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OCTOBER, 1943

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EDITOR.
W. KAYE LAMB.
The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR.
WILLARD E. IRELAND.
Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
(On active service, R.C.A.F.)

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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AN IRISHMAN IN THE FUR TRADE: THE LIFE AND JOURNALS OF JOHN WORK.

One becomes accustomed to thinking that the early fur-traders were, in the main, Finlaysons, Frasers, McKays, McTavishes, Mackenzies, and McLeods, who were born and reared in Scotland. John Work was at least a partial exception to this rule. He was of north of Ireland stock, although probably Scottish in origin and Presbyterian by faith. John was born about 1792 at Geroddy farm, not far from St. Johnstown, County Donegal. He was the son of Henry Wark, and the eldest of a family of six children. Born after him was another boy, Joseph, who was followed by three sisters and, finally, by the youngest child, David. Joseph emigrated to America and became a considerable land-owner on the outskirts of Cincinnati. David was educated for a clerkship in the Hudson's Bay Company, but was disappointed in this ambition by the amalgamation with the North West Company in 1821, when clerks were being dismissed rather than recruited. He emigrated to New Brunswick, started a small business at Richebucto, moved to Fredericton, served in the local Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council, and was appointed to the Canadian Senate at the time of Confederation. He died as recently as 1905, in his hundred and second year. David's only child, Miss Helena Wark, resides in Montreal to-day. Both John and his brother Joseph anglicized their surname from *Wark* to *Work*, but the original spelling was retained by other members of the family.

Family tradition has it that young John ran away from home to join the Hudson's Bay Company at their recruiting station in the Orkney Islands. His contract is dated at Stromness, June 15, 1814, but it seems rather doubtful that a boy of 22 years of age would have "to run away from home." Be that as it may, John Work crossed the Atlantic to spend the first few years of his new life in the vicinity of Hudson Bay. He spent the season of 1814–15 at York Factory as steward, but was then transferred to the neighbouring Severn District, where he became second trader at Severn House. In 1818–19 he was promoted district

master. Nothing much more than this is known about those early years. The journals which Work kept during this period are in existence, in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in London, but are as yet inaccessible. Some day they may be produced to add an interesting chapter to an interesting story. We do know, however, that John was fitting into the Company nicely, since Nicholas Garry, who had been sent out from England to implement the coalition between the Hudson's Bay and the North West companies, described Work as a "Most excellent young Man in Every Respect."[1] It was fortunate for him that this was so, for it undoubtedly saved him from dismissal, which was the fate of many young men during the process of weeding-out that inevitably followed the amalgamation.[2]

The coalition made little difference to John Work at first. He was ranked as a clerk and remained in the Severn District during 1821–22. He then went to the adjoining Island Lake District, where he served until 1823.

In July, 1823, John Work, then 31 years of age, left York Factory to take up new duties in the Columbia District. He was to spend the rest of his life west of the Rockies, a life which was to be adventurous but hard, and at times extremely irksome. Through the thirty-eight years that he lived on the Pacific slope we can follow his fortunes fairly closely, for this is the period partially covered by his journals and letters in the Provincial Archives. Here are treasured the original manuscripts of fifteen of the journals which he kept in the field. The earliest of the series commences in July, 1823; the last ends in October, 1835. Usually when Work was resident at a post, he kept no personal journal. Naturally this leaves gaps in our record of his life—gaps which can only be filled by access to the journals of the posts

(1) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee.* First Series 1825–38. Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1941. Hudson's Bay Company Series IV. (hereafter referred to as H.B.S., IV.), p. 356.

(2) Governor Simpson planned a ruthless reorganization that would have involved the dismissal of 250 men. The Governor and Committee modified this decision to protect "deserving young men" in their employ. *See* H.B.S., IV., p. xiii.; and R. Harvey Fleming (*ed.*), *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821–31,* Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1940. Hudson's Bay Company Series III. (hereafter referred to as H.B.S., III.), p. 313.

at which he served. Many of these are preserved in the Hudson's Bay Archives, but owing to the war they cannot be consulted at present. It has therefore been necessary to attempt to fill in the intervals between the journals, as well as the period after them, by obtaining information from the relatively few letters from Work which are in existence, and from the many references to him which are to be found in the papers of his contemporaries.

The fifteen journals were meticulously kept. They tell of the day-to-day travels, trials, hopes, and disappointments of the fur-traders. The keeping of them was due not to the personal whim of the diarist, but to the specific instructions of his superiors. They were to embrace methods of trade, the conduct and character of subordinates, and the climate, topography, and vegetation of the country through which their writer passed.[3] They were written with a view to being used as guides for others who might follow the trails blazed by John Work and his companions. Work had a keen, observing eye; as a consequence his journals are veritable mines of information on fur-trading practices and on the life and habits of the Indians. Moreover, before he left home in Geroddy, he had been trained as an operative farmer,[4] and he often viewed this vast new country with a vision of pasture land and fat cattle, of thriving vegetables and waving grain.

The fifteen journals in the Provincial Archives are not uniform in size. Some are written in standard Hudson's Bay journals, measuring about 12½ by 8 inches, while others are on half sheets folded once. A few are in rough hand-stitched leather bindings. The ink used was apparently carried in powder or tablet form, since the writing varies considerably in colour and density. The twelfth volume must have fallen into a pool of ink when it was half completed. Entries up to the accident are partially obliterated by the ink-stain, which extends in an arc across the bottom corner of the page. Most of these can nevertheless be read with some difficulty, but transcribers often gave up the attempt. Amusingly enough, the same transcribers failed to notice that after the accident occurred Work

(3) H.B.S., III., p. 126.
(4) H.B.S., IV., p. 358.

wrote around the ink-stain but not through it. They interpreted the absence of faint lines through the blot as total obliteration, breathed a sigh of relief, and simply omitted the bottom quarter of each page.

Work has been accused of illiteracy in his journals. Quite the opposite of this is true. He had an extensive and a varied vocabulary, which enabled him to express himself in interesting style. The accusation arises for a number of reasons. First, it is true that his handwriting is crabbed, and many of his words are deliberately telescoped. It must be remembered that most of the entries must have been made at night, when Work was crouched half-frozen over a smoky fire clutching a pen in his stiffened fingers, or in the intense summer heat of the arid Snake River country, or in the mosquito-ridden fever camps on the Sacramento River. Secondly, he used words which are now obsolete or obsolescent in use or in form. Words have varied in meaning in a hundred years, and spelling was then more fluid than it is to-day—facts that editors would do well to remember. Time and again Work flavours his descriptions with such expressions as "thicketty" woods, through which he travelled in a "pour" of "weighty" rain, or gazed upon a "jabble" of sea, lit by flashes of "lightening." Moreover, he used trade expressions which were current in those days, but which were not familiar to or were unrecognized by those who have attempted to make transcripts of his journals. For example, the word *apishamore* has been rendered variously.[5] *Marrons, cabrie,* and *pluis* seem to have utterly defeated editors of the journals.[6] Finally, Indian names and expressions proved difficult, not only because they were hard to trace but because they were spelled phonetically. John Work was no exception to the rule that fur-traders simply rendered these names as best they could. It is most unfortunate that up to the present the transcriptions of his journals have been consistently bad. Whole sentences and even complete paragraphs have been omitted. Mistakes have been made or blanks left in places where even a small amount of

(5) An *apishamore* was a saddle blanket, made usually of buffalo calf-skin.

(6) *Marrons* were wild horses; *cabrie* were prong-horned antelope; while *pluis* was an expression of value derived from "peaux," "plus"—a beaver-skin.

knowledge of the period should have furnished the key to the problem. As an inevitable consequence, where access to the original manuscripts was not possible, the printed versions of these journals suffer badly and are sometimes woefully inaccurate. Indeed it would appear that in no case was the text as printed collated with the original.[7]

The earliest of Work's journals in the Provincial Archives is divided into two parts.[8] The first half deals with his voyage across the continent; the second with his journey from Spokane House to Fort George[9] and thence up the Columbia River again, where he spent the summer of 1824 superintending a party of Hudson's Bay employees for whom there was no summer employment and who had been sent up the Columbia to live off the Indians and the country.

On Tuesday, July 18, 1823, Work left York Factory for the Columbia. The expedition, the express, consisted only of "two light canoes, four men in each";[10] Peter Skene Ogden[11] was in command. The canoes followed the usual route by way of the Hayes River to Oxford House and from thence to Norway House. By noon of July 31 they had crossed the dangerous waters at the northern extremity of Lake Winnipeg, and soon began the ascent

(7) The 14th and 15th journals of John Work, which will be printed in subsequent issues of this *Quarterly*, are the first which have been transcribed directly from the originals.

(8) For purposes of identification and cataloguing the original journals in the Provincial Archives have been numbered chronologically from 1 to 15 (*see* the checklist appended to this article). The earliest of the series is thus catalogued as: John Work, *Journal 1*, (*a*) *York Factory to Spokane House, July 18–October 28, 1823;* (*b*) *Columbia Valley Trading Expedition, April 15–November 17, 1824* (hereafter referred to as *Journal 1* (*a*) or (*b*)). For a summary and extracts *see* Walter N. Sage, "John Work's First Journal, 1823–1824," in Canadian Historical Association, *Report . . . 1929*, Ottawa, 1930, pp. 21–29.

(9) Originally Astoria, built by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. The present city of Astoria now occupies the site.

(10) *Journal 1* (*a*), entry for July 18, 1823.

(11) Ogden was a former Nor'Wester who, because of his violent attitude towards the Hudson's Bay Company, had been left unprovided for at the coalition of the two companies. He was later admitted as chief trader and sent to serve west of the Rockies. He was placed in charge of the Snake River expeditions at first, and was later given charge of the coastal trade.

of the Saskatchewan River. Long days, from dawn to dusk, were spent in the canoes, paddling through the narrow channels of the river where the water was shallow and the low muddy shores were covered with matted reeds and overhung with clumps of willows. Then they left the main river and penetrated through a net work of channels to Cumberland House. Here Ogden and Work spent a very unpleasant day overhauling their outfits and securing provisions. It was the height of the fly season and, wrote Work, " We are like to be devoured. . . ."[12]

From Cumberland House their way lay along the usual brigade route, which followed a chain of lakes, small rivers, and portages to the Churchill River, and thence west to Lac île-à-la-Crosse. On the way it was found that two of their five bags of pemmican, that staple of fat and dried meat used by the fur-traders, were mouldy and the contents rotten. No game could be secured along the route, so the party spent anxious days until they overtook the west-bound Caledonia Brigade and secured an additional supply of food from it. At île-à-la-Crosse Work may have seen James Douglas, for it is altogether likely that Douglas was there at the time.[13]

The express pushed on westward up the Beaver River, which flows into Lac île-à-la-Crosse, until they arrived at Moose Portage. For some time now the men had been tiring, not only because of long days spent at paddle and pole, but again because of the food supply. Four hundred pounds of dried meat had been taken aboard to be their staple diet. By now the fat bits had all been eaten and only the worst pieces remained, tough and hard as shoe leather. Here at Moose Portage they had expected to find a supply of provisions awaiting them, but of this there was no sign. In his journal Work indicated that he felt that there was but little chance of meeting with Indians and no chance of game because most of the woods had been destroyed by fire. Since the next cache lay a distance of ten days' travel away, and since it, too, might be bare, Ogden decided to send Work ahead to Edmonton in charge of a small party.

Before Work reached Edmonton, he and his men had a terrible time. Twice they lost their way and floundered through

(12) *Journal 1 (a)*, entry for August 5, 1823.

(13) *See* Walter N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, p. 26.

the woods. Beset with rain by day and frost by night, numbed by cold, gnawed by the pangs of hunger, they finally wandered into Edmonton on September 3, tired and " wet to the haunches." They had been eight full days on the journey, and Ogden had expected them to make the return trip in not more than ten. Because of Indian wars, Edmonton itself was short of provisions, but Work managed to secure some pemmican and dried meat and a few horses to transport the load. Six days later Work arrived back at Moose Portage to find that Ogden and his party had gone ahead to a near-by Indian encampment, where they, too, had secured food. With relief, Work wrote in his journal: ". . . the horses will not be required for eating."[14]

On September 18 they reached the Athabaska River. What a welcome change were its deeper waters from the shallow boulder-strewn streams of the past few weeks! The river was too swift for paddles, but not too deep for poles, so that progress was rapid. Day by day as they proceeded the appearance of the country changed. Poplars gave way to pines. Rapids were more frequently encountered and the banks were getting higher and steeper. About noon on the 24th they arrived at Fort Assiniboine, which was just in the process of being built. As they continued up-stream from the fort, Work noted seams of coal in the river-bank, but in his journal, if not in his mind, he failed to speculate on their later importance to the country.

On October 1 he caught his first glimpse of the Rockies, and two days later arrived at Rocky Mountain or Jasper House. " This house," wrote Work, " is built on a small Lake very shallow, and embosomed in the mountains whose peaks are rising up round about it on three sides."[15] On October 8 they reached Moose Encampment and entered the eastern end of Athabaska Pass. The trail was exceedingly rough and difficult, being encumbered by burnt and fallen trees, by steep banks and swamps. On October 13 they reached the end of the Portage at Boat Encampment, on the " Big Bend " of the Columbia River. Here

(14) *Journal 1* (*a*), entry for September 10, 1823.

(15) *Journal 1* (*a*), entry for October 3, 1823. This post, located where the Athabaska opens into Second, or Burnt, Lake, was built originally by the North West Company. *See* Frederick Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 29*n*; also A. G. Harvey, " The Mystery of Mount Robson," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), p. 222.

they found that Chief Factor Kennedy[16] had been waiting for them for twenty days. In spite of the difficulties of the route over the mountains, Work expressed his opinion that the roads were in "unprecedented good order."[17]

At Boat Encampment the party embarked, not in canoes, but in the wooden boats which were typical of travel on the Columbia River in fur-trading days.[18] Their journey down the Columbia was rapid and uneventful. They safely passed the dreaded Dalles des Morts, which are some distance above the present city of Revelstoke. At Upper Arrow Lake Work had his first view, certainly not his last, of the Pacific salmon. From their size these must have been spring salmon which were on their way up the river to spawn and die, their life-cycle completed. ". . . They are remarkably fine," he remarked, "when they first enter the river. . . . The natives are now splitting and drying these dead and dieing fish for their winters provisions."[19]

The express arrived at the junction of the Spokane River and the Columbia on October 21. From this point Ogden and Work took horses and rode to Spokane House, which was situated on the north bank of the main Spokane River, just a little above the junction with the Little Spokane. This fort was the outfitting point for the Snake River expeditions, and had two outposts lying to the east—Flathead and Kootenay houses.[20] At Spokane Work spent his first winter on the Pacific coast.

No doubt the months passed pleasantly enough in the novelty of his new surroundings. When spring came, he left Spokane with the fur brigade to journey down the Columbia to Fort

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(16) Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy was appointed to the Columbia in 1822, with headquarters at Spokane House. He travelled east in the spring of 1825.

(17) *Journal 1* (*a*), entry for October 12, 1823.

(18) These boats were about 30 feet long, with a 5½-foot beam, clinker built, and pointed at both ends. They were capable of carrying eight men and a load of fifty-five pieces of goods (a piece weighed 90 lb.). Planks of cedar formed their outer skin. Since nails were scarce, they were only used to secure the planks to stem and stern-piece. The overlapping seams were "gummed" with pitch to render the craft watertight.

(19) *Journal 1* (*a*), entry for October 17, 1823.

(20) The old fort lay about 10 miles north-west of the present city of Spokane.

George.[21] It was his first trip down the broad river with which he was to become so familiar. The season was well advanced and Work had time to notice and record that shrubs and plants along the route were in full flower. He protested against the driving wind which at times roughened the Columbia and partially blinded the travellers with drifting sand. As the brigade dropped below Walla Walla and traversed the series of obstructions called Celilo Falls and the Little and Great Dalles, which stretch for 14 miles, Work described the awe-inspiring sight which stretched before him: "The river is confined to a narrow span bordered on each side by steep rocks between which the water rushes with great violence and forms numerous whirlpools which would inevitably swallow any boat that would venture among them."[22] He was pleased to find the countryside growing green and to see oaks, pines, and poplars appearing on the hillsides. At the confluence of the Columbia and the Willamette he noticed the tides which run up the river some 90 miles from the sea.

At Fort George, John Work received instructions to conduct a party of men up the Columbia in order to feed them by trading with the Indians for provisions. The latter consisted very largely of salmon, fresh and dried, some sturgeon, and an occasional dog or horse. The annual ship had not yet arrived from England and supplies were short. With Work went Francis N. Annance.[23] From the 17th of May until July 24 the party wandered up and down the banks of the river, moving from one Indian encampment to another. It is typical of Work's thrifty nature that he leaves us an estimate of the daily cost of feeding his party, the sum being 3s. 2d. per day to keep a total of thirty-five men, two clerks, and twelve women. Traffic with the Indians was not confined to food. "As usual," wrote Work, "some women arrived in the evening for the purpose of hiring them-

(21) *Journal 1 (b)*, entry for April 15, 1824.

(22) *Ibid.*, entry for May 10, 1824.

(23) Francis Noel Annance entered the employ of the North West Company in 1820, and became a clerk and interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company after the coalition. He was one of McMillan's party to explore the Fraser in 1824. He was a member of the expedition which established Fort Langley in 1827, and retired in 1834.

selves to the people for the night."[24] The men traded their tobacco and even their buttons for these creatures, until it was estimated that only two dozen buttons were left in camp.

By July 24 Work was back at Fort George in order to assist in getting the brigade ready for the interior. There was still no sign of the annual supply ship from England, but Chief Factor Kennedy had decided that the departure of the brigade could be delayed no longer. As junior officer, Work was detailed to accompany the men to a spot a few miles from the fort, where they could enjoy their " regale " of rum before beginning the arduous journey ahead. The senior gentlemen arrived the next morning, and the brigade set off for Walla Walla, its first stop.

Work left the party there and journeyed by horseback to Spokane. A few days later he set off with Finan McDonald[25] on a trading expedition to the Flathead country. It was a flying trip to meet the Indians at their summer rendezvous just above Pend d'Oreille Lake, on Clark's Fork River. Upon their return they received news that the long-expected supply ship had at last arrived in the river. Ogden and Work set out immediately for Fort George in order to secure much-needed provisions. There was need for haste and they drove their men hard. Work was back at Spokane Forks when on October 27, 1824, a west-bound express arrived from York Factory bringing Governor Simpson, Dr. John McLoughlin, and James McMillan.

This was Simpson's first inspection trip to the west. He was intent upon retrenchment and reform, and had come to see for himself the state of affairs in the Columbia District. By the time he visited Spokane House definite plans were forming in his mind, some of which were to affect Work's own future. Simpson proposed to send out the Snake River expedition in November, instead of in the spring, so that it could proceed much farther afield than formerly. It might even penetrate into Northern California, and perhaps return by way of the Umpqua and Willamette rivers to Fort George. Several of Ogden's and Work's historic expeditions were planned with this in mind. Simpson

(24) *Journal 1* (*b*), entry for May 29, 1824.

(25) Finan McDonald, clerk, was at Spokane House when Simpson passed in 1824. He was then sent to command an expedition into the Umpqua Valley. He remained in the Columbia until his retirement in 1827.

was anxious to make the posts as self-sufficient as possible. " It has been said," he wrote, " that Farming is no branch of the Fur Trade but I consider that every pursuit tending to leighten the Expence of the Trade is a branch thereof."[26] Lastly, Simpson sought information about the lower reaches of the Fraser River, with a view to establishing a post there which should take the place of Fort George as the headquarters of the Columbia District. He hoped that, if the lower Columbia became American territory by the impending settlement of the boundaries west of the Rockies, the Fraser River might become an alternative route to the vast hinterland north to New Caledonia.

Work travelled down the Columbia in Simpson's party to Fort George. There Simpson placed James McMillan[27] in charge of an expedition to explore the Fraser. Work was one of the party, which consisted in all of thirty-nine men. From the mouth of the Columbia they made a portage overland to Shoalwater Bay, in order to avoid the open water around Cape Disappointment. From there they began a tedious and difficult journey northward, paddling along the outer beaches of bays and dragging the boats behind exposed promontories for miles at a time. The usual November weather, with heavy rain and strong westerly winds, prevailed. Finally they turned eastward, up the tortuous Chehalis River, and thence north up the narrow Black River, paddling through deep water and scrambling through shallows and over obstructions of driftwood. Time and again they chopped a path through the tangles for their boats. At length a further portage brought them to the head of Puget Sound. Thence they paddled through the islands north to Semiahmoo Bay, where they took shelter while waiting for the weather to moderate in order to permit them to cross to Point Roberts, which Indians told them formed the southern side of the entrance to the Fraser River. Abandoning this idea because of continued bad weather, they proceeded along the eastern shore of the bay to the Nicomekl River. From the headwaters of this crooked little stream they portaged to the Salmon River, down

(26) Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 50.

(27) James McMillan, a former Nor'Wester, was appointed Chief Trader at the coalition, in 1821. He accompanied Simpson on his first trip west in 1824, and explored the lower reaches of the Fraser later in the year. He established Fort Langley in 1827, and retired in 1839.

which they paddled to its junction with the Fraser. "At this place," wrote Work, "it is a fine looking River at least 1,000 yards wide, as wide as the Columbia at Oak Point. . . . From the size and appearance of the River there is no doubt in our minds but that it is Frazers."[28]

The expedition explored the Fraser as far as Hatzic Slough, and saw the Cheam Peaks in the distance. Because of the wintry weather, McMillan decided not to attempt to penetrate the canyon to Kamloops; moreover, the Indians represented these middle reaches as being easily navigable.[29] Then began the return journey, the first stage of which took the party down the Fraser to its mouth.[30] On Monday, December 20, they paddled out of the estuary and saw Point Grey to the north. Their course lay south around Point Roberts and back to the head of Puget Sound. Once over the portage to the Black River the party separated. McMillan, Work, and Laframboise, the interpreter, accompanied by six men, set out to find a route overland to the Cowlitz River and thence to Fort George. This led to the discovery of the Cowlitz Portage, which later became an established Hudson's Bay route from the Columbia to Fort Nisqually. The rest of the party returned by the outward route.

As a result of this expedition Simpson left the Columbia in hopes that the Fraser River would provide a highway from New Caledonia to the sea. As a beginning, Fort Langley was built in 1827–28. Not until Simpson returned and travelled through the Fraser Canyon in 1828 did he see for himself the impracticability of this projected route.

Meanwhile Work remained on the lower Columbia, where, in the spring of 1825, he was employed in moving goods and equipment from Fort George to a new post called Fort Vancouver, almost opposite the mouth of the Willamette River. It lay on

(28) *Journal 1* (*b*), entry for December 16, 1824.

(29) It seems strange that neither McMillan nor Simpson was familiar with Simon Fraser's exploration of the Fraser in 1808.

(30) At one time one of the rivers flowing into the Fraser from the north was known as the Work River. This appears to have been the Stave River of to-day. *See* Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley 1827–1927*, Vancouver, B.C., 1927, p. 10; also Archibald McDonald, *Peace River: A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific . . . in 1828*, Ottawa, 1872, entry for October 10, 1828.

the north side of the Columbia, which would keep it in British territory if the Columbia became the boundary between the American and British possessions. During this time Work made the acquaintance of the famous botanist David Douglas,[31] who had just arrived from England. Later Douglas was to accompany Work on some of his expeditions, and the two became firm friends. Douglas noted in his diary a number of specimens which Work had generously collected for him.[32]

In June, 1825, John Work was assigned to the interior brigade. Simpson had originally intended that he and Thomas McKay[33] should take charge of an expedition to the Umpqua country. On reconsideration, Simpson felt that Work did not have the necessary experience, so Finan McDonald was sent in his stead, while Work returned to Spokane House to take temporary command " until the arrival of some Commissioned Gentlemen from the other side."[34]

When the brigade reached Walla Walla, a trading party was sent up the Snake River to secure horses for the New Caledonia pack-trains. John Warren Dease[35] commanded this expedition, of which Work was a member. The party went as far up the Snake as its junction with the Clearwater, and managed to secure 112 animals. Work and six men were left to drive these horses overland to Spokane and Okanagan, while the remainder of the expedition returned by canoe to Walla Walla.

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(31) David Douglas spent the next two years on the Columbia. In 1827 he travelled overland to Hudson Bay and thence to England. He returned to the Pacific in 1829, and was accidentally killed in the Hawaiian Islands in 1834.

(32) *See* David Douglas, " A Sketch of a Journey to the North-Western Parts of the Continent of North America," in *Companion to the Botanical Magazine*, Nos. 15, 16, and 17, London, 1835–6, p. 89.

(33) Thomas McKay (d. 1850) was the son of John McLoughlin's wife by a previous union with Alexander McKay, a former Nor-Wester, who lost his life in the massacre of the *Tonquin*.

(34) Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 135.

(35) Chief Trader John Warren Dease was in charge of Nez Perces (Walla Walla) when Simpson passed in 1824. *See* Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 53. From there he was transferred to Spokane, and then to Colvile. He died in 1830, *en route* back to Colvile from Fort Vancouver, where he and McLoughlin had had a quarrel. *See* H.B.S., IV., pp. xcix.–c.

At Spokane Work received a note from Governor Simpson instructing him to abandon Spokane House and to remove all goods and supplies to a new post at Kettle Falls, which was to be built under his direction. Work was ordered further to see that the Kootenay and the Pend d'Oreille rivers were examined with a view to sending out the Kootenay and Flathead outfits by water rather than by pack-horse. Governor Simpson had first thought of Kettle Falls as a possible alternative to Spokane House when he passed the falls on October 26, 1824. The soil was good and fish were plentiful. Moreover, the 60-mile pack-horse trail from the Columbia to Spokane House could be avoided. Simpson personally selected a site:

> . . . a beautiful point on the South side about 3/4ths of a Mile above the Portage where there is abundance of fine Timber and the situation elegible in every point of view. An excellent Farm can be made at this place where as much Grain and potatoes may be raised as could feed all the Natives of the Columbia and a sufficient number of Cattle and Hogs to supply his Majestys Navy with Beef and Pork. . . . I have taken the liberty of naming it Fort Colvile. . . .[36]

Work dispatched his subordinate, Thomas Dears,[37] to commence construction of the new fort, while he himself went to conduct the summer trade with the Flathead Indians, as in the previous year. When returning he was compelled to travel slowly and cautiously, for the canoes were overloaded. Rapids could only be run with half-cargoes; the remainder of the goods had to be carried down the boulder-strewn banks. Back at Spokane House, Work spent a short time in routine operations and then, on the last day of August, 1825, he repaired to Kettle Falls to see how Dears had been getting along with the new fort. To Work's disappointment little progress had been made, but it was not long before his energetic nature began to make itself felt. A pit was dug for whip-sawing lumber, a cart was constructed to haul logs and timber, and the men were distributed over a wide variety of tasks. When Work left for Spokane on September 4,

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(36) Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 139. Andrew Colvile was a director and later Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(37) Thomas Dears entered the Hudson's Bay Company service as a clerk in 1817. After serving at York Factory, Island Lake, and other posts, he was appointed to the Columbia. From thence he went to New Caledonia, where he served until he retired in 1836.

he felt reasonably sure that the stores building, at least, would be completed for use that fall. However, he was doomed to disappointment, for when he returned to Colvile later to meet the eastbound express, he found that not a timber of the building was yet up. Dears had been peculiarly inept, and Work's exasperation crept into his journal: "Certainly there is little work done for the number of men & time they were employed."[38] Meanwhile instructions had arrived from Chief Factor McLoughlin directing Work to stop construction, since the site was on the south side of the Columbia and therefore lay in territory which might soon become American. Directing Dears to stop work as soon as he had collected the timber for the storehouse, Work returned to Spokane House. It seemed to him that there was no other spot at Kettle Falls, on either side of the river, where a fort could be built. Perhaps for this reason McLoughlin's order was later rescinded and work on Fort Colvile recommenced.

At Spokane, Work spent the fall of 1825 in preparing for the long winter ahead. Firewood was collected. Corrals were built for the horses. Charcoal-pits were dug, filled with wood, and fired. Houses were repaired against the winter cold and then neatly whitewashed. In November, Work began to assemble the outfit for the Flathead trade which he was to accompany, while J. W. Dease came from Walla Walla to take charge of Spokane House. On the 14th, Work and eight men set out for Flathead House,[39] which he found to be a scene of desolation. The buildings were still standing, but doors and windows were gone. The floors had been torn up by Indians in search of small treasures, and many of the broken parts had been burned. However, organized activity soon remedied this situation. Squares of scraped skin were fitted to form windows, mats were placed on the roofs to keep out the wet, new doors were made and hung, and the party settled down to spend the winter.

Indian bands came and went, and from them Work learned a little of their love of pomp and ceremony. A chief arrived with

(38) John Work, *Journal 4, June 21, 1825–June 12, 1826*, entry for September 19, 1825.

(39) Flathead House was situated near the site of the existing railway station at Eddy, Montana, on the main line of the Northern Pacific Railway. *See* T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "Journal of John Work, 1825–1826," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 5 (1914), p. 183, n. 101.

his people and fired a salute to the fort. Not knowing this custom, Work omitted to fire a salute in return. The chief was a little put out, but Work hastened to placate him with the promise that the fort would fire a salute as he departed. "I understand," he wrote, "it is pleasing to the Indians to receive this mark of respect. As the expense is but trifling we intend returning their salutes when they arrive in future."[40] It was by such small gestures as well as by its wisdom in larger matters of policy that the Hudson's Bay Company kept the friendship and respect of the natives.

On January 4, 1826, in obedience to a request from Dease, Work set out for a brief visit to Spokane. No hint appears in Work's journal as to the reason for the visit, but later entries show that Work did not consider it to be of much importance. During this winter Work first makes mention of his wife, Josette Legace, a Spokane woman, who was to share his fortunes and to care for his children. In February, before spring had come, and while trading was still incomplete, Dease ordered Work back to Spokane House to make out the annual accounts for that place. In considerable exasperation, openly expressed in his journal, Work obeyed. The trip from Flathead House was an exceedingly difficult one, for although the river was partially frozen over the ice was too weak to bear the weight of the men and they had to resort to stumbling along the shores. Over the Skeetsho Portage, from the Pend d'Oreille River to Spokane, snow lay 3 feet deep, through which the party stumbled on foot until, at an Indian camp, they were able to secure snow-shoes.

Work was kept busy at Spokane making up the accounts and assisting in preparations to abandon the post. On April 7, 1826, the last pack-train left the old fort. No expressions of regret at leaving are found in Work's journal. Instead there appears a longing for spring, until on the last day of March he could write: "The ground about the fort is getting quite green, and the bushes are putting forth their leaves and some small plants flowering."[41]

From 1826 to 1830 John Work's life centred around the new fort at Colvile. It is not to be inferred that he was there all or even most of the time, for he was constantly on the move in the

(40) *Journal 4*, entry for December 9, 1825.
(41) *Ibid.*, entry for March 31, 1826.

district of which Colvile was the centre. In June, 1826, he accompanied the New Caledonia brigade, under the command of Chief Factor William Connolly,[42] from Okanagan to Fort Vancouver. In the party was James Douglas, making his first journey south, and David Douglas, the botanist, with whom Work renewed his earlier acquaintance. They remained at Vancouver for three weeks only, since the supply ship had arrived and stores were available. On July 14 the brigade arrived back at Walla Walla, and once more Work was sent on a trading expedition up the Snake River to secure horses for the use of the New Caledonia outfit. When the horses were collected, the two clerks, John Work and James Douglas, were detailed to drive them north. With them was David Douglas. For a while their paths lay together, but at the site of Spokane they parted, Douglas with the bulk of the herd proceeding to Okanagan, and Work to Colvile.

From Colvile that same summer Work pioneered a new route to the trading-grounds on Clark's Fork. In the fall, after the east-bound express had passed, he planned to examine the navigability of the lower reaches of the Pend d'Oreille River. But his journal breaks off on September 15,[43] two days before he was scheduled to start, so that we have no means of knowing whether he made the expedition or not.

From September 15, 1826, to May 20, 1828, when his next journal starts, we know little about John Work's activities. David Douglas saw him when he passed with the annual express in April, 1827. In January, 1828, from Fort Colvile, he wrote to his old friend Edward Ermatinger,[44] and he was still there when the east-bound express passed on April 11, 1828. During these years his health had been bothering him. Sore eyes had tormented him to the point of blindness; and although he was recovering, his sight was still weak enough to make writing a great effort. In 1828 he suffered from quinsy, from which he

(42) Chief Factor Connolly was in charge of New Caledonia from 1824 to 1831. James Douglas married his daughter Amelia.

(43) John Work, *Journal 5, July 5–September 15, 1826*, entry for September 15, 1826.

(44) Work to Ermatinger, Colvile, January 2, 1828 (original in Provincial Archives). Edward Ermatinger, with his brother Francis, was apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818. He remained in the service for only ten years, and then retired to St. Thomas, in Upper Canada.

had scarcely recovered when he was attacked by a bull on the farm at Colvile, " The effect of whose blows," wrote his garrulous friend, John Tod, " he is never likely to get the better [of]. . . ."[45]

In May and June, 1828, he made another trip to Fort Vancouver, with Connolly and the New Caledonia brigade. On this expedition the dangers the fur-traders ran in their travels became apparent. At Priest's Rapid, between Okanagan and Walla Walla, one of the boats was overturned and three of the men were drowned.

That winter, Work was again stationed at Colvile. In March, 1829, he paid his respects to Governor Simpson when the latter passed the post on his way east. In the summer, Work met Connolly for a third time at Okanagan and accompanied the brigade to Fort Vancouver. There he became one of a punitive expedition sent against the Clatsop Indians, who were alleged to have murdered the crew of the wrecked brig *William and Ann* and to have plundered her cargo.[46] Work did not care for his baptism of fire: " . . . It is very well," he wrote, " to sing ' O for the life of a soldier ' and laugh and talk about these affairs, but trust me my friend it is no jest being engaged in them . . ."[47]

When Work returned up the Columbia he found that Dease had been taken seriously ill and had to go to Fort Vancouver. Work assumed command of the Colvile District and took up his headquarters at the Flatheads, leaving Francis Heron[48] in charge at Colvile. It was not an unwelcome change: " . . . I am rid of the farm and pigs," he wrote, " a circumstance I by no means regret. . . ."[49]

On his return to Colvile in April, 1830, Work left for Walla Walla and Fort Vancouver in charge of a herd of horses. The reason for this expedition remains obscure. There is no evidence

(45) Tod to Ermatinger, McLeod's Lake, February 14, 1829, in *Papers of Edward Ermatinger, 1826–1843* (transcript in Provincial Archives).

(46) *See* H.B.S., IV., pp. lxxvii., 71–3.

(47) Work to Ermatinger, Flat Heads, March 19, 1830 (original in Provincial Archives).

(48) Heron entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1812. Not until 1829 did he come to the Columbia District, where he was stationed at Colvile until 1835. He received his commission as Chief Trader in 1828, and retired in 1839.

(49) Work, *loc. cit.*

in his journal[50] or letters to prove that these animals carried all or even part of the annual returns. In all probability they were intended to swell the herd at Fort Vancouver, or for use in the Umpqua expeditions, or to begin a pack-train across the Cowlitz Portage to Puget Sound, now that Fort Langley was completed.

He left Colvile with five men and thirty-five horses. The party followed the valley of the Colvile River and crossed to the source of the Chimakine, which flows into the Spokane River and thence south. According to T. C. Elliott the route which they followed later became the regular wagon route between Colvile and Walla Walla.[51] They lost but one horse on the journey. At Walla Walla another sixteen horses were secured, and the whole band was made to swim the Columbia to the north bank. From this point west to Fort Vancouver the party pushed along that side of the river. At times they kept close to its banks and at others they wandered inland in search of a better road. Certainly from Work's description, no expedition had forced its way through that wilderness before. Not without a little pride he was able to state that on Monday, May 31, 1830, he had arrived at Fort Vancouver with forty-eight of his fifty horses.

It is reasonable to suppose that John Work spent that summer at Fort Vancouver. In August he was appointed to succeed Peter Skene Ogden as leader of the annual Snake River trapping expedition, while Ogden himself was to undertake the difficult task of founding a post on the Nass River, far to the north.[52] When he set out on his new mission Work was accompanied by Josette Legace, his "little rib." She and her growing family were to share the hardships and dangers of this and many later expeditions. The Snake River party consisted of forty-one men, and seventy-four women and children. They had with them 272 horses to carry their provisions, traps, and leather lodges. Their journey lay south-east from Walla Walla, over the Blue Mountains, slanting in an easterly direction towards the Snake River. Their method of travelling is interesting. Each day the camp drifted from 10 to 25 miles in a predetermined direction, where it

(50) John Work, *Journal 7, April 30–May 31, 1830.*

(51) T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "Journal of John Work . . . 1830," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, X. (1909), p. 297.

(52) *See* H.B.S., IV., p. lxxxv.

was hoped beaver might be plentiful. From the main camp small groups of trappers fanned out and set their traps in near-by creeks and little lakes. Sometimes these parties were away for two or three days; sometimes they were merely out overnight. Quite often traps were set near the main camp itself. In succession, they passed the Powder and the Burnt rivers until they reached the main Snake River, which they crossed to the east side. Here a small party was detailed to hunt the Weiser, Payette's, and Salmon rivers, with instructions to be back at Walla Walla by July 10, 1831. The main camp followed up the Boise River, to avoid the great loop of the Snake to the southward.

Difficulties of the trail beset them. Occasionally an individual was sick. Sometimes the camp would pause while a woman was taken in labour. Only two days were allowed her, and then the camp moved on. Work was philosophical about these delays. He sympathized with the troubles of his people and made concessions where possible, but, as always with him, duty came first. "In our present mode of life," he wrote, "a sick person is wretched indeed as he cannot possibly be properly attended to notwithstanding the trouble and delay occasioned to the rest of the party."[53] More serious dangers often faced them. Constant guard had to be maintained against hostile Indians, especially the Blackfeet. Horses were tethered or corralled at night—a necessity Work deplored, since it gave the animals but little opportunity to feed on the scanty grass of the arid country. In spite of every caution two of his men were ambushed and killed, and another wounded. That night Work wrote in his journal:

> Thus are people wandering through this country in quest of beaver continually in danger of falling into the hands of these ruthless savages and certain of losing their lives in the most barbarous manner, independant of the privations and hardships of every other kind they subject themselves to.[54]

Finally the party came to Malade River,[55] which flows into the Snake. They had been trapping a considerable number of beaver,

(53) John Work, *Journal 8, August 22, 1830–April 20, 1831*, entry for September 24, 1830.

(54) *Ibid.*, entry for September 25, 1830.

(55) The Malade River (Work's Sickly River) was so named by Donald MacKenzie because his men were made sick by eating beaver there. Alexander Ross reports a similar experience. *See Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XIII. (1912), p. 368*n*.

but not as many as they had hoped. Work decided to lead them north to the headwaters of the Salmon River. On the way, they were followed by a party of American trappers, which they managed to lose by evasive action. It was now the middle of November, and ice and snow were gradually gathering, even in the more sheltered valleys. The day-long marches were especially hard on the women and children. Even some of the more poorly-clad men suffered intensely. Few beaver had been found, so the party turned south once more to the Snake River. Work intended to spend the winter in the vicinity of Blackfoot Hill, where many of the friendly Snake Indians were encamped and where buffalo might be secured for food. Here, huddled in their leather tents, the party spent the long winter months. Usually they were able to keep the camp supplied with meat, but it was coarse, fatless, and stringy. Close watch was kept for marauding Blackfeet, and also over their amicable but none too honest neighbours, the Snake Indians.

Somehow the winter passed, and on March 18, 1831, they were on the move again. For some weeks Work's party trapped the tributaries flowing into the Snake River from the south, such as the Portneuf, the Bannock, and the Raft rivers. He even sent two men over the mountains to trap near the Great Salt Lake. Later he divided his party again, sending eight men to hunt the east fork of the Owyhee River while the main party pushed south to the Humboldt. The waters of the latter were flooded, and not only was the party without furs to show for its labour, but it had become so short of food that the horses were being slaughtered. Even the best hunters could find no game.

In the last days of June the expedition headed north and west towards home, hunting and trapping as they went. They passed west of the Snake River by Malheur Lake and the Silvies River, and thence over the mountains to John Day's River. On July 18, John Work, riding ahead of the party, reached Walla Walla. He and his companions had travelled upwards of 2,000 miles in their pursuit of fur. Work himself was disappointed in his returns. They were not good, but for this Work was in no way to blame. The whole area had been pretty thoroughly exploited by Ogden's men, and American competition made a good catch even more difficult.

With the bitter came the sweet. "In compliance with your Instructions," wrote McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee in October, 1831, "I have had the pleasure to deliver Mr. Works commission to him. . . ."[56] This was John Work's appointment as a Chief Trader, dated in London November 3, 1830, and received at Fort Vancouver while he was still in the wilderness. Poor Work, for some years he had despaired of promotion. In March, 1829, he had written Edward Ermatinger that he was determined to leave the service.[57] John Tod expressed his sympathy for his old friend: ". . . if he remains much longer in the Country neglected I fear he'll die of the spleen."[58]

Work accompanied the returns from Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver where, in August, 1831, he was preparing an expedition to the Arrow Stone River.[59] McLoughlin did not want Work to proceed on this expedition, believing that the area was exhausted. Moreover, an epidemic of malaria had broken out in the lower Columbia, and the supply of able-bodied men was insufficient to penetrate into such a hostile country. However, Work pressed his request and McLoughlin reluctantly agreed, with the proviso that the expedition should hunt the branches of Clark's Fork and give the district trapped the previous season a rest. To strengthen the small force Work took along a cannon with which to rout hostile tribes.

The party left Vancouver for Walla Walla on August 16 or 17, 1831. Some of the men were already ill with malaria and as these recovered more were stricken. ". . . Every boat was like a hospital. . . ," wrote Work.[60] At Walla Walla they were delayed not only by waiting for the sick to recover but by an insufficiency of horses. A cloud seemed to hang over the party from the start. Even Work felt it, for he wrote to John McLeod: "I escaped with my scalp last year, I much doubt whether I shall

(56) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, October 20, 1831, in H.B.S., IV., p. 230.

(57) Work to Ermatinger, Colvile, March 28, 1829 (original in Provincial Archives).

(58) Tod to Ermatinger, New Caledonia, April 10, 1831 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(59) The name applied by Work and his contemporaries to Clark's Fork.

(60) Work to Ermatinger, Fort Vancouver, August 5, 1832 (original in Provincial Archives).

be so fortunate this trip."[61] In spite of the dangers, his wife and three small daughters accompanied him. From September 11 to the 26th they journeyed eastward to near the present town of Weippe, in Idaho. Then they travelled by the famous Lolo Trail to the Bitterroot River. From this point the expedition crossed to Hellgate Canyon. Work then proceeded up the Hellgate River, which flows out of this defile, to the Big Blackfoot River. While in this neighbourhood he received information that a large party of Americans had hunted the branches of the Missouri, which he had planned to trap. It was disappointing news. He was now in territory belonging definitely to the United States, and it is more than surprising that he planned to hunt there, in view of strict orders against such poaching which had been issued from the Company's headquarters.[62] But it was the presence of American trappers and an ambush by Blackfeet, who killed two of his men, that deterred Work, and not orders from London.

On November 2 he began to direct his expedition southward to the Big Hole and Beaverhead rivers. These drain a basin of land in Montana about 100 by 150 miles in extent, where Work intended to hunt buffalo to keep the expedition in food. This was the country of the dreaded Blackfeet and he was very uneasy. One evening the Indians attacked just at dusk, but the camp was not caught napping. The cannon was loaded and fired and the surprised Indians melted away into the darkness. Only one of Work's people was wounded. In the succeeding days the party began a retreat westward up the Beaverhead River to the mountains. Once more they had a brush with the Blackfeet, and this time escaped unscathed. On December 15, 1831, they crossed the Lemhi Pass in 2 feet of snow and followed down the Lemhi River. Work had intended to move down the Lemhi to the Salmon, but he had been told that a large party of Americans were camped at the junction of these two rivers. So the expedition turned south along the mountains and again crossed into the Blackfoot country by way of the Bannack Pass, and retraced their steps toward the Big Hole River.

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(61) Work to John McLeod, Nez Perces, September 6, 1831 (original in Provincial Archives).

(62) *See* H.B.S., IV., p. lxiv.

At daybreak on January 30, 1832, they were attacked by 300 Blackfeet, who kept up the onslaught until noon. Two of Work's party were wounded, two friendly Indians were hurt, and one was killed. Work himself was wounded in the arm. Their precious cannon was again called into action but burst on the third discharge. However, five or six of the Blackfeet were killed, including the chief of the attacking party. Once more the expedition retraced its steps to the mountains, and crossed by the Bannack Pass to the west.

Until June 23, 1832, they hunted through the maze of mountains and streams in the Salmon River area of Idaho, some distance north of the country that they had trapped the previous season. They had but little success, and now had reached a branch of the Weiser which they followed down to the main Snake River. Here they crossed by a skin canoe with but one casualty—a Company mule which was drowned. It was to be expected that Work would follow the usual route back to Walla Walla, but he could not resist one last attempt to add to the paltry number of beaver-skins which they had managed to secure. He decided to push westward up the Burnt River in an attempt to cross the mountains to John Day's River and make a circuitous route to Walla Walla. The party reached the latter river but without many additional beaver. All they succeeded in doing was to add to their ill-fortune, since one of the trappers disappeared *en route*. Hunt as hard as the conscientious Work could, this unfortunate man was not to be found[63] and the expedition proceeded to Walla Walla without him. Two of the three parties which Work has sent out also arrived safely. Neither secured any beaver. A group of four men which had left them to descend the Salmon River had met with disaster. Two of the party were drowned; the others lost everything they had, even their clothes, but with the help of friendly Indians managed to reach the fort.

"Mr. Work's Returns are very poor," wrote McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, "yet I owe it to him to state that though such is the case, I am satisfied that he did the utmost

(63) In the course of the expedition the following year it was ascertained that the man had been murdered by Indians.

that could possibly be done in this instance, as also, I believe, in every other instance in which he had any duty to perform."[64] This tribute to his faithfulness may have helped Work to forget the difficulties of a dangerous and rather profitless journey.

"I am going to start with my ragamuffin freemen to the Southward towards the Spanish settlements," wrote Work in August, 1832, "with what success I cannot say."[65] He had been at Fort Vancouver since his return from the Blackfoot Country, and now, less than a month later, was preparing to set out again on his peregrinations in the wilds. Once more Mrs. Work and her children faithfully accompanied her husband, in spite of his decision to the contrary.

From Fort Vancouver the expedition ascended the Columbia to Walla Walla. Malaria again dogged their footsteps and here the number of cases increased sharply. Thinking that the fort might be the source of infection, Work moved his camp a few miles down river to the Umatilla. On September 8 the expedition got under way, leaving behind Work's able assistant, François Payette, who was too ill to proceed. The party moved steadily south through the Blue Mountains until they reached John Day's River, following the same route outward as on the return journey in the spring of 1831. From John Day's River they crossed to the Silvies, which they followed south. Work had planned to trap the country eastward to the Humboldt River, but in view of the lateness of the season he decided to push south to the Sacramento as quickly as possible. For some days, therefore, their journey lay through desert country and along the edge of almost dry salt or alkali lakes, where fresh water was scarce. On one occasion they marched 32 miles, a two days' journey, because no water was to be found at the first water-hole. On October 21 the party reached Goose Lake. Passing this lake they came to the headwaters of Pit River, which flows into the Sacramento. From this point they were never far from the main river, as they pushed southward on its eastern side, exploring each little stream and tributary as they went. High water forced them to construct dugout canoes to use in their search for beaver, but so far very few had been taken.

(64) McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, October 28, 1832, in H.B.S., IV., pp. 103–4.

(65) Work to Ermatinger, Fort Vancouver, August 5, 1832 (original in Provincial Archives).

On December 7, to Work's surprise and anger, two messengers from Michel Laframboise appeared in camp on their way to Fort Vancouver with letters. Laframboise had been sent south to hunt the coast, and had apparently disregarded his instructions and come inland to hunt the Sacramento, which had been assigned to Work. Moreover, he had built canoes just across the river from Work's camp and, since the spring, had hunted the river to its mouth. To add to Work's annoyance a party of Americans was reported to be trapping these lower reaches. As senior officer, Work sent instructions to Laframboise to meet him to discuss future plans. In the meantime Work moved down-stream to the Sutter Buttes,[66] which rise out of the valley floor between the Sacramento and the Feather rivers. It was not until Work was returning from an expedition up the latter river that Laframboise, driven by starvation, condescended to unite his party with Work's and to accept the latter's leadership. The united parties returned to the Buttes and camped there for a month, slaughtering elk by the hundred and waiting for the high water to abate. Towards the end of February they moved north, crossed to the west bank of the Sacramento and proceeded towards the Cascade Mountains. Arriving at the foothills, Work decided to divide his party. Half were to push on with their traps after the American party whose tracks they had discovered. The other half were to remain with Work and move south towards San Francisco. For about a week Work's party prospected the shores of San Francisco Bay for beaver. It was Easter, and some of his Roman Catholic Canadians went on Easter Sunday to mass at the Sonoma Mission. It will be remembered that Work was not a Catholic, and, as his subsequent dealings with the personnel of the Mission were not very happy, his remarks in his journal are not very complimentary to that institution.

Having decided that it would be impossible to hunt the bay, Work began to push north along the sea-shore, exploring and trapping the area to which Laframboise had been assigned.[67]

(66) Identified by Alice Bay Maloney in "John Work of the Hudson's Bay Company," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXII. (1943), p. 102.

(67) The party sent out to follow the Americans had in the meantime returned.

On April 18 the party reached Bodega Bay, upon which stood the Russian settlement of Fort Ross. The governor objected to the presence of the party at first, but later became quite cordial and gave Work a good dinner and the benefit of his knowledge of the hundred miles of coast north of the fort. It was not a promising picture, but the indomitable Work decided to push on. Not until he had nearly reached Cape Mendocino did he realize the futility of his efforts. The foreshore consisted of nothing but rugged and steep gullies, and no large rivers were to be found.

Once again Work decided to split his party. Michel Laframboise was to make his way north as best he could from the Eel River, where they were now encamped, while Work cut overland south-east, back to the Sacramento Valley. Work first crossed by way of the Russian River and Clear Lake to the eastern foothills of the Cascades. From this point several attempts were made to push eastward to the Sacramento River, but each was blocked by impassable marsh country. However, he finally reached the Sacramento farther to the north, followed it down, and crossed at a point below the Feather. By this time it was the beginning of June, and Work pushed on southward until July 18, when he reached his most southerly point, the Stanislaus River.[68] During this time the whole party had taken but few beaver and in Work's opinion the skins were of indifferent quality. The heat was almost insupportable, and night after night was spent in sleepless exasperation because of clouds of mosquitoes. Moreover, they were annoyed by Indian horse thieves from near-by villages, who, ignorant of the quality of Hudson's Bay men, thought they could steal with impunity.

As they began their return journey, Work's party attacked and defeated two of the guilty villages, recovering in the process a good many of their horses. The journey north was an uneasy one; disease dogged their footsteps. They passed Indian villages which were nearly depopulated, and in which the dead or dying lay in the bushes around the lodges. Already a few of the expedition had been stricken. Later whole families were laid low. Some wished to stop, and Work had to fight dissension.

(68) *See* A. B. Maloney, "John Work," *California Historical Quarterly*, XXII. (1943), p. 102.

He contended that it would be folly to linger when they had no medicine. Moreover, he was hopeful that the mountains might cure these attacks, and in any event Fort Vancouver was not more than a month's journey away. They must push on.

On August 26, Work began to keep a list of the people who were ailing.[69] So far only one person had died, but the list shows that as many as seventy-five people were ill. Among them were his wife and children, and Work himself was affected. To make matters worse their trail was being dogged by hostile Indians, who were aware of their plight.

When they reached the Pit River they turned west to the Klamath and then to the Rogue. Their progress was pitifully slow, being only 8 or 10 miles per day. A second member of the party succumbed, one of the men who had become so weak that for some days past he had been tied on his horse. From the Rogue River their way led north to the Umpqua. On October 13 they met Laframboise, who had been sent to look for them, since rumours had reached Fort Vancouver that the party had been slaughtered by Indians. Work's hope that the sick would improve as they moved north through the mountains was realized. Many were still weak, but the danger was past. By this time they were moving down the trail beside the Willamette River. The last day of October, 1833, saw all the people and baggage safe at Fort Vancouver. The most arduous journey Work had ever undertaken was safely over. The expedition was not a financial failure, in spite of the fact that Work brought back only 1,023 beaver and otter after fourteen months in the field. Chief Factor McLoughlin estimated that it would yield a profit of £627.[70]

Work was too ill to resume active duties in the field that year and stayed at Fort Vancouver during the winter, where he was probably attended by Dr. Meredith Gairdner, who had arrived

(69) The writer discovered these hitherto unidentified manuscript sheets inset as pages 12–16 in *Fort Simpson, Correspondence outward, September 6, 1841–October 11, 1844* (original in Provincial Archives). Careful checking with the register of people on this journey, as contained in *Journal 11*, along with the fact that the totals of persons who were ill correspond with the totals as given in *Journal 12*, proved them to concern this expedition. The sheets in question are now inset in *Journal 12*.

(70) H.B.S., IV., p. 358.

on the Columbia in May, 1833.[71] In the following spring Work left on a short trading and trapping expedition to the Umpqua country, which lies beyond the headwaters of the Willamette River, and through which he had passed on his return the previous fall. The general route followed by the party lay to the west of the Willamette and crossed its tributaries on that side. Throughout the journey one is struck by the fact that Work's journal ceases to be one of a fur-trader or trapper and becomes one of a farmer or prospective settler. Whether this change of attitude was unconscious or deliberate it is hard to say. Simpson states that he " was bred an operative Farmer,"[72] which may be explanation enough. Certainly the contrast is striking between the meagre description given as he passed there in October, ill with fever, and the detailed account of the country as it lay before his eyes in all the beauty of May.

On his return from the Umpqua in July, 1834, Work was sent to make a report on coal deposits found in the vicinity of the Cowlitz River.[73] He was no sooner back from this venture than he was directed to take charge of the coasting trade, in place of Peter Skene Ogden. He left Vancouver on December 11, 1834, on board the *Lama,* commanded by Captain W. H. McNeill.[74] The ship dropped down river to Fort George, where she anchored beside the *Dryad* which, with Ogden aboard, had made port the previous day. The *Dryad* brought news that the Russians would not permit the Hudson's Bay Company to establish a post on the Stikine River, so that there had been nothing for Ogden to do but to return.[75] Unfortunately Ogden had been on his way up river by boat as the *Lama* came down, and Work had missed him. Work therefore returned to Fort Vancouver for new orders.

(71) *Ibid.*, p. 344.

(72) *Ibid.*, p. 358.

(73) McLoughlin to William Smith, Fort Vancouver, November 19, 1834, in H.B.S., IV., p. 132.

(74) McNeill was an American citizen who had joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1832, after the Company purchased his brig, the *Lama.* His career was associated with the coastal trade. He became a Chief Trader in 1840 and a Chief Factor in 1856.

(75) On this whole episode *see* H.B.S., IV., pp. ciii. *et seq.;* also Donald C. Davidson, " Relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast, 1829–1867," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* V. (1941), pp. 33–51.

Back again at Fort George, he re-embarked in the *Lama,* which was forced to lie just inside Cape Disappointment, awaiting a favourable opportunity to cross the Columbia Bar and put to sea. It was not until twenty days later that wind and wave permitted the vessel to slip out. On the way north, Work visited Fort McLoughlin, which had been started in 1833 and which was now nearly complete. A few days later the *Lama* arrived at Fort Simpson, which had been moved the previous summer from the Nass River to a position at the tip of the Tsimpsean Peninsula, on McLoughlin Bay.

Work did not take up permanent residence at the fort immediately, but set out in the *Lama* on a trading expedition to learn something of the territory over which he had control. He visited Indian villages on the islands adjoining Dixon Entrance. He entered the Nass River and dropped anchor near the old fort. He explored and traded among the islands which strew the coast from Fort Simpson to Fort McLoughlin. He traded at Nahwitti Harbour, on Vancouver Island, where Fort Rupert was to be built later. He touched the Queen Charlotte Islands in his efforts to secure fur. Much of this time he was dogged by American vessels. Competition was so keen that prices at one time rose to a peak of one blanket, five gallons of rum, and ten heads of tobacco for a single beaver-skin. Between times Work visited the fort, or allowed McNeill to carry on with the *Lama* while he kept a supervisory eye on the post's development.

In August, 1835, the *Lama,* with Work aboard, set sail for Fort Vancouver with the returns. On the way south she touched at Fort McLoughlin and Fort Langley. Work left the ship off Port Townsend, at the entrance to Puget Sound, and proceeded by canoe to Fort Nisqually, and thence by the Cowlitz Portage to the Columbia and Fort Vancouver. McNeill was directed to bring the vessel around to the River as soon as possible.[76]

In January, 1836, Work returned to Fort Simpson, where his control seems to have been that of a field superintendent subject to change at the whim of John McLoughlin. Upon the arrival of the steamer *Beaver,* later in 1836, Chief Factor Duncan Fin-

(76) Work's early experiences on the Northwest Coast have been dealt with very briefly, as his journals for 1834–35 are to be printed, with an introduction and notes, in subsequent issues of this *Quarterly.*

layson[77] was given command of the coastal shipping. After his departure, James Douglas began to carry out much the same duties, so that between the two, Work found his powers restricted. However, until 1840 he was regularly employed at Fort Simpson, and brought the coast returns down each fall.

In the winter of 1837–38 mutiny broke out on the steamer *Beaver*, which was lying at Fort Simpson. In its initial stages the trouble seems to have been confined to two members of the crew whom Captain McNeill had flogged for insolence. Subsequently the whole crew mutinied and Work was called in to deal with the problem. Nothing that he could do would induce the men to serve under McNeill, who was a Yankee. Finally, with Work acting as Master, and McNeill as a passenger, the vessel was brought south to Fort Nisqually. There four of the men were taken into custody, McNeill was reinstated in command, and Work returned to Fort Simpson. Although the matter was settled, it did not reflect much credit on Work's executive ability. Later we will see how McNeill was to continue to be a thorn in Work's flesh.

An agreement reached with the Russian American Company in 1839 greatly improved trading conditions on the Northwest Coast. For one thing it practically ended the exasperating competition of American ships. Extravagant prices and unlimited sale of liquor could be discontinued. This agreement also led to the organization of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, since it created a market for farm produce. While on the Columbia in 1839 Work assisted in surveying property for the Agricultural Company's farm at Cowlitz, a survey which assisted the Hudson's Bay Company in establishing its claims before the joint commission after the Oregon boundary question had been settled in 1846.

James Douglas went north to Sitka to carry out details of this agreement with the Russians. On his return to Fort Vancouver he found his commission as Chief Factor awaiting him. At the same time Captain McNeill was made a Chief Trader. Between McNeill as shipmaster-trader on the one hand and

(77) Duncan Finlayson, who was McLoughlin's equal in rank, seems to have been sent out as his second-in-command, with the idea of succeeding him at some later date. He left the Columbia in 1837. *See* H.B.S., IV., pp. xcviii. *et seq.*

Douglas as supervisor of trade with the Russians on the other, Work lost control of everything of importance except Fort Simpson. Worse still, he was frequently left in ignorance of future plans for the management of the northern posts and shipping.[78] His letters show that he felt a shadow had been cast upon his reputation. Certainly he suffered an eclipse; between 1840 and 1845 he was immured at Fort Simpson.

To make matters worse he got into a rousing quarrel with John McLoughlin over trade policies in 1844. McLoughlin blamed Work for not sending the *Beaver* to a northern rendezvous during the winter. Work's reply was that he had to keep her at hand to compete with American vessels in Queen Charlotte Sound, and that in any event the Indians had been visited in the summer and did but little hunting in the winter. McLoughlin also accused Work of having allowed the *Beaver* to loiter in the south while American competitors stole the northern trade. Work was now thoroughly roused. He had sent the *Beaver* south with three men involved in the murder of John McLoughlin, junior, thinking to help his superior bring the murderers to justice.[79] He had told the Captain of the *Beaver* not to linger, but his orders had been disregarded. Work did not feel himself to blame, and considered that McLoughlin's final thrust, a set of six notes which set down standing rules for the steamer, was a gratuitous insult. His reply to McLoughlin is worth quoting:

> I have been some 20 years under your orders and you have not before found it necessary to censure me for any deviation from instruction.
>
> You write to me in detail as if I had never known anything at all about the business or indeed taken any interest in it. Nevertheless your Instructions shall be adherred to to the letter so far as it rests with me; but I shall decline being responsible for the result.[80]

Work took the precaution of stating his side of the case in a letter to Simpson; but by 1844 McLoughlin's star was on the wane, and his criticism of Work does not appear to have affected the latter's future in the Company. In 1846, the same year that

(78) Work to McLoughlin, Fort Simpson, February 26, 1844, in *Fort Simpson, Correspondence outward* (original in Provincial Archives).

(79) This matter is dealt with at greater length in Henry Drummond Dee, *John Work: A Chronicle of His Life and a Digest of His Journals* (M.A. thesis in University of British Columbia Library), pp. 268–9.

(80) Work to McLoughlin, April 27, 1844, in *Fort Simpson, Correspondence outward* (original in Provincial Archives).

McLoughlin's resignation took effect, Work was appointed Chief Factor. The same year, too, the Columbia District was divided into three parts and placed under a Board of Management. Ogden was to have charge of the Interior; Douglas, of the depot and shipping; and Work of the Coast, including Fort Simpson, Fort Stikine, Fort Langley, and the steamer *Beaver*. The Board consisted at first of Ogden and Douglas; Work's name was added in 1849.[81]

Work continued to make Fort Simpson his headquarters until November, 1851, but after 1846 he no longer confined himself to year-round residence at the fort. Once more he began to make frequent trips to other posts and to engage in other activities. In 1847–48 he accompanied Douglas to Fort Langley, to discuss a new route for the fur brigade from the interior by way of the Fraser River, since the treaty of 1846 had placed the old one in American territory. In 1849 he was busy abandoning Fort Stikine and establishing Fort Rupert, near the northern tip of Vancouver Island, for the purpose of mining coal. When, in the following year, the miners became discontented and hard to handle, Work was sent for. He made the trip south to Victoria and then back to Fort Simpson, a distance of 1,500 miles, by canoe.

Work's attention had turned from furs to coal-mining; it was now to be centred on gold. In 1850 he dispatched a small party by canoe from Fort Simpson to the Queen Charlotte Islands, to investigate a report that the Indians had discovered gold there. They did not reach the goldfields, but made the important discovery that the Queen Charlottes consisted of two large islands, instead of one, and that a clear passage existed between them. Subsequently Work himself made the dangerous crossing by canoe to Englefield Bay, on Moresby Island. He discovered the gold vein, and was convinced that further investigation might prove profitable. An attempt by the *Beaver* to reach the site by way of Skidegate Inlet failed, so a later expedition, including Work and McNeill, set out in 1851 in the brigantine *Una*. They remained fifteen days, scrambled with the Indians for the gold after each blast was set off, and then gave up in disgust. One other incident remains to be told in connec-

(81) *See* H.B.S., IV., p. 358.

tion with John Work and the Queen Charlottes. The news of the discovery reached California, where it caused a minor rush. One of the ships which came north, the *Susan Sturgis,* was boarded and her crew overpowered by the Indians. Chief Factor Work succeeded in ransoming the crew, but was too late to save the vessel, which was looted and destroyed.

The summer of 1852 was Work's last at Fort Simpson. Since 1849 he had been spending the summer only at that northern post. Now he was to take up residence at Fort Victoria, as a member of the Board of Management for the Western Department. He had never enjoyed life at Fort Simpson and admitted that only his ambition had induced him to go there. The years had taken their toll of his health. It must be remembered that he was already 42 when he left to take up his duties on the northern coast. His photograph gives the impression that he was a sturdy, thick-set individual; but in 1838 John Tod spoke of him as having become "quite bald, hollow-cheeked & slender limbed."[82] It was not very long before he was known as the "old gentleman."[83] The illness which he had contracted on the Sacramento had left its effect upon him. He had been ruptured by an accidental fall in the summer of 1840, while clearing land for the garden, and had aggravated this condition a month later by jumping down from a fallen tree. Three years later he was troubled by a cancerous growth on his lip. Dr. Kennedy at Fort Simpson treated it without success. Finally the surgeon of the British sloop-of-war *Modeste* removed the growth by operation. Added to all these troubles were rheumatism, a heart condition, and his old problem of sore eyes, which nearly blinded him. Well might Work grumble about "the privations of the Service & this 'Cursed Country.'"[84]

Most of the time at Fort Simpson he had his family to comfort and cheer him. They did not accompany him north at first, but on December 31, 1836, his wife and the two youngest girls joined him, leaving the two eldest in school at Fort Vancouver.

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(82) Tod to Ermatinger, Fort Vancouver, February 28, 1838 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(83) Same to same, Cowlitz Plains, February, 1840 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(84) *Ibid.*

The latter were entrusted to the care of American missionaries at Willamette when the school at Vancouver was closed because of McLoughlin's quarrel with the Reverend Herbert Beaver.[85] Work was very proud when the girls were able to pen their little letters to him. In 1841 his wife went south and brought the pair back with her. At Fort Simpson six of Work's eleven children were born—three girls and three boys. In 1849 he sent his whole family to Victoria, so that those of school age might receive the rudiments of an education. The following year the faithful Josette accompanied her husband north to Fort Simpson with the three youngest, but all of them were soon to be settled on Vancouver Island.

As late as 1850 Work was still undecided as to where he would settle after leaving Fort Simpson. It seems apparent that he had a yearning, not to return to Ireland, but to move to some more settled part of the world than the Pacific Coast, where life was less crude and creature comforts were more easily come by. It must be remembered that he was 22 years of age when he left the old land, with habits of life not so easily blotted out nor forgotten. Letter after letter to Edward Ermatinger tells of his hopes of moving to Upper Canada and settling beside his friend. When he decided finally that he must remain west of the Rockies, he determined to try Vancouver Island, although he was loath to face the difficulties of hacking a farm out of the bush. So he took up residence "in Mr. Finlayson's house at Rock Bay, without a particle of furniture."[86] From this time on, Work's activities were to be threefold—as a public servant, as a Chief Factor of the Company, and as a private farmer.

His name was included in a list of persons suitable to be justices of the peace for Vancouver Island, which Sir John Pelly submitted to the Colonial Secretary in 1848. In April, 1853, Douglas, then Governor, announced that he had "appointed John Work Esqre, a gentleman of probity and respectable character, and the largest land holder on Vancouver Island, to be a member

(85) *See* G. Hollis Slater, "New Light on Herbert Beaver," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1942), pp. 13–29.

(86) Work to Tolmie, Fort Victoria, March 14, 1853 (original in Provincial Archives).

of [the Legislative] Council."[87] The appointment was confirmed from London in 1854. Until his death, Work remained a faithful member of this body. He became senior member, and during May and June, 1861, acted for the Governor. Judging from the minutes, he seems to have missed but one meeting in 8 years.

He appears to have been a member of local road commissions appointed to investigate a route from Victoria to Sooke, and to supervise the construction of a road along the east bank of Victoria Arm. He supported Douglas's appointment of David Cameron to the office of Judge, an appointment which aroused a storm of protest but which was upheld by the Colonial Office.[88] He again supported Douglas when mandatory directions were received by the Governor to set up a popular assembly on Vancouver Island, although a letter written at the time to Edward Ermatinger shows that he had serious doubts as to the wisdom of the move:

> I have always considered such Colony & such a government where there are so few people to govern as little better than a farce and this last scene of a house of representation the most absurd of the whole. . . . The principle of representation is good, but there are too few people and no body to pay taxes. . . .[89]

During this time Work was still a Chief Factor in the employ of the Company. Both he and Douglas felt that one of the main impediments to colonization on Vancouver Island was the rule by which settlers could not purchase land in lots of less than 20 acres. To obviate this inconvenience, Douglas and Work, acting as trustees for what was known as the Fur Trade Branch of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1856 purchased land for the purpose of disposing of it afterward at the original cost of £1 an acre, in small allotments to *bona-fide* settlers, who were unable to purchase larger blocks.[90] When Douglas severed his connec-

(87) Douglas to Newcastle, Victoria, April 11, 1853 (original letterbook copy in Provincial Archives). H.B.S., IV., p. 358, wrongly gives the date of this appointment as 1857.

(88) For an account of this episode *see* Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, pp. 186–8.

(89) Work to Ermatinger, Victoria, August 8, 1856 (original in Provincial Archives).

(90) The indentures covering these purchases are in the Department of Lands, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C. *See* also Berens to Lytton, London, March 4, 1859, in *Record Office Transcripts, H.B.C.*, Vol. 728, pp. 111–112 (in Provincial Archives).

tion with the Company in 1858, to become Governor of both Vancouver Island and British Columbia, Company affairs passed into the hands of a new Board, consisting of Alexander Grant Dallas, John Work, and Dugald McTavish. One of Works tasks in this capacity was that of advancing the land claims which the Hudson's Bay Company pressed upon the British Government after 1858.

Work's own purchases of land in and around Victoria were sufficient to make him the largest land-owner on Vancouver Island. His property, as recorded in the Department of Lands, totalled 1,304.23 acres, which does not include acreage deducted for roads, swamp, and rock.[91] The home farm at Hillside consisted of 583 acres. Another large area lay across the low-lying lands of Shelbourne Street and stretched up over Mount Tolmie. A third portion consisted of an area stretching along the foreshore from Gordon Head to Arbutus Bay. The first census of Vancouver Island shows that Work was Victoria's greatest producer of potatoes. Only the Douglas farm at Fairfield produced more wheat. The *Victoria Gazette* for October 22, 1858, contained the following item on Work's prowess as a farmer:—

> We yesterday were shown a couple of pumpkins raised on the farm of Mr. John Work, a mile and a half from Victoria, which, in consequence of their enormous size and weight, are worthy of special note. The largest one weighs 108½ and the other 68 pounds.

Work's only other business venture seems to have been the purchase of one share in a sawmill in 1861. The venture failed.

The home of the Works at Hillside was noted for its hospitality. The family was a large one, so that a few extra guests made little difference and were always welcome. The house was a gathering-place for young men who came to dance or to ride with the older girls. Work's youngest child, named Josette, after her mother, was born on September 15, 1854. Henry, the second son, died in 1856 at the age of 12, as the result of an accident, according to family tradition. The other two boys, John and David, did not enjoy enviable reputations. "The family of our late departed friend Work, I regret to say," wrote John Tod, "seem overwhelmed with grief at the reckless profligacy of the elder Son . . . the other Son, altho sufficiently temperate, as

(91) Official Land Register, Victoria District (in Department of Lands, Victoria), pp. 3, 13–16, 30.

regards drink, is Yet in my opinion, a much more dispicable character than his brother."[92]

All of the girls married.[93] In 1849 Work decided to have his own marriage solemnized by the Church of England. His first marriage to Josette Legace had taken place according to the custom of the fur trade. The later ceremony was performed by the Reverend Robert Staines, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. James Douglas and John Tod signed the marriage certificate as witnesses. Josette made her mark, for she could not write.[94]

The year 1861 was Work's last. His strenuous life, his injuries, and his illnesses, had aged him prematurely, for he was only 69. Loyally and obstinately he clung to his association with the Company, much to the exasperation of his friend Tod: ". . . it is pittiful," observed Tod, "to see him still clinging to the service, as if he would drag it along with him to the next world."[95] In October Work was attacked by a recurrence of the fever which had sapped his strength on his return from the Sacramento. For two months he was confined to his bed and,

(92) Tod to Ermatinger, Oak Bay, November 12, 1868 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

(93) The dates of the marriages were as follows (the daughters are listed in order of age; the authority for the date given in each instance is cited in brackets):

Jane, to Dr. W. F. Tolmie, February 19, 1850 (Register of Marriages at Fort Vancouver and Victoria).

Sarah, to Roderick Finlayson, December 14, 1849 (*ibid.*).

Letitia, to Edward Huggins, October 21, 1857 (Edward Huggins to Eva Emery Dye, March 14, 1904; copy in Provincial Archives).

Margaret, to Edward H. Jackson, February 5, 1861, (*British Colonist*, February 7, 1861).

Mary, to James Allen Graham, September 5, 1860 (*British Colonist*, September 7, 1860).

Catherine (Kate), to Charles W. Wallace, Jr., February 5, 1861 (*British Colonist*, February 7, 1861).

Cecilia Josephine, to Charles Septimus Jones, October 12, 1870 (*British Colonist*, October 13, 1870).

Josette (Suzetta), to Edward Gawler Prior, January 30, 1878 (Victoria *Daily Standard*, January 31, 1878).

(94) November 6, 1849. Register of Marriages for Fort Vancouver and Victoria (photostat copy in Provincial Archives).

(95) Tod to Ermatinger, Vancouver Island, July 27, 1861 (in *Ermatinger Papers*).

finally, on the 22nd of December, he died. To the funeral came Governor Douglas and his suite, the Members of the Legislative Council, the Speaker and Members of the Assembly, and many relatives and friends. It was proof of the general esteem and affection in which he was held. To-day his tombstone may be found in Pioneer Square, in the shadow of Christ Church Cathedral. His wife lived until the winter of 1895–96. At her death the Legislature passed the following resolution:—

That the members of this Legislature having heard with regret the death of Mrs. Work, wife of the late Hon. John Work, a member of the Council of Vancouver's Island from 1853 to 1861, who before her demise was the oldest resident of British Columbia, and will be remembered for her usefulness in pioneer work and many good deeds, beg to express their sympathy with the relatives of the deceased.[96]

John Work's will,[97] which is a voluminous and wordy document, appointed his son-in-law, Roderick Finlayson, and his nephew, John McAdoo Wark, as his executors. The bulk of the home farm at Hillside was left to his wife; the other land was divided fairly equally among his sons and daughters. Interestingly enough, one of the witnesses of the will was the pioneer Presbyterian Minister, John Hall.[98]

The memory of John Work has been almost erased by time, but his name and those of his family have been perpetuated in place-names in British Columbia and in and about Victoria. Behind Fort Simpson is a long inlet named Work Channel. Old maps of Victoria show a Work Street, on the northern shore of Rock Bay. This has been swallowed up in the continuation of Bay Street. A comparison of maps would seem to indicate that the Wark Street of to-day probably runs close to the site of the old home at Hillside. Work Point Barracks bears his name, while John, Henry, and David streets were named after his sons.

Work was not a great man, but he was a capable, conscientious, and loyal subordinate. He lacked the hard, calculating

(96) N. de B. Lugrin, *Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843–1866*, Victoria, B.C., 1928, pp. 63–4.

(97) The will was discovered in the Court-house in Victoria, B.C., by Mr. Isaac Burpee, to whom the writer is indebted for many of the intimate details concerning Work and his family. A copy of the will has been deposited in the Provincial Archives.

(98) *See* J. C. Goodfellow, "John Hall: Pioneer Presbyterian in British Columbia," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII. (1943), pp. 31–48.

coldness which made for success in such men as James Douglas. Unfortunately he was ambitious, and through the later years when promotion came but slowly, he became critical and somewhat bitter. His friend Tod often accused Work of a want of decision, of not cutting the Gordian knot which bound him to the country. But in the perspective of the years this is seen to have been due not to indecision, but rather to his affection for his wife and family, coupled with the knowledge that any attempt to transplant their western natures to the older, less tolerant east, might end in misery and disaster. He was extremely capable as a leader of small expeditions in the field, where his physical courage, his great endurance, and endless loyalty stood him in good stead. Time and again the parties in his charge were saved by his caution, forethought, and attention to detail. From the pages of his journals, faithfully kept from day to day, may be gleaned a wealth of detail of early fur-trading days on the Pacific, found nowhere else in history.

HENRY DRUMMOND DEE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

APPENDIX.

THE JOURNALS OF JOHN WORK.

The following is a checklist of the original journals of John Work which are preserved in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. Printed versions are indicated in the notes following each entry.

1. (*a.*) *York Factory to Spokane House, July 18–October 28, 1823.*
   (*b.*) *Columbia Valley Trading Expedition, April 15–November 17, 1824.*

   For a summary and extracts *see* Walter N. Sage, "John Work's First Journal, 1823–1824," in Canadian Historical Association, *Report . . . 1929*, Ottawa, 1930, pp. 21–29; also Walter N. Sage and T. C. Elliott, "Governor George Simpson at Astoria in 1824," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX. (1929), pp. 106–110, in which the entries for October 18–November 17, 1824, are printed verbatim.

2. *Journal of a Voyage from Fort George to the Northward, Winter 1824, November 18–December 30, 1824.*

   Deals with the McMillan expedition, which explored the lower Fraser River. *See* T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "Journal of John Work, November and December, 1824," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, III. (1912), pp. 198–228.

3. *Journal, March 21–May 14, 1825.*

   During these months Work was engaged in moving goods and equipment from Fort George to Fort Vancouver.

4. *Journal, June 21, 1825–June 12, 1826.*

   Deals with Work's activities at Spokane House, the building of Fort Colvile, and trading in the Flathead country. *See* T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "Journal of John Work, June–October, 1825," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V. (1914), pp. 83–115; "Journal of John Work, Sept. 7th–Dec. 14th, 1825," *ibid.*, pp. 163–191; "Journal of John Work, Dec. 15th, 1825, to June 12th, 1826," *ibid.*, pp. 258–287.

5. *Journal, July 5–September 15, 1826.*

   Work left Fort Vancouver with the New Caledonia brigade on July 4; was sent up the Snake River on a horse-trading expedition; drove the horses thus secured to Fort Colvile, and then made a brief trading expedition to the Flatheads. *See* T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "The Journal of John Work, July 5–September 15, 1826," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1915), pp. 26–49.

6. *Journal, May 20–August 15, 1828.*

See William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers, "Journal of a Trip from Fort Colvile to Fort Vancouver and Return in 1828," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1920), pp. 104–114.

7. *Journal, April 30–May 31, 1830.*

The journal of Work's "difficult and troublesome journey" from Colvile to Fort Vancouver, with a band of horses. *See* T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "Journal of John Work April 30th to May 31st, 1830," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, X. (1909), pp. 296–313.

8. *Journal, August 22, 1830–April 20, 1831.*

9. *Journal, April 21–July 20, 1831.*

See T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "Journal of John Work, covering Snake Country Expedition of 1830–31," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XIII. (1912), pp. 363–371; XIV. (1913), pp. 280–314. The first instalment, covering *Journal 8*, was printed from notes taken from a copy of the original in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, London, by Agnes Laut. These are extremely scanty, and consist of no more than a few scattered entries, culled from a lengthy and detailed journal.

10. *Journal, August 18, 1831–July 27, 1832.*

See William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips, *The Journal of John Work A chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. during his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest . . . and Life of Work*, Cleveland, 1923, 209 pp.

11. *Journal, August 17, 1832–April 2, 1833.*

12. *Journal, April 3–October 31, 1833.*

These journals, which cover the expedition to the Sacramento, are being edited by Mrs. Alice B. Maloney for publication in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*.

13. *Journal, May 22–July 10, 1834.*

See Leslie M. Scott (*ed.*), "John Work's Journey from Fort Vancouver to Umpqua River, and return, in 1834," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIV. (1923), pp. 238–268.

14. *Journal, December 11, 1834–June 30, 1835.*

15. *Journal, July 1–October 27, 1835.*

These journals, which deal with Work's activities on the Northwest Coast, are being edited for publication in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS IN HISTORY MUSEUMS.*

During the last fifteen years or so a new concept has been formed of the function of history museums. Their original purpose was to preserve and exhibit any object of an historical nature, and let it go at that. They were looked upon as an enlarged version of the private curio cabinet, in which the objects were arranged haphazardly, with no thought of historical sequence.

As time went on, objects of a non-historical nature found their way into the collection, and were tolerated there because they were donated by one of the museum's trustees, or because they were part of a private collection presented on the condition that it be kept intact as a memorial to the donor.

Gradually, the word "museum" came to mean a storehouse of relics and curios, full of dust and mustiness, a place to be avoided except when one was showing a visiting relative the sights of the city. The objects were crowded together in poorly lighted cases and explained by labels that were dusty and illegible. There was little order, either in the cases themselves or in the museum as a whole, and the so-called display became an example of what has been well described as "visible storage."

I use the past tense here because these conditions are no longer true of all history museums. But, of course, they are still true of many museums in the United States as well as in Canada. While museums of art and science have forged ahead, using all the latest methods of display and lighting and labelling, and carrying out their functions with originality and imagination, the history museums have lagged behind.

I recall one striking example of this in a city in Massachusetts. There the public library and the art, science, and history museums are all under one management, and all grouped delightfully around a little green square. The first three institutions are models of their kind, the science museum even possessing one of the four planetariums in the entire United States. But

* An address delivered before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, April 19, 1943.

the methods of the history museum have progressed not one inch since the 1890's.

I said that the new concept of history museums has been formed in the last fifteen years or so. Actually, it was *proclaimed* over fifty years ago by the great American museist, Dr. George Browne Goode. He saw what an effective tool the museum could become in the cause of popular education, and he made the celebrated statement that "an efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels, each illustrated by a well selected specimen."

No doubt he was heartily laughed at by most of the museum people of his day. But time has shown how right he was. The great science and history museums of the world now answer to that description exactly. They hold that the purpose of exhibiting an object is *to illustrate a fact.* Now, as history is made up of a series of facts, or incidents, which occurred in a certain order, the obvious way to arrange the material in a history museum is in that same order. To arrange it otherwise is like printing a book beginning with, say, chapter twelve, following it with chapter five, then skipping to chapter fourteen, and so on.

A case in point is the small museum of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at Regina, which I visited on the way from Winnipeg, and which has never had the benefit of any direction but that of amateur enthusiasts. One exhibit, a most interesting one, shows the entire equipment of a mounted policeman in the earliest days of the Force; but you go through about two-thirds of the museum before you find it. Its rightful place as Exhibit A is taken by a case of Eskimo material which, considering the Arctic was the last region in Canada to feel the influence of the Mounties, should have been placed towards the end.[1]

Naturally, it is impossible to arrange everything in chronological order. One has to pay attention to classification, too, showing a case of firearms of different periods, for instance, or one of lamps. But if the case itself is arranged in chronological order, the story it is supposed to tell will be that much clearer.

Again, territorial arrangement is often advisable. A museum of the Canadian Indian might be arranged chronologically. But the story would be far more comprehensible if it were divided

(1) This arrangement has since been changed.

into cultures, or grouped under such headings as transport, weapons, costume, and the like.

Museum directors of to-day have found it necessary to alter their methods, not only because their visitors have less time on their hands than the visitors of fifty years ago, but also because the visitors of fifty years ago had a keener interest in the subject. Perhaps some of you have read a book issued by the American Association for Adult Education entitled *The Civic Value of Museums*. It was written by T. R. Adam, a Scotsman living in New York, and was published in 1937. Because he tackles the problem forcefully and from what I believe was an entirely original view-point, I'm going to take the liberty of quoting from his book at some length.

The social pressure that made some form of cultural participation almost obligatory for ambitious people [in the 19th Century] appears to have changed its direction toward the petty fields of sport and entertainment. The Linnæan societies and pre-Raphaelite groups of our grandfathers have been replaced by our country clubs and bridge parties.

During the last decade the museum has rallied its powers to overcome the lethargy of the public toward firsthand knowledge of art and science. In the days when it was fashionable to have a mind of one's own, to explore the outskirts of science or art with the aid of an independent intelligence, the halls of a museum were used by the general public as a private laboratory or art gallery. Visitors brought an interest already sharpened to a study of the exhibits. Questions of arrangement and setting were of secondary importance. With the dying of public curiosity in personal study and the almost religious acceptance of the rounded dogmas of intellectual authority, the museum entered a period of twilight gloom. Its visitors were easily satisfied with the secondhand authority of books and lectures; a display of firsthand material puzzled their docile minds. Having lost their personal interest in questioning and experimenting, an array of objects that would have proved challenging to their forbears became meaningless and irritating.

The task of the museum has been to arouse once more public appreciation of firsthand material, to create understanding of the original sources of learning. To do this, exhibits have had to be made dramatic and colorful in their own rights. Our word-drugged minds have had to be lured into contemplating things as concrete objects. If a visitor walks through a gallery, say of ancient sculpture, and forms firsthand impressions of the beauty or ugliness of the objects and of the character of the people depicted, he has made a personal judgment on a cultural matter. Whether he perceives truth or error, he has engaged in independent thinking about basic materials. This effort runs contrary to the modern trend where specialization is all-important and the average person finds it more convenient to accept second- or even fifthhand information about original facts. . . .

The courage and skill of museum officials within the last fifteen years have brought the exhibition of objects to a fine art. To some extent they have borrowed the technique of early religious instruction; their material has been dramatized, creating a pageantry of objects that affects the mind directly through the eye. The purpose of exhibition always must be to stimulate the visitor to make judgments of his own concerning original material. This is a far harder task than to load a docile mind with predigested information or theories in neat verbal bundles. The power of the modern museum to fascinate millions of visitors annually with the lure of the original object is a vital part of our educational system. If critical intelligence is to survive in a civilization flooded by propaganda and intellectual authoritarianism, the longing for firsthand information must be kept alive in some quarter. The new technique of museum exhibition has aroused a response from the general public that proves it is meeting a true need in our cultural life.[2]

Now, you will notice that Mr. Adam stresses the point that exhibits have to be made dramatic and colourful. And this is only natural. The museum of to-day exists in a world where public appreciation of the art of display has been brought to the highest level. People accustomed to store-windows where every trick of lighting, colour and arrangement has been brought into play, are going to find most museum exhibits pretty uninspiring by comparison. So the museist has to learn something of the tricks of the trade.

In the first place, he must not crowd a display case with objects, no matter how interesting or how beautiful they may be. The most arresting store-windows have not more than two or three large objects in them to hold the attention of the passer-by. Tests made with a stop-watch at the Buffalo Museum of Science have shown that the average visitor spends only half as much time over a case crowded with objects as he does over the same case when half the objects are removed. In other words, each object gets four times as much attention as it did when it was in a crowded case. Put one of Cellini's masterpieces, or a rare document, in a case filled with bric-à-brac, and most people will give it only a passing glance. But put it in a well-lit case by itself, and it will get the attention it deserves.

Think, for instance, what a magnificent display could be made of the priceless Indian material in the basement of the building next door [the Provincial Museum]. There is a col-

(2) T. R. Adam, *The Civic Value of Museums*, New York, 1937, pp. 7–9.

lection which in most respects is as fine as any in the American Museum of Natural History or the Museum of the American Indian. But, on account of lack of facilities, the display can only be described as "visible storage."

The museist of to-day must be not only a scholar, but a showman too. If he is not a good showman, he would do well to ask the assistance of some one who is. To quote Dr. Arthur C. Parker, author of the standard work on the subject, *A Manual for History Museums:* "There must be something in the museum that seems to pulse with life, that thrills the beholder, that enables him to see he is a part of history. Museums must not be dead things, nor have the atmosphere of a funeral parlour. We must so plan our presentation of history that we dramatize our theme, and make the visitor feel that he is one of the actors."[3]

The modern history museum also differs from its forerunners in lighting and labelling. With the development of new types of illumination, the museum of to-day has some wonderful opportunities to make its exhibits not only well lighted but, sometimes, dramatically so. Artificial lighting is preferred to daylighting because it can be properly directed, while documents can be displayed under it without fading. The colours of native handicraft, such as beadwork and painting, which were chosen to be seen in daylight, look their best under the white fluorescent light; while a really arresting presentation of a single object, like a costumed figure, or a rare piece of craftsmanship, can be made by spot-lighting it.

As regards labelling—in the old-time museum, the tendency was to present as much information about the object as possible. Those were the days when people had the leisure, and the interest, to read through such lengthy dissertations. But to-day few museum visitors have either the time or the desire to read labels more than three lines long. Dr. Parker, who is director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, tells of one museum director playing a joke on a member of his staff who had written a label about fifteen lines long. He had the label copied exactly, except that half way through he inserted a sentence reading as follows: "Any visitor who reads as far as this may come to the

(3) Arthur C. Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, New York, 1935, p. xi.

office, where a reward of one dollar will be paid him." Though the label was on view for months, no one ever claimed the money!

Writing labels is an art in itself. Your museum visitors are roughly divided into two groups: those with a casual interest in the subject, and those who really want to learn something about it. For the first group, the label heading of three or four words is generally enough. For the second group, the heading is merely an introduction to what follows, like the heading in a newspaper story. If the object exhibited is a map or a picture, or anything else the character of which is obvious, it is naturally superfluous to head the label MAP or PICTURE, or whatever it is. Yet it is amazing how often this is done. Headings, above all, should be simple and arresting, and may often be cast in the form of a question, to lead the reader on.

Some of you may be interested in hearing about the setting-up of the new Hudson's Bay museum in Winnipeg, in which we have tried to follow the principles of modern museum technique. Heaven forbid that I should set myself up as an authority on the subject. I simply followed the suggestions of real authorities, and copied the methods of other museums, and the result, judging from the museum's popularity, has been successful. Last year we had a record registration of over 46,000, which means that the actual attendance was well over 100,000.

Dr. L. V. Coleman's *Manual for Small Museums*[4] and Dr. Parker's *Manual* were my two bibles. To give me new ideas, the Hudson's Bay Company sent me on a two weeks' tour of the best museums from New York to Chicago, and then gave me carte blanche in the reorganization.

All the material from the Vancouver store museum—part of which had been exhibited in Victoria—was shipped down to Winnipeg to be incorporated in the new layout. The room to house the museum was part of the Winnipeg store, measuring about 100 by 45 feet. I had to design new cases—three kinds of them—and new lighting, and, of course, plan the layout. Incidentally, I found that several people had been giving accession numbers to the material, so that there were nine sets in all, which had to be reconciled into one. But that was a job which could wait.

(4) New York, 1927.

We set the carpenters to work building the display cases, of which ten were wall cases, five centre cases, and seven table cases. The store carpenters erected partitions in front of all the windows to block out the daylight, and the electricians put up a band of lights all the way round the room, shaded by a vertical board 7 feet above the floor. As the wall cases were 7 feet high, you could put one of them anywhere against the wall and it would be automatically lit from above through the top glass. On the wall between these the pictures and documents were to hang, also lit by the same band of lights. Alcoves were formed by putting centre cases end-on against the wall, with a special light-box on top.[5]

I should say that, previous to making the tour in the United States, I had written a short outline of the story the museum had to tell, and had formed some ideas of what objects would be needed to illustrate it. When I got to Winnipeg, I made a survey of the collection, and was then able to determine which points in the story could be illustrated by which objects.

It is a rule of modern museum technique that every object should be capable of illustrating a fact, and that any object which cannot do so should be discarded. There are, however, two exceptions to this rule.

If an object *calls attention* to a fact, or serves in a really constructive way to bring the past closer and make it more real, it may well be included in the chosen material. A sword picked up on a battlefield cannot possibly illustrate any fact except that swords of that type were used in the battle. But it can serve a much more useful purpose by calling attention to the "instructive label" which, in turn, calls attention to the battle.

The second exception to the rule may be represented by an object that is definitely in the class of "relics." Your modern museist abhors a "relic" as something coated thickly with the sugar of sentiment. Dr. Parker states that, as the objects shown are merely tools in the visualization of ideas, it isn't really necessary to exhibit a single relic or antique. This is an important point, because if copies of originals are permissible in a history museum the task of that museum is made much lighter and its possibilities greatly expanded.

(5) Photographs of the museum will be found in *The Beaver* for September, 1937.

When I was planning the Hudson's Bay Company Museum, one of the things I wanted to do was to exhibit a case of trade goods of 1748. I had a list of trade goods in that year, with their respective values in beaver. But I had no merchandise dating from that period, with the possible exception of a couple of firearms and a sword-blade. Next to that case I intended to show some furs, such as were traded in 1748. Now, of course, furs nearly two hundred years old were impossible to find. But the furs that *were* available were exactly similar and, therefore, illustrated the point just as well. By the same token, modern copies of those old trade goods were also just as good for illustrating the type of merchandise bartered for the furs. So I went ahead and installed my copies, and the result, I was told, was one of the most interesting displays in the museum.

There are some instances, however, where a copy is quite useless. To behold an accurate copy of the pen with which the Declaration of Independence, for example, was signed, leaves one only mildly interested. But to be confronted with the very pen itself, conjures up in the mind's eye one of the most momentous events in the history of mankind. Even a person of the dullest imagination must surely see the fingers of those great men grasping that quill, and with it, writing the beginning of a new chapter in world history.

Another important principle by which the museist must abide is the determination not to show everything in his collection. If he does that few people will bother to visit his museum more than once—firstly, because they will say they have seen all there is to see, and, secondly, because the multiplicity of material will bewilder them. I have seen several museums—and I have no doubt you have too—which exhibited two or three identical objects side by side, just because they had two or three in the collection. If they had had fifty of them, they would doubtless have exhibited fifty. The same is true, to a lesser extent, of things that come in pairs, like moccasins and leggings and gloves. The only excuse for exhibiting more than one of a pair is to attain balance in the display.

Another good reason for not showing everything at once is that the material kept in reserve can be used to change the exhibits from time to time. Imagine how popular store-windows would become if they always looked the same. One museum in

the United States, which carried out regular changes, put up a sign reading: "If you have not visited this museum in the past six months, you have not visited it." If the local public, rather than the tourists, know that a museum's exhibits are constantly changing, they will be much more likely to go there instead of putting off their visit until next week, or next month, or next year.

When I got to Winnipeg after my tour of museums I found that the Company already had a large storage collection of material from which the exhibits could be freshened up from time to time. The immediate task, then, was to choose the material for the first layout. So I took my story, divided it into chapters, listed the main points in it, and then selected objects to illustrate those points. The chapters represented the various sections in the museum. There was the founding of the Company, the early developments in Hudson Bay, the exploration and expansion inland, the strife with the North West Company, the Union of 1821, and the further expansion that succeeded it. From here the story was divided territorially into the Eastern Woodlands, the Prairies, the Arctic, the Mackenzie area, the interior of British Columbia, and the Pacific Coast, arranged in the order in which the Company penetrated those various regions. Then came the surrender of the West, the period after 1870, and, finally, the twentieth century. The introduction to the whole story was a case of moving cut-out figures, representing the chief episodes in it, and passing slowly before the visitors' eyes on the rim of a large wheel. And as this was placed at the door, it also served as a summary of the story which the outgoing visitor had just seen.

The final exhibit of all was a model trading-post, with a counter, in which were shown typical trade goods of a certain period.

The room was painted in cream with a chocolate-brown trim, and so were the cases. The tendency in old museums was to have the cases looking dark and imposing with mahogany. But one goes to a museum to see the exhibits, not the cases, which are merely a necessary evil designed to exclude the corrupting influences of moth and dust and people's fingers. Our aim then, was to make the cases as inconspicuous as possible.

This layout lasted about a year, when about half of it was changed. Since then it has been altered twice—which is not as

often as I would have liked. But it is due for another overhaul in June.

Our attendance has been rising steadily, despite the demands of the war and the decrease in tourists. Part of our attendance is, of course, made up of school children, but we are just as keen in interesting the adults—if not more so. Mr. Adam's book, from which I quoted at length awhile back, makes it plain that the museum has become one of the strongest *potential* forces in adult education to-day. I stress the word " potential " because, although the technique of the museum has been so greatly improved during the last few years, the public is still backward about making use of its facilities. Certainly, the history museum appeals to a greater section of the public than do the other kinds. Mr. Adam gives it as his opinion that more people would maintain intellectual interests in adult life through the study of history than through the pursuit of art, literature, or science. And he goes on to point out that a history museum combining expert scholarship with skilled showmanship is admirably suited to act as a focal centre for popular education, *if* it receives the support of outside organizations.

Paul Marshall Rea, another of the leading museists south of the border, and author of *The Museum and the Community*, points out that museums are " potentially popular universities that may enrol the whole population almost literally from the cradle to the grave."[6] The museum is, in fact, rightly called " the poor man's university."

Its value in the education of children is generally accepted without question. But there are some powerful dissenting voices. Dr. Goode was opposed to paying too much attention in the museum to the needs of the young, deeming it of more value to adults. " I should not organize the museum primarily," he wrote, " for the use of the people in their larval or school-going stage of existence. . . . School-days end, with the majority of mankind, before their minds have reached the stage of growth most favorable for the assimilation of the best and most useful thought."[7] Dr. Benjamin Gilman, author of that forward-looking

(6) Paul M. Rea, *The Museum and the Community*, p. 31.

(7) Quoted in Benjamin Gilman, *Museum Ideals*, Cambridge, Mass., 1923, p. 285.

book *Museum Ideals*, is inclined to support this view. "School classes marshalled through museum halls," he says, "may afford gratifying statistics; but the invisible census of educational result would make the judicious grieve." And he continues: "There is solid psychological ground for the objection to indiscriminate museum visits by school classes. The perils should not be blinked by museum authorities, but should suggest the enquiry whether . . . the attempt to turn school children into habitués of museums does not rest upon the assumption that, whatever the adult can assimilate to his profit, can, and should, be presented and expounded to the young."[8]

Most schools to-day include museum visits as part of their curriculum. When I was at the Newark, New Jersey, museum, one of our most regular duties was to lead groups of school children through the exhibits, explaining the points which we thought would be of most interest to them. We always tried to make their visit appear as little like school-work as possible; but, at the same time, we had a feeling that when they got back to school, the teachers were going to examine them on what they had seen and learned—and that, of course, would immediately classify their visit as work, rather than recreation. As Dr. Gilman rather succinctly puts it: "Unless a museum is to fail essentially in its teaching office, its instruction must be accomplished in holiday mood, without drudgery for the docent (or teacher) and without tasks or tests for the disciple."[9] The point is, that the adult must remember the museum as a place where he enjoyed himself as a child, and so will return to it again and again.

Visual education is certainly important, but tactile education is often more so. Most large museums in the United States have lending collections, which are sent round to the schools for the children to handle as well as see. At Newark our lending collection consisted of over ten thousand objects, the distribution of which required a staff of six. At Rochester, to add to the number of "expendable" objects in the Indian collections, they lend original objects to craftsmen on the near-by Iroquois reserve for copying. These copies are then loaned out

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 287.
(9) *Ibid.*, p. 288.

to the schools, and if they are lost or damaged it doesn't matter very much.

All in all, if we want public support for the history museum it is through the field of education that we must make our appeal. And parents who take an interest in the museum because it helps to educate their children may, quite unconsciously, absorb a good deal of information themselves. So much, in fact, that they may become really interested in the history of their community and of their country. That is the end towards which we must work.

CLIFFORD P. WILSON.

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA.

THE DIARY OF ROBERT MELROSE.

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

PART III.

(Concluding instalment.)

1856.

JANUARY.

Tu.	1	Divine service held by the Rev[d] E. Cridge.[1] Great drinkings at night.
We	2	Fresh weather.
Th.	3	Showers and high wind.
Fr.	4	All arrived to work.
S.	6	Showers.
Mo.	7	One Sow killed. Showry.
We.	9	Every thing very quiet.
Fr.	11	S.B. " Beaver " arrived from a cruise up the Sound.
Sa.	12	S. S. " Otter " arrived from San Francisco.
We.	16	Remarkable fine weather.
Sa.	19	Frosty.
S.	20	Rev[d] E. Cridge performed divine service.
Mo.	21	William Stephens dropped work.
We.	23	Slight Showers.
Fr.	25	S. S. " Otter " arrived from Nanaimo. A Ball held for the benefit of James Tait.
S.	27	No preaching to day.
We.	30	S. S. " Otter " sailed Fort Simpson. Rain.
Th.	31	Rain.

(1) Rev. Edward (later Bishop) Cridge, chaplain for the Hudson's Bay Company. *See* entry for April 1, 1855.

1856—*Continued.*

FEBRUARY.

Fr. 1 A Subscription paper sent through for the benefit of John Davy.
S. 3 No Sermon to day. Caleb Pike and Elizabeth Lidgate proclaimed for marriage.
Mo. 4 Quarter's pay due.
Tu. 5 No Mails arriving on account of the Indian war.[2]
Th. 7 Cap. Wishart[3] gained a law-plea over And. Hume. Mr McKenzie[4] one over W. Millingto[n].
Fr. 8 George Greenwood ¾ D. The Author whole D. 7 Men run off from the "Ps. [Princess] Royal." 4 Men escaped out of the Bastion belonging to the "Pss. Royal."
Sa. 9 Showers.
S. 10 Mr Clark[5] dropped his preaching altogether.
Tu. 12 Barque "Princess Royal" sailed for England. Slight showers.
Sa. 16 Slight Frost.
S. 17 Revd E. Cridge performed divine service.
Mo. 18 Mrs Downie gave birth to a female child. Cold winds.
We. 20 The long-looked-for mail arrived.
Th. 21 One Boar killed. American S. Frigate "Active" visited Port.
Fr. 22 Caleb Pike and Elisabeth Lidgate married. S.S. "Otter" arrived.
James Downie commenced to make bricks.
Mo. 25 Rain. Garden Park fenced in.
Tu. 26 Mr Thorn engineer, and his son started to work.
Th. 28 Frosty mornings.

MARCH.

Mo. 3 Foggy mornings.
Tu. 4 Recruiting commenced to form a local militia corps. Voltigeurs.[6]
We. 5 Great dread of an Indian attack.

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(2) The war between the Americans and the Indians in Washington Territory and parts of Oregon, which had broken out in 1855. The situation continued tense for several months. *See* Douglas to Tolmie, April 21, 1856: "I am sorry to have very bad accounts of the war, the Indians appear to have the upper hand and really exhibit a degree of courage and sagacity which make us tremble for the empire of the whites."

(3) Captain David D. Wishart, of the Hudson's Bay barque *Princess Royal.*

(4) Kenneth McKenzie, bailiff in charge of Craigflower Farm.

(5) Charles Clarke, schoolmaster at Craigflower.

(6) The corps formed at this time was known as the Victoria Colonial Voltigeurs. The total number of men enlisted is not known, but eighteen members took part in the expedition to Cowichan later in the year. *See* entry for August 20, 1856, *infra.*

1856—*Continued.*

MARCH.

Th. 6 American Screw Steamer "Massachusetts" 4 guns visited Esquimalt harbour.[7]
Fr. 7 Sloop "Sarah Stone" arrived with the mail.
Sa. 8 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
Mo. 10 Frosty mornings.
We. 12 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.
Fr. 14 A fleet of 30 Indian canoes arrived from the North.
Sa. 15 John Russel commenced taking money for his rations. Mr Moffat a clerk, and Miss McNeil a chief-traders daughter, married.[8]
S. 16 Revd E. Cridge performed divine service.
Tu. 18 S.B. "Beaver" & Brig "Recovery" sailed Nanaimo.
We. 19 Schooner "Jessie" sailed along with Mr McKenzie for potatoes.
Th. 20 Rain.
Fr. 21 Good Friday kept as a holiday. Heavy Showers.
Sa. 22 Sch. "Jessie" arrived with a small cargo of potatoes.
Tu. 25 Sch. "Jessie" sailed. Showers.
We. 26 Great Ball held at Victoria, riff-raff excluded.
Fr. 28 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco. Mr Clark gave a great dinner.
Sa. 29 Sch. "Jessie" arrived. Joh. Russel ¾ D. Dun. Lidgate ¾ D.
S. 30 Mr McKenzie gave a great dinner in opposition to Mr Clark.
Mo. 31 Ja. Stewart ¾ D. Jo. Vine ¾ D.
Brig "Recovery" arrived from Nanaimo.

APRIL.

We. 2 Sch. "Jessie" sailed.
Th. 3 Brig "Recovery" sailed San Francisco. High wind with rain.
Sa. 5 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed on her trading expedition. Rain.
S. 6 Heavy rain.
Tu. 8 A Batch of the Bob-tail giving false alarms at night.[9] Frosty.
Fr. 11 One Bull killed.
S. 13 Duncan Lidgate whole D. John Instant ¾ D.
We. 16 Cold showery weather.
Fr. 18 Heavy rain.

(7) This barque-rigged vessel originally belonged to the United States Navy, but had been handed over to the War Department. She was one of several vessels sent to Puget Sound because of the Indian troubles.

(8) Hamilton Moffatt, of Fort Rupert, and Lucy McNeill, daughter of Captain W. H. McNeill.

(9) The meaning of this curious entry is obscure. Possibly the reference is to "ragtag and bob-tail," meaning thereby the riff-raff of the Craigflower community.

1856—*Continued.*

APRIL.

Sa. 19 Fresh beef served out.
S. 20 Revd E. Cridge performed divine service.
Mo. 21 American sloop of war "Decator" visited.[10]
Tu. 22 Mr Tod a retired Chief Trader impeached with cattle stealing.[11]
Sa. 26 Sloop "Sarah Stone" seized for smuggling grog.
We. 30 Pump of Engine broke.

MAY.

Th. 1 M^r McKenzie removed into his new house.[12] heavy showers.
Fr. 2 Four sheep killed.
S. 4 American Sloop of war "Decatur" sailed Puget Sound.
Tu. 6 Very warm weather.
We. 7 S. S. "Otter" sailed Bellvue [San Juan Island] with a cargo of horses.
Fr. 9 Great discoveries of gold in different parts of the Island.[13]
Sa. 10 John Instant ¾ D. Brick-kiln burnt off.
S. 11 Refreshing rain.
Mo. 12 One sheep killed.
Tu. 13 American S. S. "John Hancock" visited Esquimalt.
Fr. 16 Brig "Recovery" arrived from San Francisco. Five sheep killed.
Sa. 17 John Instant dropped work.
S. 18 Mrs. Captain Cooper gave birth to a female child.
Tu. 20 Duncan Lidgate, John Instant, & Robert Laing apprehended for shooting into M^r McKenzie's house.[14]
Th. 22 Three sheep killed by dogs.
Fr. 23 Five sheep killed.
Sa. 24 Victoria Races celebrated on Beacon Hill. Duncan Lidgate, John Instant, and Robert Laing bailed out of prison.
S. 25 Refreshing showers. Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.

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(10) The *Decatur* (as the name should be spelled) took a prominent part in the war against the Indians. She was at Seattle and helped to defend the settlement when it was attacked in February, 1856.

(11) The reference is to John Tod, one of the best-known officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. No particulars of the charges made are available, and no reference to the case has been found in the records of the Courts.

(12) This dwelling, now known as the Old Craigflower Farmhouse, is still standing and in good repair. It was sold to private owners by the Hudson's Bay Company only a few years ago.

(13) Promising placer deposits in the vicinity of Sooke were causing some excitement at this time. *See* Douglas to Tolmie, May 1, 1856.

(14) The Court records relating to this case are incomplete, and give no additional details. *See* entries for May 24, May 31, and June 5, *infra*.

1856—*Continued.*

MAY.

Mo. 26 John Instant removed to Esquimalt bay. One sheep killed by dogs. William Brown & wife removed to Craig Flower.

We. 28 Showery weather.

Fr. 30 Four Sheep killed.

Sa. 31 Another examination held on D. Lidgate, J. Instant, and R. Laing.

JUNE.

Mo. 2 Commenced sheep shearing.

We. 4 Refreshing showers.

Th. 5 Dun. Lidgate fined 5£. Jno. Instant. Joseph Armstrong killed by a horse draging him along the ground.

Fr. 6 5 Sheep killed. Mrs. Cridge gave birth to a male child. Coroner's inquest held on the body of Joseph Armstrong.

Mo. 9 A law passed to form a house of representatives.[15]

We. 11 Very warm weather.

Fr. 13 Five Sheep killed.

Sa. 14 James ¾ D. The Author ¾ D.

S. 15 Revd E. Cridge performed divine service.

Tu. 17 James Newburgh disappeared.[16]

Th. 19 Very warm.

Fr. 20 Five sheep killed.

Sa. 21 Ineffectual search made for the person of James Newburgh.

Mo. 23 High winds.

Th. 26 Another ineffectual search made for the person of James Newbird.
Schooner "Alice" sailed Sandwich Islands.

Fr. 27 Five sheep killed.

Sa. 28 John Bell made his marriage feast whole company notoriously drunk.

JULY.

We. 2 Doctor Helmkin [Helmcken], and Mr. T. Skinner elected for the Esquimalt district—with[out] any opposition.

Th. 3 Licence's for selling grog granted £120 per annum.

Fr. 4 Five Sheep killed. George Greenwood and Andrew Hume, fighting.

Mo. 7 American S. S. "John Hancock" visited Esquimalt.

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(15) On this date the Council of Vancouver Island and Governor Douglas fixed the qualifications for candidates and voters, and defined the districts in which members of the new House of Assembly would be elected.

(16) The man's body was found a year later. *See* entry for June 23, 1857.

1856—*Continued.*

JULY.

Tu. 8 Mr. Yates, Mr. Longford, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Thorn, and Mr. McKay nominated for the Victoria district, three to be chosen out of the five.[17]

Fr. 11 Mr. Yates, Mr. Longford, and Mr. Pemberton elected for the Victoria district.

Sa. 12 Five Sheep killed.

Mo. 14 Mr. Yates, Mr. Longford, and Mr. Pemberton declared [elected]. Refreshing rain.

Fr. 18 Five Sheep killed. Showers.

S. 20 Refreshing rain.

Mo. 21 Heavy showers.

We. 23 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.

Fr. 25 Barque "Agnes Garland" arrived from England. Five Sheep killed.

Sa. 26 Another well sunk 33 feet deep.

Tu. 29 Extraordinary warm.

Th. 31 Mr. Clark's school examination held on a royal scale.[18]

AUGUST.

Fr. 1 Five sheep killed.

Sa. 2 James Wilson ¾ D.

Mo. 4 The Author whole D. Quarters Pay due.

Th. 7 Mr. Charles Clark and Miss Boatwood married.

Fr. 8 Four sheep killed. Commenced to harvest.

Mo. 11 H.M^S S. "Monarch" 84 guns arrived in Esquimalt harbour.[19]

Tu. 12 H. M^S S. "Trincomalee" 22 guns arrived do. do.
The Members for the House of Assembly sworn in.

Th. 14 Cattle killed every day for the ships.[20]

Fr. 15 Four Sheep killed.

Sa. 16 Barque "Agnes Garland" sailed China.

Mo. 18 Mrs. Liddle gave birth to a female child.

Tu. 19 House of Assembly met.

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(17) Four of the candidates were: James Yates, E. E. Langford (not Longford), J. D. Pemberton, and J. W. McKay. Thorn has not been identified; but *see* entry for February 26, 1856, *supra*, which may refer to the person in question.

(18) The Craigflower School was inspected both by Governor Douglas and by the Rev. Edward Cridge. The latter submitted a written report for which *see* D. L. MacLaurin, "Education Before the Gold Rush," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 258–60.

(19) Flagship of Rear Admiral H. W. Bruce, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station.

(20) Meaning for the ships of the Royal Navy.

1856—*Continued.*

AUGUST.

We. 20 Thomas Williams shot through the arm by an Indian.[21]
S. 24 Attended divine service on board H.M.S. "Monarch."
Tu. 26 Royal salute fired for Prince Albert's birth day.
Th. 28 Robert Anderson's child died.
Fr. 29 S. S. "Otter" taken H.M.S. "Trincomalee" in tow up to Coweigan.
Sa. 30 Sheep killed.
S. 31 Colonial Church consecrated.[22]

SEPTEMBER.

Tu. 2 Very showery weather.
Th. 4 The Indian hung who shot Thomas Williams.
Fr. 5 Sheep killed. Showers.
Sa. 6 S. S. "Otter" & H.M.S. "Trincomalee" arrived from their Coweigan expedition.
S. 7 Mr. Cooke gunner H. M. S. "Trincomalee" held a Prayer meeting School room.
Mo. 8 Mrs. Barr gave birth to a male child.
Tu. 9 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
Fr. 12 Mrs. Muir gave birth, a female child.
Sa. 13 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
S. 14 Mr. Cooke held his Prayer meeting.
Tu. 16 Foggy mornings.
Sa. 20 Fresh Beef served out.
S. 21 Mr. Green Chaplain H.M.S. "Monarch" held divine service in the School house.
Mo. 22 James Liddle's child baptized by the Rev. Mr. Green.
Tu. 23 H.M.S. "Monarch" sailed San Francisco. James Class started to work.
We. 24 Thomas Hervey died.
Fr. 26 All the corn got in.
Sa. 27 Mrs. Muir (Isabella Weir) died.[23] Fresh Beef served out.
S. 28 Mr. Cooke held his Prayer meeting.

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(21) "Thomas Williams an English subject and settler in this Colony having been wantonly fired at and dangerously wounded by an Indian of the Somina Tribe who inhabit the upper Cowegin valley," Douglas requested Admiral Bruce to send a force to apprehend the would-be murderer. Douglas to Bruce, August 25, 1856. An expedition was at once organized and left in the Hudson's Bay steamer *Otter* and H.M.S. *Trincomalee*. *See* entries for August 29, September 4, and September 6. Some 400 sailors and marines took part; eighteen members of the Victoria Voltigeurs accompanied them. The murderer was apprehended, tried, and executed.

(22) The Victoria District Church, the predecessor of Christ Church Cathedral. The original building was destroyed by fire in 1869.

(23) Mrs. Andrew Muir. For her marriage *see* entries for January 15 and January 31, 1854, *supra*.

1856—*Continued.*

SEPTEMBER.

Tu. 30 Mrs. Muir buried. William Newton and Miss [Emmaline] Todd married. Trincomalee Ball.

OCTOBER.

We. 1 S. S. " Otter " sailed San Francisco.
Th. 2 Matthew Rolland imprisoned for one year for stealing cattle.
Fr. 3 Very showery weather. Mrs. Whyte gave birth to a female child.
Sa. 4 Fresh Mutton served out.
S. 5 American S.S. " Massachusetts " visited Esquimalt.
Mo. 6 H.M.S. " Trincomalee " sailed coast of Mexico.
Tu. 7 Terrible high wind.
We. 8 Showers.
Fr. 10 Two Sheep and one Pig killed.
Mo. 13 Mr. Blinkhorn died.[24]
Tu. 14 Mrs. Veitch gave birth to a female child.
Th. 16 Mrs. Montgomery gave birth to a still-born male child. Mr. Blinkhorn buried.
Fr. 17 One Bullock killed.
S. 19 Steam Boat " Beaver " arrived from her trading expedition.
Mo. 20 S. S. " Otter " arrived from San Francisco. Very frosty.
Th. 23 Heavey rain.
Fr. 24 Two pigs killed.
Sa. 25 9 Sheep poisned.
S. 26 Revd E. Cridge performed divine service.
Mo. 27 Very wet day.
We. 29 Peter Bartleman and Mr. Skinner at law.
Th. 30 Showers.
Fr. 31 Three Sheep killed.

NOVEMBER.

Sa. 1 One Pig killed. Andrew Hume, James Wilson, & The Author taking money for their rations.
Brig " Recovery " arrived from Sandwich Islands.
Mo. 3 Heavy rain.
Tu. 4 Quarters pay due and settled.
Th. 6 New marked [market] opened, one pig sold. One Bullock killed.
Fr. 7 Severe frost.
Sa. 8 Duncan Lidgate taking money for his rations.
Mo. 10 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nisqually.

(24) Thomas Blinkhorn, who had come to Vancouver Island as an " independent settler " in 1851, and had taken charge of a farm at Metchosin owned by Captain James Cooper. Blinkhorn was appointed magistrate for Metchosin District in 1853, and held the office at the time of his death.

1856—*Continued.*

NOVEMBER.

Th. 13 Mrs. Hume gave birth to a male child. One Bullock killed.
Fr. 14 Mrs. Pike gave birth to a still-born child.
Sa. 15 Fine weather.
Mo. 17 Steam Engine removed to the new building.
Matthew Rolland liberated from prison.
We. 19 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
Th. 20 Hurricane of wind and rain.
Sa. 22 Heavy rain.
S. 23 Revd E. Cridge performed divine service.
Tu. 25 American S. S. "Massachusetts" arrived with 80 Indian prisoners on board.
We. 26 Rain.
Th. 27 The Indian prisoners sent away north.
Sa. 29 Monthly Ration pay.
S. 30 William Thomson and Margret Lidgate proclaimed for marriage fi.[rst] time.

DECEMBER.

Mo. 1 Frosty.
We. 3 Two Bullocks killed. Showry.
Sa. 6 Heavy rain.
Mo. 8 James Downie started to the thrashing.
Tu. 9 Dreadfull storm of wind and rain.
Fr. 12 Very frosty.
Sa. 13 Rain.
Mo. 15 Heavy fall of snow 8 inches deep.
We. 17 Hard frost.
Fr. 19 William Thomson and Margret Die married. Rain and snow.
Sa. 20 Captain Cooper's household effects sold by public auction.[25] Very rainy.
S. 21 Showers.
Mo. 22 Captain Cooper's sale continued. Showers.
Tu. 23 Heavy Showers. Two horses drowned at the Esquimalt bridge.
Th. 25 Christmas kept as a holiday.
Fr. 26 Mrs. McKenzie gave birth to a male child.
Sa. 27 Monthly ration pay settled.
S. 28 Revd E. Cridge divine service in the school-room.
Tu. 30 Heavy fall of snow.

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(25) Following the death of Thomas Blinkhorn (*see* entry for October 13, 1856) Cooper sold his farm at Metchosin, and later sold his household effects, as recorded in this and subsequent entries. He returned to England in 1857, where he gave evidence before the Select Committee investigating the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was appointed Harbour Master for British Columbia in 1859.

1857

JANUARY.

Th. 1 New Year's day kept as a holiday.
Fr. 2 Severe frost with drift and snow.
Mo. 5 Chief Judge and Sherriff. confirmed.
Tu. 6 Hoar frost.
We. 7 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nanaimo.
Sa. 10 Severe frost lasted from the first.
Mo. 12 Captain Cooper sold out entirely.
We. 14 Theatre opened at Victoria.
Th. 15 Barque " Princess Royal " arrived from England.
S. S. " Otter " sailed San Francisco.
Sa. 17 Heavy rain.
S. 18 Rain.
Mo. 19 Rain.
Tu. 20 One Bullock killed. Rain.
We. 21 Rain.
Th. 22 Rain.
Fr. 23 Rain.
Sa. 24 Rain. Monthly Ration Pay settled.
S. 25 Revd E. Cridge held divine service. Rain.
Mo. 26 Brig " Recovry " arrived from Sandwich Islands. Rain.
Tu. 27 Rain.
We. 28 Rain.
Th. 29 Rain.
Fr. 30 Brig " Recovry " and S. B. " Beaver " sailed Fraser's River. Rain.
Sa. 31 Rain.

FEBRUARY.

Mo. 2 Rain.
Tu. 3 Rain and Snow.
We. 4 Quarter Pay due. Rain. One Bullock killed.
Th. 5 Rain.
Fr. 6 Hard frost. Thrashing mill set agoing.
Sa. 7 Snow and rain.
S. 8 Twenty-one sheep killed by wolves or panthers.
Tu. 10 Rain.
We. 11 Rain.
Th. 12 Rain.
Fr. 13 Sch. " Morning Star " arrived from Sock. Rain.
Sa. 14 Mr. Clark received a respectable round from Mr. McK[enz]ie. Rain.
Mo. 16 Rain.
Tu. 17 Presentation of Silver Plate to Dr. Helmkin [Helmcken] on board the " Princess Royal."[26]

(26) No mention of this presentation is found in Helmcken's reminiscences, and its significance is not known.

1857—*Continued*

FEBRUARY.

We. 18 Rain.
Th. 19 Four pigs killed. Rain.
Fr. 20 Rain.
Sa. 21 Monthly ration pay due. Rain.
S. 22 Rev[d] E. Cridge held divine service. Rain.
Mo. 23 Frosty.
Tu. 24 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nisqually.
Th. 26 American S. S. " Massachussetts " arrived Esquimalt.
Fr. 27 Slight Frost. New Flour-mill started.

MARCH.

Tu. 3 Fine weather.
Th. 5 Barque " Princess Royal " sailed for London.
S. S. " Otter " arrived Nisqually.
Mrs. Souel gave birth to a female child.
Fr. 6 Three pigs killed.
Mo. 9 Showry.
We. 11 Rain.
Th. 12 Rain.
Fr. 13 Three pigs killed.
S. 15 Very wet.
Mo. 16 Rain.
Tu. 17 Mr. W. McDonald and Miss C. Reed married.[27] Heavy rain.
We. 18 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nisqually. Rain.
Th. 19 Rain.
Fr. 20 One Pig killed. Rain and snow.
Sa. 21 Monthly Ration Pay settled. Rain.
S. 22 Mrs. McKenzie, Mrs. Veitch, Mrs. Whyte, and Mrs. Hume's children baptized by the Rev[d] E. Cridge.
Mo. 23 S. S. " Otter " arrived.
Tu. 24 S. S. " Otter " chartered by the American Government for a cruize on the Sound.
We. 25 Showery.
Fr. 27 Four Pigs killed.
Tu. 31 S. S. " Otter " arrived.

APRIL.

Fr. 3 Two Pigs killed.
Mo. 6 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nisqually.
Th. 9 S. S. Otter arrived. Nisqually.
Fr. 10 Good Friday kept. One Bullock killed.
Tu. 14 Mrs. Deans gave birth to a male child.
Fr. 17 One Bullock killed.

(27) William John McDonald, a well-known Victoria pioneer (who was afterwards Senator), and Catherine Balfour Reid, daughter of Captain J. M. Reid.

1857—*Continued*

APRIL.

Sa. 18 Monthly Ration Pay settled.
Mo. 20 Mr. McKenzie gained a law-plea over Mr. Clark.
We. 22 Mark Cole put a pistol bullet through a Canadian's leg.
Fr. 24 One Bullock killed.
Sa. 25 S. S. " Otter " arrived.
Tu. 28 Very warm weather.
We. 29 Mrs. Kelly gave birth to a male child.

MAY.

Mo. 4 Quarter's Pay due and settled.
Tu. 5 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nisqually.
Th. 7 S. S. " Otter " arrived with Mr. Dallas and Mr. Munroe.
Fr. 8 Three Sheep killed.
Sa. 9 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nanaimo, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Dallas, Mr. Pemberton, & Mr. Cridge.
Mo. 11 Hot and sultry.
We. 13 Refreshing showers. S. S. " Otter " arrived from Nanaimo.
Fr. 15 Three Sheep killed.
Sa. 16 Showers. Monthly ration pay settled.
Mo. 18 S. S. " Otter " sailed Nisqually.
Tu. 19 Brig " Recovery " arrived Sandwich Islands.
We. 20 S. S. " Otter " arrived Nisqually.
Th. 21 Heavy rain.
Fr. 22 Four Sheep killed.
S. 24 Revd E. Cridge held divine service.
Mo. 25 Victoria races celebrated on Beacon Hill.
We. 27 Very hot and sultry.
Fr. 29 Three Sheep killed.
Sa. 30 Great concert held in the Assembly rooms Victoria.
S. 31 Heat 110 degrees.

JUNE.

We. 3 Cool brezzes.
Fr. 5 Four Sheep killed.
Mo. 8 S. S. " Otter " sailed Columbia River.
Fr. 12 Three Sheep killed.
Sa. 13 H.M.S.S. " Satellite " 20 guns arrived in Esquimalt. Monthly Ration pay due.
We. 17 John Hunter started to work.
Fr. 19 Four Sheep killed.
Sa. 20 S. S. " Otter " arrived from Columbia River.
Mo. 22 American Steamer "Active " arrived at Victoria.
Tu. 23 The skeleton of James Newbird found.[28]

(28) The man had disappeared a year before. *See* entry for June 17, 1856, *supra*.

1857—*Continued*

JUNE.

Th. 25 Mrs. Cridge gave birth to a male child.
Fr. 26 Five sheep killed.
S. 28 Confirmation of young communicants by the Bishop of Oregon.[29]
Mo. 29 Refreshing rain.
Tu. 30 Rain.

JULY.

We. 1 H.M.S.S. " Sattelite " and American Steamer "Active " sailed Olympia.
Fr. 3 Five Sheep killed.
Sa. 4 S. S. " Otter " arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
Mo. 6 S. S. " Otter " sailed Fraser's River. Mrs. Downie gave birth to a male child.
Tu. 7 H.M.S. " Sattelite " arrived from Olympia.
Fr. 10 Four Sheep killed.
Sa. 11 S. S. " Otter " arrived. Monthly Ration pay.
S. 12 Revd E. Cridge performed divine service.
We. 15 Lecture by the Indian Missionary.[30]
Sa. 18 Four Sheep killed.
S. 19 Mrs. Yates gave birth to a male child. Mrs. Yates's daughter Agnes died.
Mo. 20 Mrs. Greenwood gave birth to a female child.
We. 22 Lecture by the Indian Missionary.
Fr. 24 Four Sheep killed.
S. 26 Divine service held by the Indian Missionary.
Tu. 28 S. S. " Otter " sailed San Francisco.
Fr. 31 Four Sheep killed.

[The End.]

(29) The Rev. Thomas Fielding Scott, elected missionary bishop of Oregon and Washington for the Protestant Episcopal Church in October, 1853.

(30) William Duncan, of Metlakatla fame, who came to the Pacific Coast in the service of the Church Missionary Society. He travelled in H.M.S. *Satellite*, and arrived at Esquimalt on June 13, 1857; *see* entry for that date.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

HIS HONOUR JUDGE HOWAY.

As this number of the *Quarterly* went to press word was received of the death, on October 4, of Judge F. W. Howay, leading authority on the history of the Pacific Northwest. Amongst his innumerable honours and offices, Judge Howay was first President and an Honorary Member of the British Columbia Historical Association. Suitable reference to his life, and to the remarkable contribution he made to the historical knowledge and literature of this Province, will be made in the January issue.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

Owing to the restrictions on the use of cars, no Field Day could be organized this summer, but its place was taken by a most successful garden meeting, held in the beautiful grounds of "Molton Combe," home of Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson, on July 10. A large number of members and friends of the Section attended. The Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson, Chairman of the Section, presided. The speaker was Lieut.-Comdr. Gerald S. Graham, R.C.N.V.R., formerly Professor of History in Queen's University, and now of the Royal Canadian Naval College, Esquimalt. His subject was *The Making of a Nation: Problems of Canadian Unity since Confederation.* Commander Graham first noted the geographical difficulties that faced the young Dominion in 1867, and especially after 1871, when British Columbia joined the union. Because of the lack of roads and railways the Dominion consisted of three tenuously connected parts; and this "absence of communications left a social and political gulf between Maritimes, Canada, and the Pacific Coast which no amount of common sentiment for the Imperial connection could bridge." It must be remembered, too, that Confederation itself was due in great part to outside influences, notably the American Civil War and the menace of American expansion. There was no widespread popular demand for Confederation in the Canadas; but the union of Upper Canada and Lower Canada had not proven a success, and the larger scheme offered a means of bringing it to an end. "It would be a mistake," for this and other reasons, "to say that a nation was born in 1867." Confederation simply assembled the materials from which, through the years, a nation might perhaps be made. Commander Graham stressed the part played by the West in the evolution of the Dominion: "'Without the West,' one historian has remarked, 'the eastern communities would have lost that stimulus of a common feeling that came from sharing its development.' It was westward expansion which first developed a genuine consciousness of nationhood in the United States. The peopling of our own prairies provided a similar fillip to Canadian national consciousness." Turning next to the subject of Empire and foreign relations, the speaker showed how outside factors had continued to influence the Dominion's character, just as they had done much to bring about its initial organization. While refusing to consider either

independence or annexation, Canada nevertheless insisted more and more upon complete control of her own affairs. By 1914 she had attained a constitutional status that "defied definition," but which was to lead ultimately to the Statute of Westminster. Commander Graham concluded: "In the present and the future, the chief task will be to resist disintegration from within. Once again, as in Durham's time, far-seeing leadership will be necessary to surmount the ever-growing sectionalism, based on economic, social, and racial divergences between the provinces, and only when defence or 'provincial rights' is jettisoned for some more positive principle of action in the interests of the nation as a whole, will the ideal of the Fathers of Confederation be fully realized."

Mr. F. C. Green, Vice-Chairman of the Section, moved a vote of thanks to the speaker. The address was followed by community singing and a social hour. Before adjournment, Dr. T. A. Rickard paid tribute to Mrs. Fitzherbert Bullen, granddaughter of Sir James Douglas, and for many years an active member of the Section, who was that week celebrating her 80th birthday. All present joined in extending their good wishes upon the occasion.

The memory of Sir James Douglas was honoured by the Section at a ceremony held at his graveside, in Ross Bay Cemetery, on August 15, the 140th anniversary of Sir James's birth. The observance was suggested by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, and was planned as a part of the celebration of the centenary of the City of Victoria. Mr. McKelvie had been asked to be the principal speaker of the day, and he paid eloquent tribute to Douglas and his work. "We have," he said, "gathered here not to mourn the death of Sir James, but to recall accomplishments of his life. . . . These attain an increasingly important place in our history when viewed in the perspective of the passing years. In doing him honour we honour ourselves." About fifty members and friends were present at the ceremony, and many societies seized the opportunity to honour the memory of Sir James by placing wreaths on his grave. At the conclusion of the programme Rev. T. H. Laundy, pastor of the Church of our Lord, from which Sir James was buried, delivered the invocation and pronounced the blessing.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of Friday, September 17. The Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson presided and introduced the speaker of the evening, the Hon. Mr. Justice Sidney A. Smith, of Vancouver. Mr. Justice Smith has long been interested in the history of ships and the sea, and spoke to the Section on *The Opening-up of British Columbia Coast Lines.* The speaker comes of a sea-faring family, himself holds a Master's ticket, and spoke with a knowledge and eloquence that held the large audience enthralled. He first went far back in Canadian history, and dealt with some of the pioneer voyages of the great mariners who first traced the coast-line of the continent. Coming nearer home, he gave a vivid impression of the work of Cook and Vancouver, touching incidentally upon the fascinating subject of place-names and their derivation. Turning next to trade routes, he showed how

the world's commerce moves for the most part along relatively few well-beaten ocean pathways, and indicated the significance of this fact in the maritime development—past, present, and future—of our own Pacific Coast. In his preliminary remarks Mr. Justice Smith made a strong plea for better care for the famous *Tilikum*, the Indian canoe in which Captain Voss sailed unescorted across 48,000 miles of ocean. In its present position in Thunderbird Park it is being damaged by vandals, and he asked that it be better protected or moved to a safer spot.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The first meeting of the season was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on the evening of Thursday, September 30. Mr. A. G. Harvey, Chairman of the Section, presided. Over sixty members attended and listened with interest to the informative and amusing address on *Early Days in New Westminster* delivered by Mrs. Clarence D. Peele. Herself a native daughter of New Westminster, Mrs. Peele was thoroughly familiar with her subject, and adorned the early history of the city with a wealth of diverting stories. Turning first to the earliest days, she told of the coming of the Royal Engineers, the selection of the site of the city, and the gradual growth of the old capital on the Fraser. Then came the union of the colonies, and, soon after, a bitter blow, when the capital of the United Colony of British Columbia was moved to Victoria. Recovering gradually, New Westminster became the metropolis of the mainland, only to have this position taken from it a generation later by the growth of Vancouver. Finally came the great fire of September 10, 1898, which may be said to have marked the end of the old city. Rising indomitably from its ruins, New Westminster has in forty years grown into the beautiful and prosperous city of to-day, and, incidentally, in normal times the greatest exporting centre in the Province. Even in its modern dress the Royal City has taken care to treasure its distinctive traditions, and May Day and the anvil battery carry on to-day, as they have done for more than seventy years. New Westminster is the oldest incorporated city in British Columbia, and, as Mrs. Peele reminded her audience, had, amongst other things, the first public library in the Province.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Henry Drummond Dee, M.A. (British Columbia), is Vice-Principal of Victoria High School.

George F. Drummond, M.A. (St. Andrew's), M.Sc. (London), is Associate Professor of Economics in the University of British Columbia.

Eleanor M. Mercer, M.A. (British Columbia), B.L.S. (Washington), is a member of the staff of the Library of the University of British Columbia.

Sylvia L. Thrupp, Ph.D. (London), is Instructor in History in the University of British Columbia. She is the author of *A History of the Cranbrook District of East Kootenay* (1929), *The Worshipful Company of Bakers, A Short History* (London, 1933), and other studies.

Clifford P. Wilson, B.Com. (McGill), is Curator of the Hudson's Bay Company museum, Winnipeg, and editor of *The Beaver*.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Ports of British Columbia. By Agnes Rothery. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1943. Pp. 279. Illustrated. $3.

Armchair travellers will welcome this addition to a recent trend in writing. American publishing firms are adding to their lists of travel and guide books, titles which fall into neither category. The "Rivers of America" series (Farrar & Rinehart), and the Doubleday, Doran "Seaport" series, of which this book is a recent volume, seek to depict America through local character portraits. Often the author of such a study is a resident of the region concerned, but Miss Rothery is a well-known travel writer who came to British Columbia expressly to gather material for her book.

The result of this circumstance is a mixed blessing; very few British Columbians could view Vancouver and Victoria with the eyes of an outsider, as Miss Rothery has done. But, on the other hand, few residents would make the errors that she has done. She uses wrong dates, names, and figures (by omitting a digit she even places the population of the Province at 78,000).

How many Vancouverites are familiar with the details of the lumber and fishing industries which are so important to this port? Mr. R. L. Haig-Brown has, of course, presented much more intimate and vivid accounts of these crafts, but Miss Rothery gives us interesting material. We are apt to think of Vancouver as another Seattle or Portland, but this visitor has been quick to notice the differences. Any British Columbian will enjoy her account of Victoria. She went there prejudiced against its "little bit of England" reputation, but came away charmed by its gardens, its shops, and its people. Evidently Victorians are better hosts than mainlanders, for her impressions of the Island are much more personal.

Strangers should, of course, benefit most from this book. The author uses an effective method of presenting her material; while omitting her personal adventures, she progresses easily from the "stoutly Canadian" store windows of Cordova Street, to the want ads asking for cat chasers, to an excellent account of the lumber industry in woods and mills; from the dome of the Parliament Buildings to the political structure of British Columbia, and its background; or from the Provincial Archives to Captain Vancouver's voyages.

Readers who have yet to visit British Columbia will gain a fairly sound impression of the southern part of the Province—its wealth, its beauties, its faults. True, such readers will not learn that New Westminster and Prince Rupert are also great ports, and they will not be able to travel far with the end-paper map which places Vancouver's City Hall in Victoria and omits all rivers. However, such omissions, while in some cases rather serious, are not sufficiently so to condemn the book. *The Ports of British Columbia* is a most useful and readable work.

ELEANOR B. MERCER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671–1674. Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by Sir John Clapham. Toronto: The Champlain Society, and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1942. Pp. lxviii., 276.

It was apparently not until October, 1671, that any very formal minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company court and committee meetings were preserved, and it was not until November of that year that accounts were summarized in ledgers; whatever rough records of the previous four years' activity had existed were soon afterwards mislaid. The first series of minutes have now been edited, together with extracts from the early ledgers, and the full text of the charters of 1670 and 1675. Sir John Clapham has supplied a brisk and entertaining introductory essay, Miss Alice Johnson, of the Company's Archives Department, has added valuable biographical notes, and the whole is printed in that luxurious style to which members of the Champlain Society have become accustomed, and which continues miraculously unaffected by war-time difficulties. The only possible improvement in form that could be suggested would be the insertion of chapter headings to emphasize the topics dealt with in the introduction.

Both the specialist and the general reader will find a quantity of fresh detail in this volume, enabling them to picture more clearly the organization of the Company, the outfitting of its ships, and the personnel of the early expeditions. The notes, for example, round out the biography of that eccentric Quaker, Charles Bayly, who was released from imprisonment in the Tower to enter the Company's service, and became the first resident governor of Rupert Land. Arrested in Bristol for giving too much voice to his religious opinions, he had written to Charles II. exhorting him to reform his wanton ways. The king must have enjoyed his letter immensely, and may have had him removed to the Tower as a joke. There is no evidence that Bayly had any influence at Court. He proved an able servant of the Company, his religion in no way interfering with the supply of arms to the Indians. Another servant, William Lydall, had lived for many years in Russia. One of the seamen, John Hawkins, who sailed on the first three voyages, is described as having learned to speak the language of the Hudson's Bay country very well, and was therefore re-engaged as a trader for a three-year term.

From the point of view of the economic historian, the chief importance of the minutes and accounts lies in the information that they furnish as to the Company's original sources of capital. Even in the optimistic atmosphere of the Restoration it was not easy to raise funds for so speculative a venture as the exploration and development of a remote northerly region. The wealthy city merchants and bankers concentrated upon safely established lines of trade, dealings in land, and the growing business in short-term government loans. The latter, as the less cautious financiers discovered one by one, was far from risk-free. Yet the majority of the investors of the day were inclined to underestimate risks arising from political affairs, while displaying little confidence in trade expansion. The shareholders of the new company were drawn mainly from a small circle of imaginative noble-

men and officials who were more or less distinctly looking forward to the building of empire through trade. Seven of the eighteen whose names are given in the first chapter had served on one or other of the councils on trade and plantations that the Restoration government had fostered. One of them, Sir Peter Colleton, was a Barbados planter with interests also in the Carolinas and in the Bahamas. He and four others of the eighteen were members of the Royal Society; this indicates that they had probably a very deep interest in geography and exploration. As a result of the extravagant mode of living that was then fashionable, however, few of these early imperialists could raise very large sums of money. Baron Arlington, who was said to employ a hundred domestic servants in his country house alone, subscribed only £200. Prince Rupert himself put up only £270. Actually, the first subscriptions to materialize were obtained from Sir Robert Vyner, banker and tax-farmer, and one of his associates. Vyner was at the time perhaps one of the richest men in England, but he subscribed only £300, and doled out the money, with evident reluctance, in seven small instalments, between 1667 and 1670. In 1675 the nominal share capital amounted to £10,550, including one share of £300 credited to the Duke of York, who had paid in nothing. By far the largest shareholder at that time was Sir James Hayes, Prince Rupert's able and energetic secretary, who had gradually built up a holding of £1,800. This gave him eighteen votes.

The records fail to give any very detailed picture of the Company's business operations. It is plain that beaver prices were kept high by careful spacing of sales, but no balance-sheet was drawn up for any of the voyages. Wages and salaries paid to seamen and other servants were supplemented by generous provisioning of ships and forts; the rations included fruit and vegetables as well as lime-juice, and the allowance of beer was three quarts a day. In trade goods there was a preference for knives, hatchets, and guns; cloth shipped out was of good quality. From the first there was constant concern over losses through private trade on the part of the Company's servants; this was impossible to suppress and difficult to control. In these early years, in fact, it might be said that the employees were the only people who made anything by the trade. The only shareholders who received any return were some half dozen who occasionally advanced sums at interest for operating expenses, thus becoming a kind of debenture-holders. Hayes was the chief of these, but he turned back all that he made in this way into the Company stock. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the next largest shareholder, and one of the most active in the direction of Company affairs, made nothing out of his investment. As Sir John Clapham writes of him, "He and all the best of the adventurers, and those most loyal to the Company, strike one as reasonably disinterested imperialists and patrons of pioneering enterprise, as the worst gamblers in exploration and empire."

SYLVIA L. THRUPP.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The American-Born in Canada. A Statistical Interpretation. By R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean. Toronto: The Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1943. (*The Relations of Canada and the United States.*) Pp. xix., 176. $3.75.

Within recent years there has been a growing interest and a growing literature in the field of Canadian-American relations. Not the least important of these relations has been the interchange of nationals. Though we are sometimes prone to think of the migration as a one-way movement, or preponderantly an exodus of Canadians drawn by the enlarged opportunities of their southern neighbour, it has been a to-and-fro movement with permanent settlement on both sides. Here we have an authoritative volume on the influx to Canada of Americans over many decades and their absorption into Canadian life. Its authors, R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean, have done a thorough job, not only in the statistical presentation of the data culled from Canadian census tabulations but more particularly in their interpretation of the statistical analyses. Dr. R. H. Coats is too well known to need introduction here; until recently Director of the Bureau of Statistics, Mr. Coats directed and edited the compilation and analysis of the data in collaboration with his Chief of the Branch on Social Analysis, Mr. M. C. Maclean, who unfortunately died before the completion of the work.

This volume is one of three which deal with different approaches to Canadian-American migration. The historical aspects of the subject have been dealt with by the late Professor Marcus Lee Hansen in a work, entitled *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples,* while the counterpart of the present volume, namely, the settlement of the Canadian-born in the United States has been written under the title, *The Canadian-Born in the United States* by Dr. Leon E. Truesdell, Chief Statistician for Population of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

The present work is divided into two parts. Part I., for which R. H. Coats is entirely responsible, is an interpretation of the basic statistics which comprise for the most part the body of Part II.

The Canadian population, according to the 1931 census, was 10,376,786, of which 2,307,525 or 22.2 per cent. were born outside Canada. It is interesting to note that American nationals held second place in the rank of immigrants; England provided 7.0 per cent., the United States 3.3 per cent., and Scotland 2.7 per cent. The question is asked: "What criterion shall we apply to these 344,574 American-born in Canada, as a whole and in their various aspects and characteristics, in order to interpret what their presence means in the country to which they have come? It is essential to observe and analyse them by age, sex, conjugal condition, racial origin, and all the other rubrics of the Census . . . but clearly the overlying criterion of a phenomenon like immigration is *distribution,* the evenness or unevenness of their scatter or spread. . . ." This will show in turn how the immigrant conforms to the social and economic behaviour of his new environment, whether he stays in racial pockets, whether he specializes in certain occupations or activities, whether he marries from his own race or from others, whether he accepts the *mores* of the natives, whether he maintains a racial

or cultural identity distinct from or resistant to the influences of his new home. Assimilation is more than intermixture. It is acceptance of standards of behaviour, of social, economic, and political activities, and of civic responsibility; it is this which makes an immigrant not just an economic adventurer but a citizen of a living community. The task which the authors set for themselves is just this, to find out by appropriate demographic measurements and statistical techniques the answers to such questions. The job is extremely well done. For those who want verification in figures, well, the data are there; for those who want logical deduction the inferences are there, clearly drawn and unmistakable; and, above all, for those who want something more than bald statistical analysis there is an insight which, coupled with a fine style, enlivens and holds the interest. This is something more than a case study in immigration; it is an interpretation of the complex factors which build a nation out of diverse assimilations. The American-born immigrant is in Canada to stay. "The even distribution, however, of the American-born over Canada spells, on the face of it, that they are at one and the same time disseminating their influence widely and themselves becoming Canadianized." (P. 37.)

Throughout the book the technical illustration of the statistical data is very well done. The two frontispiece maps showing the percentage distribution of the American-born throughout Canada by counties and census divisions are supplemented by charts and graphs showing not only the distribution of the American-born but their relationship to the distribution of other foreign-born for 1931 and other selected periods. For example, the "control group" of immigrants used throughout the study is the Scottish racial group which appears, in spite of a reputation for clannishness, to be more evenly distributed throughout the Dominion than any other racial group. The American-born group, traced by racial origin, Canadian and otherwise, comes in spite of differences close to the Scottish distribution.

This book is a welcome addition to the expanding body of literature on Canadian-American relations and its reliance on factual analysis gives it a place of special importance in this widening field of study.

G. F. DRUMMOND.

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