reprinted from *Colonial Magazine,* October, 1848.

and domestic purity. The agents of the Hudson's Bay Company have discouraged settled habits among their Indians, and communicated to them the worst vices of civilised society without its redeeming qualities.[40]

Grey was highly irritated at the attacks of his opponents, particularly Gladstone, who had "much to answer,"[41] but he was nevertheless forced to modify the terms of the grant to reduce parliamentary criticism. The provision was written into the agreement, as a direct result of attacks by Lord Lincoln, Gladstone, and others, that the Hudson's Bay Company would sell land on reasonable terms to all who wished to buy, and that the revenue derived from land sales and receipts from coal and other minerals should, after a deduction of 10 per cent for profit to the Company, be applied to the colonization and improvement of Vancouver Island. Also, the provision was made that if, after five years from the date of the grant, the Crown decided that the Company had not sufficiently exerted itself, the grant could be revoked.[42]

There is no basis for suspicion of Grey's intentions. To him, the Hudson's Bay Company was the best-qualified agency for colonization. It possessed knowledge based on experience in Western North America, a disciplined staff of officers and servants, and large resources of capital, and it had already established agricultural and pastoral operations in Oregon and Vancouver Island. Negatively, by its economic power, it could render unprofitable the economic activities of any rival associations or individuals. As to the argument that a fur-trading monopoly was constitutionally unable to advance colonization, Grey and his associates in the Colonial Office could reply that the economic interests of the Company on the Northwest Coast, and in particular in Vancouver Island, were not the same as in the interior areas of North America. In the interior both nature and the interests of the Company conspired against settlement. But in the comparatively mild climate of the Pacific slope and Vancouver Island, the circumstances were "very different":—

There, the Fur trade must soon be, if it is not already, a very secondary matter. The very natives of that tract are not so much hunters as fishermen and root-

(40) Extract from London *Daily News,* February 17, 1849, in *C.O. 305/2.* The association of this article with Fitzgerald is based not only on the language and nature of the argument, but the fact that the author, in his attacks on the validity of the grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, had recourse to the experiences of New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand, in which Fitzgerald was particularly interested.

(41) Grey to Ellice, September 23, 1848, Ellice papers, *ibid.,* reel 35.

(42) Hawes to Pelly, September 4, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 8/64. Royal Grant, Letters Patent, January 13, 1849, *ibid.,* A. 37/1.

diggers. If that region is worth holding, it must not be as a game preserve, but for the purposes of trade, to which its situation so well adapts it, with the neighbouring American country, with its numerous and very commercial population of the South Sea Islands, and eventually to more distant markets.

For these purposes colonization would apparently be to the Hudson's Bay Company an advantage instead of a loss, in the strictest mercantile sense. And the evidence that they so feel it is to be found in the remarkable progress already made in agricultural undertakings, so foreign to the ancient policy, on the Columbia, and in this island itself.[43]

If Grey was not an accomplice, was he a dupe of the Company? A strong case can be made for the contention that both Grey and the Company were victims of precisely the same delusions as James Edward Fitzgerald—that systematic colonization could successfully be undertaken in an area remote from civilization, and that a "sufficient price" could be imposed on sales of land when land could be obtained free or at little cost in the near-by Oregon territory of the United States. Clearly the price of £1 per acre was too high to attract many British settlers to Vancouver Island, and the requirement that five single men or three married couples be transported to the Island for each hundred acres by the purchaser was not attractive to those who possessed capital. The California gold-rush, which drained population from Oregon, also was undoubtedly responsible for loss of actual and potential emigrants to Vancouver Island.

It may also be contended with some basis that the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company were sincere in their professions of willingness to colonize. They encouraged Charles Enderby in his desire to establish a whaling-station on the Island because they believed the whaling-ships would provide a market for the produce of the Island.[44] Governor John Henry Pelly displayed interest in the colonization not only in letters to the Colonial Office, but, more significantly, in private letters to his associates in the Company.[45] A prospectus was

(43) Confidential print, *Vancouver's Island,* printed at Foreign Office, March, 1849, apparently for cabinet use, *C.O. 305/1.* This statement is reprinted in the *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913,* pp. V 70–73.

(44) A. Colvile to Simpson, April 6, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/25. Enderby first approached Pelly in April, 1848, and was informed that the Company, if it received the grant, would look with favour on the use of Vancouver Island by whaling-vessels. The failure of Enderby to carry out this purpose was the result of circumstances unrelated to the Hudson's Bay Company. Enderby to Pelly, August 26, 1848; Pelly to Enderby, September 1, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 10/25.

(45) Pelly to Simpson, September 29, 1848, private, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/22; Pelly to Simpson, October 27, 1848, private, *ibid.,* D. 5/23.

printed and circulated to stimulate the interest of prospective colonists,[46] and advertisements were placed in English and Scottish metropolitan and provincial newspapers.[47]

It would be an error, however, to conclude that the Hudson's Bay Company was merely the victim of circumstances beyond its control in its failure to colonize Vancouver Island. The Company must assume a share of the responsibility; the unimpressive record of emigration to the Island can be explained in part by the inherent assumptions of the Company and the attitudes of its personnel.

Governor Pelly recognized that if the Company did not consent to act as the chosen instrument of the Government, the responsibility would be assigned to another group of entrepreneurs who might disturb the tranquillity of the near-by fur preserves; for that reason he was willing to assume responsibility for colonization. Other members of the Governing Committee also recognized the danger but reached a different conclusion. At least two of the Committee, Lord Selkirk and Andrew Colvile, sought the grants with the deliberate design to delay the colonization of Vancouver Island. Both desired to exploit its coal mines, since these were a source of profit, but neither desired to assist emigration, which they believed to be incompatible with the interests of a fur-trading company. Selkirk wrote to Pelly on May 27, 1848:—

> I heard incidentally that there are a lot of people who want to go and colonize Vancouvers Island. A man of the name of Fitzgerald who has a place in the British Museum wants to get the command of the expedition & expects the thing to be taken up by the Government. I do not know if there is any truth in this story but there is no doubt but there are many people who have got a notion of that country and if they go out they will play the devil.[48]

Selkirk, in order that others would not " play the devil," and in order that the Company could profit from coal sales, supported the grant, but he at no time evinced enthusiasm for emigration of settlers to Vancouver Island. Andrew Colvile held similar views. Colvile, who had served as a member of the Committee since 1810 and as Deputy Governor since 1839, was a man of great influence in the affairs of the Company. From the onset of Pelly's last long illness in 1850 until 1856, when Colvile died, Colvile was unquestionably the dominant force in the

(46) Prospectus, " Colonization of Vancouver's Island," copy in Gladstone Papers, British Museum, *Addtl. Mss. 44566.*

(47) John Harthill & Sons to Barclay, September 22, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 10/27.

(48) Selkirk to Pelly, May 27, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 10/24.

Hudson's Bay Company,[49] and his views were therefore of decisive importance in the formulation of policy with regard to Vancouver Island after the grant was made.

The idea of free and unrestricted settlement to any part of the Hudson's Bay Company's area of influence was repugnant to Colvile. Since the Colonial Office had determined to colonize Vancouver Island through private agency, he agreed with Pelly that the Hudson's Bay Company must seek control, but he did not desire to advance the prospects of emigration. The popularity of "systematic colonization" offered a means of solving this apparent dilemma. Colvile was convinced that the imposition of a price on land in the circumstances of Vancouver Island was a certain and severe deterrent to emigration. So long as land was sold for £1 per acre, he informed his confidante Simpson, "you need not be afraid of too many settlers" going to Vancouver Island.[50] With the grant of the Island assigned to it, Colvile believed that the Company could rigidly restrict emigration. Through its subsidiary, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, it could produce foodstuffs for its employees and for sale to whalers and coal ships, which might offer a profitable market. The coal mines would provide additional revenue.[51] Such were the views of Andrew Colvile, and the pattern of the Company's emigration programme confirmed his expectations.

Sir George Simpson, who had at first opposed the association of the Company with responsibility for colonization, found comfort in Colvile's arguments. After the grant to the Company was confirmed, he used the full force of his authority to discourage emigration. When James Douglas recommended an initial immigration of twenty families, totalling about 100 persons, Simpson cautioned him against the dangers of too ambitious a programme:—

> After reading the description you give of the Southern end of the Island where nearly all the cultivable soil is occupied by the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Companies, I was surprised that you should recommend so large an annual immigration as about 100 Souls—I think it would be safer to regulate the influx of

(49) An abscess in the head which grew steadily more serious from early in 1848 virtually incapacitated Pelly from December, 1850, until his death. Pelly to Simpson, May 26, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/22; same to same, December 6, 1850, private, *ibid.,* D. 5/29; and Colvile to Simpson, December 20, 1850, *ibid.,* D. 5/29. Colvile served as Deputy Governor from 1839 until 1852 and as Governor from 1852 until 1856.

(50) Colvile to Simpson, March 8, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/27.

(51) Colvile to Simpson, April 6, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/25.

population by the success of the first efforts now making. . . . The great danger to be apprehended in a too rapid settlement of the island is that a year of unfavorable crops might occasion scarcity & that would inevitably lead to the immediate abandonment of the colony by the settlers for the more genial climes in Oregon or California—I think it might be a profitable speculation to lay out town lots as you recommend, the only objection being that in a Country where there is not a sufficient police or military force, it is far more difficult to maintain good order when the people are collected in villages or towns than when scattered as farmers; our experience at Red River Settlement is sufficient to prove the truth of this.[52]

An accusation of deliberate duplicity would probably be unfair to Sir George Simpson, but it would not be unjust to describe his mind as one which forced facts into conformity with the interests of the fur trade and which was prone to exaggerate the difficulties involved in the extension of agriculture to any part of the fur-trade domain. In the guise of solicitude for the welfare of present and prospective settlers, Simpson wished to restrain the influx of free farmers to Vancouver Island.

Simpson was well aware of the provision in the royal grant of January 13, 1849, that if the Company failed within five years to establish a settlement in accordance with the terms of the grant, the Government could revoke the authority;[53] but in the state of the fur trade as Simpson then conceived it, a delay of even five years was advantageous. He was convinced that the encroachment of settlement, particularly from Canada, and the decline in demand for beaver would soon render the fur trade unprofitable, and he expressed the hope that the Company would immediately begin negotiations for the surrender of its chartered rights while they still appeared to be of value.[54] Any measures which might preserve the interests of the fur trade even for a brief period were therefore, he believed, advantageous.

In the point of view represented by Colvile and Simpson, some support can be found for Fitzgerald's contention that the Company was not sincere in its professions of willingness to colonize. Fitzgerald's fault was that, in his wrath at the Company's failure to consummate a bargain with him, he became a receiving-station for all testimony hostile to the

(52) Simpson to Douglas, February 20, 1850, private, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 4/71. In reply Douglas repented his excessive optimism, but pleaded for a more liberal system of land-disposal to encourage settlers. Douglas to Simpson, June 7, 1850, private, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/28.

(53) Letters Patent, January 13, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 37/1.

(54) Simpson to Pelly, October 25, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 4/70. Simpson continued until his death in 1860 to profess pessimism about the future of the fur trade.

Company, that he made no effort to document his facts, and that even in his attacks on the Company's policies on Vancouver Island he overstated his case.

The settlement of Vancouver Island before the discovery of gold in British Columbia was perhaps impossible even for the most enthusiastic promoters, but the Hudson's Bay Company was a poor instrument for colonization, and it is doubtful whether even at a more favourable time it would have been successful. Though Sir John Henry Pelly was undoubtedly sincere in his expressions of desire to promote British settlement in order to secure the Island against incursions from the United States, the directors of the Company could not be expected to rise above the dictates of the Company's immediate commercial interests, which, at least some conceived, could not be promoted by free colonization. The traditions of the Company were autocratic and paternalistic, repugnant to the free institutions which settlers in a British colony would inevitably demand. At Red River, in the Oregon territory south of the 49th parallel, and on Vancouver Island, the Company attempted to reconcile itself with an agricultural society, and on each occasion it failed. Such failure was probably inherent in the make-up and assumptions of a fur-trade monopoly.

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AN ALEXANDER MACKENZIE LETTER, 1793

Among the wealth of manuscript materials which comprise the Sir Joseph Banks collection of the Sutro Library in San Francisco, there is a letter of Alexander Mackenzie.[1] The communication, addressed to General John Graves Simcoe,[2] first Governor of Upper Canada, conveys a brief account of Mackenzie's famous exploration trip from the Peace River to the Pacific.[3]

Sir

Agreeable to your Excellency's request I beg leave to acquaint you that on the 9th May 1793 I in a Bark Canoe left one of our Settlements[4] in the North West on the Unjigah or Peace River Latitude 56:° 9′ North & Long^{e} 117:° 43 West from Greenwich, for the purpose of penetrating to the Western Ocean I followed up the Waters of this River to their Source, carried over the Height of Land which is only 700 yds; from hence I continued my route down a small River which I found discharged itself into the branch of a larger one that the Natives call Tacoutch Tesse or Tacoutch River.[5] We were carried down this River by the strength of the Current with great velocity. I found that it took too much a Southern Course to bring me to the sea as soon as I expected, and from the best information I could procure judged it did not discharge itself to the Northward of the River of the West;[6] a Branch if not the whole of which I take it to be. Tho' I was sensible that this was the best, but not the shortest communication with the Sea. My then situation[7] could not admit of my taking it; therefore, I returned up the River five days Journey, left my Canoe, & what of her Lading we could not carry with us in Latitude 50:° North & Long: 122° 43′ West Travelled 15 days

(1) For details on the life and explorations of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, *see* M. S. Wade, *Mackenzie of Canada: The Life and Adventures of Alexander Mackenzie, Discoverer,* Edinburgh, 1927, and A. P. Woollacott, *Mackenzie and His Voyageurs; by Canoe to the Arctic and the Pacific, 1789–93,* London, 1927.

(2) Biographical data on Simcoe is to be found in W. R. Riddell, *The Life of John Graves Simcoe, First Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada,* Toronto, 1926.

(3) Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793,* London, 1801.

(4) Mackenzie left Fort Chipewyan on October 10, 1792, with the plan of wintering on the Peace River as near the mountains as possible. His wintering post was known as Fort Fork.

(5) Fraser River.

(6) Columbia River.

(7) On the original there is the following note: "probably want of provisions &c."

& arrivd [*sic*] on the Western Ocean; the Sea along the Coast being much interspers'd with Island I borrowed a Canoe from the Natives, went about 20 Leagues out amongst them[8] Here I found myself in the Latitude 52° 23′ North & Long 128°[9] 15′ West, from this I returned the 23d July by the same Road I went & arrivd safe with my people the 24th August at the place from which I had taken my departure.

I have the Honor to be with respect
Your Excellency's
Most obedient &
Very humble Servt.
Alex. Mackenzie

Hends Tavern
10 Sept 1794.
To Genl. Simcoe.[10]

RICHARD H. DILLON.

SUTRO BRANCH, CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

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(8) On the original there is the following note: "The Natives of all Islands (among the Indians) are warlike & 'Hospitibus feros' Mackenzie."

(9) On the original there is the following note: "Middleton Sound."

(10) On the original there is the following note: "M. Mackenzie sees reason to doubt the information which he received from the American Vessel, of a Series of Islands & in consequence an Inland Sea &c."

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Victoria Section

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, May 30. The opportunity was taken to congratulate the Chairman, Dr. F. H. Johnson, who just recently had been awarded his Doctor of Pædogogy degree from the University of Toronto. The speaker on this occasion was Miss Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Provincial Archivist, who chose as her subject *Some Characteristics of John Tod.* Through her extensive researches and by the reading of extracts from his letters, Miss Wolfenden brought to the members a vivid picture of a pioneer fur-trader and the "Father of Oak Bay." John Tod was born by the side of Loch Lomond in 1794, the eldest of a family of eleven children. He was brought up a strict Presbyterian, but from an early age showed signs of a rebellious and unconventional nature. Before his seventeenth birthday he joined the Hudson's Bay Company as an apprenticed clerk and first served at York Factory. For forty years he was with the Company in the Red River district, New Caledonia, and in the Columbia Department. Upon his retirement in 1850 he acquired 109 acres of land for a farm in the vicinity of Oak Bay, adjoining Fort Victoria. Ultimately his holdings were increased to slightly over 400 acres, and his home was the first to be built in what is now the Municipality of Oak Bay. He was a man of wide interests—he enjoyed reading, played the flute and the fiddle, and had a wide circle of friends. In religion he passed through many phases from rationalism to spiritualism, and his long years in the wilderness, with its lack of contact with formal religious ceremonials, caused him to reject creeds and dogmas and led him to state "my mind shall never be circumscribed within the limits of a creed." Miss Wolfenden's summary of the man was as follows: "John Tod, of the prickly-pear type, always falling afoul of those in authority, never progressing in the Hudson's Bay Company as he thought he should have done, for he did not achieve a Chief Factorship, always treading on the toes of his superiors, was tactless, unnecessarily outspoken, very much a rough diamond." It is hoped that the results of Miss Wolfenden's studies will shortly be made public through this *Quarterly.* Of particular interest to the members was the presence at the meeting of Colonel and Mrs. T. C. Evans, now residents in the Tod house on Heron Street, who spoke briefly on the house as it stands to-day. Mr. H. C. Gilliland proposed a vote of thanks, which was enthusiastically endorsed by all present.

On Thursday, June 26, Dr. W. N. Sage, Head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, was the speaker at the regular meeting of the Section held in the Provincial Library. In the course of his address entitled *Why British Columbia?* Dr. Sage outlined how the Province had come into existence through what might be referred to as a series of historical accidents. It was pointed out that for years the people of this region were closer in sentiment to Great Britain than to British North America and that the fight for confederation hinged

upon the probability of the building of a Canadian transcontinental railway. Canadians were not popular in British Columbia at that time; indeed, in the three decades following Confederation the population could hardly be called Canadian. In conclusion, the speaker pointed out the change that had taken place, for British Columbians now know they are Canadians and are proud of it. Mr. Russell Potter tendered the appreciation of the meeting to Dr. Sage.

At the charming and picturesque home built by the Honourable John Tod at the Willows in 1852, the Section held its annual summer meeting on Saturday afternoon, August 30. Colonel and Mrs. T. C. Evans, who now occupy this the oldest house in British Columbia, were the hospitable host and hostess on this occasion. Tea was served in the garden and the members given an opportunity to examine the house. Mr. James K. Nesbitt, popular journalist of Victoria and chronicler of the history of many of its old homes, gave a short address on John Tod, dealing particularly with his correspondence with his old friend and colleague, Edward Ermatinger.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, October 16, with Dr. F. H. Johnson in the chair. The speaker on this occasion was Mr. G. S. Andrews, Director of Surveys and Mapping and Surveyor-General of the Province, and his subject *The Developing Map of British Columbia.* By use of a large map and coloured pencils he plotted the routes of the explorers to show how the history of the map of British Columbia is insepa-raby integrated with the history of the Province. In general, the development of our map falls into two eras—that of hearsay and fantasy, and the rational era. It is possible that before known explorers were in this region there may have been others present whose explorations have not been recorded, and such evidence as does exist can only be considered apocryphal. The rational era is concerned with recorded events: the period of the great navigators who made rough maps of the coast. During the early stages little was known of the Interior, and it frequently appeared as a blank on the map; but the advent of the overland fur-traders provided invaluable information. Special tribute was paid to David Thompson, "the greatest of all map makers." The political phase of British Columbia's history was briefly sketched to show the evolution of the boundaries. At the present time a survey is under way in Northern British Columbia marking the boundary between this Province and Alberta. Surveys incidental to land booms and land settlement, road and railroad building, were also mentioned. In 1925 the first use was made of aerial photography, and to-day the Province is fully covered by this method. At the close of the address a series of slides was shown, which gave the members an opportunity to compare old and new concepts of the physical nature of our Province. The vote of thanks was tendered to the speaker by Major H. T. Nation.

VANCOUVER SECTION

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, May 20. Mr. Andrew Paul, president of the North American Indian Brotherhood, was to have been the speaker on the subject *The Indian Land Question,* but unfortunately he had had to alter his plans, and in consequence, at short notice, Captain C. W. Cates, Past Chairman, provided an interesting lecture on *The Old Sea Chanty.* This was a most informative address, for Captain Cates

illustrated how the various rhythms were associated with particular tasks in the operation of the square-riggers.

In June the Section held an interesting summer meeting that took the form of a picnic at old Fort Langley. Some thirty members motored out for the occasion and spent an enjoyable afternoon roaming about the site and examining the excellent museum located thereon.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held on Tuesday evening, September 10, in the Grosvenor Hotel, with the Chairman presiding. Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, was the speaker and her subject *The Okanagan-Cariboo Trail of the Sixties*. Gold was the lure that opened the Cariboo but beef sustained the effort, and Dr. Ormsby's paper dealt with the cattle drives from the range lands of Oregon to the diggings at Barkerville. In its initial stages Cariboo was more dependent on Portland on the Columbia River than New Westminster on the Fraser, and it is an interesting conjecture as to what might eventually have happened had this earlier route maintained its initial precedence and had Douglas not built the Cariboo Road through the considerable natural barrier imposed by the Coast Range. Behind the anecdotes which gave interesting detail and variety to Dr. Ormsby's account remained the central theme that the Cariboo, opened by American miners, fed by American supplies brought from the coast by an American route, remained British in its loyalties. In the accomplishment of this near-miracle, Governor Douglas enlisted three agencies—the British law fearlessly enforced by Matthew Baillie Begbie, an earlier variant of the tariff, and a wagon-road. The first gold strike was at Rock Creek in the late 1850's. The Columbia route to the Thompson River country was initiated by the Oregonians as a means of competition with the Californians, who had control over the Victoria trade and from there to the Cariboo. Joel Palmer opened the Columbia route in 1859 and found it "cheaper" than the alternative route, according to the *Oregon Statesman*. Douglas's "tariff policy" was developed in some detail. The first custom-houses were at Rock Creek, Osoyoos, and Similkameen, 1860–63, with W. G. Cox the first British constable. He operated, when occasion called, well south of the 49th parallel. The tariff was, at the outset, designed primarily to obtain revenue for the colony, the other sources being land sales, miners' licences, and harbour tolls. He levied a 10-per-cent *ad valorem* tax to protect the Hudson's Bay Company operating out from Fort Langley, as well as to provide revenue. In 1859 New Westminster was made a sub-port of entry and an excise duty of $12 a ton levied on freight going through to the hinterland. In 1860 the Southern Boundary Act was passed to offset smuggling in that direction. Permission was given to import goods via Interior customs points on payment of the regular duties, excess taxes plus a 3-per-cent penalty for using the Okanagan route. Douglas had many problems in collecting these duties. Rock Creek, near the Kettle River, for example, was only a quarter of a mile north of the boundary, and the Americans moved camp to 16 feet below the border and thus avoided payment of the Southern Boundary tax. At one time Douglas himself had to journey to Rock Creek to settle the "Rock Creek War" over miners' licences. In 1861 Rock Creek was abandoned, but in 1862 custom-houses were established at Osoyoos and Similkameen under J. C. Haynes. A food shortage was anticipated in 1862, and consequently Douglas

removed the 3-per-cent surtax and encouraged the importation of cattle by this route. The cattle industry promoted settlement after the gold-rush had subsided. Beween 1859 and 1870 some 20,000 head of cattle were imported. Dr. Ormsby mentioned several of the early cattlemen: Major John Thorp, who settled in the Cottonwood Creek region in 1860; Lewis Campbell, settling at Bonaparte Creek; D. M. Drumheller; the Harper brothers and their 30,000-acre ranch and the great cattle drive to California in 1870; J. C. Haynes, who later sold his interests to Thomas Ellis, a relation by marriage of Pat Burns. Besides telling of early settlers, the speaker gave an account of the first trading expeditions over this route from Portland. The itinerary of Joel Palmer was outlined from his departure from Portland in April, 1858, with thirty-six persons and eight wagon-trains. This venture was repeated in 1859 and 1860. Others using the route employed pack-horses only. The opening of the Cariboo Road made the pack-road economically unfeasible and thus guaranteed that, short of war, the Cariboo would remain British. The vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. W. N. Sage.

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, October 28, on which occasion the speaker was R. J. Mawer, of the University of British Columbia, who is executive secretary of the Consultative Committee on Doukhobors set up by the Provincial Government. He was eminently qualified to speak on the subject *Some Doukhobor History,* a general problem with which the Committee had been dealing for several years. The task of obtaining reliable and objective historical data has been a considerable one. Written histories and documents form the main source materials, but these tend to be very partisan. Professor James Mavor, of the University of Toronto, over fifty years ago was the authority on the Doukhobors in Europe and was the Canadian primarily responsible for bringing the sect to Canada in 1898. The Doukhobors are Ebionitic Agnostics, an early "Christian" sect that did not believe in the Immaculate Conception or that Christ was divine. They believed that a man could rely solely on his conscience, but appear to have formulated no code of ethics for his guidance. These beliefs brought them into conflict with the established church in the seventeenth century. The church, as an arm of the government, kept a record of vital statistics for military service. Many Doukhobor hymns recall early persecutions for non-conformity. The first recorded leader, Sylvan Kolesnekeff, 1675, a sergeant in the Russian Army, was an aggressive "pacifist." Under him the heresy hardened its core of opposition to military service and to established religious patterns. By the end of the eighteenth century there were not more than 2,000 members of the sect, but exile to Siberia and other persecutions had already begun on a relatively large scale. The first of a long series of migrations began in 1801, when the sect migrated from Western Russia to Southern Russia near the Sea of Azov. There they stayed until 1841 in relative peace, becoming prosperous and more established in their beliefs. In 1841 the sect went to Georgia in the Caucasus, and in the period 1898–1901 they came to Canada. In 1895 the sect had become divided, a woman, Luberia Kalmikova, becoming the leader of the larger group. Her protégé and successor, Peter Veregin, applied the Tsar's rules badly and was banished to Archangel and later to Siberia.

The Quakers became specifically interested in the sect through Alexander III, who asked Dan Wheeler, a Quebec Quaker, to establish an experimental farm for

them. At the conference held in England, with the assistance of Sergei Tolstoy, an effort was made to raise money for Doukhobor emigration and to find suitable locations for their settlement. This move was precipitated by the actions of the Doukhobors, for in 1895 Doukhobor soldiers burned their rifles and in 1898 the larger part of them asked to leave Russia. Permission was granted with the proviso that they must withdraw within six months. In that year, 1,200 settled in Cyprus and 5,000 left for the Northwest Territories. Canadian Pacific Railway colonization agents came to the Caucasus to get immigrants, for which they got $5 per head. The conditions of settlement were that the Doukhobors were to settle on the land, they would take out homestead permits, enjoy religious freedom, and pay $5 per head to the railway company. Between 1898 and 1901, 7,400 arrived in Central Saskatchewan. Their troubles with the authorities in the new land began almost at once. To get their land they had to pay an additional $10, improve the land within three years, and then claim title, but to do the latter it was necessary for them to swear an oath of allegiance, and this they refused to do. There was fierce competition for land, but the Doukhobors settled in small villages, not on the land, and could not even establish squatter rights to the territory granted them. In 1902 Peter Veregin was called to Canada and is reported to have told the sect to obey the rules of settlement. By Order in Council the sect did secure military exemption for themselves and their descendants, the Quakers and Hutterites also having the same exemption. Demonstrations against authority began in 1902, principally directed against the oath of allegiance and compulsory education. Between 1902 and 1910 the Quakers attempted to operate Russian-language schools but failed. In 1907 there was a further division of the sect; the more prosperous stayed in Saskatchewan, where they adopted the ways of the new land. The less prosperous settled in British Columbia, in the Grand Forks and Nelson areas, where they acquired 20,000 acres at $52 an acre. British Columbia did not invite the Doukhobors and had no say in the matter, but the Government did not at that time raise any objections. There has been no real census of the sect in this Province, but the speaker estimated a distribution as follows: Independents (real Canadians), 5,000; Orthodox (Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ), 2,500; Sons of Freedom, 2,500. In 1950 there were 450 Doukhobors in jail and the University of British Columbia assumed responsibility for a study of the whole problem. For the most part, the Doukhobors now live in rural slums, occupying as squatters or lessees the land which they originally acquired but lost through bankruptcy; most of it was never good agricultural land and has become completely exhausted through poor farming techniques. Most of the Sons of Freedom are illiterate, it being estimated that 450 to 500 of their children do not go to school. The speaker also outlined the basic recommendations that the Committee has made: sale of the land back to the Doukhobors at its net mortgage value; soil surveys and the sale to them of adjoining acreage; more assistance for education; legalization of the Doukhobor form of marriage; assistance in a social welfare programme; permission to vote in Provincial elections; removal of the exemption from military service for commission of crimes of violence. An interesting series of slides were shown to illustrate the present condition of the sect. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to the speaker by the Chairman.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Okanagan Historical Society was held in the board room of the B.C. Tree Fruits Limited, in Kelowna on Wednesday, May 7, 1952, with twenty-five members in attendance. In the course of his report, the President, Mr. J. B. Knowles, expressed the opinion that the history of the valley in the period prior to the beginning of the present century had been covered fairly adequately and the time was now ripe to give emphasis to writing up the record of the first quarter of this century. Major H. R. Denison, the Treasurer, reported a bank balance of $200.48 and revealed there had been steady and constant financial support. Appreciation of the work of Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Editor, and Mrs. R. L. Cawston, Assistant Editor, was expressed in connection with the publication of the fifteenth *Annual Report*. Representatives from the various branch societies presented reports of local activity. Major H. R. Denison, Vernon branch, indicated that although membership had grown, attendance at meetings was deplorably small. Mr. H. C. S. Collett, President of the Kelowna branch, stated that 100 copies of the *Annual Report* had been sold. The report of the Penticton branch, prepared by Mr. H. Cochrane, indicated a lively organization in that area. The Oliver-Osoyoos branch had been inactive during the year, and the Armstrong branch, the latest to be organized, had been quite active. The 1951–52 slate of officers was unanimously re-elected for 1952–53, as follows:—

Honorary Patron - -	His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
Honorary President - -	Hon. Grote Stirling, P.C.
President - - -	J. B. Knowles, Kelowna.
First Vice-President - -	D. J. Whitham, Kelowna.
Second Vice-President -	Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton.
Secretary - - - -	Dr. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton.
Treasurer - - -	Major H. R. Denison, Vernon.
Editor - - - -	Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Vancouver.
Assistant Editor - -	Mrs. R. L. Cawston, Penticton.

Directors—

North—

Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops. G. C. Tassie, Vernon.
J. G. Simms, Vernon.

Centre—

F. M. Buchland, Kelowna. Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank.
James Goldie, Okanagan Centre.

South—

Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton. G. J. Rowland, Penticton.
George J. Fraser, Osoyoos.

At Large—

Mrs. G. Maisonville, Kelowna. Mr. J. H. Wilson, Armstrong.
A. K. Loyd, Kelowna. Miss K. Ellis, Penticton.
Mr. F. L. Goodman, Osoyoos.

The editorial committee appointed included the following:—

Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.
Mrs. D. Gellatly.
R. J. McDougall.
Mrs. R. L. Cawston.
Mrs. R. B. White.
Frank Buckland.
Dr. J. C. Goodfellow.

The annual meeting of the *Vernon branch* of the Okanagan Historical Society was held on Wednesday evening, September 10, in the junior high school under the retiring President, Mr. J. G. Simms, who relinquished the chair to Mr. David Howie, Sr., who conducted the remainder of the business. The meeting took the form of a panel discussion arranged by Mr. Guy P. Bagnall, and included Mrs. Violet Sunderland, Mr. Fred Warner, and Mr. Tom Norris, all of whom looked back on pioneer days with treasured recollection. They told of hardships in the new country, but none were tinged with regret or remorse. Mrs. Sunderland came to Vernon as a small child with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank McGowen, on October 2, 1892. That December the community was incorporated as a city, and her father became the first City Clerk, Coroner, Magistrate, and Tax Collector, and she recounted many anecdotes concerning his multifarious duties. Mr. Norris came to Vernon in 1893 and told of early days at Lumby, where he opened the first school and taught for five years. Mr. Warner, a pioneer of 1891, added personal reminiscences of earlier days. Additional comments were made by Mr. R. A. Davidson, and Mr. Jabez Kneller, a pioneer of 1891 at Armstrong, told of his early teaching experiences at Salmon River. Mrs. F. B. Jacques and others had loaned old photographs, which added greatly to the enjoyment of the evening. Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, editor of the society's *Annual Report,* was present and spoke of its contribution and of the vital work done by the Vernon community in the early days of publication under the stimulus of the late Leonard Norris. The elections resulted in the following officers for the ensuing year:—

President - - - - - - - - - Stuart J. Martin.
Vice-President - - - - - - - A. E. Berry.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - - - George Falconer.
Directors—
Major H. R. Denison.
G. P. Bagnall.
Miss Hilda Cryderman.
J. G. Simms.
R. A. Davidson.

Other branch societies' officers are as follows:—

Armstrong

President - - - - - - - - - J. H. Wilson.
Vice-President - - - - - - - J. E. Jamieson.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - - - Arthur Marshall.
Directors—
Mrs. Myles MacDonald.
Charles LeDue.
Mrs. D. G. Crozier.
H. A. Fraser.
Arthur Young.

Kelowna

President - - - - - - - - - H. C. Collett.
Vice-President - - - - - - - J. B. Knowles.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - - - L. L. Kerry.
Directors—
Mrs. D. Gellatly. Mrs. G. D. Fitzgerald.
Mrs. G. Maisonville. Nigel Pooley.
E. M. Carruther. F. M. Buckland.
J. D. Whitham.

Penticton

President - - - - - - - - H. H. Whitaker.
First Vice-President - - - - - - R. L. Cawston.
Second Vice-President - - - - - - A. S. Hatfield.
Secretary - - - - - - - - H. E. Cochrane.
Treasurer - - - - - - - - - Captain J. B. Weeks.
Directors—
Mrs. R. B. White. Mrs. H. H. Whitaker.
Miss Kathleen Ellis.

Oliver-Osoyoos

President - - - - - - - - - F. L. Goodman.
Vice-President - - - - - - - - George J. Fraser.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - - - A. Kaltin.
Directors—
Albert Miller. Mrs. Albert Miller.
N. V. Simpson. Dr. N. J. Ball.
L. J. Ball.

PLAQUE TO HONOUR DR. JOHN STANLEY PLASKETT

A very pleasing ceremony was held on the afternoon of Thursday, June 26, at the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory on Little Saanich Mountain during the course of the joint meeting of the American Astronomical Society and the Astronomical Society of the Pacific. On that occasion the work of Dr. John Stanley Plaskett, C.B.E., was commemorated by the unveiling of a plaque placed upon the 73-inch telescope. It was largely due to the intensity and single-mindedness of purpose of the late Dr. Plaskett that the then world's largest telescope was erected on Vancouver Island in 1918. Dr. Plaskett was the founder and first director of the observatory until his retirement in 1935, and many tributes were paid to his work by representatives of the astronomical societies assembled. Dr. Walter N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, made the formal presentation of the plaque on behalf of the Board, and the unveiling ceremony was performed by Mrs. J. S. Plaskett. The inscription on the plaque reads as follows:—

John Stanley Plaskett, C.B.E.

Internationally known for his work in astronomy. Director of the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory at Victoria, B.C., 1917–1935. Born at Hickson, Ont., 17th November, 1865. Died at Esquimalt, B.C., 17th October, 1941.

PLAQUE TO COMMEMORATE THE FOUNDING OF FORT VICTORIA

A considerable number of people were present on Thursday afternoon, August 28, to witness the unveiling of the plaque erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to commemorate the founding of Fort Victoria in 1843. The plaque was placed on the Government Street front of the Pemberton-Holmes Building, corner of Government and Broughton Streets, marking approximately the south-eastern corner of the stockade of the original post. Dr. F. Henry Johnson, Chairman of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, was in charge of the proceedings and first called on Dr. Walter N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Board. Dr. Sage expressed his pleasure that at long last the founding of this important post was to be recognized and noted the appropriateness of the present location, for the founder of the firm of Pemberton-Holmes was J. D. Pemberton, first colonial surveyor-general, and one who knew well life within the old fort. Dr. Sage made the formal presentation of the plaque, custody of which was accepted by Mr. Phillip D. P. Holmes, great-grandson of J. D. Pemberton, who in a few well-chosen words paid tribute to the pioneers for their immense enthusiasm, their foresight, and their energy.

The principal speaker on this occasion was Mr. B. A. McKelvie, well-known local historian and newspaper-man, who touched upon the events leading to the establishment of Fort Victoria as a British bastion against American expansionist tendencies in the 1840's. In the course of his remarks, Mr. McKelvie quoted descriptions of the original fort as left us by such Hudson's Bay Company worthies as Roderick Finlayson, James Douglas, and Dr. J. S. Helmcken, and created a word picture of life in this western outpost.

The actual ceremony of unveiling was performed by the Honourable Tilly Jean Rolston, Minister of Education, who took the occasion to remark upon the importance in fast-moving modern times of calling the attention of our citizens to past accomplishments. Markers such as this are not only of tourist significance, but are of great value educationally. After the unveiling Dr. Sage read the inscription, which is as follows:—

Fort Victoria

Founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1843, Fort Victoria became, after 1846, the headquarters of the Company's trade in British territory west of the Rocky Mountains.

When the Colony of Vancouver Island was formed in 1849 Victoria was the capital, and in the fort the first Legislative Assembly met. The gold rush of 1858 led to the development of the City of Victoria. The early history of the city and the colony is closely intertwined with that of the fort. The last of the original buildings was demolished in 1862.

PLAQUE TO HONOUR RICHARD BLANSHARD, FIRST GOVERNOR OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

Advantage was taken of the presence of the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent, P.C., in Victoria on the occasion of his visit for the purpose of officially opening the new post-office and Federal Building on Friday morning, September 5, to have the Prime Minister participate in the unveiling of a plaque to commemorate the work of Vancouver Island's first Governor, Richard Blanshard. Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, was chairman for the ceremony which immediately followed the official opening. Dr. Walter N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, was called upon and took the opportunity to thank the Post Office Department for their courtesy in granting permission to place the memorial plaque on the new building which now covers the site of the first Governor's residence at the corner of Government and Yates Streets. In the course of his remarks, Dr. Sage reviewed briefly Governor Blanshard's career in the colony which, though brief and, at times, unhappy, was not without considerable significance. The Prime Minister was then called upon to perform the unveiling, and before doing so addressed the following remarks to the audience of more than 1,000 that was present on the occasion:—

"My second duty this morning is one that I think is overdue—it is to unveil a memorial plaque to the first Governor of Vancouver Island, Richard Blanshard. If Richard Blanshard were here to-day, his amazement would be great indeed. Certainly when he arrived at this place slightly more than 100 years ago, the great expectations he had for his new charge were soon brutally dashed.

"Instead of finding a 1,000-acre estate which had been promised him, the new Governor found nothing but undeveloped forest aside from Fort Victoria. In fact, he learned that no provisions had been made for his arrival at all, and he was, therefore, forced to make his headquarters on the ship which brought him to Fort Victoria. Thus for a few months the government of Vancouver Island was a migratory one.

"Richard Blanshard's instructions were to establish a legislative machinery in the colony, but he found no one for whom it was to operate. Aside from a handful of settlers—his own estimates were nine—all of the residents of the Island were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company.

"The few settlers that there were on the Island were expected to provide the funds for the Governor's salary and for the maintenance of his residence. They were obviously able to do neither, with the result that the unfortunate Governor after quitting his ship had to rely on the reluctant hospitality of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company did provide lodgings in the fort for the Governor, but they charged him for his board and lodging.

"Eventually, James Douglas, Chief Factor at the Fort for the Hudson's Bay Company, had quarters provided for the new Governor just outside of the palisades of the Fort. It is upon that spot that this building has been opened to-day, and that this plaque to his memory has been erected.

"In the light of the great obstacles that he faced, and because of ill health, Governor Blanshard wrote his letter of resignation in November, 1850, only eight months after his arrival in the new colony. The letter of acceptance from the

Colonial Office in London did not reach him until the following August. (I hope that the post-office which will be housed here will give you better service.) His last act before sailing for England was to appoint a Legislative Council of three members, thus creating the first instrument in the machinery of government for the most westerly of British colonies in America. He judged that the time was not yet ready for a legislative assembly.

"While Blanshard's contributions to Canadian history are not great, his purposes and intentions were noble and his personal sacrifices were heavy. He not only had to contribute to his passage to and from the Island, but he received no salary and was forced to pay out £1,100 a year from his own pocket for the expenses of his office. He was the victim of circumstances which he could not control. He had little support from London, and he was the object of suspicion, if not hostility, of the real rulers of the Island, the Hudson's Bay Company.

"Because as a man Richard Blanshard did his best in a difficult situation, and because he was the first harbinger of democratic and responsible government in Western Canada, I take pleasure in unveiling this plaque to his memory. The first Governor of Vancouver Island, Richard Blanshard."

The inscription on the plaque is as follows:—

Richard Blanshard

First Governor of Vancouver Island, 1849–1851. Whose House stood on this site. Born in London, England, 19th October, 1817. Died in London, England, 5th June, 1894.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journals, 1775–82. First Series, 1775–79. Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by Richard Glover. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1951. Pp. xciii, 382, xiv.

This fourteenth volume of the Hudson's Bay Record Society is the first in a series of two volumes that will contribute much to our fundamental knowledge of the history of our western prairies, for herein are to be found the journals of the Hudson's Bay Company's first settlements on the Saskatchewan River during eight critical years. They form a natural sequel to the twelfth volume, which dealt with James Isham, the astute Governor of York Factory, who foresaw the necessity of the Company abandoning its long-standing policy of clinging to the shores of the bay and going inland to meet the competition in the interior. This rivalry in the interior was not brought to an end with the conquest of New France in 1763, for once Pontiac's rising had been suppressed the St. Lawrence River route to the interior was again open, and the Company's monopoly, far from being secure, was challenged by a new group of interlopers that again threatened to cut off the Hudson's Bay Company from its source of furs.

The details surrounding the establishment of Cumberland House in September, 1774, by Samuel Hearne and of his activity during the first and part of the second season there had previously been made available by the publication in 1934 by the Champlain Society of *The Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor.* The journals, now reproduced, were written by Hearne's successors, and while naturally they contain much of the day-to-day routine, in fact the humdrum of the fur trade, nevertheless they also contain the incidents and the decisions that provided the solution to the basic problems implicit in the decision to build inland posts.

There were two fundamental requisites for the success of the Company's venture inland—men and canoes. The latter posed no problem for their French rivals, who had learned from the Indians the mechanics of river transport. They had modified the native canoes to meet the exigencies of the long haul involved in the fur trade and were experienced in the handling of the canoe. Neither this skill nor even the canoes were available to the Bay men, and at the outset they were dependent upon the Indians to build and to paddle canoes for them. These canoes were too small for the purpose and the Indians fickle employees. How the Company overcame the difficulty is graphically recounted in these journals, and by 1780 the means of transport no longer was a problem. The question of man-power was more difficult and not solved completely within the period of these journals. Wars with the American colonists, Spain, France, and Holland drained British resources of man-power, and the Company found it next to impossible to secure sufficient men to staff the posts let alone operate a transportation system. Still another disadvantage for the Hudson's Bay Company was the remoteness of its headquarters from the scene of its operations. The news it received was stale by the time it was acted upon, and decisions validly reached were often made inoperative by altered local circumstances. The Canadian pedlars and particu-

larly the Nor' Westers, with their annual meeting at Fort William or the Grand Portage, were infinitely more fortunate.

Dr. Richard Glover, Associate Professor of History in the University of Manitoba, has prepared a masterly introduction in which the strength and weakness of the two contending fur-trade organizations are weighed. He very neatly disposes of the idea that the building of Cumberland House opened "the strife between the companies" by pointing out that the rivalry thus encountered was nothing new, and that for the first five years there was no organized opposition, since it was not until 1779 that the independent pedlars first tentatively united to form the North West Company. Strong and powerful as this new company came to be, it had inherent weaknesses which, although temporarily overcome, eventually resulted in the collapse of the organization and amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The length of the route between Montreal and the North West, over which goods and furs had to be transported, is usually put forward as the Nor' Westers' principal handicap. While this was a factor of no little significance, Dr. Glover suggests less obvious but more fundamental reasons for their ultimate failure. The Canadian company is likened to a "sprawling, headless octopus," and the lack of discipline this suggests, which is reflected in the extravagance and personal incompetence of many of its men, is in marked contrast to the rigid structure of the Hudson's Bay Company. Moreover, the Bay men evidently learned more about the habits and thoughts of the Indians than did their Canadian rivals. Certainly many of the methods used by the pedlars, not only in their more violent dealings with the Hudson's Bay Company, but also with the Indians, incurred the lasting resentment of the natives. While much of this was to become more evident in later years, nevertheless even in these early journals one can find many illustrations to support this explanation of the collapse of the North West Company.

It is obvious that the production of this volume posed serious problems for the editor. To have published the journals of Cumberland House alone without including those of its outpost—Hudson's House, some eighteen days' paddle up the Saskatchewan River—would have left the story incomplete. The decision to publish both sets of journals and to intersperse them is a sound one, even although it necessitates fixing a purely arbitrary division between the two volumes. This first series covers four years and includes the Cumberland House journals from 1775–79 as kept by Matthew Cocking, William Walker, William Tomison, and Joseph Hansom and the Hudson's House journal of 1778–79 as kept by Robert Longmoor. These were the men upon whom the future of the Hudson's Bay Company depended. Hitherto they have been almost unknown, yet their accomplishments were numerous and substantial and paved the way, in large measure, for that ultimate success as represented by the union in 1821.

While many will regret the absence of an appendix containing biographical notes (which it is to be hoped will be included in the second series), nevertheless Dr. Glover has included much information concerning these leaders in his introduction. In keeping with previous practice, a considerable body of supplementary material has been produced in an appendix. This volume is up to that same high standard of excellence that one has come to associate with this series, an excellence

that is applicable not only to the scholarship involved, but in the technique of bookmaking.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Prize Winning Essays: Armitage Competition in Oregon Pioneer History, 1951. Portland: Reed College Bulletin, 1952. Pp. 24.

The results of the Frances Greenburg Armitage Competition have once again been published. There was no award in the graduate division in 1951; the first prize in the undergraduate division was won by Helen Leonard Seagraves for her B.A. thesis, *The Oregon Constitutional Convention of 1857*. The essay under review, entitled *Oregon's 1857 Constitution,* seems to be a rigorous condensation of the thesis. The condensation has been skilfully done, for the simple and logical structure has been preserved, and there are few breaks in the stream of the essay, and few of those thin hurried paragraphs which so often reveal a drastic cutting of the original work.

Mrs. Seagraves begins by sketching the background of the convention—the territorial government, the economic, political, and moral pressures which urged statehood, the three abortive rushes in that direction in 1854, 1855, and 1856, precedents in the form of earlier state constitutions in New England and the Mississippi Valley.

The author is at her best describing the convention and the constitution that emerged from it. She indicates the decisive influence of the Democrats, although party members were not numerous. She points out the wise, cautious men who thought the step premature, the wise bold men who knew it was inevitable, and the salty realists—"Let us make a constitution and go home in fifteen days." "But if Uncle Sam will foot all the bills I won't complain. . . ." After the histrionics of the convention and the violent editorials in the press, the constitution after all adhered closely to the Mississippi Valley pattern. It showed a simultaneous fear of and desire for big corporations which could develop the country, and a frontier distrust of banks and banknotes. It rejected slavery, but, as the author points out, rejected potential slaves also, one delegate going so far as to recommend the exclusion of negroes, Chinese, Hawaiians, even native Indians.

The essay is completed by an extensive bibliography.

I. DEAN BONNEY.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Norwegian-American Studies and Records. Volume XVI. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1950. Pp. vii, 218. $2.50.

Since 1926 the Norwegian-American Historical Association has produced sixteen volumes in its *Studies and Records* series. They have usually been primarily concerned with the problems of immigration in so far as Scandinavians, in general, and Norwegians, in particular, were concerned. While the volume under review is no exception, judged by the calibre of its contents it is an innovation in that it

deals exclusively with one geographical region—the West Coast. The five papers in this series cover the period from 1870 to the turn of the century and are concerned with two great impellents for immigration—land hunger and the lure of gold.

As would be expected, the polyglot of peoples drawn to California by the gold-rush contained Scandinavians. They were not, however, a large element in the population, for by 1870 they numbered less than 5,000 and, unlike many other racial groups, they were not self-contained nor highly organized. This may have been the consequence of their assimilability or of their isolation from the mid-West, for no rail link with California existed until 1869. It is therefore significant that until 1870 no formal effort was made to organize a Scandinavian Lutheran congregation even in San Francisco. Dr. Kenneth Bjork, Professor of History at St. Olaf College and general editor of this volume, provides essential background material in his article on the mission of Rev. Christian Hvistendahl to San Francisco in 1870–75. Hvistendahl, under instruction from the Norwegian Lutheran Synod of America, spent five weeks in the fall of 1870 surveying the situation in California and in organizing a congregation, and then, after five months in Wisconsin, returned to serve as pastor until midsummer, 1875. Dr. Bjork has drawn upon Hvistendahl's reports to the Synod and from his letters to the Norwegian-American secular press of the Middle West to provide a full account of the conditions of the Scandinavians in California at this period. The pastor's role as a press correspondent was tremendously significant, for his reports an economic opportunities on the Pacific Coast were generally reliable.

It is largely due to similar journalistic efforts on the part of still another pioneer pastor that it is possible to reconstruct the beginnings of Norwegian settlement in Oregon and Washington. Miss Nora O. Solum has contributed to this volume a study on Anders Emil Fridricksen, who, in April, 1871, established in Portland the first Scandinavian Lutheran Church in Oregon. Miss Solum has provided a good deal of biographical information about this "roving pioneer pastor whose eccentric and unclerical activities in the Middle West made him renowned and remembered among them in legend." But it is his role as a recorder of conditions and events in the Pacific Northwest rather than as a pastor that Miss Solum has sought to emphasize. Numerous extracts from his letters to the press give ample evidence of his wide travel in the region and of his keen perception.

The third contribution is the editing by Dr. Sverre Arestad, of the University of Washington, of a series of seven articles written by O. B. Iverson and published in the *Stanwood News* from October, 1920, to January, 1921. Iverson came to Washington in the late summer of 1875 in search of land as a result of the grasshopper plague of 1874 in the Dakotas. He remained in the State until his death in 1920 at the age of 74, having served in many public capacities. Published under the general title "Experiences and Observations on Two Continents," his letters originally contained an account of a journey from New York to Dakota Territory in 1874 with immigrants he had brought from Norway, as well as the story of his trip to Puget Sound via California in 1875. In this article only those portions pertinent to the second journey have been reproduced. British Columbians will be particularly interested in the references to W. P. Sayward. As back-

ground material for the history of settlement on the Stillaguamish flats, some 50 miles up Puget Sound from Seattle, these letters are invaluable.

The remaining two articles go still farther north and deal with the Klondike and Alaskan gold-rushes. C. A. Clausen, of St. Olaf College, has translated and edited a series of letters by Norwegian participants in these gold-rushes, as published in the *Washington Posten* and *Tacoma Tidende*. They contain much of the personal experiences of the writers and vivid impressions of exciting events between 1897 and 1901. Two letters by Andrew Nerland contain particularly interesting information on Dawson in the winter of 1898. There are three letters that deal with the Nome gold-rush that resulted from the initial discovery by three Scandinavians. The notorious activity of Alexander McKenzie and his principal cohort, Judge Arthur Noyes, is an old story, but one that still arouses interest. These letters form a natural introduction to the final article by Carl L. Lokke, of the National Archives, which tells the story of his grandfather's participation in the Nome rush. Lars Gunderson had been the leading spirit in the Monitor Gold Mining and Trading Company, made up of a group of Norwegians from Minneapolis who went to the Klondike early in 1898. Luck did not favour them, and by 1899 the company disbanded and the next year five of the men left Dawson for Nome. Many interesting details of their trip to and early activity in the new goldfields are recorded. Three of them were soon discouraged and left Alaska, but Gunderson and his son remained, and in 1901 the elder Norwegian became the United States Commissioner and Recorder in the Kusatriem District, some 100 miles from Nome over the Sawtooth Mountains. Gunderson was enthralled with life in Alaska and made arrangements to bring the other members of his family to the North. Although he had been appointed by Judge Noyes, Gunderson's reputation was unimpeachable, and subsequently he was appointed to a similar position by Judge Wickersham in the Kougarok District, and there he died.

This volume concludes with the twelfth bibliography of recent publications relating to Norwegian-American history as prepared by Jacob Hodnefield. The Norwegian-American Historical Association may well feel proud of the contribution they have been making to historiography in America, and their sixteenth volume is a creditable addition. As might be expected, the typography is of a very high standard.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

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