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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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OLD MINES IN THE WEST KOOTENAY*

There is no more pathetic and disheartening sight than an abandoned mine. In many an isolated spot in the interior of British Columbia old shafts lie half caved in, surrounded by a rubble of discarded waste. A dank and icy breath of air, even on the hottest days, flows out from tunnels with sagging timbers and twisted rail lines. Bushes and undergrowth hide abandoned ore-cars and rotting cabins; here nature once more overwhelmed and defeated man. Yet although the prospectors are gone and their mines long since deserted, in reality such desolate scenes spell not defeat but victory, for these early discoveries opened the way and made possible a living for thousands of people to-day in the great sprawling metallurgical and chemical industry of present-day British Columbia.

In the West Kootenay country the first of many valuable lode deposits to be discovered was the Blue Bell on Kootenay Lake. Lying on the Big Ledge, the ore was close to the surface and was so prominent that even the Indians knew of its existence. They came to this spot to obtain lead for bullets.[1] The Hudson's Bay Company men who penetrated the country also knew of this deposit, but the story of its actual discovery cannot be freed from the legends which have grown around it.[2]

One of the most persistent stories credited the Scottish botanist, David Douglas, with the discovery of the Blue Bell in 1825.[3] In that year he travelled up the Columbia River from Fort Vancouver to Fort Colvile where he spent several days botanizing and exploring the country. Later reports claimed that he wandered as far as Kootenay Lake and saw the stained rock on the Big Ledge. It is probable that W. A. Baillie-Grohman was the person who first credited Douglas with the discovery,

* The substance of the presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association held in Victoria, January 20, 1956.

(1) Father P. J. De Smet may well have been referring to this location when on September 5, 1845, he wrote: "Le pays des Skalzi n'attend que le travail et l'industrie de l'homme laborieux et industrieux. Le plomb y est si abondant, que dans plusieurs endroits il se trouve en monceaux sur la surface du sol même, et d'une qualité si belle, qu'il y a peu de doute, qu'il ne soit mêlé avec une certaine quantité d'argent." P. J. De Smet, *Missions de l'Orégon . . .* , Gand, 1848, p. 82.

(2) For a more detailed discussion of this point *see* the appendix to this article.

(3) "The Bluebell, 1825–1951," *Cominco Magazine*, XII (January, 1951), pp. 1–3; and "Murder at the Blue Bell," *ibid.*, XIII (June, 1952), pp. 1–7, 18. In this article the old form of spelling *Blue Bell* is used.

for he mentioned it in an article published in the Victoria *Colonist* in 1883.[4] Five years later, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, Gold Commissioner for Kootenay, makes reference to " the old galena deposit discovered in 1825 by the botanist Douglas."[5] This report possibly was the source of information which led George M. Dawson, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, to associate Douglas with the find.[6] But modern research shows no foundation in fact for this story. Douglas kept a diary of his trip and makes no statement which would confirm a visit to Kootenay Lake. He also collected specimens of rock which he presented to the Geological Society of London. These have all disappeared, but a list of them in Douglas' handwriting remains and contains no mention of ore from the Blue Bell nor from the Kootenay Lake district.[7] A. G. Harvey, biographer of Douglas, disposes of the legend most emphatically:—

> The story has often been retold, but it cannot be true, for Douglas was never on any part of the shore of Kootenay Lake. His carefully written journal, with its daily entries and detailed list of his travels during 1825–1827, makes no mention of it, and in fact leaves no room for it. . . . Except for his overland journey to Hudson Bay in 1827, during which he passed the mouth of the Kootenay (or McGillivray's) River, his nearest approach to Kootenay Lake was Kettle Falls (Fort Colville). He was there three times in 1826, spending all together seven weeks, and on one occasion walked twenty miles up the Columbia and back. This was the closest he got to Kootenay Lake.[8]

There is evidence to suggest a later date of discovery and a specific discoverer. During 1843–44 still another botanist, the German, Karl Andreas Geyer, was at Fort Colvile, and in the account of his explorations published in 1845–46 he named as the discoverer none other than Archibald McDonald, Chief Factor in charge of Fort Colvile.[9] Whether

(4) Victoria *Colonist*, November 18, 1883.

(5) British Columbia, *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1888*, Victoria, 1889, p. 299.

(6) George M. Dawson, *The Mineral Wealth of British Columbia*, Montreal, 1889, in *Annual Report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, 1887–88*, new series, Vol. III, Part ii, p. 62R.

(7) A. G. Harvey, *Douglas of the Fir*, Cambridge, Mass., 1947, pp. 210–211. *See also* his earlier article " David Douglas in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1940), pp. 235–237.

(8) Harvey, *Douglas of the Fir*, p. 211.

(9) Grace Lee Nute, "A Botanist at Fort Colvile," *The Beaver*, September, 1946, pp. 28–30, indicates that the report was published in the *London Journal of Botany*, and Susan Delano McKelvey, *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790–1850*, Jamaica Plains, Mass., 1955, p. 791, gives the references as IV (1845), 479–492, 653–662; V (1846), 22–41, 198–208, 285–310, 509–524.

or not McDonald was the actual discoverer may still be questioned, but beyond a doubt he did visit the site and obtained samples which in due course were sent to London.[10] The Hudson's Bay Company, however, took no steps to develop the find. The company was primarily a fur-trade concern and may have deliberately preferred to ignore the information, realizing full well the effect that any mining development would have on its fur trade. So for some time to come only the Indians and possibly occasional trappers got lead for their bullets from the ore-body.[11]

Sometime in the 'sixties, George Hearst, a prominent American mining speculator and subsequently United States Senator from California, visited the Blue Bell and is reputed to have set up a hearth furnace to treat the ore. William Fernie, Government Agent at that time, in a letter to S. S. Fowler written in 1909, confirmed Hearst's trip to the mine with Captain A. Pingston, of Marcus, Washington. However, Fernie doubted that a furnace was ever set up for he himself saw no sign of it on any of his visits to the spot. He also indicated that the trip undertaken by Hearst was a wild goose chase, induced by a prospector who deceived Hearst with ore from a mine other than the Blue Bell.[12]

Thrust out from the shore on the east side of Kootenay Lake lies the "Big Ledge"—a hump of rock split into two tree-covered hills. One hill contains the Blue Bell mine, the other, the Kootenay Chief. On the Blue Bell side the ore was close to the surface, lying on a band of crystallized limestone, and to-day one can see the old glory hole with rock oxidized to a red-brown above the white dump of waste marble. On the Kootenay Chief hill the ore was below the surface, and to-day the shaft goes down far below the level of the lake. Its headframe, a striking pattern of grey and red against the green hillside, looks very modern and efficient, but close beside the concentrator is a stone memorial which takes one back to the past with these words—"Thomas Hammill, assassinated June 1, 1885, age 30 years."

(10) "Did Archibald McDonald Discover the Bluebell?" *Cominco Magazine*, XIV (January, 1953), pp. 2–3.

(11) "Sometime at the beginning of this century, men, and especially Hudson Bay men, knew of the existence of a great deposit of carbonate of lead, galena and copper, upon Kootenay Lake, known as the Blue Bell mine. This great mine (now the mainstay of the Pilot Bay Smelting Company), for many years provided lead for a few trappers' bullets, and that was all." Clive Phillips-Wolley, "Mining Development in British Columbia," *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature*, VIII (1896–97), p. 300.

(12) William Fernie to S. S. Fowler, January 26 and February 6, 1909, Transcript, Archives of B.C.

On this lovely wooded spot above the quiet Galena Bay, which curves in behind the Big Ledge, the desire for wealth brought tragedy many years ago. In 1882, Robert Evan Sproule and two companions set out from Dick Fry's ranch at Bonner's Ferry to follow down the Kootenay River. Cruising along Kootenay Lake they saw the iron stain on the Big Ledge and, on going ashore, they were overwhelmed by the seeming immensity of the deposit and felt their fortunes were made. Unfortunately, however, all mining in British Columbia up to this time had been placer-mining and the laws consequently only covered situations apt to arise in that type of mining. To hold a claim it was necessary to file at once with a Gold Commissioner and not be absent from a claim for more than seventy-two hours at a stretch. Since the nearest Gold Commissioner was at Wild Horse Creek, over 100 miles away, it was impossible for Sproule to travel there and back without being absent more than the prescribed limit of time, so he did not register in conformity with the law. But in the same year Captains John C. and George J. Ainsworth, of the Columbia and Kootenay Railroad, had sent out a prospecting party under Thomas Hammill. Shortly after Sproule began working on the Blue Bell, Hammill arrived and claimed the deposit. Included in his party was the Gold Commissioner, William Fernie, so that Hammill was able to register his claim properly according to placer law.

To settle the rival claims of the two parties the Government authorized Edward Kelly, in 1883, to proceed to the site and to conduct an investigation. Kelly had recently replaced Fernie as Government Agent and Assistant Gold Commissioner for the Electoral District of Kootenay and also held a commission as Justice of the Peace.[13] Sproule and Hammill had set up camps on the neck of land above Galena Bay and late in August, Kelly was warmly welcomed by both groups, and to maintain his impartiality he ate with the Hammill group and slept in Sproule's camp. For six months he held Court in the largest shanty in the settlement, and every day he wisely required all revolvers to be put in a box at his side. By this time Baillie-Grohman had become actively interested in Sproule's claims and in fact represented him in the inquiry.[14] In the end Kelly gave his decision in favour of the Sproule group. However, Hammill and his associates appealed the decision to the Supreme

(13) British Columbia *Gazette*, July 12, 1883. In addition, he was Assistant Commissioner of Lands and Works, District Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, and Collector of Provincial Revenue Tax.

(14) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life*, London, 1900, pp. 232–238.

Court of British Columbia where, in March, 1884, it was heard before Chief Justice Matthew Baillie Begbie, who reversed Kelly's decisions on three of the claims, assessing costs to Sproule.[15] Although he had actually won possession of the Blue Bell claim, Sproule was eventually forced to part with his interests in this claim in order to pay the costs. The loss of his supposed fortune to Hammill and to the wealthy Ainsworth interests so embittered him that his mind became unbalanced.

On June 1, 1885, Sproule hid in the bushes close to where Hammill and his men were working and shot him. Hammill's back was broken and he died several hours later. Sproule fled, getting a six-hour start before Constable Henry Anderson could round up a party of Indians for the pursuit. Anderson judged that the wanted man would make for Idaho and so he split his group in two, posting them on each side of the Kootenay River close to the International Boundary line, and sat down to wait. Sproule had neglected to take sufficient supplies, and he was afraid to shoot any game lest the sound of his gun should betray his whereabouts. Anderson's party also got hungry and after four days an Indian shot a bear. Sproule heard the shot and, thinking it must be other Indians, walked up to the camp for food and was promptly arrested by the constable.[16] He was taken to Victoria and after a long trial was convicted and hanged.[17]

After the murder the Ainsworth interests abandoned their efforts to develop the mine and it was not until 1887 that any further work was done. In that year Dr. W. A. Hendryx began development,[18] transferring his interests to the Kootenay Mining and Smelting Company. They found a tremendous quantity of low-grade ore—silver mixed with lead and zinc—and by 1894 had cut some 3,000 feet of tunnels. Operation of the mine was sporadic, for one of the great difficulties was the problem of transportation since the Blue Bell was miles away from all smelters. In 1895 a mill and smelter were built at Pilot Bay, a peninsula jutting into the lake, about 8 miles away; there being no road to the bay, the ore had to be loaded on large scows and taken by water to the mill.[19] A little settlement grew up at Pilot Bay with houses, a hotel, bunk-houses,

(15) Victoria *Colonist*, March 30, 1884.

(16) Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life*, pp. 240–251.

(17) Victoria *Colonist*, January 6, 1886. He was sentenced to hang on March 6, but a prolonged legal battle ensued [*ibid.*, September 30, 1886] and the execution was postponed until October 29 [*ibid.*, October 30, 1886].

(18) *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1888*, Victoria, 1889, pp. 301–2.

(19) *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1895*, Victoria, 1896, p. 683.

and a school nestling among the trees. But the town did not last very long for the Hendryx company could not operate at a profit and by 1899 the mine had passed into the hands of the Bank of Montreal.[20] When activity at the Blue Bell ceased temporarily Pilot Bay was deserted, and to-day nothing remains but two brick stacks towering above the trees, a few crumbling buildings, and the remains of the basements where the houses stood.

In 1905 the Canadian Metal Company took over the Blue Bell. A prominent backer of this company was a Frenchman, Count Edouard Riondel, whose name was given to the post office and remains as the name of the town to-day. In 1907–08 a powerhouse, machine-shop, and mill were built above the wharf facing on Kootenay Lake and nestling between the two hills. The mine superintendent was S. S. Fowler, and in 1924 he and B. L. Eastman took over the property, working it for several years. To-day the buildings are crumbling into ruin as the wind whistles through broken windows, but their red colour adds a picturesque note to the lake-front. In 1930 the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company acquired the Riondel and Ainsworth interests in the Blue Bell [21] but did not get full control until 1948 when they began underground development. Now lead and zinc are being taken from the mine and a small community has grown up on the flat land behind the hill. Galena Bay, protected by the cliff, is now used as a landing place, and the concentrates are taken by barge across the lake and then by rail to the smelter at Trail.[22]

In 1887 two prospectors, George Bowerman and George Leyson, followed the Dewdney Trail searching for a bonanza of gold. They pushed beyond the Okanagan, Rock Creek, and the Boundary country and crossed the rugged summit between Christina Lake and the Columbia River. They went up the defile along Deer Park Mountain and on the southern slope of that hill they believed they had found their goal. They worked all summer, sinking a shaft and finding ore as it went down. Then came discouragement, for 20 feet down the walls of the vein came together so that a knife could not be placed between them. Discouraged they gave up their hopes and abandoned the location.[23] However,

(20) *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1899,* Victoria, 1900, p. 699.

(21) *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1931,* Victoria, 1932, p. 142.

(22) *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1949,* Victoria, 1950, pp. 176–178.

(23) Harold Kingsmill, *A History of Rossland and the Trail Creek District,* Rossland [1897], p. 1.

history had been made—it was the first strike in the Rossland area and the beginning of a development which would astound the mining world.

Two years later, in 1889, Joseph Bourgeois relocated this find and the following year it was recorded by Oliver Bordeau and Newlin Hoover.[24] This was the Lily May. To hold a claim it was necessary to do $100 worth of work a year so in March, 1890, Bordeau hired Joe Morris to help him on the Lily May. When the work was done Bordeau said he had no money with him to pay Morris but that he had some in Nelson. On his way to Nelson to collect his money Morris found a good-looking outcropping just below the Lily May. He located this and called it the Homestake—the second mine in the Rossland area.[25]

These two mines, the oldest in the district, are almost forgotten to-day. The Lily May lies in a thick grove of trees with at least two shafts visible. Concrete footings remain and an old forge in what must have been the blacksmith-shop. In 1896 it was owned by the Lily May Gold Mining Company, of Spokane,[26] and on February 1, 1899, ownership was transferred to the English-Canadian Company,[27] which worked it until 1905. From then it lay idle until 1912 when the Richmond Consolidated Mines Company acquired the property.[28] In 1935, when many of the old mines were reworked during the depression, it again shipped a small amount of ore. The Homestake lies at the head of the Trail Creek valley and its dump is clearly visible beside the railway running between Trail and Rossland. It was worked sporadically through the years.

1890 was the great year of discoveries in the Trail Creek area. When Morris reached Nelson he found that Bordeau still had no money for him and consequently he joined Bourgeois to continue prospecting. They had noticed red patches on the slope across from Deer Park Mountain and set out to examine them. The result was gratifying and the two men staked claims on the hill now called Red Mountain—the Centre Star, War Eagle, Idaho, Virginia, and an extension of the Centre Star which

(24) W. A. Carlyle, *Report on the Trail Creek Mining District,* Victoria, 1896 (Bulletin No. 2, Provincial Bureau of Mines), p. 31.

(25) Lance Whittaker (*ed.*), *Rossland the Golden City,* Rossland, 1949, pp. 1–2.

(26) Carlyle, *Report on the Trail Creek Mining District,* p. 31.

(27) *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1898,* Victoria, 1899, p. 1096.

(28) Charles W. Drysdale, *Geology and Ore Deposits of Rossland, British Columbia,* Ottawa, 1915 (Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 77), p. 171.

they called LeWise. At that time the Provincial mining law forbade a man holding more than two claims so Morris and Bourgeois gave the Deputy Mining Recorder at Nelson, Colonel E. S. Topping, the extension of the Centre Star, providing he paid the fees for recording their four claims. Topping paid the $12.50 fee and recorded his own claim on July 17, 1890, under the name LeRoi. Laden with impressive samples from his property Topping set out to interest American capital in his find. Even before he reached Spokane he had persuaded two fellow travellers—Colonel W. M. Ridpath and George Forster—to consult with friends about the formation of a company to operate the mine. This they did, purchasing 16/30ths of the claim for $16,000. Later they acquired the rest of the property and registered it in the State of Washington as the LeRoi Gold Mining Company, later named the LeRoi Mining and Smelting Company, of Spokane.[29]

News of the find and the sale soon became public and a horde of prospectors pushed into the district. In the same month, July, 1890, the Enterprise, the Mountain View, the Iron Horse, the Columbia, and the Gertrude were recorded, and later in the year the Gopher, the Georgia, the Iron Mask, the Iron Colt, the Mayflower, the Crown Point, the Monte Cristo, the Nickel Plate, the Kootenay, the Cliff, the St. Elmo, the Evening Star, and the Jumbo. A Mining Recorder's office was established in the camp and fifty men wintered there.[30]

The next few years continued to be full of excitement. More and more claims were staked and American capital poured in to develop the mines. The first shipments of ore were packed by mules down the trail to the Columbia River and taken by boat and rail to a smelter in Butte, Montana. In 1896 the Trail Creek Tramway was built, a narrow-gauge railway which wound up the Trail Creek valley to Rossland and over which it took two hours to travel the 12 miles. That same year D. C. Corbin completed the Red Mountain Railway from Northport, Washington, to Rossland.

In 1895 F. Augustus Heinze, a mining magnate from Butte, Montana, negotiated a contract with the LeRoi company to treat 75,000 tons of ore and built a smelter close to the mines. For the site of his smelter he chose a spot on sand bluffs 120 feet above the Columbia River at the mouth of Trail Creek. In February, 1896, the first furnace was

(29) Whittaker, *Rossland the Golden City*, pp. 2–4; Drysdale, *Geology and Ore Deposits of Rossland*, pp. 6–7.

(30) Drysdale, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

blown in and the B.C. Smelting and Refining Company started treatment of Rossland ores. With a smelter close to the mines and two railways connecting it with the outside world Rossland camp was prepared to make money. Two townsites had sprung up: One near the mines, planned by Ross Thompson, was called Rossland; and the other, at the mouth of Trail Creek, was laid out by Colonel Topping and Frank Hanna and named simply, Trail.

On completion of its contract in 1897 the LeRoi company stopped shipping ores to the Trail smelter and built its own plant at Northport, Washington. Difficulties arose and soon the company was involved in perplexing litigation. The owners decided to sell but disagreed on the price. A majority group sold to British interests—the British American Company under the control of the Hon. C. W. MacIntosh and Whittaker Wright—but a minority refused to sell. As the company was registered in the State of Washington the minority claimed it was not subject to British law which gave control to a majority interest, and they also invoked the American State law which refused aliens the privilege of owning property in the State. Foreseeing this, the counsel for the majority fled from Spokane to Rossland with the books and papers of the company, only to find that the seal of another company had been substituted for that of the LeRoi, thus preventing him from transacting business in its name. The minority group issued an injunction against any of the majority shareholders leaving the country and sent deputies to keep them from crossing the border. MacIntosh hired a special train and ordered the engineer to stop for nothing until he reached Canada. Sheriff Bunce entered the special coach to prevent it from leaving Spokane but MacIntosh finally persuaded him that an Englishman's home was his castle and that he was trespassing. Bunce left the coach but continued to hold a gun on the train-crew until the president of the railway, Austin Corbin, intervened and the train was allowed to proceed. The sheriff clung to the coach for 140 miles but at Northport he was persuaded to leave on threat of arrest in Canada for carrying a deadly weapon. The following year the directors finally settled their differences and the minority group sold their stock. In the Bank of Montreal in Rossland is preserved a photograph of the cheque for $1,042,054, signed by C. H. MacIntosh on behalf of the British American Company as payment for the shares in the LeRoi company. Then came labour unrest and a strike, followed by the collapse of Whittaker Wright's financial

empire and his subsequent suicide. A new manager took over the LeRoi and by 1902 it had settled down and affairs were running smoothly.[31]

Meanwhile the year 1897 held other excitement than the legal battles over the LeRoi. In that year Heinze's affairs in Montana became very troubled and he sold his Canadian smelter and railroads to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Like everything else in his career this transaction was packed with drama. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company had sent Walter Hull Aldridge to deal with Heinze. After inspecting the plant Aldridge reported that the price asked was too high and received word from his head office that Heinze had closed the deal with them at a very much lower figure. It soon turned out, however, that Heinze had not included very essential items and was now asking for a further $300,000. Aldridge then began planning a smelter at Blueberry Creek and Heinze, hearing of this, suggested a game of poker to settle the deal, which Aldridge refused, claiming there were too many Methodists on the directorate of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to approve of such a proceeding. He preferred to refer the matter for adjudication to the local manager of the Bank of Montreal, J. S. C. Fraser, and to this Heinze agreed. Although it was now late in the evening they roused Fraser and the argument continued until the early hours of the morning, by which time the Canadian Pacific Railway Company owned the B.C. Smelting and Refining works and railroads for considerably less than Heinze's original figure.[32]

The coming of W. H. Aldridge to the West Kootenay was an event of far-reaching significance. He was a man of outstanding ability who could understand the mining situation and foresee the future and this was one of the main reasons that the smelter at Trail continued its development and became the large operation it is to-day. In the early years of the century there were smelters at Grand Forks, Boundary Falls, Greenwood, Northport, Nelson, and Pilot Bay. Obviously there was not enough ore for them all to continue and it was partially due to Aldridge that the Trail smelter continued and the others did not. He obtained control of the leading mines in the district and in 1906 the Centre Star properties, the War Eagle, the St. Eugene (in the East Kootenay), and the Rossland Power Company were amalgamated with the smelter. The new company was registered as the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada Limited. In 1909 it acquired the Sullivan mine in

(31) Whittaker, *Rossland the Golden City*, pp. 35–37.
(32) *Ibid.*, pp. 53–56.

East Kootenay and in 1912 the LeRoi properties. There were still many difficulties to be overcome but the ore, the smelter, and the power plants were now under one management and the stage was set for expansion.[33] The West Kootenay area had come into its own.

What is Red Mountain like to-day? From a distance the mountain looks very much the same—it is still a round hill about 5,200 feet high covered with trees and bushes. Its northern slope provides a ski hill. Just above the city of Rossland are great scars left from the mining days. Deep orange-coloured gulleys, black holes in the rock, piles of waste, and jagged cuts may be seen but are gradually being covered by a new growth of forest. Beneath the surface the earth is honeycombed with tunnels and warning signs are everywhere: " Old Mine Workings—Keep Out! " The great shaft of the Centre Star is covered with a slab of cement. The hoists, the compressors, and the ore-bins are gone; only a few foundations mark their place. Below the colourful waste of the LeRoi and just beyond the Black Bear tunnel is the city garbage-dump. A tourist camp lies close to the White Bear and in the city itself houses are built on the waste from the old Spitzee and the Great Western. On all the hills around the tale is the same—the ore has been worked out, the mines are done; but huckleberry pickers in their search for fruit or hunters in the fall stumble over piles of rock and find holes in the ground —mute evidence of the days when Rossland was truly " The Golden City " and when all over the West Kootenay country mineral wealth was being wrested from the earth to serve as one of the main pillars of British Columbia's emerging industrial empire.

ELSIE TURNBULL.

TRAIL, B.C.

(33) For extensive details on the development of this great industrial concern *see* " The story of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada Limited," in *Canadian Mining Journal,* LXXV (May, 1954), pp. 125–393.

APPENDIX: THE BLUE BELL—FACT AND FANTASY.*

The story of the actual discovery of the Blue Bell mine can even now only partially be freed from the embellishments of fantasy and legend which through the passage of time and repetition have come to be accepted as fact. Typical of the traditional stories is that written by an unnamed contributor and inserted in the *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* for 1908 by the Provincial Mineralogist:—

As the *Blue Bell* probably possesses more historic interest than any other mine in British Columbia, a digression to admit of its history being briefly reviewed may be permissible. The earliest information relative to this property was that given by David Douglas, a Scottish botanist, who, in 1825, made an examination of the flora and fauna of Kootenay lake, in the course of which he discovered the big mineral outcrop of what is now the *Blue Bell* mine; later, the Hudson Bay Company's trappers used the surface ore for making bullets, and, on their departure, left several old drills behind them. For about twenty-five years afterward no one appeared to have visited the place nor communicated to the outside world anything about it. About 1864, flattering reports having been received from prospectors, George Hearst, of California, a mining man of wealth, afterwards United States Senator from that State (father of the present owner of the "New York Journal" and numerous other newspapers), made a trip to the property. He encountered great hardships on the way, but persisted in his journey, and, on reaching the *Blue Bell,* erected a small open-hearth furnace, and proceeded to reduce some ore to bullion. The remains of this old furnace are stated to still exist on the property. The low grade of the bullion, the distance from transportation, and the supposed inability to market the product within his lifetime, led Mr. Hearst to abandon the project. Nothing more was heard of the embryo mine until 1878, in which year R. E. Sproule located all the available ground on the peninsula on which the property is situated. . . .[1]

To whom the responsibility for associating David Douglas with the discovery may be charged is still a matter of conjecture. But it would appear to be W. A. Baillie-Grohman. In 1882 he had visited the Kootenay country on a hunting expedition and the next year he returned on more serious business. In November, 1883, the Victoria *Colonist* published over his signature an article "The Kootenay Lake Country. A Word About Its Mineral Features" in which he stated that

the so-called "Big Ledge" . . . was discovered in 1825 by the Scotch naturalist, Douglas. . . . Sent out in 1823 by several scientific associations of Scotland, this intrepid traveller reached Kootenay Lake in 1825, and in his report describes the "Big Silverlead Reef" very accurately. In 1831 samples of the ore from this lead were sent to England by the Hudson Bay people, but the low grade contents of silver . . . at once doomed the ledge to another half century's tranquility.[2]

Gilbert Malcolm Sproat and A. S. Farwell had been sent by the Provincial Government to investigate the resources of the Kootenay country in 1883, but their reports, although mentioning the existence of the ore-body,

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* This appendix has been prepared by the editor in consultation with the author.

(1) British Columbia, *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1908,* Victoria, 1909, p. J 95.

(2) Victoria *Colonist,* November 18, 1883.

make no reference to David Douglas.[3] However, nearly five years later, in his report as Gold Commissioner for Kootenay, written at Farwell, August 18,1888, Sproat makes reference to "the old galena deposit discovered in 1825 by the botanist Douglas"[4]—the first such reference yet to be discovered in an official Government report. This was probably the source of information that led George M. Dawson, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, to state in *The Mineral Wealth of British Columbia,* a report dated March 1, 1889, that the ores "are said to have been discovered by the botanist Douglas in 1825."[5] Baillie-Grohman amplified his story somewhat in *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life,* published in 1900, but without recording the source of his information:—

> . . . I subsequently found, while making some researches, that this very same big iron stain on the cliff, which was visible for some distance off, had attracted the attention of the famous naturalist David Douglas (after whom the chief tree of British Columbia has been named). Douglas, who was the first white man unconnected with the Hudson's Bay or North-West Fur Company that travelled in British Columbia for scientific purposes, went through the Kootenay country in 1825, and had sent a specimen or two of the glittering ore home with his report. In 1831 these or other samples were assayed and their low grade established, for though running as much as 70 and 80 per cent lead, the ore of this famous ledge contains but 10 to 15 ounces of silver to the ton. The claim had never been worked till Sprowle [*sic*] re-discovered it.[6]

The improbability of Douglas having discovered the ore-body was pointed out by F. W. Howay as early as 1914[7] and fully corroborated by A. G. Harvey, whose painstaking researches proved that the famous botanist never got to Kootenay Lake.[8] This is not to deny that Douglas may have heard of the existence of the mineral deposit from the Indians or may have been told of it by one of the many servants of the Hudson's Bay Company with whom he was so constantly in contact.[9] Karl Andreas Geyer, a German botanist

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(3) Sproat's report, dated January 7, 1884, is to be found in the British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1883–84,* Victoria, 1884, pp. 310–323, and Farwell's report, dated December 31, 1883, is in *ibid.,* pp. 255–261.

(4) *Report of the Minister of Mines, 1888,* Victoria, 1889, p. 299.

(5) George M. Dawson, *The Mineral Wealth of British Columbia,* Montreal, 1889, in *Annual Report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, 1887–88,* new series, Vol. III, Part ii, p. 62R.

(6) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia,* London, 1900, p. 232, footnote.

(7) E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia,* Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II, p. 468.

(8) A. G. Harvey, *Douglas of the Fir,* Cambridge, Mass., 1947, pp. 210–211; *see also* his earlier article "David Douglas in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1940), pp. 235–237.

(9) A. G. Harvey, in his article "David Douglas in British Columbia," suggested that Douglas' informant may have been William Kittson, who it was then believed had been up the Kootenay River in the fall of 1825, but this suggestion is not repeated in the later definitive biography of Douglas for an examination of the journal of John Work, which told of Kittson's activity, makes it clear that he had not personally visited the region. The original journal of John Work is in the Archives of B.C.; *see also* T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "Journal of John Work. Sept. 7th-Dec. 14th, 1825," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* V (1914), pp. 177–8, 181, 186–7.

who was in the vicinity of Fort Colvile during 1843–44, was more specific in that he named as the discoverer Archibald McDonald, the Chief Factor in charge of Fort Colvile.[10] Corroboration of McDonald's association with the site is to be found in a letter he wrote on September 29, 1844, from Lower Columbia Lake to James Douglas at Fort Vancouver:—

Some days before I left Colvile I addressed you briefly on the Subject of a Certain Ore we talked of; at same time made up a goodly package of the Mineral to go home by the ship for testing it in England. I have now to inform you that I have myself since visited that interesting spot, & Certainly found it pregnant with all that might induce a speedy attempt at working the Ore, if any other than mere lead.

Finding the Columbia Waters almost impossible to Surmount from a recent freshet, I thought it would be no great loss of time to delay at the mouth of the Kootanais River a few days while I with a couple of our men and two Indians with their two Small Canoes should make a quick trip to the Kootanais Lake. This, by leaving the men at the head of the bad navigation, & going on the rest of the route with the Indians only, I effected in three days & a half. . . .

From his description of the site and the accompanying sketch-map he drew there can be no doubt that McDonald had visited what was to become the Blue Bell mine:—

It was after twilight when I arrived; by peep of day were at work, but the weather becoming threatening, & being Completely debarred from returning to my people by the least puff of wind, my day was very short. I have numbered the few specimens I collected on the spot & in the vicinity, & will leave them here with more of the Ore to be taken down & afterwards disposed of as Mr. McLoughlin & you may think fit. From 1 to 13 both inclusive are from the Presque Isle—from 14 to 18 on the opposite shore of the Lake—19 & 20 the prevailing rocks in the Kootanais river.

The Presque-Isle is very remarkable. It is the only elevated spot along the whole of the east side shore from opposite the discharge of the Lake as far northward as I could see, as indicated by my adjoining rough sketch; and would seem as if thrown by some violent concussion of nature from the opposite shore. The land behind it appeared a smooth surfaced limestone, receding back with a very gentle slope & scarcely any wood on it for some distance up. The west shore from a to b presents One of the most splendid views in nature to the eye of the Geologist —every Strata bold, clear and distinct, & I am much mistaken or they are indications of a very rich mineral Country.

By the light of a blazing fire which warmed myself & my two Naked Companions for the night, I cut my initials in a large tree along side of us, to Commemorate my own dear name, as no Nook or Corner Could be spared me on the recently explored Hyperborian shore; and I do not know but I may yet claim the Kootanais treasure as *my own*—On voirera.[11]

Within two months word of this discovery—for that is the way Chief Factor John McLoughlin referred to it—was on its way to London:—

I have shipped, by the Barque *Columbia*, a small box, addressed to you, containing specimens of a mineral found in the vicinity of "Flat Bow Lake," on

(10) Grace Lee Nute, "A Botanist at Fort Colvile," *The Beaver*, September, 1946, pp. 28–31, indicates that the report was published in the *London Journal of Botany*.

(11) Archibald McDonald to James Douglas, September 29, 1844, H.B.C. Archives, London. Reference to this letter is to be found in E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Third Series, 1844–46*, London, 1944, p. 62, and the full text with the accompanying sketch-map is printed in "Did Archibald McDonald Discover the Bluebell?" *Cominco Magazine*, XIV (January, 1953), pp. 2–3.

McGillivray's River, which I lately received from Chief Factor McDonald, who describes in the accompanying letter and sketch, the most remarkable geological features of the place, so far as the very brief visit he made permitted observing them.

From a small portion of the metal tested here, a considerable quantity of very fine soft lead was obtained; but our mode of analysis was not sufficiently accurate, to detect the traces of any more precious metal. Silver ore may, notwithstanding, be found associated with the lead, in sufficient quantities to make it an object of importance to the Company. This has been the case in many lead mines in North America; in one, for instance known as "Livingstone's Mine" in the State of New York, one ton of the antimonial Sulpheret of Lead has yielded as much as 118 ounces of Silver.

It is not probable that mining operations could be carried on to advantage at Flat Bow Lake, the distance being about 600 miles from the sea coast, and the water navigation, so difficult, and dangerous, that the metal would have to be transported with pack horses, more than half the distance by land. The mine is also on the South side of the Columbia river, and will therefore, in all probability, eventually fall within the limits of the United States Territory, and, if the reported mineral wealth of that part of the country becomes known to Americans, it will raise its value, and may become an additional motive with their Government, to make good their claims. However this may be, I think it is only proper that the Governor and Committee should be informed of the fact, that we have discovered the ore in question, and it is with that view the specimens are forwarded.[12]

As it turned out, McLoughlin's fear that the mineral deposit would lie within American territory when the boundary line was drawn proved unfounded. The Hudson's Bay Company never pursued the matter. Possibly the problem of transportation suggested by McLoughlin may have been a consideration and, in addition, the assay examination in England was no more successful in revealing a silver content than that undertaken at Fort Vancouver. A report made by Heathfield & Burgess, Experimental Chemists, Princes Square, Finsbury, and dated April 27, 1846, stated: "Examination of sample of lead ore. The ore contains, Sulphuret lead, large proportion, Iron (oxide), Lime, Silica, alumina."[13] Moreover, the conflict of interests between the operation of a fur-trade concern and the inherent consequences of mining development may have been a further deterrent to the company. So for some time to come only the Indians and possibly occasional trappers got lead for their bullets from the ore-body.[14]

It is equally difficult to corroborate the details of the association with this mineral deposit of George Hearst, prominent American mining speculator

(12) John McLoughlin to Archibald Barclay, November 24, 1844, H.B.C. Archives, London, as printed in E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . Third Series, 1844–46*, pp. 61–62. Flat Bow Lake was the name then applied to Kootenay Lake, and McGillivray's River to Kootenay River.

(13) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . Third Series, 1844–46*, p. 62, footnote 2.

(14) "Sometime at the beginning of this century, men, and especially Hudson Bay men, knew of the existence of a great deposit of carbonate of lead, galena and copper, upon Kootenay Lake, known as the Blue Bell mine. This great mine (now the mainstay of the Pilot Bay Smelting Company), for many years provided lead for a few trappers' bullets, and that was all." Clive Phillipps-Wolley, "Mining Development in British Columbia," *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature*, VIII (1896–97), p. 300.

and subsequently United States Senator from California. Various dates for his visit have been put forward—1864 and 1868 to mention but two—and the story persists that he set up a hearth furnace to treat the ore. S. S. Fowler, long associated with the mining industry of British Columbia and with the Blue Bell mine in particular and a keen student of its history, attempted to track down the story. In 1909 he appealed to William Fernie, who first went to the Kootenay country in 1864 and remained there until after the turn of the century during part of which time he served as Government Agent. In response Fernie recounted the facts as he could recall them:—

My first knowledge of what is now known as the Blue Bell mine was in 1865. I was at that time employed as a foreman under E. Dewdney Esqre. in building the eastern section of the Dewdney trail. I had quit work for the season and arrived in October 1865 at Mr. Dewdney's camp where the trail crosses the river. Mr. Dewdney showed me some galena the Kootenay Indians had brought to him and described the location to him from where the ore was brought. Mr. Dewdney tried to induce me to go and prospect and locate the find. I declined because at that time no mineral lode mine except free gold could be worked to advantage. From what the Indians said they had known of this galena for years.[15]

Some years after, in the 70s exact date not remembered a syndicate sent out a prospector (name forgotten) to prospect in the Kootenays. He had no success for months and I presume the Indians showed him the same ore which they showed Mr. Dewdney years before.

This prospector afterwards sent some very rich ore to Mr. Hearst (afterwards elected to the U.S. Senate) in San Francisco claiming that he had a large deposit of the same class of ore on the Kootenay Lake. Mr. Hearst soon afterwards came up to Colville, Washington Territory that being at that time the nearest settlement and the best place to get transportation to the Kootenay Lake. He engaged Captn A. Pingston to bring him and an assay outfit in a row boat to the Lake. Mr. Hearst met the prospector at Colville and brought him along in the boat. On the trip up the river the prospector proposed to Pingston to lose the assay outfit whilst making one of their portages so that Mr. Hearst could make no assays on the trip.

Pingston refused to have anything to do with such a transaction and after the party arrived safely at the location Mr. Hearst soon found out that he had been brought on a wild goosechase from San Francisco to Kootenay Lake at that time a difficult and arduous trip as well as an expensive one. There was no such ore in sight like the sample sent to him in California. He at once prepared to return and refused to allow the prospector to return in the boat he had hired and would have allowed him to remain alone on the shore of the Lake but Pingston would not consent to this and he remarked to Mr. Hearst you can go and thrash him if you like but you cannot leave him there to starve and you must let him come back in the boat to where he can get some thing to eat. Pingston who was a friend of mine told me the above. It is supposed that the ore that the prospector sent to Mr. Hearst in San Francisco was obtained in Colorado.[16]

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(15) This would appear to be corroborated by the following extract from a narrative attributed to Edgar Dewdney published by R. E. Gosnell, in "Bygone Days of British Columbia," Vancouver *Province*, November 21, 1908: "On the east side the Indians po[i]nted out to me what they called the Chicamen mountain, or Metal mountain. They told me they made bullets out of the lead that oozed out of the fissures of the rock. This subsequently was located, and I believe is the Great Blue Bell claim."

(16) William Fernie to S. S. Fowler, January 26, 1909, Transcript, Archives of B.C.

When pressed for further information regarding Captain Pingston,[17] Fernie explained his association with the *Forty Nine*, pioneer steamboat on the Columbia River launched in November, 1865. Pingston had been mate on the steamboat during her short active career in 1866 and subsequently commanded her, for she continued to run at very irregular intervals until 1871. Fernie was certain that the famous trip with Hearst occurred after the *Forty Nine* had been laid up. He then provided additional information about the Hearst story:—

. . . No assay or bullion from the Blue Bell Mine would at the time Hearst came to B.C. have induced him to come, the ore was and is too poor to induce a capitalist to go to an unknown and undeveloped country in the seventies.

I am sorry that I cannot give you the name of the prospector who induced Hearst to come.[18] . . . This man had in his possession or obtained it somewhere some very rich ore altogether different to the class of the Blue Bell ore. After prospecting for some time and failing to find anything that he thought was worth much he got discouraged and knowing of the Blue Bell deposit he thought he would try to swindle Hearst out of some money. He was supposed to have an interest in anything he found and he sent this rich ore or I beleive he went down to San Francisco with the ore and told Hearst he had a big deposit of the class of ore he had with him on the Kootenay Lake and he tried there and then to sell out his interest in his find to Hearst. But Hearst was too smart to be taken in and determined to see for himself what the claim looked like.

Pingston told me that as soon as he saw the Blue Bell ore he told the prospector that he never got that ore there. It must have been self evident that it was altogether a different sort of ore. . . .

I know from Pingston and others that the man had tried very hard to sell out to Hearst before they reached the mine because he knew that Hearst would find him out in his attempt to swindle him. If this man had taken some of the bullion from the Blue Bell Mine to Hearst there was no earthly reason for Hearst getting wild and wanting to leave the man there to perish. Because there was plenty of the ore in sight. Hundreds of tons were laying in sight when I was there loose on the surface broken off from the ledge.[19]

Fernie also indicated that although he had been over the location he never saw a furnace or assay outfit nor did he ever hear Sproule speak of it. One thing is certain, nothing came of the venture and it was not until 1882 that at long last active development of this remarkable mineral location became a reality.

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(17) The Victoria *Colonist*, April 30, 1886, when recording his death spelled the name *Pingstone* and stated "He commanded the first steamer, the '49,' that ascended Columbia river in 1864."

(18) Still later in July, 1909, Fernie told Fowler that the name of the man who had fooled Hearst was Henry Doan.

(19) William Fernie to S. S. Fowler, February 6, 1909, Transcript, Archives of B.C.

WILLIAM RICHARD SCOTT, MISSIONARY MISFIT AND HEROIC SLUM PRIEST

William Richard Scott was as much of a success in one activity as he had been a failure in another. He was in large part a victim of his own temperament; he had little gentleness of manner. In addition, he seems to have been a man who, after a few months or a year or two in a position, became bored and restless. His difficulties were increased by loyalty to an ecclesiastical position, Anglo-Catholicism, that had little acceptance in mid-nineteenth century England. The whole of Scott's life is obscure, but sufficient materials are available to delineate both his failure and his success during one decade.

He was born in Plymouth, Devonshire, April 15, 1824,[1] son of Michael Scott, a purser and paymaster in the Royal Navy,[2] and he entered Trinity College, Dublin, on October 15, 1841. For some reason that is obscure, he did not receive the Bachelor of Arts degree until 1848.[3] In 1842, "as a recreation for leisure hours at College," Scott wrote a verse drama that was published four years later under the title of *Belisarius, a Tragedy, in Five Acts,* as his first and possibly only essay into poetry.[4]

Unlike his father and grandfather, Scott did not enter the Royal Navy but the ministry. He was made deacon, October 1, 1848, by the Bishop of Manchester, and ordained priest by the same prelate on October 21, 1849.[5] From 1848 to 1851 he was curate of Emmanuel Church, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire.[6] His whereabouts between 1851 and 1853 is not

(1) G. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. . . . ,* London, 1901, p. 912.

(2) George Dames Burchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses . . . (1593–1860),* new ed., Dublin, 1935, p. 740. Michael Scott was the son of Thomas Scott, lieutenant, R.N., who died April 12, 1782. William R. O'Byrne, comp., *A Naval Biographical Dictionary . . . ,* London, 1849, pp. 1038–1039.

(3) Burchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses,* p. 740.

(4) London, Saunders and Otley, 1846, iii, 81 pp. The writer has seen but one copy of this book, that in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

(5) L. H. Orford, registrar, Diocese of Manchester, to writer, Manchester, August 28, 1947. James Prince Lee (1804–1869) was Bishop of Manchester, 1848–1869.

(6) *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1893.*

apparent, but he might have been either assisting at Holy Trinity Church, Portsea, or serving as chaplain of John Gellibrand Hubbard's manufactories in Russia; he was later said to have been connected with both places, without any reference to dates.[7] In 1852 he published a small work on the Apostolic Succession and Canon 55, in reply to an open letter written by the Rev. William Goode, rector of All Hallows the Great, Thames Street.[8] Goode answered this work almost immediately.[9] Between July, 1853, and November, 1854, when his principal resigned, Scott was assistant curate at St. James' Church, Enfield.[10] Again there is a hiatus in the record; the finding of cures for those who were at that time called ritualistic clergymen was no doubt a difficult task. Between 1856 and 1859 Scott served the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Compton Dando, Somerset, and then he became perpetual curate of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, Harlow, where he remained until he left England.[11]

King Kamehameha IV, acting in his private capacity, had invited a mission of the Church of England to Hawaii. As a youth he had visited England, where he had attended Anglican services, but it was not until

(7) G. Wakeling, *The Oxford Church Movement . . . ,* London, 1895, pp. 243–244. No reference to Russia is contained in the *D.N.B.* article on Hubbard. Scott was listed without an address in *The Clergy List for 1853 . . . ,* London, 1853, p. 240.

(8) *Apostolical Succession and Canon LV, a Reply to the Rev. W. Goode's Tract: with Historical Proofs that Episcopacy Is a Divine and Necessary Institution, Taught by Scripture and the Church; and that the Church of Scotland in 1603 was not THEN, nor Is NOW, Presbyterian,* London, John Masters, 1852, iv, 68 pp. The only copy of this that the writer has seen is in College Pamphlets (Rare Book Room, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut), Vol. 632, No. 12. Seemingly, Scott's work was also divided and published as three separate tracts: *The Apostolic Succession Proved from Holy Scripture and the Tradition of the Church, Canon Fifty Five,* and *The Church in Scotland.* The Rev. D. S. Ritchie to writer, St. James' Vicarage, Enfield Highway, Middlesex, August 8, 1947. Goode (1801–1868) was subsequently dean of Ripon.

(9) *Supplement to a third edition of a Reply to the Bishop of Exeter's second arraignment of his Metropolitan . . . containing answers to the replies of the Rev. W. R. Scott and W. B. Flower,* London, 1852. The writer has not seen this work; the title is from *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum, 1881–1900,* Vol. XIX, p. 232.

(10) The Rev. D. S. Ritchie to writer. The perpetual curate of St. James, Enfield, 1841–1854, was John Fuller Russell (1814–1884).

(11) *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1893.* While serving in this capacity, in 1860, Scott signed a declaration opposing alteration of the Book of Common Prayer. *Declaration of the Clergy against Alteration of the Book of Common Prayer, &c., &c.,* 2nd ed., London, 1860, p. 44.

his marriage to Miss Emma Rooke, a Hawaiian lady with an English grandfather, that he had become interested in the Anglican Communion. Queen Emma had been reared in an Anglican home and had been taught by an Anglican governess, but she had never been baptized. When Kamehameha and Emma exchanged their marriage vows before an American Congregational minister, at their request he used the prayer-book office for solemnization of marriage. Upon the birth of a son, both the King and Queen were anxious to have the child reared in the Church of England. A committee in England, assembled by the Hawaiian consul-general and chargé d'affaires in London, worked patiently toward the consecration of a bishop for Hawaii, and in December, 1861, their plans reached fruition when the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by two of his suffragans, consecrated as Bishop of Honolulu the Rev. Thomas Nettleship Staley, a Cambridge wrangler who had been engaged in the training of teachers.[12] During the following six months, Staley travelled up and down England collecting funds for his mission and recruiting helpers. Toward the end of spring, 1862, he accepted Scott as a member of his mission staff.[13]

One of the supporters, at least, of the Hawaiian mission was not happy about Scott's selection. Jane, Lady Franklin, noted in her diary after dinner with the Rev. C. M. Robins, of the Clare Market Working Men's Institute:—

> We spoke of the 2 clergymen already engaged & one of whom preceeds the Bishop Mr Scott with his wife. I grieved to hear that he is a man of most unhappy temper & so infatuated with Popish tendencies that he has been known to

(12) Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854–1874, Twenty Critical Years,* Honolulu, 1953, pp. 84–94; A. F. Muir, "The Church in Hawaii, 1778–1862," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XVIII (1949), pp. 36, 51, 65; "Royalty and the Church," *Episcopal Churchnews* (Richmond), May 15, 1956, pp. 22–23, 25, 32–34. The most accurate biographical sketch of Staley (1823–1898) appears in J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses . . . 1752 to 1900,* Vol. VI, p. 5. The Archbishop of Canterbury, 1848–1862, was John Bird Sumner (1780–1862). Kamehameha IV (1834–1863) ascended the throne on January 11, 1855. On June 19, 1856, he married Emma Rooke (1836–1885). W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People,* New York [1899], pp. 337–339. The Hawaiian chargé d'affaires and consul-general in London, Manley Hopkins (1818–1897), is now chiefly known as the father of the poet of sprung rhythm, the Rev. Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J., although in 1862 he published in London a book entitled *Hawaii: the Past, Present, and Future of its Island-Kingdom.*

(13) Staley's acceptance of Scott was subsequent to May 28. *Guardian* (London), XVII (1862), p. 508; *John Bull* (London), XLII (1862), p. 342.

prostrate himself on the ground at Communion—The Bishop obtained his promise that he wd cease such practices but how could he think of taking out such a man—one too whose [i.e., who's] so ill conditioned that if there is a weakness, or infirmity or tender spot in another, there is the spot which this Mr Scott will attack. . . .[14]

Scott did not accompany Staley to Honolulu, as did the other two priests who had been enlisted in the mission. Instead he left England as chaplain of a group of " female immigrants " sent out to Vancouver Island in 1862. The plans seem to have been initiated by the Right Rev. George Hills, Bishop of Columbia, and the Rev. Alexander Charles Garrett, S.P.G. missionary at Victoria.[15] These had enlisted in England the Bishops of Oxford and London, who called a meeting in February, 1862, at which the Lord Mayor of London presided. This meeting led to the formation of the British Columbia Emigration Society to encourage the emigration of industrious and respectable women not only as domestics, but also as wives for miners and other settlers. Among the supporters of the society was the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, who had already endowed the Church in the colony.[16] Twenty girls, recruited mostly from orphan asylums, were sent out in April, and in June sixty more were ready to start,[17] among them some orphans brought up by the Sisters of St. Margaret at East Grinstead.[18] Most of them were described as " cleanly, well-built, pretty looking young women—ages

(14) Lady Franklin's Journal, July 18, 1862, *MS.*, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, England. Lady Franklin (1792–1875) was the widow of Sir John Franklin (1786–1847), the discoverer of the Northwest Passage. For Robins' interest in the Hawaiian Mission, see *Guardian,* XVII (1862), p. 626, and *John Bull,* XLII (1862), p. 422.

(15) Victoria *Daily Press,* September 21, 1862. George Hills (1819–1895), son of George Hills, captain, R.N., and Diana Hammersley, was Bishop of Columbia, 1859–1892. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary,* pp. 515–516. Alexander Charles Garrett (1832–1924) later became Bishop of the Missionary District of Northern Texas, 1874–1895, Bishop of Dallas, 1895–1924, and Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, 1923–1924.

(16) A full account of this meeting is given in *Third Report of the Columbia Mission,* London, 1862, pp. 37–67. The Bishop of Oxford, 1845–1869, was Samuel Wilberforce (1805–1873); the Bishop of London, 1856–1869, was Archibald Campbell Tait (1811–1882).

(17) New Westminster *British Columbian,* June 21, 1862, cited in E.O.S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present,* Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II [by F. W. Howay], p. 114.

(18) Letter of J. M. Neale, Sackville College, December 2, 1862, *Guardian,* XVII (1862), p. 1170. For an account of Neale's connection with Hawaii, *see* " Dr. Neale and the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church," *St. Margaret's Quarterly* (Boston), Spring, 1951, pp. 3–5.

varying from fourteen to an uncertain figure; a few are young widows who have seen better days. Most appear to have been well raised and generally they seem a superior lot to the women usually met with on emigrant vessels."[19] A passenger who travelled to British Columbia with them was not so complimentary. He reported that " many of these ladies were neither young nor beautiful " and that, while half of them married or went into service soon after their arrival, " a large proportion quickly went to the bad, and, from appearances, had been there before."[20]

The emigrants were attended not only by Scott as chaplain, but also by Mrs. Scott as superintendent, assisted by a matron. They left the Thames estuary on June 9, aboard the *Tynemouth,* an iron screw steamer of 1,620 tons and 600 horse-power that had weathered a severe storm in the Black Sea during the Crimean War.[21] A London newspaper at this time reported favourably on Scott:—

> The Rev. W. R. Scott, of St. Mary Magdalen, Harlow, sailed from England last week. He had joined the Bishop of Honolulu, and had arranged to sail with the Bishop next month, but he had been asked, on very short notice, by the Columbian Mission, to take charge of some seventy or eighty young women on the voyage to Victoria. For this purpose Mr. and Mrs. Scott (happily no novices in travelling), with their two children, sailed at a few days' notice. They will go from Victoria to the Sandwich Islands. When the various temptations and evils of an emigrant ship are considered, we may be thankful for the sake of the Columbian Mission that Mr. and Mrs. Scott have undertaken the important task of caring for their special passengers, and that they will have on their voyage not only pastoral help and privileges, but the presence of a lady educated and refined, who will be always ready to help and advise. We may also be glad that the Bishop has secured a man with heart and courage to undertake such a voyage so unexpectedly; it augurs well for his future work in those interesting islands.[22]

In addition to Scott and his party, there were some 240 men aboard the ship. During the first few days of the voyage, most of the passengers were seasick, but as the ship neared the tropics, health and good spirits returned. The female emigrants, though, were segregated from the other passengers, and they " could only look on at the fun and amusements in which every one else " took part.

On the cruise toward Cape Horn, the crew mutinied. With the aid of passengers, the officers put the mutineers in irons in a compartment

(19) Victoria *Colonist,* September 19, 1862.

(20) Frederick Whymper, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska . . . ,* London, 1868, p. 3.

(21) Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia,* Vol. II, p. 114.

(22) *Guardian,* XVII (1862), p. 578. See also *John Bull,* XLII (1862), p. 471.

near the engine-room. In order to keep the ship moving, many of the passengers volunteered to coal the ship, trim sails, and scrub decks. Scott was one of the volunteers, and he "creditably proved his 'muscular Christianity,' and soiled his irreproachable garments at one and the same time." The heat of the room in which the mutineers were confined eventually brought all but three to their senses, and they went back to work. After rough weather off the River Plate, in which the ship lost a boat and had her bulwarks stove in, the *Tynemouth* reached Port Stanley, East Falkland Island, early in August.[23] One of the female emigrants, a widow, died two days before the ship made port; her remains were buried at Port Stanley.[24] There Scott raised a purse of £66 aboard the *Tynemouth* and H.M.S. *Tribune* and among residents of the island for survivors of the bark *Cubana* who had reached Port Stanley in deplorable condition after the burning of their ship south-east of Cape Horn.[25]

After twelve days in port, where the mutineers were tried and the captain must have enlisted replacements, the *Tynemouth* continued on her way, rounded the Cape in perfect weather, and blew before the trade winds. Before she had reached the California coast, though, the winds died down, and the ship was obliged to resort to steam. Soon all the coal was gone, and the captain sacrificed the loose wood on deck as well as some valuable spars to get the ship into San Francisco, where she arrived on September 10.[26]

The *Tynemouth* left San Francisco on the 12th, and after a five-day voyage arrived at Esquimalt Harbour.[27] A Victoria editor had written a few days earlier that the "bachelors both young and old must prepare to give a fitting reception" to the female immigrants.

> A general holiday should be proclaimed; all the bunting wave from flagstaffs; salutes fired from Beacon Hill; clean shirts and suits of good clothes brought into requisition, and every preparation made to give this precious "invoice" a warm welcome.[28]

(23) Whymper, *Travel and Adventure,* pp. 3–5.

(24) Victoria *Colonist,* September 19, 1862.

(25) San Francisco *Alta California,* quoted in *Polynesian* (Honolulu), November 29, 1862.

(26) Whymper, *Travel and Adventure,* pp. 7–8; San Francisco *Mercantile Gazette and Prices Current,* September 19, 1862.

(27) Victoria *Colonist,* September 19, 1862.

(28) *Ibid.,* September 11, 1862.

On the 19th the immigrants were conveyed by the gunboat *Forward* to Victoria, where they were escorted through a dense crowd to the Marine Barracks, fitted up for their reception.[29] Some forty of them attended services at Christ Church on the 21st, when Scott preached what was described as an impressive sermon. He exhorted them " to remember their religious duties and their duties to their employers, always and under any circumstances to shape their conduct so that they might prove a credit to their English mothers, from whom many were now separated forever; and when beset by sin and temptation to rely on a kind Providence for aid and comfort." The preacher also addressed the employers of the women on their duty to them and society and " besought them to look well to the precious charge which had been placed in their keeping." In the best mid-Victorian tradition, both the immigrants and other members of the congregation wept.[30]

Having delivered his charges safely to Victoria and having seen many of them hired as domestics, Scott returned to San Francisco, where he boarded the bark *Yankee* on October 18 for the final leg of his journey to Honolulu. The Scotts arrived in Honolulu on November 7.[31] Staley, occupying a house next to the Palace, lent by Prince Lot Kamehameha, offered them hospitality. Mrs. Scott, who was pregnant, had had a trying voyage, and the younger of the two sons, Clement McLeod Sinclair Scott, was ill and required a physician twice daily.[32] Mrs. Staley reported that Mrs. Scott was charming and " a true sister " to her and

(29) Victoria *Colonist*, September 19 and 20, 1862; Victoria *Daily Press*, September 21, 1862.

(30) Victoria *Colonist*, September 22, 1862.

(31) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu, September to November, 1862*, London, 1863, p. 17; diary of George Mason, *Sandwich Islands*, p. 34; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), November 13, 1862; *Polynesian*, November 8, 1862. The series of articles published by Miss Mildred Ernestine Kaholamoana Staley (1865–1947) are not what they are represented to be. For example, in " Bishop Staley's Journal, Progress of the Church in Early Days," *Hawaiian Church Chronicle*, December, 1933, p. 4, Miss Staley reproduced under the date November 13, 1862, the statement: " The Rev. Mr. Scott arrived last week. His wife follows him." This statement could not have been written by Staley or his wife, as they both were present when Scott, his wife, and two children arrived together in the islands.

(32) Kate [Mrs. T. N. Staley] to Gracie, Honolulu, November 17, 1862, *MS.* in possession of Mrs. Victor Thompson, of Grimsby, Ontario. Catherine Workman Shirley (*ca.* 1823–1905), daughter of John Shirley, cotton factor, of Attercliffe, Yorkshire, married Staley on August 20, 1850, according to the records at Somerset House, London.

that Clement was apparently suffering from the effects of bad food during the long voyage.[33]

Even before his arrival, Scott had been elected, on October 25, as a member of the Synod of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, consisting of all of the clergy in priest's orders canonically resident in the missionary bishopric together with five laymen.[34] Upon Scott's arrival, the Bishop wrote that he proposed sending him to Lahaina, on the Island of Maui, the second city of the kingdom, but he left the decision to the King's discretion.[35] At the confirmation of the King and Queen, on November 28, Scott assisted in the sanctuary, and two days later, on Advent Sunday, he administered the chalice at Their Majesties' first communion.[36] On November 18 Scott baptized, *in extremis,* Charles, infant son of James Walker Austin, and on the 22nd Emma Elizabeth, daughter of William Ap Jones.[37]

Staley and Scott, accompanied by William Hoapili Kaauwai, who owned land on Maui,[38] and Justice George Morison Robertson and Attorney-General Charles Coffin Harris, who were going to attend court, left for Lahaina on December 9.[39] Staley found that the town had a population of three or four thousand and that formerly it had been an important whaler port but that the depredations of Confederate ships

(33) Kate to Mary, [Honolulu], November 29, 1862, *MS.* in possession of Mrs. Thompson.

(34) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal,* p. 16; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* November 6, 1862.

(35) *Sandwich Islands,* p. 16.

(36) Letter of Viator, Honolulu, December 1, 1862, *Polynesian,* December 6, 1862. *See also* letter from Honolulu, December 1, 1862, *Guardian,* XVIII (1863), p. 144, and *John Bull,* XLIII (1863), p. 116; *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (Honolulu), Dekemaba 4, 1862.

(37) Church Registry of Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, etc., in Honolulu of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, Octr 10h 1862, *MS.,* office of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu, pp. 2–3 (Nos. 5, 7).

(38) For a biographical sketch of Kaauwai, *see* A. F. Muir, "William Hoapili Kaauwai: A Hawaiian in Holy Orders," *Sixty-first Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1952,* pp. 5–13.

(39) *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* December 11, 1862; *Polynesian,* December 13, 1862; *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika,* Dekemaba 11, 1862. Robertson (1821–1867) was justice of the Supreme Court, 1855–1863, 1864–1867. *George Morison Robertson* . . . , n.p., n. pub., [1917?]. Harris (d. 1881) was an object of Mark Twain's scorn. Walter Francis Frear, *Mark Twain in Hawaii,* Chicago, 1947, *passim.* In view of Frear's long service as an appellate judge, his book is a most injudicious one.

had almost eliminated whaling; the economy was in process of changing to sugar-growing. There were a number of sugar plantations in the neighbourhood and at least one sugar-mill.[40] On the 11th a large meeting was held in the court-house at Lahaina to consider steps necessary for the planting of the Church in the place. The Governor of Maui, Paul Nahaolelua, presided. Robertson, Harris, United States Vice-Consul Adams, Dr. Ferdinand W. Hutchinson, and other substantial members of the community took part. In an address Staley promised a girls' school in Lahaina and free ministrations of the Church, and added that " their new pastor, the Rev. Mr. Scott, would live among them, ever entering into the joys and sorrows of each one of them. He would be their best friend—not only in matters spiritual, but in also seeking to promote their temporal interests—especially as they depended on industrial habits." The meeting appointed a committee of Dr. Hutchinson, District Magistrate William Ap Jones, Henry Dickenson, Kaauwai, and the Governor to arrange for the establishment of the mission.[41] Staley and Scott busied themselves in visiting the people, training a choir, and arranging a large schoolroom for a temporary church. On Sunday, the 14th, the two of them celebrated their first services in Lahaina—the Eucharist at 7.30, English morning prayer at 9.30 with a sermon by Scott, Hawaiian morning prayer at 11.30, and Hawaiian litany at 4, followed by Staley's baptizing four children. Staley and Scott devoted Monday to selecting a building to be used as a church and a house for the Scotts to live in. They left for Honolulu on the 16th.[42]

Before their arrival the King had written to Nahaolelua, on November 18, asking him to feel out the attitude of the natives toward the establishment of a mission at Lahaina and to look around for a suitable plot of

(40) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal,* pp. 20-21. *See* reference to Pioneer Mill at Lahaina in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* November 5, 1863.

(41) *Polynesian,* December 20, 1862, reprinted in *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal,* pp. 22–24. Nahaolelua (1806–1875) was Governor of Maui, 1852–1874. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* September 25, 1875. Dickenson (*ca.* 1804–1876) is commemorated by a stained-glass window in the Church of the Holy Innocents. *Ibid.,* November 29, 1879. Ferdinand W. Hutchinson served as Minister of Foreign Affairs *pro tempore,* September 10 to December 11, 1872. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People,* p. 341.

(42) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal,* pp. 24–26; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* December 18, 1862.

land that might be purchased as a site for a church; he did not mail the letter, however, until January 5.[43]

As the church in Lahaina was subsequently known as Church of the Holy Innocents, one would suppose that it had been begun on the feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28), but such a supposition would be false, for Scott and his wife, together with their children, did not set out from Honolulu until January 5.[44] On the following day, the feast of the Epiphany, they opened at Lahaina the Home of the Epiphany, a boarding school for girls. Tuition was $100 a year, but the Scotts announced themselves willing to receive orphans and foundlings without charge.[45] In his annual report for 1863, Scott wrote that this school had twenty students.[46]

About the last week in January, Mrs. Scott's pregnancy was nearing its term, and Mrs. Staley sent to Lahaina her nursemaid, Jessie Roche, who had accompanied her from England, to help Mrs. Scott, who had a good Chinese cook and a bright Hawaiian steward but was unable to keep any Hawaiian girls.[47] The baby was born soon afterwards. On February 27 Staley arrived in Lahaina, and after Hawaiian litany he churched Mrs. Scott.[48] He found the mission " flourishing and full of promise," with the

(43) Iolani [one of Kamehameha IV's Hawaiian names that he used with close friends] oe Nahaolelua, Nowemapa 18, 1862, Interior Department, Land Matters, *MS.*, Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu. *See also* translation by E. H. Hart accompanying the original.

(44) *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* January 8, 1863; *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika,* Ianuari 1, 1863.

(45) *John Bull,* XLIII (1863), p. 452; letter of J. M. Neale, Sackville College, July 9, 1863, *Guardian,* XVIII (1863), p. 656, reprinted in *Church Journal* (New York), XI (1863), p. 233; and " John Mason Neale's Letters on the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, with a Commentary," *St. Margaret's Quarterly,* Summer, 1957, pp. 8–10.

(46) Annual Return, Diocese of Honolulu, Mission of Lahaina, District of Maui, W. R. Scott, January 13, 1863, E MSS., Missionary Reports, 1862–3, *MS.*, office of S.P.G., London.

(47) [Mrs. T. N. Staley] to Mother, Lahaina, March 19, 1863, *MS.* in possession of Mrs. Thompson.

(48) T. N. Staley to [Mrs. Staley], Kona, [March 2, 1863], *MS.*, Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu. The date of this letter is easily assigned, as it describes part of a tour with the King. The King, Staley, and the Rev. Edmund Ibbotson left Honolulu aboard the *Kilauea* on February 26. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika,* Feberuari 26, 1863; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* March 5, 1863. They stopped first at Lahaina and then continued to Kailua, on the Island of Hawaii, where Staley and Ibbotson left the King and continued to Kona. *See* abstract of Staley's journal, February 26 to March 28, *Guardian,* XVIII (1863), p. 1130.

principal foreign residents working with Scott and many of the natives receiving instruction from him.[49]

After almost a month on Hawaii, Staley returned to Lahaina, where he arrived on March 17. There he rejoined Mrs. Staley, who had come from Honolulu, bringing with her, as a replacement for Jessie Roche, Janet Ferrier, who had been trained by the Sisters of St. Margaret at East Grinstead, and who as governess had also accompanied Mrs. Staley from England. On that day, or possibly the next, the Bishop baptized the Scott baby, with the King's father, Kekuanaoa, acting as proxy for the King as godfather and Mrs. Staley as proxy for Queen Emma as godmother. Then followed the first confirmation in Lahaina, at which twelve adults who had been baptized in January were confirmed. On the 19th Staley left for other towns on the island to follow up the preparation that Scott had already made.[50] At Wailuku, a sugar village in the centre of the island, Staley proposed, at the request of a number of foreign residents, chiefly American, and an industrious native population, to establish a school under George Brayton Whipple, brother of the Bishop of Minnesota, who had expressed a wish to join the mission. At Makawao the Bishop spoke to a number of natives and fifty-three foreigners, who expressed their sympathy for the mission.[51]

For a biographical sketch of Ibbotson, *see* A. F. Muir, "Edmund Ibbotson (1831–1914): S.P.G. Missionary to Hawaii, 1862–1866," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIX (1950), pp. 214–241.

(49) *Guardian*, XVIII (1863), p. 1130.

(50) [Mrs. Staley] to Mother, Lahaina, March 19, 1863. This confirmation class is not recorded in Confirmations, 1862–1928, *MS.*, Archives, Missionary District of Honolulu. Mataia Kekuanaoa (1794–1868) was the father of Kamehameha IV and V. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 28, 1868. *See also* Mildred E. Staley, ed., "Bishop Staley's Journal," *Hawaiian Church Chronicle*, March, 1934, p. 6.

(51) *Guardian*, XVIII (1863), p. 1130. The Staleys arrived back in Honolulu on March 28. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 2, 1863. *See* letter of Egomet, Makena, March 26, 1863, *ibid.* George Brayton Whipple (1830–1888) was, at the time, a layman, but shortly afterwards he was made deacon, September 9, 1863, and ordained priest, August 26, 1864, by his brother, the Right Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota. In 1859, and no doubt earlier, George Brayton Whipple had been a book-keeper on a sugar plantation at Lihue, Island of Kauai. From 1865 to 1869 and again from 1870 to 1873 he ministered on the Island of Maui. Henry B. Whipple, grand-nephew, to writer, New York, August 27, 1948; Ethel M. Damon, *Koamalu . . .* , Honolulu, 1931, Vol. II, pp. 498, 542–543, 548; *The Church Almanac*, 1889, p. 123. The information about Whipple at Ulupalakua, from Whipple's nephew, in Henry Bond Restarick,

Scott's annual report shows that he had 135 church members in Lahaina, 46 at Wailuku and Waikapu, and 70 at Makawao. The services were usually frequented by about 70 natives and 25 foreigners at Lahaina, 50 foreigners and 20 natives at Makawao, and 30 people, unclassified, at Wailuku. Scott had, though, but seven communicants on the entire island, despite there having been twelve persons confirmed by Staley in January. There were sixty-seven unbaptized children and adults under instruction. During the course of 1863 there had been two public infant and forty-three adult baptisms, five burials, and no marriages.[52]

On February 2 Scott had leased from the guardians of William Charles Lunalilo, who later reigned as king, the premises in Lahaina known as Luaehu and formerly occupied by Bolles & Co. as a ship chandlery. The lease was to run for three years with an option of extending it for two years longer, at a yearly rental of $100 except for the first year, which was to be free.[53] On this building Scott spent $2,000,[54] and the debts he incurred thereby were to plague him throughout his residence in Lahaina. This building, as well as his residence, was on the beach.[55] The Rev. George Mason later complained that Scott's dwelling was " certainly not fit for the purpose, being open on every side to the public."[56]

Although Mrs. Staley thought that Scott had adapted his former store into a church so admirably that she preferred it to the temporary cathedral in Honolulu,[57] Mason thought the building unattractive.

The east end [he wrote] was indeed effective, in consequence of a handsome reredos, brought from England, and of the proper proportions of altar and foot-

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Hawaii, 1778–1920 . . . , Honolulu, 1924, p. 353, unquestionably confuses Whipple's first and second residences in the islands.

(52) Annual Return. The first registers of the Church of the Holy Innocents seem to have disappeared.

(53) James W. Austin and Charles Kanaina to Scott in Records of Conveyances, Vol. XVII, pp. 436–437, *MS.*, Bureau of Conveyances, Honolulu; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 5, 1863. For a biographical sketch of Mason, *see* A. F. Muir, " George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XV (1951), pp. 47–70. Lunalilo (1832–1874) ascended the throne on January 8, 1873. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, p. 339.

(54) Annual Return.

(55) [Mrs. Staley] to Mother, Lahaina, March 19, 1863; letter of T. N. Staley, Honolulu, September 9, 1863, *Guardian*, XVIII (1863), p. 1130.

(56) Report of the Lahaina Mission, Sandwich Islands, for the Secretary of the S.P.G., by Rev. G. Mason, Lahaina, October, 1864, *MS.*, office of S.P.G., London.

(57) [Mrs. Staley] to Mother, Lahaina, March 19, 1863.

pace, but the rest of the poor wooden building looked barren and forlorn; and was not improved by innumerable black letter texts stuck about; such as "Kneel when you pray"; "Stand when you sing"—&c.[58]

A newspaper correspondent who visited the church during services in Hawaiian, a language he did not know well, whiled away the time by reading "the placards which adorned the bare walls." He found the house well filled with an attentive audience.[59] That the congregation was attentive was surprising in view of Mason's remarks on Scott's services when he visited Lahaina. He found that Scott monotoned the prayers "on a high note with a very bad pronunciation of native, and using peculiar inflections at the end of the prayers." Also, the singing was dreadful and the chanting of the litany a perfect burlesque. Nevertheless, Scott must have been interested in music, for he had brought with him a harmonium.[60]

In Lahaina, Scott's schedule of Sunday services included the English Eucharist, probably at 7.30, Hawaiian morning prayer at 9.30, English morning prayer at 11, and Hawaiian litany at 4. On weekdays he read the daily offices and in addition, on black-letter days, celebrated the Eucharist. Apparently he never celebrated in Hawaiian, as his successor could find no Hawaiian communicants.[61]

Of the Home of the Epiphany, Staley wrote:—

Mr. Scott quickly established an Industrial Female College in the mission premises. It is under Mrs. Scott's management; a young person [Janet Ferrier], trained by the East Grinstead Sisters, acts as governess. She has twenty-three girls already under her constant charge. They learn cookery, house-cleaning, needlework, and the instruction is entirely in the English language. The dormitories are well and suitably furnished. It is under the management of a committee presided over by Mr. Scott, the other members being the Governor of the island and the two church-wardens.[62] It is aided by a Government grant. The school is quite full, and it is intended to enlarge it, owing to the applications for admission.[63]

During the summer Scott established an English day-school for boys

(58) Report of the Lahaina Mission.

(59) Egomet, "Rural Sketches of the Hawaiian Islands," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 23, 1863.

(60) Report of the Lahaina Mission. Scott had brought out from England twelve packages of freight. *Polynesian*, December 27, 1862.

(61) Report of the Lahaina Mission.

(62) Henry Dickenson was one of the wardens. *Ibid.* Perhaps Dr. Hutchinson was the other.

(63) Letter of T. N. Staley, Honolulu, September 9, 1863, *Guardian*, XVIII (1863), pp. 1129–1130.

with some thirty-six students; in addition, he had a Sunday school with an attendance of seventeen.[64]

Of Scott, his successor wrote paradoxically:—

. . . I would wish to express my consciousness of the superior talents and untiring zeal of Mr. Scott which would undoubtedly fit him for many another field of work, requiring less of the "suaviter in modo" than this peculiarly does.—In such a place as Lahaina where the small foreign population is made up of Americans, English, Welsh, Irish, Germans, French, and where the natives, as elsewhere, are a race only to be attracted and won by a gentle and cheerful manner,—I know of no man more likely to have succeeded than Mr. Scott, or one whose failure might surely have been predicted.[65]

In both Lahaina and Wailuku, the American Congregational ministers resented Scott, but as they and their brethren were prepared to resent the English mission upon its arrival,[66] their attitude was probably important only so far as it was accepted by impressionable people. Also, their remarks on the mission, both public and private, are not always trustworthy. The Congregational minister at Lahaina wrote that on the second Sunday he was in Maui, Scott had said that there were

"but two sects of christians in the islands, the [Roman] Catholics with a few errors, and our church, all others who are laboring here are imposters and deceivers, misleading the people, giving them a Jewish sabbath," &c. He is reported as saying in private conversation, that "we were all imposters and liars." . . . A few have been confirmed. Curiosity drew many out to their meetings at first, but as yet, they do not seem to be in high favor with the natives.[67]

The Congregational minister at Wailuku reported:—

. . . Mr Scott is located at Lahaina, but I think no one there has joined him except a few Englishmen & their native families. He visited Waikapu last week & was entertained by three Englishmen who live there Messrs Daniels, Cockett &

(64) *Guardian*, XVIII (1863), pp. 1129–1130; Annual Return.

(65) Report of the Lahaina Mission.

(66) *See*, for example, the statement of the British Commissioner in A. F. Muir, "Edmund Ibbotson," *Historical Magazine*, XIX (1950), p. 219n.

(67) Dwight Baldwin, Report of Lahaina Station, May 15, 1863, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Sandwich Islands, 1860–1871, Vol. I, No. 84, *MS.*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. In the annual report printed in the islands, Baldwin is shown as having reported simply: "Reformed Catholic.—This sect have, within the past year, fitted up a church and have a few hearers." *Minutes of the Meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Held at Honolulu, June, 1863*, Honolulu, n.d., p. 15. Baldwin (1798–1886) was in charge of the Lahaina station from 1835 to 1871. *Portraits of the American Protestant Missionaries to Hawaii* . . . , Honolulu, 1901, p. 29. Scott would certainly not have referred to the Church as a sect nor, probably, as "our church." Baldwin's quotations of Scott have all the earmarks of spuriousness.

Coppe & he baptized their families. The people seem fully aware that they are a new engine of the Devil to oppose the Kingdom of God, & I think the *Lord Bishop of Honolulu* aided by the King & Queen & English Capital and His Satanic Majesty will find himself unable to make much impression on Hawaii.[68]

Scott's temperamental lack of fitness for his station did not appear for some time, and during the interval he engaged in good works. The English in Hawaii had been shocked by reports of the poverty in the cotton-manufacturing districts of England following the outbreak of the American Civil War and the termination of the cotton trade between the South and Britain. Scott was active in raising funds for the alleviation of the distressed in Lancashire, where he had begun his ministry. He collected a total of $80.[69] Also, he gave weekly instructions to William Hoapili Kaauwai, who was studying for holy orders.[70] During Scott's residence in Lahaina, Dickenson purchased from the King for the synod almost a half-acre on Hoapiliwahine Street, a part of a tract known as Waianae, as a parish cemetery.[71] In October, as Scott was touring the island of Lanai, he fell from his horse and fractured his collar-bone.[72]

Scott's best known act is a letter he wrote on the Hawaiian superstition of praying to death that was first published in a Honolulu newspaper and then reprinted in both England and the United States:—

Easter Monday and Tuesday, were to me days of great anxiety. One of Mr. S——'s grown up daughters, whom I had baptized in February last, and who had just recovered from a slight illness, became alarmingly worse and died, with all the horrors of one impressed with the belief that she was doomed to die on Tuesday, at noon. It was a dreadful scene. In full health, with no tangible disease, sheer terror at the conviction that she was *being prayed to death,* absolutely annihilated all her vital powers. Young, strong, healthy otherwise, she died. Her grown up sisters and brothers, singularly attached to her, horror-stricken at the dreadful death, with the

(68) W. P. Alexander to R. Anderson, Wailuku, February 11, 1863, A.B.C.F.M., Sandwich Islands, 1860–1871, Vol. II, No. 184. In his annual report, Alexander wrote simply, "& the new religion, the Reformed Catholic finds no favor among us, except a few Englishmen who live among us." Wailuku Station Report, [June, 1863], *ibid.,* Vol. I, No. 82. William Patterson Alexander (1805–1884) was stationed for a while at Wailuku. *Portraits of the American Protestant Missionaries to Hawaii,* p. 34. Rufus Anderson (1796–1880) was corresponding secretary of the A.C.F.M., 1832–1866.

(69) *Polynesian,* February 21 and March 14, 1863. For a description of the distress, see *Annual Register,* n.s., I (1863), pp. 139–161.

(70) Report of the Lahaina Mission.

(71) Kamehameha and Emma to synod, July 29, 1863, Records of Conveyances, Vol. XVII, pp. 152–154; Report of the Lahaina Mission. Staley consecrated the cemetery on September 25, 1864.

(72) *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* October 8, 1863.

old heart-broken father, as they pressed around the body and literally rent the air with their cries, presented a spectacle of misery such as one seldom meets. The *wail* was no form; the natives are not callous. Real, heartfelt woe, if ever there was, you might see there. Next morning at 8 o'clock, the body in simple but most decent coffin, was carried from the house into church, (here follows an account of the funeral which excited much interest and sympathy.)[73] The last observations of the dying woman were, looking wistfully at Mrs. S[cott], who had gone to fetch her stimulants, "is the foreign woman gone—won't she come back. Aloha nui, aloha nui."[74] Just before death, during a little pause, looking to me she said "e pule, e pule."[75] She died just before the commendatory prayer was closed, and I was in the act of blessing.

This death has taught me much. The people may pretend to be no longer idolaters in life, and indeed are utterly indifferent about religion. They quickly accept the new God, or say they do so, to save trouble. This, in life; but when disease comes and death is approaching, just as with every man, all pretence is, in the face of death, cast aside and the man's sincere actual belief alone prevails; so with them. The firm belief in the power of another to *pray to death* comes down on the soul utterly crushing it. Pele and the Shark God are invoked to overpower the prayer of the other, to avert premature death. But if no evident token is found that those deities are neutralising the *praying to death*, then absolutely deadness takes possession of the whole being, and despite youth, health, care, medical aid, death inevitably results. This is what is slaying the people. Here is the horrible spectre, I believe more than anything else, frightening to death the population of these Islands.

They have no real belief, scarce one in a future state—while the old deities discarded during life, rise before their minds in the hour of death, not to avert the terrors of another world, not to pardon or receive, but simply to stay the dreaded decay of the body. Hence incantations, the black pig, the white cock are *universally practiced.* I am investigating the matter in its bearings and accumulating facts, which will prove that a system of "indirect assassination" is rapidly annihilating the people. A affronts B, B goes to C gives him ten dollars to pray A to death—tells A so and A dies; of course A's father hears it, goes to D pays him fifteen dollars to pray B and C to death. Tells B and C who also die! What nation could stand it?[76]

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(73) The parenthesis is in the newspaper copy.

(74) "A fond farewell, a fond farewell." Translation by Mrs. Kawena Kukui, of Honolulu, courtesy of Mrs. Willowdean C. Handy, librarian of Hawaiian Historical Society.

(75) "Pray, pray."

(76) *Polynesian*, April 18, 1863, reprinted in letter of J. M. Neale, *Guardian*, XVIII (1863), p. 656, and *Church Journal*, XI (1863), p. 233, also in *John Bull*, XLIII (1863), p. 452, and "John Mason Neale's Letters . . . ," *St. Margaret's Quarterly*, Summer, 1957, pp. 9–10. This letter was also partially reprinted in *Occasional Paper of the Hawaiian Church Mission (Sandwich Islands)*, London,

In August and September, Scott spent two weeks in Honolulu, while the Rev. Edmund Ibbotson acted as his locum tenens.[77] Soon thereafter the Congregationalists reported that there was a rumour that Scott was to return to England.[78] By December, apparently, Staley had concluded to remove him. He picked an unfortunate time, for on December 22, 1863, the Scotts' second son, Clement McLeod Sinclair, who had been ill upon arrival in the islands, died at the age of 3 years and 5 months. Mason happened to arrive in Lahaina in time to read the burial office on Christmas Eve.[79] Early in January, Staley sent Mason to Lahaina to relieve Scott. For a fortnight, until Scott and his family could get away, Mason remained with them; he reported:—

> They had not recovered from . . . shock and I must say that I never remember 2 weeks so depressing as these spent with the Scotts at Lahaina before their departure to Honolulu. Everybody seemed to shun him and he to shun every one.— Scarce 6 natives came to the Native Service on Sundays; and only 2 families of foreigners to the English Service. But the worst was the discredit our Mission had incurred from the non-payment of debt. The butcher and baker refused to supply Mrs Mason with provisions unless they were paid for on delivery. Even the common natives declined doing my little work unless they saw the money they were to receive first.[80]

By the 19th Scott had arrived in Honolulu.[81]

1865, pp. 28–29. The present writer has supplied the paragraph divisions. See also *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* April 23, 1863, and letter of X, *ibid.,* May 7, 1863.

(77) Edmund Ibbotson to [Secretary, S.P.G.], Honolulu, September 28, 1863, E MSS., No. 15; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* August 20 and September 10, 1863. On August 29, 1863, in Honolulu, Scott baptized Mary Puaolii, an adult, and on the following day he baptized Martha Hipa, Alice Kehane, Lucy Opunui, and Emilie Kaheli. Church Registry . . . in Honolulu . . . , pp. 30–33 (Nos. 136 to 140), courtesy of Mrs. Norma Van L. Binder, of Honolulu.

(78) E. W. Clark to R. Anderson, Honolulu, September 8, 1863, A.B.C.F.M., Sandwich Islands, 1860–1871, Vol. I, No. 50. Ephraim Weston Clark (1799–1878) was pastor of Kawaiahao Church, Honolulu, 1848–1863. *Portraits of the American Protestant Missionaries to Hawaii,* p. 22.

(79) *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* January 7, 1864; Report of the Lahaina Mission. Clement McLeod Sinclair Scott's remains were later disinterred and removed to Oahu Cemetery, Honolulu, where they were reburied on April 29, 1864. In 1865 a vandal stole the wooden cross erected at the grave there. *Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu), I (1865), p. 101.

(80) Report of the Lahaina Mission.

(81) L. H. Gulick to R. Anderson, Honolulu, January 19, 1864, A.B.C.F.M., Sandwich Islands, 1860–1871, Vol. III, No. 236. Luther Halsey Gulick (1828–1891) was secretary of the Hawaiian Board from its founding to 1870. *Portraits of the American Protestant Missionaries to Hawaii,* p. 92.

Scott lingered in Honolulu until summer. On January 30, 1864, he served as the Bishop's chaplain at the ordination to the diaconate of Joseph James Elkington, who had come out to Honolulu from England as a layman with a view to receiving holy orders.[82] Early in February, Scott conveyed to the synod the lease on the church property,[83] as well as an assortment of furniture and ecclesiastical articles.[84] He and his family left Honolulu for San Francisco on July 9 aboard the *Smyrniote*.[85] The secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts deplored that "one so unsuited to work of a Missionary among Natives as Mr Scott was ever taken out," the expense of whose passages to and fro being but the least of the ill results.[86]

All of the evidence indicates that Scott's difficulties in Lahaina were the result of his temperament, of which Lady Franklin had complained, that alienated the Hawaiian natives, and of his grandiose ideas about buildings and furnishings that led to his getting himself inextricably into debt. One American Congregational missionary, the secretary of the Hawaiian Board, Luther Halsey Gulick, whose letters to the corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston were consistently a farrago of the meanest sort of gossip, built up out of surmise and rumour a scurrilous case against Scott. Instead of rebuking or disciplining Gulick for his disregard of truth, justice, and Christian charity, the A.B.C.F.M. secretary appears to have encouraged him. Although there is not a shred of evidence for

(82) *John Bull,* XLIV (1864), pp. 227–228. For a biographical sketch of Elkington, *see* "Joseph James Elkington, Hero of the Catholic Revival," *Holy Cross Magazine* (West Park, N.Y.), LXIII (1952), pp. 237–240.

(83) Records of Conveyances, Vol. XVII, p. 347.

(84) *Ibid.*, pp. 437–438. Scott conveyed to the synod an altar cross, 2 candlesticks, a koa super altar, a chalice, 2 patens, cruets, a stone font, 2 biers, a pall, 4 altar cloths, a linen altar cloth, a burse, a linen corporal, 3 small linen cloths [purificators?], a silk and a lace chalice veil, an alb, a priest's surplice and 2 boys' surplices, a white silk stole and maniple, a worked dossal, hangings on the east wall of the church, 5 alms bags, 20 turned bedsteads and hay mattresses, 18 hay pillows, 2 rollers, a wooden cupboard, a set of shelves, book-shelves, a table, 28 forms, 2 choir desks, 2 long desks, a carpenter's table, 2 wash-stands with 8 basins, a mosquito-net with a few mosquito-net tops, 9 tin plates, 2 tin pans, and 2 lamps.

(85) *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* July 9, 1864. Staley gave Scott £100 passage money "to get rid of him." Staley to [W.T.] Bullock, Kensington, March 14, [1871], Letters Received, 1865–1871, No. 58, *MS.*, office of S.P.G.

(86) Ernest Hawkins to Staley, London, July 13, 1864, Copies of Letters Sent: New Zealand, F MSS., Vol. I, *MS.*, office of S.P.G.

Gulick's allegations, there can be no doubt that they were circulated by him on the islands and tended to make Scott's position, difficult at best, impossible.

It is commonly reported about town [Gulick wrote] that one of Mr Scott's pupils at Lahaina—a girl three quarters white—complains of having been the subject of rape by Mr. Scott while in his school, & that the father endeavoured to have the case come before the English Judge at Lahaina [William Ap Jones], but that he refused to entertain the suit. Mr. Allen was then personally & privately appealed to for the sake of justice, & he prompts the Atorney General of the Is.—C. C. Harris, a member of the English Communion—to look after the matter, & he pronounced that there is nothing in it. Mr. Scott has left his school & is living in Honolulu, & says he cannot rest with such a cloud upon his name, which intimates a suit for libel. Meantime, the Bishop is anxious to get Mr Scott to leave the islands altogether.[87]

Having put his mind to the subject, Gulick concluded that Scott's indebtedness in Lahaina had resulted from his suppressing the truth.

It is pretty certain [he wrote] that Rev. Mr. Scott, of the Ref. Cath. Mission, who was at Lahaina, paid the half (& possibly the whole) of $1500.00 as hush-money in the threatened prosecution for rape upon a girl of his school. He left for England months ago; but it will not do for us to pursue any such course of concealment.[88]

Gulick's colleagues, though, seem to have carefully abstained from participation in his sortie into character assassination.

Upon his return to England, Scott served for a while as curate of the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Finsbury, where he did a good work. According to the Shoreditch *Observer* at the time of his resignation:—

Mr. Scott was a good man, an untiring minister of Christ. I will venture those who heard him preach have not forgotten his heart-stirring words. His impressiveness of word and manner is not easily effaced. Early morning and late at night he was ever at his post; in him the poor and sick found a sympathising adviser and a feeling friend, and the children of the schools a kind and forbearing teacher. I consider his loss not only to the Church, great as that is, but also to the district. All who have the salvation of souls at heart, who care for the religious teaching of the poorer classes, and the enlightenment by the Gospel of this darkly ignorant and crime-rife neighborhood, of whatever sect, would indeed recognise in Mr. Scott an instrument of God admirably suited to the position which he lately filled so well.[89]

(87) Gulick to R. Anderson, Honolulu, March 10, 1864, A.B.C.F.M., Sandwich Islands, 1860–1871, Vol. III, No. 239. Elisha Hunt Allen (1804–1883) was chancellor and chief justice, 1857–1876.

(88) Gulick to Anderson, Honolulu, March 27, 1865, A.B.C.F.M., Sandwich Islands, 1860–1871, Vol. III, No. 289.

(89) Reprinted in *Guardian,* XXI (1866), p. 479, and *Church Times* (London), IV (1866), p. 153.

A short while later Scott performed strenuous and heroic services during the cholera epidemic that struck the East End of London in the summer of 1866. As early as August 4 the Rev. Charles Fuge Lowder was begging for priests, laymen, and nurses to minister to the afflicted.[90] Scott volunteered and became chaplain of the workhouse of St. John-of-Wapping, near Old Gravel Lane. This building was prepared to take 150, and in a pinch 200, patients. It was divided into wards, each devoted to a particular parish, as Stepney, Limehouse, and Shadwell. In addition to the chaplain, it was staffed by three Sisters of Mercy, two female nurses, nineteen male nurses, three medical men, a dispenser, and a superintendent. On August 19 the Bishop of London and Mrs. Tait visited the workhouse. There were then thirty patients being cared for. One death had occurred that morning and five the previous day. Scott impressed a newspaper correspondent as " an excellent and kind nurse as well as an indefatigable spiritual pastor." He told the Bishop of the different patients and of the awful deaths that had taken place. Tait had little sympathy with men of Scott's high church views, but he admired zeal and self-devotion and heartily shook hands with Scott and urged him to get a change of air as soon as he could so that he would not break down under his untiring labours.[91] The devotion and indefatigability of the Anglo-Catholic clergy during the cholera epidemic did much to dissipate popular opinion against them.

In the meantime, Scott had become curate of St. Mark's Church, Whitechapel, and had begun a chapel, St. Clement's Mission, at 69 Backchurch Lane. In December he acknowledged gifts of a Norman font, a consecrated altar, and some £37 in cash and stamps and announced that he had been offered two sites in the lane for reasonable sums on which to build the permanent mission building.[92] Scott offered a full round of services during Holy Week and Eastertide, 1867.[93] In June he celebrated a Eucharist for the intention of the English Church Union,[94] and on July 18 had a solemn high Eucharist on the first anniversary of the founding of the mission.[95] Scott tried in many ways to relieve his people from the great distress prevailing in the neighbourhood.[96] He

(90) *Church Times,* IV (1866), p. 247. See also *ibid.,* pp. 248, 279.
(91) *Ibid.,* p. 269; *Morning Star,* quoted in *Church Times,* IV (1866), p. 269.
(92) Letter of Scott, *Church Times,* IV (1866), p. 407.
(93) *Ibid.,* V (1867), p. 148.
(94) *Ibid.,* p. 220.
(95) *Ibid.,* p. 262.
(96) *See* leader, *Church Times,* VI (1868), p. 54.

organized a Guild of St. Clement's,[97] provided an excursion for his poor and his schools, and proposed a brass band for men and a fife and drum band for boys, to be conducted by a former bandmaster in the navy, who had volunteered his services. Scott was particularly anxious to wean his people away from beer-houses and penny gaffs.[98] When one of his parishioners saved a woman and child from a burning house in Cannon Street Road, where Scott lived, Scott ministered to his burns, and a few days later the hero, on bended knee, returned thanks in the mission chapel to God " in delivering him from perishing by fire."[99]

The mission celebrated the first anniversary of its dedication on November 23, with the incumbents of the Churches of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn, and St. Peter's, London Docks, as guest preachers. There was also a collation in the schoolroom, attended by the president of the English Church Union; Robert Brett, the pious physician of Stoke Newington; and other distinguished visitors.[100]

At Christmastide, Scott bestirred himself, not only to celebrate the festival with becoming solemnities,[101] but also to collect funds to pay for the mission organ and to provide a substantial Christmas dinner for his people.[102] On the first Sunday after Christmas, December 29, the Bishop of Tennessee, who had attended the first Lambeth Conference, visited St. Clement's Mission, dined with Scott and the members of the Guild, and spent the afternoon visiting in the parish with Scott. In grateful remembrance of his ministrations, Scott informed the Bishop that the four Ember offertories and those of the first Sunday after Christmas would be given to him for the Church in Tennessee.[103] Scott continued to alleviate his people's distress.[104]

At the beginning of Lent, 1868, Scott announced that £168 16s. 6d. had been spent for the temporary building, of which £86 19s. had been

(97) *Church Times,* V (1867), p. 403.

(98) *Ibid.,* p. 362. A *penny gaff* is a low theatre or music hall.

(99) *Morning Advertiser,* quoted in *Church Times,* V (1867), p. 397.

(100) *Church Times,* V (1867), pp. 419, 421; *Guardian,* XXII (1867), p. 271. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (1825–1887) was curate in charge of St. Albans, 1862–1882, and Charles Fuge Lowder (1820–1880) was priest in charge of St. Peter's from 1860. Colin Lindsay (1819–1892) was president of the English Church Union, 1860–1867.

(101) *Church Times,* VI (1868), p. 8.

(102) Letter of Scott, *ibid.,* V (1867), p. 451.

(103) *Guardian,* XXIII (1868), p. 11; *Church Times,* VI (1868), p. 5. The Bishop of Tennessee, 1865–1898, was Charles Todd Quintard (1824–1898).

(104) *Church Times,* VI (1868), p. 54.

received.[105] Scott's churchmanship was distasteful to the vicar of St. Mark's, who, in the middle of March, announced Scott's dismissal and the dispersal of the mission.[106] The work terminated soon after Easter.[107] In the following year the former congregation of the late mission presented Scott with a handsomely embroidered white silk stole accompanied by an address, " expressing their affection and respect for him, and their appreciation of his most laborious work among them, and their sense of the injustice which caused his removal."[108]

In the autumn of 1868 Scott was threatened with total blindness,[109] but seemingly his oculist's predictions proved incorrect, for in November, 1869, he was conducting services and workshops for unemployed men at Christ Church, Liverpool,[110] and in May, 1870, he was inhibited by the Bishop of Chester, no doubt because of his high church views.[111] In the same year he became curate of St. Martin's Church, Liverpool, where he remained until 1874, when he became curate of Southwold for a year. In 1875–78 he served South Hackney, after which he was connected with Christ Church, Poplar, for two years. Throughout the 1880's he was listed without cure, so it is possible that his eyesight further declined. In 1889–91 he was at Charlton St. Peter, Marlborough, in Wiltshire.[112]

On July 26, 1894, aged 70 years 3 months and 11 days, Scott died of natural causes at 43 Brand Street, Greenwich, attended by his sister, Miss L. H. Scott.[113]

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(105) Letter of Scott, *Church Times*, VI (1868), p. 84.

(106) *Ibid.*, p. 109; see also *ibid.*, pp. 119, 132. The vicar of St. Mark's, 1866–1870, was Brooke Lambert (1834–1901).

(107) *Church Times*, VI (1868), pp. 153, 252, 271, 329.

(108) *Ibid.*, VII (1869), p. 171.

(109) *Ibid.*, VI (1868), p. 376; *Guardian*, XXIII (1868), p. 1115.

(110) *Church Times*, VII (1869), p. 457.

(111) *Ibid.*, VIII (1870), p. 204. The Bishop of Chester, 1865–1884, was William Jacobson (1803–1884).

(112) *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1893.*

(113) Entry of death, Registration District Greenwich, Sub-district of Greenwich West, County of London, 1894, No. 20, *MS.*, General Register Office. *Church Times*, XXXII (1894), p. 828, shows death as having occurred at Exmouth; perhaps burial took place there. The Rev. J. D. Newhouse, rector of Exmouth, informed the writer on July 22, 1957, that there is but one graveyard in that place, and that Scott's remains are not buried there.

THE KOOTENAY RECLAMATION AND COLONIZATION SCHEME AND WILLIAM ADOLPH BAILLIE-GROHMAN

For seventy years the reclamation of the Kootenay Flats in the Creston Valley of South-eastern British Columbia has been going on. The dyking method has not proved to be a wholly satisfactory system of flood-control, the chief cause of the dyke erosion being the sand-bars which form in the Kootenay River. A system of dredging and placing the dredged-out material on top of the dykes has been suggested as a partial solution to the present problem.

The man who in 1882 first conceived the idea of reclaiming these flats and placing settlers on them was not in favour of dyking. His theory was that if the level of Kootenay Lake could be lowered by widening its very constricted outlet, the flood-waters from the spring freshets which annually backed up and overflowed the flats would then be enabled to flow freely through the outlet, and thus the rise of the lake would be prevented. He was William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, a British sportsman and author, who was then on a hunting expedition in Western Kootenay seeking the elusive Rocky Mountain goat.[1] When he visited the eastern district of Kootenay the following year,[2] he added another idea to the proposed scheme: to lessen the amount of water in the Kootenay River by diverting it, or part of it, into Columbia Lake at the place which David Thompson had called McGillivray's Portage. Here the two waterways were only about a mile and a half apart, and Grohman saw no difficulty in attempting to cut a canal to connect the two. In fact, by his own admission, he was not the first to try to divert the Kootenay into the Columbia by means of a canal. At the same place some nineteen years earlier, during the gold excitement at Wild Horse Creek, twenty-five men had commenced working there with the same end in

(1) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, "Hunting the Rocky Mountain Goat," *Century Magazine*, XXIX (n.s. VII) (1884–85), pp. 193–203. Grohman wrote another article entitled "Stalking the Haplocerus in the Selkirks," in the *English Illustrated Magazine*, XIII (1898), pp. 127–133.

(2) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, "A Paradise for Canadian and American Soldiers," *Nineteenth Century*, LXXXIII (1918), pp. 770–771.

view but for a different purpose. They hoped to divert the entire Kootenay River so that they could wash for gold in the river-bed. They expected to complete their project in one season, but shortage of provisions and funds prevented them from carrying it out.[3]

With the mechanical means available to-day, such projects as digging the canal and widening the outlet of the lake would be considered small and could be easily and quickly accomplished. But in 1883 the Kootenay District was a sparsely inhabited wilderness without benefit of railway or steamboat transportation, and with only a minimum of trails. Baillie-Grohman's one-man reclamation and colonization scheme therefore made history.

Groham began negotiations with the British Columbia Government at Victoria for a concession to the Kootenay bottom-lands, situated between the south end of Kootenay Lake and the International Boundary, and consisting of about 48,000 acres. Returning to Kootenay for further exploration, he was accompanied by Gilbert Malcolm Sproat and A. S. Farwell,[4] but he became involved in the mining litigation between Captain George J. Ainsworth, founder of the Oregon Navigation Company, and Robert Sproule.[5] The latter—like Ainsworth, an American—had discovered a big ledge of galena ore and staked out claims on it, naming the discovery Bluebell. Shortly afterwards a young man named Hammil, representing the wealthy associates of Ainsworth, also staked claims on the same ground. A legal dispute followed, and Sproule persuaded Grohman to help him in the fight.

An investigation was immediately ordered, and Assistant Gold Commissioner Edward Kelly conducted the inquiry and visited the two hostile camps. So as to show no favouritism, he agreed to sleep in one camp and eat his meals in the other. On October 16, 1883, he gave judgment in favour of Sproule on all four of the points involved; but the Ainsworth interests appealed in the Supreme Court of British Columbia, and three of the decisions were reversed, with costs assessed against Sproule. This blow unbalanced his reason: he blamed Grohman for his loss and threatened to kill both him and Hammil. Sproule went back to Koote-

(3) W. Henry Barneby, *Life and Labour in the Far, Far West,* London, 1884, Appendix C ["The Kootenay Lake District," by W. A. Baillie-Grohman], p. 409.

(4) Pertinent information in connection with this exploration is to be found in Appendix I to this article, pp. 210–213.

(5) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia,* London, 1900, pp. 234–251.

nay looking for Grohman and twice faced him with a gun. The first time he fired but missed, and Grohman escaped before he could shoot again. The second time, the two met aboard a train in Idaho, but with others present Sproule dared not pull the trigger. Then he returned to the Bluebell claim, where he found Hammil working; Sproule shot the young man from ambush. After hiding out for some time, the murderer was forced into the open by hunger, and he was captured, tried, and eventually executed at Victoria. Nevertheless, a creek was named for him,[6] next to one named for Grohman. These two creeks, together with the village of Ainsworth and Bluebell Mountain, perpetuate the memory of those early dramatic events in Kootenay. The Bluebell mine itself is still in existence, operated by the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada Limited.

Meanwhile, Grohman had discovered at Victoria that the Ainsworth group had also been negotiating for a land concession in Kootenay which would include the 48,000 acres which he was hoping for. Ainsworth had offered to build a railway from the Kootenay River outlet to its confluence with the Columbia, a distance of some 26 miles. For this he was to get 750,000 acres free of taxes, as well as other valuable rights. A public meeting of protest held in Victoria objected to the passage of this private Bill, which was to convey so large a tract of the Province's valuable land to a group of Americans.[7] The Act was later disallowed by the Federal Government, but by persistent efforts the Ainsworth interests eventually succeeded in getting the Act of incorporation passed, although the Columbia and Kootenay Railway Company was given a much smaller land grant than had originally been sought. Whilst these negotiations were in progress, Grohman succeeded in getting his concession granted, and he later claimed the distinction of having saved for the Province the huge tract of land which Ainsworth had originally sought.[8]

Grohman's concession took the form of a ten-year lease, dated December 10, 1883, from the Honourable William Smithe, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works at Victoria, to W. A. Baillie-Grohman, formerly of London, England, but now of Kootenay in British Columbia.

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(6) Sproule Creek flows into the Kootenay River at Taghum. Grohman's spelling was Sprowle.

(7) F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States*, Toronto, 1942, p. 250.

(8) Baillie-Grohman, *Nineteenth Century*, LXXXIII (1918), p. 778.

The original document is an interesting and unique item,[9] handwritten throughout on foolscap paper, and consisting of nine pages, a cover sheet, and a map, drawn by A. S. Farwell, dated November, 1883. Any alterations or additions to the document, no matter how slight, are initialled by both parties and by the witness, who also places his initials at the bottom of each sheet. Wherever the writing does not continue to the end of the line, the space remaining is filled in with a uniform scrawl, as was customary, to prevent any unauthorized additions, and throughout the entire nine pages there is not one punctuation mark of any description.

The lease[10] covered 47,500 acres of the bottom and marsh lands known as the Kootenay Flats. Except by inference, there was no mention of any land or works in the Upper Kootenay-Columbia Valley, but subsequent events showed that at the time the document was drawn up Grohman had a canal in that district in mind:—

> Provided also and it is hereby agreed and declared that the Lessee shall from time to time and at all times during the currency of this lease have a right of way over and full ingress and egress upon any Crown lands and the right to construct a ditch or works thereon for the purpose of carrying into effect the reclamation scheme contemplated by this Lessee. . . .

The " ditch " later developed into the canal at Canal Flat (now officially spelled Canal Flats), although the document gave no indication as to where the ditch might be constructed, nor did it refer to, or give permission for, the diversion of the Kootenay River.

For the first five years of the lease an annual rental of $100 was to be paid, and an additional 5 cents an acre thereafter " on land reclaimed and brought into a state of actual cultivation," both payable in gold coin. It was also stipulated that within the first three years a complete survey of the lands within the lease was to be made in blocks 6 miles square, the survey and field-notes to be deposited with the Lands and Works Minister at Victoria. Should the interference of the elements make it impracticable for the survey to be completed, a further period of one year was allowed. The sum of $15,000 was to be expended in

(9) In the Baillie-Grohman Papers, now in the possession of Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., Chichester, Sussex, who kindly made much of the material available to the writer and by whose permission many of the illustrations are reproduced.

(10) " Return to an Order of the House [Lease of Lands for Kootenay Reclamation Scheme]," British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers, 1883–84*, Victoria, 1884, p. 426.

British Columbia by the lessee within the first three years to further the reclamation, and during the following seven years an annual sum of not less than $10,000 was to be spent. No part of the premises could be assigned or underlet without the written consent of the Government.

The Crown reserved " all mines coal and minerals "; the right to cut and take away timber, gravel, stone, sand, or other material required for construction of any bridge, road, or other public work; and the right to take possession, without notice, of land which might be required for Indian purposes, reservations, or settlements, not to exceed 1,280 acres.

The lands and all buildings and improvements were to be free from Provincial taxation during the term of the lease, unless Grohman should apply for the purchase of land, which he had the privilege of doing after the survey was made: ". . . all or any of the lands hereby demised which may be reclaimed from overflow of water in blocks of six hundred and forty acres at the rate of one dollar an acre. . . ." One clause in the lease stated that " the same shall be subject to the rights (if any there be) arising from the Columbia and Kootenay Railway and Transportation Company Act, 1883." But after the lease had been signed, this Act, as has been said, was disallowed by the Federal Government.

Grohman's next step was to interest some of his friends in England in his Canadian enterprise, and the Kootenay Lake Syndicate was formed as a temporary means of raising the initial funds required. With this assurance of financial aid, Grohman returned to Victoria to make a formal proposal[11] to the Government on behalf of the syndicate, a proposal which now asked for partially free grants of land in the Upper Kootenay Valley of approximately 22,500 acres. Grohman outlined eighteen primary conditions under which he thought that the land concession should be provided. One condition was that the syndicate should place a steamboat on the navigable part of the Lower Kootenay River and Lake during 1884; another, that within six months of the commencement of the Kootenay canal a similar steamer or steam-tug should be placed on the Upper Columbia River to ply from Golden to the Columbia Lake. This appears to be the first written suggestion by Grohman to the Government as to where the canal was to be, for he

(11) W. A. Baillie-Grohman to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Victoria, July 25, 1884, Baillie-Grohman Papers. The text of this letter is reproduced as Appendix II to this article, pp. 213–217. For a summary *see* British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1886,* p. 419.

calls it "The Upper Kootenay River Canal." However, he had held various conferences with the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and undoubtedly the location of the canal had been discussed. As for the boat to be placed on the Columbia, a proviso allowed this to be done only if that stretch of water was navigable for steamers and if no other steamboat were navigating the river at that time. However, several months before Grohman was permitted to begin work on the canal there was a steamboat already navigating the Columbia.[12]

The steamer on the Kootenay River and Lake had been arranged for by Grohman even before his proposal was approved, and in so doing he became the first man to operate a steamcraft on the Kootenay waters. The boat was the historic *Midge,* consigned to Grohman by Venables Kyrke in England, who had invested in the reclamation enterprise. When the *Midge* arrived at Montreal, on the deck of the *Polynesian,* the customs officers demanded a considerable amount of duty on the little old steam-launch. Learning that "settler's goods," including certain agricultural implements, were admitted free of duty, Grohman declared the *Midge* to be an agricultural implement: the boat, he explained, was required to pull a steam-plough on the flooded lands he intended to reclaim. He managed to get the idea accepted at Ottawa, and was issued a permit authorizing the *Midge* to be cleared free of duty, much to the consternation of the Montreal officials. The boat was then shipped on two flat cars to Sandpoint, Idaho, the nearest railway point to the Kootenay. From there she was carried by a dozen white men and a number of Indians over the Pack River Trail to Bonner's Ferry, rollers and pulleys being used where necessary. It took three weeks to transport the boat the 40 miles.

The *Midge,* needless to say, was never used as an agricultural implement, but for cruising and exploring the lake and river. The Indians all along the way were intrigued and delighted by the sight of her puffing about, and willingly cut wood for the boiler in return for being allowed to blow the whistle or to have their canoes towed by the little steamer. Later, she was abandoned by Grohman and taken over by T. Davis, one of the prospective settlers, who renamed her the *Mud Hen.* When he returned to Wales, the *Mud Hen* was abandoned for ever.[13]

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(12) Captain F. P. Armstrong's *Duchess,* 1886. *See* Norman Hacking, "Steamboat Days on the Upper Columbia and Upper Kootenay," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XVI (1952), p. 10.

(13) Information from Mr. Guy Constable, March, 1954.

(Courtesy Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.)

The Kootenay Canal works showing the canal under construction.

(Courtesy Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.)

The wheelbarrow brigade of Chinamen working at the canal excavation.

(Courtesy Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.)

View of a completed part of the canal, August, 1888.

(Courtesy Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.)

Kootenay Canal at Grohman (Canal Flat), showing the lock under construction, 1888.

For years she lay beached in the mud on the river-bank, slipping lower into the water with each spring run-off. Before she finally disappeared altogether from view, Mr. Guy Constable, of Creston, retrieved a few relics, and he still has the famous whistle, the rudder, the compass, two bollards, and the stern post. Part of the stern post he had made into a gavel, which he presented to the Pacific Northwest Trade Association to perpetuate the neighbourly relations and friendship to which the *Midge* had contributed when afloat on international waters.

But to return to the subject of Grohman's formal proposal to the Government in 1884. The main issue was the land and the terms of its disposal to and by the syndicate. It was divided into three categories according to location—A, B, and C. Lands A comprised 2,000 acres of grazing land situated between the Upper Columbia Lake and the Upper Kootenay River; also the swamp and bottom lands on the Upper and Middle Kootenay River between the " first crossing " of Kootenay River and the International Boundary-line, about 22,500 acres. Lands B were the swamp and bottom lands of the Lower Kootenay River, known as the Kootenay Flats, approximately 32,525 acres. Lands C lay on the right bank of the Kootenay River, between Goat River and Kootenay Lake, about 15,000 acres, shown as Flat No. 2 on Farwell's map. The aggregate of all lands was 72,025 acres. To this was added 1,000 acres at the northern end of Kootenay Lake north of Lardeau Creek, to be reclaimed by lowering the lake; 25 acres on the right bank of the west arm of the lake at the Rapids; and 50 acres on the left bank at the Narrows; making a grand total of 73,100 acres.

Grohman proposed to form, within six months of receiving the engineer's final report on the scheme, a limited liability company with a capital of at least £50,000. When any of the land was reclaimed and settlers were placed on it, the company was to receive Crown grants at the rate of $1 per acre, as follows: On Lands A, 480 acres per bona fide settler; on Lands B, 320 acres; on Lands C, 480 acres. Bona fide settlers were defined as " such persons who are permanently settled on the land, who own a dwelling house and who pursue either agricultural, grazing, lumbering, mining or mercantile pursuits." The Government later excluded Indians and Chinese from this category.[14] During the time that the reclamation was being carried out, the company was to be allowed to make provisional sales to settlers at such rates and under

(14) "Return . . . in connection with the Kootenay Colonization and Reclamation Scheme," British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1886,* p. 420, clause 9.

such conditions as seemed to it most beneficial to the proper development of the scheme.

It was in this formal proposal of 1884 that Grohman first recorded officially that a canal was to be used for diversion of the Kootenay River. The clause in the original concession relating to the "ditch" was now proposed as follows (clause 12):—

That in order to carry out the reclamation works we shall have a right of way over and full ingress and egress upon any Crown lands, and the right to construct a ditch or canal, or such other work, between the Upper Kootenay River and the Upper Columbia Lake, that will enable us to turn the Upper Kootenay River into the Upper Columbia Lake. . . .

Thus the purpose of the canal was now made known.

The proposal was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor on August 12, 1884,[15] with a recommendation that the Government now enter into an agreement with Grohman, such agreement to embody the spirit of the provisions and conditions already submitted by him as representative of the Kootenay Lake Syndicate. The articles of agreement were signed on September 7, 1885, and approved by the Lieutenant-Governor on the same date.[16] The new agreement, which contained twenty-six clauses, was substantially the same as Grohman had proposed, except that the canal and the river diversion now assumed more importance. Grohman later admitted that this was the vital point on which his whole undertaking was based.[17] The relevant clause, now No. 15, read thus:—

In order to carry out the reclamation works, the said William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, his heirs or assigns, shall have full ingress and egress upon and over any Crown land at or near the works, and the right to construct such a ditch or canal, with a dam between the Upper Kootenay River and the Columbia Lake, as will enable him or them to turn the whole or a portion of the Upper Kootenay River at point A on the said plan No. 1 into the Upper Columbia Lake. . . .

The increasing importance of the canal in the reclamation scheme is shown by the fact that several clauses hinged upon its being completed: no Crown grants were to be issued until the canal was completed, or, if it was not completed by July 31, 1889, until Grohman could establish that no less than $50,000 had been expended in British Columbia in furtherance of the reclamation works. Such expenditure could include steamboats, machinery, material, equipment, etc., brought into British Columbia. Clause 2 stipulated that before December 1, 1886, a steamer or steam-tug of not less than 90 tons gross was to be placed on the

(15) British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1886,* p. 419.

(16) *Ibid.,* pp. 419–424.

(17) Baillie-Grohman, *Sport and Life,* p. 262.

Upper Columbia River to navigate the stream from the Canadian Pacific Railway (east crossing of the Columbia) to the Upper Columbia Lake, providing, as had been stated in the original proposal, that there was no other steamer then navigating that river. No mention was made of any steamer to be placed on the Kootenay River and Lake, since the *Midge* was already in operation on those waters. Before September 1, 1886, Grohman or his company was to deposit with the Government of British Columbia the sum of $7,054, this being 10 cents on the dollar per acre.

It should be made clear that the British Columbia Government did not, as is often supposed, assume the authority for the Kootenay River diversion. True, it entered into this agreement of September 7, 1885, with Grohman, an agreement which included the diversion clause quoted above, but the document also included the all-important clause 21, which is here quoted in full:—

This agreement, notwithstanding anything herein contained, shall have no force or effect unless and until the Government of the Dominion of Canada shall have lawfully authorized the turning of the water of the Upper Kootenay River at the point of diversion marked A on the plan hereto attached, marked No. 1, into the Upper Columbia Lake, and also the like authority to the lowering of the water of the Kootenay Lake by the deepening and widening of the outlet of the Kootenay Lake at the places designated on the plan hereto attached, marked No. 2. In the event of such authority not being given, and if the said William Adolph Baillie-Grohman shall have deposited the aforesaid sum of seven thousand and fifty-four ($7,054) dollars, the same shall be returned to him.[18]

From this clause it is clearly seen that the British Columbia Government had made the entire reclamation works, as proposed, subject to assent being given by the Dominion Government. If assent was not given, Grohman would have his deposit refunded and could assume that the deal was off unless some other scheme satisfactory to the Dominion Government could be worked out. It is true that the original concession of December 10, 1883, made no reference to any assent being required from the Dominion Government, but neither did it give Grohman the authority to divert the Kootenay River or to build a canal. It only gave permission to construct a " ditch or works." Grohman later said that the attorneys for the Provincial Government, as well as his own attorneys, had overlooked the fact that the Province had no jurisdiction over canal works,[19] yet clause 21 makes it plainly evident that the point had not been overlooked.

(18) British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1886,* p. 422.

(19) Baillie-Grohman, *Sport and Life,* p. 262.

Whether or not Grohman and his associates were aware of this complication, they continued with their plans. The Kootenay Syndicate Limited had been incorporated in England on May 18, 1885, and after obtaining the agreement the company proceeded with the financing. The required deposit of $7,054 was made in May, 1886, and acknowledged by a letter to the Directors from William Smithe dated May 7, 1886.

But between the time of the incorporation of the syndicate and the payment of the $7,054, events occurred which appear to have upset the proverbial apple-cart. A public official notice, dated November 3, 1885, stating the intention to divert the Kootenay River, or a portion thereof, into the valley of the Columbia, was posted at Golden City. The residents of this settlement, otherwise known as the Fifth Siding of the Canadian Pacific Railway then under construction, did not let the suggestion go unnoticed, and along with other settlers in the Upper Columbia Valley they held a public meeting at Golden City on March 5, 1886, for the purpose of sending a petition to Ottawa protesting the diversion of the river. The petitioners considered that the canal scheme would cause great damage to public lands of the Dominion within the railway belt, as well as to other lands in British Columbia, if the additional volume of water from the Kootenay should be emptied into the Columbia; that the gently flowing Columbia would be unable to carry off the water from the swifter-flowing Kootenay and thereby much of the low land in the Upper Columbia Valley would be flooded; that farming and ranching were dependent upon the hay grown on these lands; that much valuable timber would be destroyed; that future settlers would be deterred; that the scheme would preclude the possibility of building a road in the valley which was necessary to mining and timber interests; that the diversion might lead to foreign complications; that, in short, the reclaiming of the Kootenay Flats, which was the object of the diversion, would be greatly overbalanced by the amount of damage which would be caused by overflow into the Columbia Valley. The petitioners concluded by asking for suspension of the work until a careful investigation of the possible consequences could be made.[20]

The petition was well prepared and signed by thirty individuals, one of whom, Robert Lang, a merchant of Golden City, forwarded it on March 6 to the Honourable Thomas White, Minister of Interior,

(20) The full text of this petition is to be found in Appendix III to this article, pp. 218–220.

Ottawa.[21] Apparently it had effect, for an Order in Council of the Dominion Government, dated May 26, was transmitted to the Government of British Columbia calling attention to the representations and submitting a copy of the petition for comment.[22] The reply, dated July 5, quite properly, simply pointed out that the assent of the Dominion Government was necessary before Grohman could proceed with his reclamation work.

The responsibility for securing this consent naturally was Grohman's, and he made application to the Federal Minister of Public Works. An engineer employed by the Department of Railways and Canals made an examination of the locality which would be affected, and on the basis of his report, which recommended that a lock be built into the canal to make it a navigable waterway, the Chief Engineer of the Department of Public Works secured modifications of the scheme. On the basis of a memorandum of August 20 from the Minister of Public Works, a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council recommended " that permission be given to Mr. Grohman to carry out his modified scheme, subject to the conditions mentioned by the Chief Engineer." The modification secured from Grohman was a

> guarantee, under pain of forfeiture of permissions given, that his Company shall so construct its works, viz., the canal & the widening of the Kootenay's outlet, that the level of the Kootenay shall not at any season of the year, or at any point of its course, be lowered below the ordinary low water level at present in existence, and that with reference to the canal he is prepared to undertake, under a suitable penalty, to keep the gates or lock of the canal permanently closed after the last day of August except at such intervals when steamers and other craft may pass through the Canal.

In addition, the Crown retained the whole of its rights in so far as the navigation of the two rivers was concerned, not permitting " Mr. Grohman or his Company to assume any control or the right to interfere with the navigation of the river by other persons or Companies " except

(21) A copy of this letter and the petition is to be found in " Copy of correspondence between the Department of Lands, Victoria, and the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, in regard to proposed Kootenay Reclamation Scheme, March 6, 1919," British Columbia, Clerk of the House Papers, 1919. A copy of the petition was also evidently sent directly to the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

(22) J. R. Hall, secretary, Department of Interior, to A. Gobeil, secretary, Department of Public Works, September 30, 1886, " Copy of correspondence . . . proposed Kootenay Reclamation Scheme," Clerk of the House Papers, 1919. The letter of transmittal from the Secretary of State to the Lieutenant-Governor is dated June 14, 1886, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

for the payment of tolls for passing through the canal, which tolls would be subject to approval by the Dominion Government.[23]

No doubt the petitioners from Golden City were gratified at the success they had achieved when, in October, they were informed of the modifications required by the Dominion Government.[24] But to Grohman they were to have far-reaching consequences. Facing heavy financial loss to himself and his company if the work did not proceed, in applying for the consent of the Dominion Government he had represented his scheme as primarily concerned with the improvement of navigation of the rivers, and while the modifications met that situation, they threatened to defeat the original and true purpose of the canal—the reclamation of land. Short of complete abandonment of the project, they had to be accepted.

Negotiations with the Provincial Government had to be reopened, and a new agreement, cancelling that of September 7, 1885, was made. This new, and final, agreement was dated October 30, 1886,[25] and embraced the modified plans as approved by both Governments and, reluctantly, by Grohman. To compensate him and his company for the alterations, the British Columbia Government agreed to a free grant of 30,000 acres of land in the Upper Kootenay Valley, to be Crown-granted on completion of the canal. Of the eighteen clauses in the new agreement, the first eleven dealt with the canal and the various conditions and specifications pertaining to it. There was now no reference to the

(23) A copy of the Privy Council report of August 25, 1886, is enclosed in A. Gobeil to J. R. Hall, October 7, 1886, "Copy of correspondence . . . proposed Kootenay Reclamation Scheme," Clerk of the House Papers, 1919. This report is printed in British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1891*, pp. 493–494, and also in *The Kootenay Valley: A Report on . . . Reclamation and the Development of Water Power in the Valley of the Kootenay River . . . Heard before the International Joint Commission . . . 1935*, Ottawa, 1936, pp. 32–33.

(24) P. B. Douglas, assistant secretary, Department of Interior, to Robert Lang, October 13, 1886, "Copy of correspondence . . . proposed Kootenay Reclamation Scheme," Clerk of the House Papers, 1919. It is interesting to note that as late as September 30, 1886, the Department of Interior was inquiring of the Department of Public Works "whether any examination has been made of the Headwaters of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers . . . or whether the assent of the Government has been given to the prosecution of Mr. Grohman's proposed undertaking." It was on October 13 that they were informed of the examination that had been undertaken by a Government engineer and of the modifications that had been agreed upon by the Minister of Public Works and Grohman. *Ibid.*

(25) "Lease: Kootenay Reclamation and Colonization," British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1887*, pp. 315–320.

diversion of the Kootenay River into Columbia Lake. The particularly relevant clauses, Nos. 1 and 18 (f), clearly defined the modification of Grohman's original scheme and are here quoted in part:—

1. The said Company will well, truly and faithfully make, build, construct, complete and equip, in an efficient and substantial manner, in accordance with certain plans and specifications hereinafter mentioned, a navigable canal between the Upper Kootenay River and the Upper Columbia Lake across a certain flat known as the "Canal Flat," and in such manner as to allow craft to pass from one water to the other, and so as not to affect the volume of water in the said river or lake or the Columbia River. . . .

18 (f). That, in order to carry out the aforesaid works, the said Company, their servants and agents, shall have full ingress and egress upon and over any Crown land at or near the works, and the right to construct such a canal between the Upper Kootenay River and the Upper Columbia Lake. . . .

Permission was also granted to widen and deepen the outlet of Kootenay Lake at the points known as the "Rapids" and the "Narrows" on the west arm of the lake.

At no place was the canal to be narrower than 30 feet from bank to bank at water-level, and the depth of water not less than 4 feet. The lock, of either timber or stone, was to be 30 feet wide and 100 feet long. The company was given the right to exact tolls for boats, persons, and goods passing through the canal, not to exceed 25 cents for each passenger; goods on board, 10 cents per 100 pounds; the craft itself, 50 cents per ton; cattle and horses, 50 cents per head; sheep and pigs, 25 cents per head. Upon completion of the canal, work at the Narrows (now known as Grohman Narrows) for widening the outlet of the lake was to be started within three months.

The lands were now divided into two categories only—Lands A and Lands B—the earlier Lands C being now consolidated with Lands B. The aggregate was now 75,000 acres, of which the 30,000 acres comprising Lands A was now to be a free grant. The 45,000 acres included in Lands B was on the same basis as before—$1 an acre to the company, but in lots of 480 acres for each bona fide resident settler. The amount of $7,054 already deposited with the Government was to be treated, first, as an indemnity fund in the event that the company failed to complete the canal; secondly, should the canal be completed, the money would apply as part of the purchase-money on Lands B (Kootenay Flats). In either event the money was to become the property of the Government of British Columbia.

Finally, after four years of negotiation, Grohman was ready to start on his reclamation scheme, albeit on a considerably different plan from

that which he had first formulated. Now that the revised agreement, as well as a detailed report on the Government concessions to the Kootenay Syndicate Limited, was in hand,[26] he went once again to England to form yet another company which would carry on the financing of his project. The Kootenay Valleys Company Limited was incorporated in April, 1887, and capitalized at £100,000, in 20,000 shares of £5 each. The prospectus showed an imposing list of directors, among whom were a general, a member of Parliament, two Justices of the Peace, and Dr. John Rae, F.R.S., formerly of the Hudson's Bay Company. Also included was R. H. Venables Kyrke, J.P., who had sent out the *Midge* three years earlier. Grohman was appointed managing director for a period of five years. The company was to take over and develop the land concessions and any other assets of the Kootenay Syndicate Limited, including a one-fifth interest in the Big Ledge Mines (the old Bluebell) on Kootenay Lake.[27]

The prospectus was as descriptive as it was optimistic. It contained brief quotations from Captain John Palliser's report of his explorations, and also quoted from Sir George Simpson, Father De Smet, the Bishop of Oregon, and the Marquis of Lorne, who had all made favourable remarks about the Kootenay Valley. The lands covered by the concessions were, for the purpose of the prospectus, estimated in value at £67,200 for the 30,000 acres in the Upper Kootenay Valley, and £181,405 for the lands in the Lower Kootenay Valley, a total of £248,605. The cost of the acquisition of the lands was given as £10,000 for the 30,000 acres (the estimated cost of the canal), plus £22,740 for the 45,000 acres in the Lower Kootenay Valley, including the cost of completing the work there. The total cost of the scheme being thus reckoned at only £32,740, a handsome profit was anticipated.

In his position of managing director, Grohman once again came to British Columbia, to supervise the canal works. To facilitate the con-

(26) Ashdown H. Green, C.E. (Surveyor to the Indian Reserve Commissioner for British Columbia), *Report on the Upper and Lower Kootenay Valleys of British Columbia and the Government Concessions of the Kootenay Syndicate (Limited)*, London, 1886. And cf. Grohman's own report, *The Kootenay Valleys in Kootenay District, British Columbia,* London, 1886, which is headed " Mr. W. A. Baillie-Grohman's Descriptive Report on the Kootenay Valleys in British Columbia, and the 73,025 Acres of Agricultural and Forest Land Secured to the Kootenay Syndicate (Limited) by a Special Partially Free Grant from the Government of British Columbia."

(27) *See* the original *Prospectus,* Baillie-Grohman Papers.

struction of the necessary buildings and of the timber lock, a small steam sawmill was ordered, which was shipped from Brantford, Ontario, to Golden, the nearest railway point, and there loaded on an improvised barge[28] for the journey up the Columbia to Canal Flat. At its best, water transportation on the Columbia was slow, and it was particularly so in the late summer when the water-level was low. Since wood was used to fire the boiler of the barge, a boiler which had previously been part of a steam-plough used in Manitoba, frequent stops had to be made to replenish the fuel-supply. The barge ran aground so many times that it became routine to unload, push it off, reload, and start again. Most of this trouble was encountered on what were the salmon-spawning beds, which are now no more. From the time the barge left Golden twenty-three days elapsed before the machinery was unloaded, for the last time, at its destination.

There a small settlement soon grew up, which was named Grohman. A store and post office, a hotel of sorts, the sawmill, and various other buildings appeared. Gangs of men began digging the Kootenay Canal,[29] using horses and scrapers. There was also a unique brigade of Chinamen which operated something like a human conveyer-belt, pushing odd-looking side-dumping wheelbarrows.[30] The work of excavation was comparatively easy: the material to be moved was mostly gravel which contained no boulders of any formidable size. The actual dimensions of the canal were 6,700 feet long and 45 feet wide; of the lock, 100 feet long and 30 feet wide.

The construction of the lock was not, however, as simple as the excavation. Grohman had disapproved of the plans from the start. He had argued that if the lock were constructed as designed, it would not allow for easy navigation, but he had been unable to get the plans changed. According to the Government specifications, the foundations had to be sunk to a considerable depth. When the excavation for the ground-sills got below the level of the Kootenay River, a large amount of seepage water hampered the work, and steam-pumps had to be brought in to alleviate this condition and allow the work to continue.

On July 29, 1889, just within the two years allowed, the canal works were completed. The 30,000 acres were Crown-granted accordingly,

(28) The *Cline*. Baillie-Grohman, *Sport and Life*, p. 273.

(29) Mrs. Algernon St. Maur, *Impressions of a Tenderfoot*, London, 1890, p. 171.

(30) *See* illustration facing p. 192.

and the canal became public property, being accepted on August 20 of that year by the Honourable F. G. Vernon, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, on behalf of the Province. The cost had been excessive—over $100,000, more than twice the amount estimated in the prospectus.

As for steamboats on the new waterway, the final agreement of October 30, 1886, had, unlike the previous documents, made no reference to a steamboat to be placed either on the Upper Columbia River and Lake or on the Lower Kootenay River and Lake. The company was now required to place a steam-tug or steamer, capable of carrying 10 tons of freight, on the Upper Kootenay River to navigate from Canal Flat to the boundary-line, provided that no other similar steamer was operating there. If this was not done within six months of the completion of the canal, the whole arrangement was to be nullified. There is no record that this clause was complied with nor any hint of possible forfeiture because of non-compliance, yet the *Midge* was the only steamboat involved in the reclamation scheme and she plied the Lower Kootenay River and Lake. The first steamboat on the Upper Kootenay was the *Annerly,* which came from Jennings, Montana, in 1893.[31]

The stipulation that the lock-gates should be closed at the end of August in each year created something of a paradox. The object of the gate closing had been to prevent any increase of water in the Columbia after that date, so as not to damage the hay belonging to settlers in the valley. Yet in 1890 some of these same settlers circulated another petition addressed to the Dominion Government asking that permission be granted to the Kootenay Valleys Company to have the lock-gates left open all year.[32] The reason given was that the inflow from the Kootenay would benefit navigation on the Columbia, which had by this time become a very convenient method of transportation from Golden to the mines. Grohman made application to Victoria to have the gate-closing clause in his agreement cancelled, providing the Dominion Government would grant permission. For this he was prepared to forego the right to collect tolls on boats, cargo, and passengers passing through the canal. Just how far the petition went has not been established, but evidently the permission was not immediately forthcoming, for, as the photograph accompanying this article shows, the gates were closed on August 30,

(31) Hacking, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XVI (1952), p. 19.

(32) Baillie-Grohman to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, July 2, 1890, British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1891,* p. 493.

1890. It is also known that as late as August, 1918, Grohman had an original petition in his possession;[33] it may be assumed therefore that the petition was never presented at Ottawa. The situation was soon automatically taken care of by high waters and flooding, which gradually filled in the canal. As for navigation, only two boats ever passed through the canal—one in either direction.[34]

The canal being of no further consequence to the Kootenay Valleys Company, the next part of the project was begun—the actual reclamation of the land on Kootenay Flats. The work of lowering the level of the lake by widening the outlet was started under contract by Messrs. Selous and Lewis, of Nelson, and about $16,000 was expended in slashing timber and brush, excavating loose rock, erecting a boarding-house and a bunk-house, and so on. But things did not run smoothly for Grohman. Not only was there friction within his company, but funds were now exhausted and he was using his own money to carry on the project. Also, the Government had cabled the Kootenay Valleys Company that it was cancelling the agreement in respect of Lands B, the reason given being that the stipulated surveys had not been carried out in the prescribed time and that the diligent prosecution of the works was not being carried out.[35] Grohman and the company strongly protested the cancellation, and by a careful scrutiny Grohman discovered a clause in the agreement whereby the Government could hardly refuse either to reinstate it or to allow an extension.

Grohman first denied that, on his side, all conditions had not been fulfilled, and backed his denial with documentary proof that bona fide efforts were being made. His strong point, however, was that the Government had erred when, on April 25, 1890, it had issued Crown grants for 2,300 acres of Lands A in the Upper Kootenay Valley to Colonel James Baker, M.P.P. for Kootenay. Grohman insisted that, according to the agreement, Colonel Baker's right to acquire the land had existed only " within the period fixed for the completion of the canal."[36] Since the canal had been completed on July 29, 1889, either the Government had erred in issuing Crown grants to Colonel Baker after that date or else it had automatically extended the time-limits covering all the recla-

(33) Baillie-Grohman to Mr. Guy Constable, Creston, August 16, 1918, in the possession of Mr. Constable.

(34) Hacking, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XVI (1952), pp. 22, 36.

(35) British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1891,* p. 490.

(36) British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1887,* p. 317, being clause 10 of the lease.

mation works contained in the agreement, or so Grohman contended. His protest was effective, for he received a reply from the Government accepting his explanation and giving him permission to carry on with the reclamation. No reference was made to Colonel Baker, whose name, however, was to appear later when a committee of the House was set up at Victoria to investigate the reclamation scheme. This was called the Kootenay Reclamation Committee, and its chairman was Colonel Baker.

In 1890 still another small controversy arose to irritate Grohman. J. C. Rykert, Jr., of the Customs House, Kootenay River, had caused to be published in the press[37] a notice of his intention to apply to purchase 640 acres of the land which was part of Lands B near the International Boundary. He had earlier attempted to pre-empt this land, but it had been recalled because it was under reserve to Grohman. But Rykert persisted, changing his claim to that of a settler on the grounds that he had lived on the land since 1884. Grohman objected that Rykert had built his house and office on part of the land he was now claiming, at the same time as he was a Government official, paid to reside at the spot as a customs officer. The dispute was settled in Grohman's favour; the Surveyor-General advised Rykert that he was merely a squatter on land that was not open for pre-emption or sale.[38]

Throughout most of 1890 the work of widening the outlet of the lake continued. In August of that year the Kootenay Valleys Company had made an agreement with yet another London company, the Alberta and British Columbia Exploration Company Limited, to transfer all its interest in the concession of Lands B, and Grohman now became manager of the new company as well as managing director of the former one. In November he made application to Victoria for Government sanction of the transfer.[39] But when he returned to London seeking payment of the money he had expended from his own funds, he found the company unwilling to reimburse him. Then, as holder of the original concession of December 10, 1883, he claimed that the right to Lands B reverted to him because the Kootenay Valleys Company had not paid for the necessary surveys and works, and he cabled Victoria to defer the transfer. The company thereupon notified the Government that Groh-

(37) Revelstoke *Kootenay Star*, January 16, 1890, quoted in British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1891*, p. 489.

(38) British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1891*, p. 497.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 502.

man had ceased to be their managing director, and the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works notified Grohman by cable that he could no longer be recognized in connection with the concession and the Kootenay Valleys Company.[40]

Those were fighting words to Grohman. In the name of his first company, the Kootenay Syndicate Limited, and himself, he began action against the Kootenay Valleys Company in the Supreme Court of British Columbia for an injunction to restrain that company from dealing in any way with Lands B. But the Government made an agreement with the Alberta and British Columbia Exploration Company. Grohman then commenced a petition of right against the Crown, the affidavit to the petition being dated December 14, 1891. Other business now necessitated Grohman's absence from Victoria, and while he was away some of the legal documents pertaining to the case were forwarded to him with insufficient postage, sent to the Dead Letter Office, and destroyed. When he returned to Victoria he learned that his lawyer, to whom he had paid a retainer of $500, had absconded. This was the last straw. Grohman threw up his hands and decided that he had had enough. Thereafter the Kootenays saw him no more. He had spent a fortune and nine years in the attempt, and he had not reclaimed a single acre of land.

The Alberta and British Columbia Exploration Company now abandoned the works at the outlet of the lake and carried on the project by a different method. Selecting 7,700 acres of land immediately north of the International Boundary, the company began the construction of dykes to reclaim that acreage. This had been one of the causes of friction with Grohman, for he had refused to entertain the idea of dyking. The greater part of the new programme was completed in 1893, but the extremely high waters of 1894 broke through the dykes and flooded the land again. In November, 1894, the company was issued a Crown grant on the 7,700 acres, legally described as Lot 774, Kootenay District, but popularly known as the Kootenay Reclamation Farm. Further attempts were made to complete the dyking, and the company, along with other settlers, carried on farming to some extent. But the rebuilt dykes still did not prevent the flooding of the land, and the company terminated its farming operations. It then entered into an agreement with a local power company, although it still retained the title to Lot 774 until July,

(40) Cable from F. G. Vernon, Victoria, to W. A. Baillie-Grohman, London, March 19, 1891. Baillie-Grohman Papers.

1935, when it was transferred to George Leonard Salter.[41] Thus the original scheme passed from the control of British investors. The power company, named the Kootenay Valley Power and Development Company Limited, attempted to repair the old dykes, but three floods in as many years forced them into bankruptcy. The trustee, who was subsequently appointed, did eventually get the reclamation under way.

To-day thousands of acres of the Kootenay Flats are producing bountiful crops of grain. The work was accomplished chiefly through dyking and drainage by pumping. Of great assistance, however, was the excavation work done at the Grohman Narrows by the West Kootenay Power and Light Company when it removed 334,585 cubic yards of gravel and 17,927 cubic yards of solid rock.[42] By means of its several power-dams farther down-stream, this company controls the water-level to some extent, although an excessive amount of flood flow still causes some overflow on the Flats.

In 1918 Grohman was approached to consider returning to Kootenay and renewing his efforts at reclamation, with the possibility of including his friend Theodore Roosevelt in the scheme. He had the matter under consideration and he also wrote an article that year in which he suggested that the Kootenay Flats be used as a soldier settlement scheme when the war was over.[43] But nothing came of either of these suggestions and death intervened for both Grohman and Roosevelt.

As for the canal, it forms no small part of East Kootenay history. It is still recognizable and, although only by seepage, connects the two international rivers now prominent in the news in connection with hydro-electric power development. Indeed, the old canal, as has recently been suggested, might well be reopened to divert excess Kootenay flood-waters into the Columbia for storage purposes at the proposed Mica Creek dam.

WILLIAM ADOLPH BAILLIE-GROHMAN

A brief sketch of the man who undertook the Kootenay reclamation scheme might here be of interest, for in the pattern of his life the scheme remains something of an enigma: nothing he attempted either before or after it in any way resembled this undertaking.

William Adolph Baillie-Grohman was born on April 1, 1851, in London. His mother, a cousin of the Duke of Wellington, was Irish; his

(41) Information from the Land Registry Office, Nelson, B.C.

(42) Information from Mr. Guy Constable, Creston, B.C.

(43) Baillie-Grohman, *Nineteenth Century*, LXXXIII (1918), pp. 762–778.

father was English. His paternal grandfather, a noted botanist, was part Austrian. Young William had a cosmopolitan upbringing: his early years were divided between his father's inherited estate in Austria, " Schloss Wolfgang," and his mother's old home in Rosecrea, Tipperary. At " Wolfgang " he was given lessons in natural history, rock-climbing, stalking and shooting, and he shot his first stag at the age of 9. Until he was 14 he studied under private tutors; then he entered Elizabeth College, Guernsey. At 18 he left school and tried working, first in a lawyer's office in London, then in a merchant's office. But his restless spirit could not be imprisoned in the city and he spent the next few years in Europe, travelling, shooting, and mountain-climbing.

In 1875, at the age of 24, he published his first book, *Tyrol and the Tyrolese,* which was an instant success. Not quite so successful was his second publication, *Gaddings with a Primitive People.* In 1878 he crossed the Atlantic, in order to visit the hunting-grounds of North America in the Rocky Mountains of Wyoming and Idaho. Within two years he had made four trips of exploration in the great mountain system of the new world. An interesting account of these adventures is to be found in his third book, *Camps in the Rockies,* published in 1882.

As stated earlier in this article, it was while searching for the haunts of the mountain-goat in 1882 that he discovered the Kootenay Flats and formulated his reclamation scheme. During the years of promoting and developing that project he appears to have achieved nothing of a literary nature. In 1887, while on one of his many visits to England in connection with the Kootenay works, he married Florence Nickalls, of Nutfield, Surrey, and brought her back to Canada with him. They lived at Grohman and at Victoria, where in 1888 their only son was born, while his father was in the midst of the construction of the canal. A daughter was born the following year. When in 1893 Grohman and his family returned permanently to Europe, he had crossed the Atlantic thirty times.

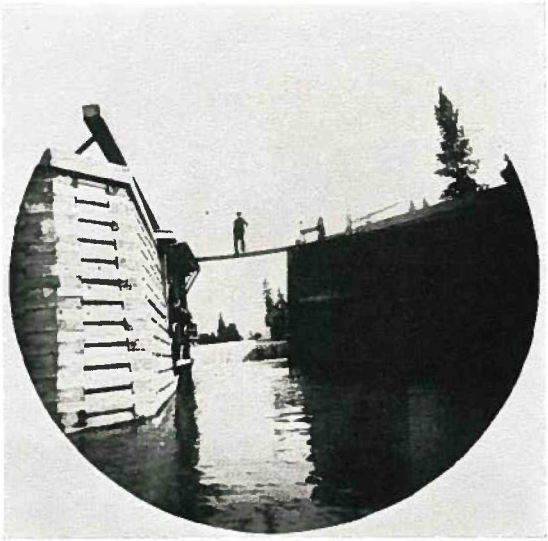
He now sold his paternal inheritance, " Schloss Wolfgang," and thereafter lived most of the time at " Schloss Matzen," an ancient Austrian castle which his mother had bought in 1873 and which he had inherited when she died.[44] It was here that he did much of his writing, producing a number of books and contributing to magazines of the review type for almost half a century. He spoke French and German

(44) W. A. Baillie-Grohman, " Tyrol as a Republic," *Contemporary Review,* CXV (1919), p. 173.

as fluently as English and published one book in German, *Das Jagdbuch Kaiser Maximilians I*. This title is characteristic, for sport and the literature of sport were Grohman's major interest, and he spent years of research for his two most important works in this field, searching the archives of Europe for authentic data. His most notable literary work, produced in 1904, was the editing of *The Master of Game* in modern English. This book had already been translated from the French *Livre de Chasse* into the English of the period, 1406–1413, by Edward, Duke of York, grandson of Edward III. The Baillie-Grohman edition, which was limited to 600 copies, gives the text in the English of Chaucer's day with the modern text beside it. The preface was written by Grohman's friend Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, and among the subscribers were King Edward VII and the Prince of Wales, later George V. In the sporting and hunting world this book is considered the most important work on the chase, as well as the oldest work on the subject in English. Mrs. Grohman assisted her husband in this publication, and her name was included as co-editor. Grohman's second notable book, and his last, on the chase was entitled *Sport in Art: an Iconography,* which depicted the evolution of hunting, shooting, fishing, falconry, and mountaineering. This was published in 1913.

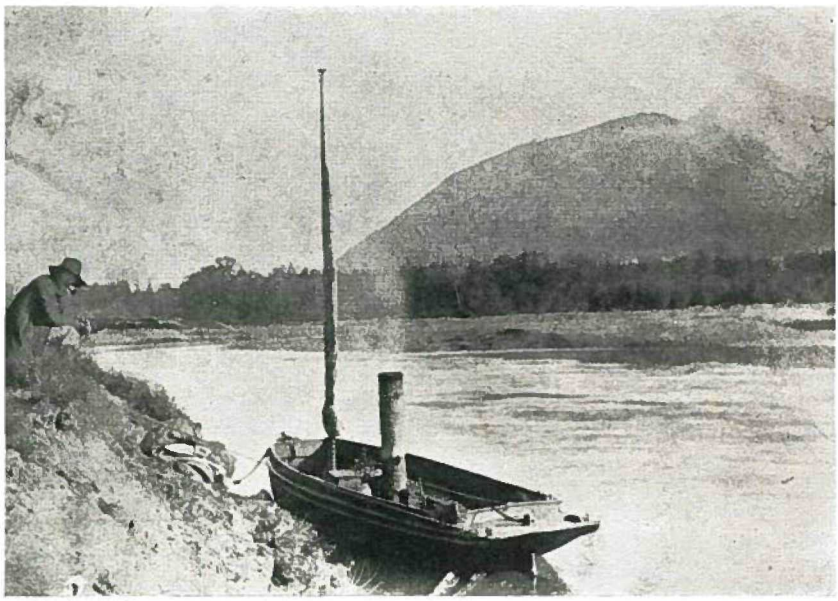
In Canada, Baillie-Grohman's best known work is *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in Western America and British Columbia,* published in 1900. This is no small work. Four hundred pages tell of various hunting experiences and of the trophies obtained; the book has seventy-seven photographs, three maps, several chapters on his experiences in the Kootenays, and an additional chapter by Mrs. Baillie-Grohman, describing life in Victoria as she knew it.

The outbreak of the war found Grohman and his wife in Austria. Because of his intimate knowledge of the country they were at first forbidden to leave, but in 1915, after their son-in-law had been killed in action, they were given permission to go to England, where they remained until the war was over. The Germans commandeered " Schloss Matzen " as billets for officers, and when the Grohmans returned there in 1919 they found that all was well with their home, but that the people were starving in consequence of the British blockade. Grohman plunged into relief work and became executive secretary of the Tyrolese Relief Fund. This exhausting work, made more difficult because of the war-damaged railways and other hardships, weakened his heart, and on the morning of November 27, 1921, he fell forward on the breakfast table



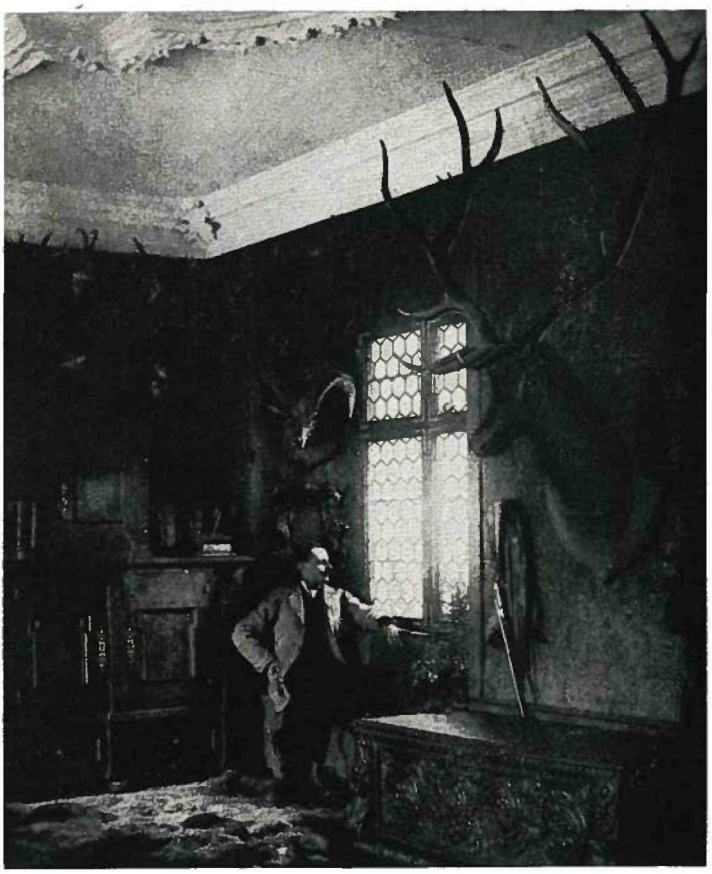
(Courtesy Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.)

Lock of the canal, looking south toward the Kootenay River, showing the gates being closed, August 30, 1890.



(Courtesy Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.)

The *Midge*, first steamboat on Kootenay waters.



(Courtesy Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.)

W. A. Baillie-Grohman in his home, " Schloss Matzen."

at " Schloss Matzen," dead. He was buried near by, beside his mother. His wife survived him by twenty-four years.

It is quite evident that this amazing personality, who counted among his friends many British and European noblemen, as well as many prominent Americans, was hardly the sharp promoter which he was sometimes accused of being in connection with the Kootenay reclamation scheme. That was but one chapter in his life story. He had a genuine liking for British Columbia, probably because its topography resembled that of his beloved Tyrol. His son says of him:—

> Whether in the Rocky Mountains, the Carpathians, the mountains and valleys of Tyrol, or the Highlands of Scotland, he was always at his best when right away from civilization and out in the wilds, with one or two congenial companions. To this sort of life he seemed born, and I feel sure his spirit must continue to roam his old, and possibly new, hunting grounds.[45]

The Victoria-born son has had a distinguished career in the Royal Navy. He is now Vice-Admiral H. T. Baillie-Grohman, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E. (Retired). In the First World War he served with the Grand Fleet in the Dover Patrol; in the second, he commanded H.M.S. *Ramillies* of the First Battle Squadron in the Mediterranean, and was later rear-admiral with Combined Operations. Admiral Baillie-Grohman last saw his birthplace in 1904, when he visited Victoria as a midshipman in H.M.S. *Britannia*. He now lives in England, but he still retains the family home of " Schloss Matzen," at present occupied by one of his two sons.[46]

MABEL E. JORDON.

CALGARY, ALTA., AND
CRANBROOK, B.C.

(45) A. H. Higginson, *British and American Sporting Authors, their Writings and Biographies*, Perryville, Virginia, 1949, p. 215.

(46) Grateful acknowledgment is made of the kind co-operation and assistance given to the writer by Vice-Admiral Baillie-Grohman, and especially for the loan of family documents and original photographs relating to the Kootenay reclamation scheme. Thanks are also due to Mr. Guy Constable for valuable information; to Dr. G. B. Leech, Ottawa, for collaboration and encouragement; and to the Provincial Archives of British Columbia for excellent services rendered.

APPENDIX I

1. INSTRUCTIONS TO GILBERT MALCOLM SPROAT BEFORE LEAVING FOR KOOTENAY[1]

Victoria, B.C., 12th July, 1883.

Sir,

You are instructed to proceed at once to Kootenay, in company with Mr. Farwell, for the purpose of examining and reporting upon that territory, or as much thereof as may be possible within the necessarily brief period at your disposal.

The primary object of the expedition is to obtain such a descriptive report upon the areas covered by the Ainsworth scheme, and the Baillie-Grohman reclamation scheme, as will enable the Government to form correct conclusions respecting the value of the country for farming, grazing, mining, and other economic purposes; but you will, at the same time, give as extended a description of the country drained by the Kootenay and Upper Columbia Rivers, lying within the Province, as may be compatible with the time and means at your disposal.

In addition to such a general description of the country, and its advantages as a field for settlement and the employment of capital in mining and other industrial pursuits, you will also report upon the Indian population, and indicate approximately what lands (if any) may be required for the purpose of Indian reserves.

In point of time, your first duty will be to report upon the Kootenay River lands intended to be leased for reclamation purposes, in order that the Government may be in a position, at the earliest possible date, to complete the lease.

It will scarcely be necessary for me to enjoin upon you the utmost economy in time and expenses, as the Government have only a very limited sum at their disposal for the exploration.

I have, &c,

Jno. Robson,
Provincial Secretary.

(1) "Return to an Order of the House for a copy of instructions to Messrs. Farwell and Sproat, before leaving for Kootenay, and a copy of their report on the Mining, Agricultural and Timber resources of that district," British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1883–84*, p. 309. Sproat and Farwell left Victoria on July 16 for Portland and arrived at Sandpoint, via the Northern Pacific Railway, on the 19th, where they joined Baillie-Grohman. On the 22nd they left Bonner's Ferry to begin their explorations and returned there on October 28. Farwell arrived back in Victoria on November 3 and Sproat on December 1. *See* Victoria *Colonist*, November 4 and December 2, 1883. Sproat's report on Kootenay, dated January 7, 1884, is printed in *Sessional Papers, 1883–84*, pp. 310–323.

2. INSTRUCTIONS TO ARTHUR STANHOPE FARWELL BEFORE LEAVING FOR KOOTENAY[2]

Lands and Works Department,
Victoria, B.C., 14th July, 1883.

Sir,

That the Government may be possessed of full information in regard to certain lands in Kootenay District, situated on the Kootenay River, and lying between the International Boundary and Kootenay Lake, I have the honour to instruct you to proceed, with all convenient dispatch, to the place in question. You will there make such surveys as may be necessary to enable you to report upon the extent and character of the valley on each side of the river, the approximate area of the lands subject to overflow, and the average depth of flood water, and upon the nature and magnitude of the operations necessary to reclaim the submerged lands, together with any information bearing on the subject which you may gather.

You will also report particularly upon the number of Indians (if any?) who, by usage, may have claims for grazing or other purposes, upon the lands proposed to be reclaimed, and generally upon Indian requirements in the locality.

G. M. Sproat, Esq., who will accompany you to Kootenay, charged with a separate service, will render you such assistance as may be in his power.

A cheque for $250 is herewith enclosed as an advance, to be repaid by voucher. The remuneration for your services will be at the rate of $150 per month, together with travelling and living expenses, represented by voucher. It will be necessary that you exercise the strictest economy in the matter of your expenses, and that, at the earliest date practicable, you return to Victoria with your report upon the reclamation scheme.

I have, &c.,
Wm. Smithe,
Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works.

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(2) British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1883–84,* pp. 309–310. Farwell's report on the Kootenay Indians, dated December 31, 1883, is printed in *ibid.,* pp. 325–327, and his report on the Kootenay country generally, dated December 31, 1883, was included in the annual report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, *ibid.,* pp. 255–261.

3. BAILLIE-GROHMAN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THOMAS ELWYN, DEPUTY PROVINCIAL SECRETARY[3]

Sandpoint July 1883
Lake Pend d'oreille
Idaho Territory

Honle. Th. Elwyn
Dear Sir

On the eve of starting for Kootenay with Messrs. Sproat & Farwell I desire to place before the proper authorities at Victoria a rough estimate of the probable monthly expenses connected with these gentlemen's trip. Honle. Mr. Smithe requested me to manage this matter but as he did not give me any limit to which the Government would be prepared to go in this respect I am totally in the dark regarding the extent of the accommodations I am to place at the disposal of Mess. Sproat & Farwell. My estimate which I enclose comprises only the most essential requisites for such a trip. Two good men is the least they can do with & should the Government be desirous of further extending the facilities to move about quickly, one or two more men can easily be hired. Should the gentlemen separate & much boating be necessary then an additional man will be necessary.

As I have every means & better chances in this locality to consult economy the Government can be assured that due attention will be given to this matter. Should the Government be prepared to expend a larger sum in order to expedite the movements of their commissioners it would be best to give me the limit in definite figures, I will then know how to act.

I should suggest that the monthly expenditure be it $325 or $400 be sent every month to Mr. R. I. Weeks the local (Sandpoint) agent of Wells Fargo Express Co. with instructions to hold the amount to my order, for I keep a current account for smaller expenditures with him it being not advisable to carry any larger amounts about on one's person.

Please let me also know whether I am to give the newly appointed Gold commissioner Mr. Kelly[4] when he visits the mines on Lake Kootenay similar facilities & accommodation to those extended to Mesr. Sproat & Farwell. I am at present in the dark as to this matter. I shall send in for letters the 30th. inst.

Yours faithfully
Wm. A. Baillie-Grohman

Rough estimate for expenses of Messr Sproat & Farwell to Kootenay per month

Hire of 4 horses (2 saddle & 2 pack animals) at 15$ per month including care & feed	$60.—
Hire of one large boat	„15.—

(3) Provincial Secretary's Department, Inward Correspondence, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(4) Edward Kelly, appointed Government Agent and Assistant Gold Commissioner for Kootenay, replacing William Fernie, July 10, 1883 [British Columbia *Gazette*, July 12, 1883], was also commissioned as Justice of the Peace on the same day [*ibid.*] and sent to investigate the Sproule-Hammil controversy over the Bluebell claims.

Hire of two men at 2½ $ per day (including horses)	„150.—
Food for 4 men roughly estimated at 65¢ a day per man=2.60	„78.—
extras such as Indian hire for portage etc	„22.—
	$325.—

Wages are high in this part of the country & one of the men who will probably be with above party I pay $5—a day. I have given the lowest figures & trust I will be able to keep within these limits.

In camp Kootenay river
Augst 21.83

Dear Mr. Elwyn,

I am much obliged to you for your kind note & book which have just reached me. I have been so much on the move of late that my postal arrangements have suffered a good deal. The book of statutes will come in very handy as I am a sad ignoramus regarding my judicial functions,[5] but I am willing to learn.

Respecting the monetary arrangement it will suit me perfectly if the stated sum is forwarded by Wells Fargo Express to me Sandpoint Idaho Territory. No money had arrived there from yr. Government up to 17. inst; might I ask you to have instructions issued to have two months' advance sent to Sandpoint at your Government's earliest convenience as I shall draw against this money for the payment of men, Indians etc.

Excuse this sad scrawl & haste

Yours sincerely
W. A. Baillie-Grohman

APPENDIX II

Victoria, B.C.,
July 25th, 1884.

To the Honourable the
Chief Commissioner of Lands & Works,
Victoria, B.C.

Sir,

In confirmation of the understanding arrived at between us respecting the partially free grant of the Kootenay River bottom lands and certain other lands, the conditions and provisions of which grant were matured by correspondence and verbal conferences, I have now the honour of making you formally, under the authority I hold from the Kootenay Lake Syndicate, the following proposal embracing the primary conditions and provisions upon which the Government shall grant to me, under section 58 of the Land Act, 1884, a partially free grant of the swamp and bottom lands situated on Kootenay River and Kootenay Lake, and of other tracts, all of which are hereinafter designated under the separate heads of—

(5) Baillie-Grohman had also been issued a commission as Justice of the Peace at the same time as Kelly. British Columbia *Gazette,* July 12, 1883.

LANDS A.—Containing and consisting of about two thousand (2,000) acres of grazing land situated between the Upper Columbia Lake and the Upper Kootenay River at the point where the latter approaches the former to within a distance of two miles or less, and which point is known as the "first crossing of Kootenay River;" also the swamp and bottom lands on the Upper and Middle Kootenay River between the "first crossing" and the International boundary line, which are now subject to an overflow during high-water season, and which swamp and bottom lands are of an estimated area of about twenty-two thousand five hundred (22,500) acres.

LANDS B.—Containing and consisting of the following approximated areas of swamp and bottom lands on the Lower Kootenay River, described in Mr. A. S. Farwell's report on the Kootenay Reclamation scheme, under date of 31st December, 1883, as consisting of—

Flat 1—Containing about		9,000	acres	Thirty thousand (30,000) acres of swamp and bottom land.
„ 3	„	„ 8,000	„	
„ 4	„	„ 8,000	„	
The Island	„	„ 5,000	„	

Also that piece of land containing about Two thousand five hundred (2,500) acres, bounded and described as follows, that is to say:—commencing at a point where the boundary line intersects the Lower Kootenay River; thence running east along the said boundary line forty (40) chains; thence true north to Goat River; thence following Goat River to the said swamp lands before described as Flat No. 1; and thence along the foot-hills in a southerly direction to the Kootenay River; and thence following the right bank of the Lower Kootenay River to the point of commencement. Also twenty-five (25) acres at Rocky Point on the left bank of the Lower Kootenay River, at the head of the Island.

LANDS C. — Containing and consisting of the Approximated areas described in the aforesaid Report on the Kootenay reclamation scheme as Flat No. 2, consisting of about fifteen thousand (15,000) acres of more or less permanently overflowed marsh or lagoon land lying on the right bank of the Lower Kootenay River, between Goat River and Kootenay Lake.

1. Also a tract of overflowed swamp land about one thousand (1,000) acres, more or less in extent lying at the north of Lardo Creek, on northern end of Kootenay Lake, and all of which tract will be reclaimed by lowering the level of Kootenay Lake.

2. Also a tract of twenty-five (25) acres at the northern or right bank of the western arm of Kootenay Lake where the "Rapids" are formed.

3. Also a tract of fifty (50) acres at the "Narrows," on southerly or left bank of the western arm of Kootenay Lake.

All of which lands, A, B, C, are on Kootenay River and Kootenay Lake, in Kootenay District, in the Province of British Columbia, and aggregate, approximately seventy-three thousand one hundred (73,100) acres.

The conditions and provisions of the partially free grant are:—

1. That the Kootenay Lake Syndicate shall cause a competent Civil Engineer to make, at our cost, a thorough examination of the features bearing upon the carrying out of the reclamation works at the "canal," "narrows," and "rapids." That the said examination be commenced before 1st September, 1884, with the privilege to extending it, should the necessity for so doing arise, to the summer of 1885, so as to arrive at a definite estimate of cost of the works before October 30th, 1885. That the report of our Civil Engineer be submitted to the inspection of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works.

2. That we place a steam-tug or steamer on Kootenay River in the course of the present year.

3. That we undertake to place a similar steamer or steam-tug on the Upper Columbia River to navigate the stream from the Canada Pacific Railway, first crossing of the Columbia, to the Upper Columbia Lake, within six months after the commencement of our reclamation works, at the Upper Kootenay River Canal; always provided that this aforementioned stretch of water is navigable for steamers, and that no other steamer be navigating the said waters by that time.

4. That within six months after the receipt of our Engineer's final report on the Kootenay reclamation scheme, we form a limited liability company, with a capital of at least fifty thousand (50,000) pounds sterling, for the purpose of carrying through the reclamation and colonisation of the lands now considered. That the head office of this company be in London, England, with an agent in Victoria, B.C., and representatives in at least six of the most important American and European cities.

5. That the reclamation works be commenced within six months after the formation of the said Colonisation Company, and that they be commenced at the "Rapids," "Narrows," and "Canal," or at any one or two of the said points.

6. That in the course of the said reclamation works, as the several tracts on the Upper, Middle, or Lower Kootenay River and Lake become reclaimed, or partially reclaimed, and fit for settlement, we cause surveys to be made, at our cost, of the said tracts, and that the said surveys be carried out in accordance with the now existing land laws of the Province, by surveyors approved of by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and that the plans and field notes be deposited with the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works.

7. That if within eight (8) years from the date of these presents, or if within two (2) years after the completion of the reclamation works there shall be resident bona fide settlers on said Lands A, Crown grants for all or any part or parts of the said Lands A shall be issued to us at the rate of one dollar per acre, and in quantities of four hundred and eighty (480) acres for each bona fide resident settler on last mentioned Lands A. That if within eight (8) years from the date of these presents, or if within two (2) years after the completion of the reclamation works, there shall be

resident bona fide settlers on said Lands B, Crown grants for all or any part or parts of the said Lands B shall be issued to us at the rate of one dollar per acre, and in quantities of three hundred and twenty (320) acres for each bona fide resident settler on last mentioned Lands B. That if within ten (10) years of the date of these presents, or if within four (4) years after the completion of the reclamation works at the "Rapids," "Narrows," and "Canal" there shall be resident bona fide settlers on said Lands C, Crown grants for all or any part or parts of the said Lands C shall be issued to us at the rate of one dollar per acre, and in quantities of four hundred and eighty (480) acres for each bona fide resident settler on last mentioned Lands C.

8. That under the term "resident bona fide settler" be understood such persons who are permanently settled on the land, who own a dwelling house, and who pursue either agricultural, grazing, lumbering, mining, or mercantile pursuits.

9. That in order to carry out the colonisation scheme while the reclamation of the said tracts A, B, and C is being carried out, we be entitled to make provisional sales to actual resident settlers at such rates and under such conditions as seem to us most beneficial to the proper carrying out of the colonisation, and that Crown grants be issued to us at the rate of one dollar per acre for land so conveyed; provided that at the time application is made for Crown grants the settler for whose benefit the said application be made be in actual residence on the land; that if he intends to farm his land he have the necessary farming implements to cultivate the ground, or if it be his intention of grazing stock, that he be actual owner of at least one head of cattle, or three sheep, or five pigs, or one horse, for every ten (10) acres of land purchased by him; and that if the application be made on behalf of a settler engaged in other pursuits than farming or stock-raising, and he be desirous of owning the land upon which he resides, he shall have the right to purchase from us land in quantities not exceeding three hundred and twenty (320) acres, and we be entitled to receive Crown grants at the rate of one dollar per acre for said land.

10. That as we desire to establish on the lands now under consideration a stock-ranch and saw-mill, we shall have the right to receive Crown grants at the rate of one dollar per acre for such of the land as we deem necessary, the area to be limited however to two thousand five hundred (2,500) acres of Lands A, and five thousand (5,000) acres of Lands B and C; always provided that at the time we apply for Crown grants there be placed on the land one head of cattle, or three sheep, or five pigs, or one horse for every ten (10) acres of land for which, under above conditions, we are to receive Crown grants at the rate of one dollar per acre.

11. That in consideration of our placing a saw-mill, with a capacity of at least ten thousand (10,000) feet per day, on said land, we shall have the right to acquire two thousand (2,000) acres, and to receive Crown grants at the rate of one dollar per acre.

12. That in order to carry out the reclamation works we shall have a right of way over and full ingress and degress upon any Crown lands, and the right to construct a ditch or canal, or such other work, between the Upper Kootenay River and the Upper Columbia Lake; that we shall have similar right of way over and full ingress and egress over Crown lands at the points known as the "Rapids" and "Narrows" on western arm of Kootenay Lake (outlet), and that we have free permission from the Government to conduct the said works at the said three points.

13. That no land tax or real estate tax be charged on Lands A, B, and C, until Crown grants are issued for the lands acquired.

14. That the Government be at liberty to appropriate out of Lands A such area as may have been reserved for Indian purposes; that the Government be at liberty to appropriate out of Lands B and C an area not exceeding twelve hundred and eighty (1,280) acres for Indian reserves.

15. That the Government be at liberty to resume possession of not exceeding five per cent. of land conveyed by any Crown grant for school sites and for purposes and works of public utility and convenience.

16. That a formal agreement, embracing the conditions and provisions of the partially free grant now under consideration, may be drawn up and entered into; it being understood that in such agreement the date "of those presents" to mean the date when the final agreement is executed.

17. That within six months after the incorporation of the limited liability company before described, we deposit with the Government a sum amounting to ten (10) cents upon the one dollar per acre for which, under the present agreement, we shall, upon fulfilling the aforementioned several conditions and provisions, have the right to acquire the Lands A, B, and C considered in this agreement.

18. That in consideration of the considerable expenditures already incurred by us, and the further expenditures provided as before described, the Government, in accordance with the partially free grant of the said Lands A, B, and C, place immediately a reserve, for our benefit, on all the lands considered in these presents, and maintain the said reserve for a term of ten (10) years, and that in accordance with the requirements of section 58 of the "Land Amendment Act, 1884," a report of a Committee of the Honourable the Executive Council, approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, wherein the aforesaid conditions and provisions of this partially free grant be confirmed, be furnished to the Kootenay Lake Syndicate, or their representative, Mr. W. A. Baillie-Grohman to enable us to form the afore-described company for the reclamation and colonisation of the lands agreed to be conveyed to us.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) "Wm. A. Baillie-Grohman."

APPENDIX III

To the Honorable
The Minister of Interior.

The petition of the inhabitants of the 5th Siding of the Canadian Pacific Railway West, in the Province of British Columbia otherwise known as Golden City, and other settlers in the Upper Columbia Valley.

Humbly Sheweth.

That Golden City is situated at the confluence of the Columbia and Kicking Horse Rivers at the lower extremity of a navigable stretch on the former river, extending about one hundred and twenty miles southward into the Columbia Lake, and flowing through a broad and fertile valley valuable for agricultural and grazing purposes.

That your petitioners view with alarm a certain Public Official Notice posted here, dated November 3rd A.D. 1885 (A copy of which is hereunto annexed) having reference to the diversion of the Kootenay River or a portion thereof into the valley of the Columbia.

That your petitioners consider that the above scheme, if carried out, will do great damage to certain public lands of the Dominion within what is known as the Railway Belt and other lands in the province of British Columbia.

That the Kootenay River traverses United States Territory for about one hundred and fifty miles and re-enters Canada before its junction with the Columbia, and its diversion might lead to foreign complaint for damages to navigation, limiting water power, sanitary and other causes.

That the length of the Columbia River from the point of the proposed diversion of the Kootenay to its present junction with the latter river, where the waters would again unite, is in or, about, five hundred miles, and the lands in the shorter distance, on the Kootenay, partially reclaimed by the diversions, would be greatly overbalanced by the sure damage to those in the greater distance of the Columbia.

That the distance from the Kootenay River to the Upper Columbia Lake, along the line of the proposed diversion, is about one mile and a half, the difference of level five to eight feet.

That the volume of water in the Kootenay is considerably greater at all times than that passing down the Columbia and the former is travelling at a far greater velocity.

That from the above consideration and the fact of the very slight fall of the Columbia River, between the Lakes and Golden City, we are sure, if sufficient water be diverted from the Kootenay into the Columbia to produce any beneficial effects in reclaiming lands on the former, that the water in the latter will be very considerably raised along the Columbia Valley. The Columbia River having such a slight fall and low banks would be unable to carry off this great addition and would therefore overflow all the low lands adjoining it. Now, these low lands are the hay lands of the District. We submit that these hay lands are of the utmost importance to the Farming, Ranching and general interests of this valley. Stock in this Country has to be fed on hay during at least three months of the winter, and we may venture

to state that no settler would take up land, nor would those settled, hold their homesteads in this valley unless they were sure of being able to cut the necessary hay to winter their stock. The destruction of these low lands we regard as a certainty if this diversion of the Kootenay River takes place.

Much greater damage and ruin may be contemplated, such as flooding towns and destroying town sites, also damaging railroad properties, depending on the height to which the water may rise, Estimating however, the rise as we are informed the promoters of the diversion themselves have estimated it, at from 6 inches to 1 foot (an estimate which we consider very much under the mark) there can be no doubt that the entire sacrifice of the hay lands would be the result and the prospect of this valley, for agricultural and stock raising purposes entirely ruined.

That much valuable timber will be destroyed.

That it will also preclude the making of a roadway through the country giving access to the detached bench lands which are favored by climate and soil for the growth of cereals. The said Roadway being a necessary adjunct to the Mining, timber and other interests of the valley.

That your petitioners pray for suspension of works, on the turning of the said Kootenay River into that of the Columbia until a careful investigation of the consequence be made.

That your Petitioners did on the 5th inst. also petition the Lieutenant-Governor of this Province to the above effect.

And your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray

Dated at Golden City B.C.
the 6th day of March A. D. 1886.

[signed]

Z. B. Soumande Cote	M.L.	Golden City
H. R. Moodie	Free Miner	,,
T. Burton Lang	Merchant	,,
John H. Campbell	Mill & Eng'r	Otter Tail Mills
John Gibson	General Dealer	Golden City
Thomas O'Brien	Miner	,,
Bert Low	,,	Spillemecheen R.
Robt. Lang	Merchant	Golden City
J. W. Conner	Farmer	,,
George Haffner	Miner	,,
Ed. Cook	Packer	,,
John Irvine	Farmer	Columbia Valley
J. B. Hany	Carpenter	Golden City
Peter Lambrick	Farmer	,,
Joseph Henry	,,	,,
Alexis Tremblay	,,	,,
Joseph Lebeau	,,	,,
D. Campbell	Miner	,,
Hugh McDonald	,,	,,
Peter McIntyre	,,	,,
Malcolm Cameron	,,	,,

William Atkinson	Miner	Golden City
George McMillan	,,	,,
John M. Rae	,,	,,
B. Morigeau	Merchant	,,
F. C. Lang	Free Miner	,,
A. P. Cucucusis	Free Miner	,,
John Conkite	Farmer	,,
Chas. F. Law	Rancher	Columbia Lakes
John Miroon	Black Smith	,,

THE VICTORIA VOLTIGEURS*

> In the good old days of Victoria, if five or ten years ago can be called old days, a *corps* of "Invincibles" was formed here, composed of eleven Kanakas and two negroes. . . . It was found that our diminutive Colonial exchequer was much too small to support such an immense standing army, and they were consequently disbanded.[1]

This intriguing reference to the Victoria Voltigeurs has been overlooked, for the most part, in the story of early military activity in British Columbia. Yet this was the first body of resident men to be raised for the defence of the diminutive Colony of Vancouver Island. It was trained as a militia unit, it campaigned throughout the colony, and underwent hardship and danger to afford protection to the settlers and more particularly to guard Fort Victoria from attack by native warriors.

The Colony of Vancouver Island, created in 1849 by the grant of the island to the Hudson's Bay Company, was not only a remote and isolated outpost of empire, but also relatively insignificant—in population, if not in size. However, larger imperial considerations having in view the expansionist activity of the United States had dictated its establishment, and it was endowed with all the appurtenances of colonial government of that day. A Royal Governor, independent of the Hudson's Bay Company, was appointed, and in due course, in March, 1850, Richard Blanshard reached Fort Victoria to assume office. The trials and tribulations of his governorship need not here be detailed[2] except in so far as they relate to the problem of defence.[3] Suffice it to say that he found himself in an awkward position since so much of the real authority was

*An expansion of an address presented to the Vancouver Section of the British Columbia Historical Association.

(1) Victoria *Colonist,* June 15, 1861.

(2) *See* Willard E. Ireland, "The Appointment of Governor Blanshard," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* VIII (1944), pp. 213–226; and W. Kaye Lamb, "The Governorship of Richard Blanshard," *ibid.,* XIV (1950), pp. 1–40.

(3) *See* Willard E. Ireland, "Pre-Confederation Defence Problems of the Pacific Colonies," Canadian Historical Association *Annual Report,* 1941, pp. 41–54.

vested in Chief Factor James Douglas, responsible for the management of the company's affairs in the colony.

Shortly after his arrival in the colony, Governor Blanshard visited Fort Rupert, where coal-mining operations had been undertaken by the company, and there he came face to face with the conflict in authority between the Crown and the company inherent in the colonial arrangements. In July, 1850, it became known that three deserters from the *Norman Morison* had been murdered by the Newitty Indians near Fort Rupert, a situation which led the Governor not only to visit the northern post again in October, but also to begin his struggle to secure suitable defence arrangements.

When reporting this incident to the home government in August, Blanshard pointed out that the " want of force " had prevented him from attempting to capture the murderers, and that " the only safeguard of the Colony consists in the occasional visits of the cruizers of the Pacific Squadron, which only occur at rare intervals, and for short calls."[4] The following month the Governor pursued further the matter of the defenceless state of the colony:—

> I would beg to press on your Lordship's consideration, the necessity of protecting this Colony by a garrison of regular troops, in preference to a body of pensioners, for as the principal service that they would be called on to perform would be to repress and over-awe the natives a moveable force would be necessary and I think that Marines would be better calculated for the duty than Troops of the Line. Two Companies would be sufficient of which a detachment would be stationed at Fort Rupert, and the remainder near Victoria a cantonment might easily be formed on the plains near Esquimalt Harbour . . . the Troops if landed in the Spring, could easily complete their own barracks before the rainy season. . . . The expense of maintaining a garrison would be inconsiderable and there are ample funds for the purpose. . . .[5]

This request fell on deaf ears. Not only was the Governor informed that it was " not in the power of Her Majesty's Government to maintain a detachment of regular Troops to garrison the Island," but he was also politely reprimanded for his handling of the incident and told that " Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to protect, or attempt to punish injuries committed upon, British subjects, who, voluntarily expose them-

(4) Blanshard to Earl Grey, August 18, 1850. Vancouver Island, Governor Blanshard, Dispatches to London, 1849–1851, MS., Archives of B.C. Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscript material subsequently cited may be found in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

(5) Blanshard to Grey, September 18, 1850. *Ibid.*

selves to the violence or treachery of the Native Tribes at a distance from the Settlements."[6]

Douglas shared with the Governor the difficult and at times embarrassing situation, as he succinctly pointed out to Governor George Simpson in May, 1851:—

True it is we differ in opinion as to public matters—as for example he is anxious to have a military force stationed on the Island—which is unquestionably a proper measure, but as an agent of the Company who would have to maintain that force I have endeavoured to show that there was no positive necessity for it.[7]

That he was not completely unsympathetic to the Governor's request is demonstrated by the proposal he put forward for the company's consideration:—

I have done everything in my power to meet Governor Blanshards views and to support his authority in the Colony; but there are certain points on which we may be allowed to differ in opinion without necessarily involving a breach of harmony. The Governor for instance was always opposed on public grounds to the reserves of land held for the two Company's and in favour of having a military force in the colony for the protection of the inhabitants and in reference to these subjects he still maintains the same opinion, while I am bound as a servant of the Company to follow the Committees instructions and to study on every point to protect their interests.—It was with the object of meeting Governor Blanshards views without materially compromising the interest of the Company that I took the liberty of recommending the formation of a rural police to be effected by granting a certain number of 20 acre lots on the Fur Trade Reserve to the Company's retiring servants, a measure which I still hope the Committee may sanction as it will meet the demand for protection at very small expense. . . . Petty depredations are occasionally committed by the Indians which no vigilance can altogether prevent but no overt attempt at violence has been made on the persons or property of the white inhabitants by the Indians of this part of Vancouvers Island.[8]

Such was the genesis of the Victoria Voltigeurs. They were formed to act as a military police. Their numbers were largely recruited from French-Canadian half-breeds, some with Iroquois blood in their veins, who had crossed the continent as boatmen and canoemen in the service of the fur company and who upon retirement had been settled in a village located on the Colquitz River near its entrance into Portage Inlet, if we

(6) Grey to Blanshard, March 20, 1851. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Dispatches to Vancouver Island, July 21, 1849, to December 24, 1855.

(7) Douglas to Sir George Simpson, May 21, 1851, private. H.B.C. Archives, D 5/30, quoted in Ireland, "Pre-Confederation Defence Problems," C.H.A. *Report*, 1941, p. 44, n. 13.

(8) Douglas to Archibald Barclay, March 21, 1851. Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of Vancouver Island Colony, May 16, 1850, to November 6, 1855.

are to judge by Douglas's instructions to the Colonial Surveyor in 1859:—

As I before explained to you verbally—before 51, a Canadian Village, for defence against Indians, was established on the Portage Inlet, with a guarantee to each settler of a free Grant of 20 (twenty) acres of Land each. Of those settlers I consider Three in number

viz. Nicholas Auger
J. B. Jollibois and
John Lemon

entitled to the Grant and I desire that you will arrange the Books and Issue Indentures accordingly.[9]

When Douglas succeeded Blanshard as Governor in September, 1851, he inherited this force and decided to maintain it. From that time onwards there are frequent entries concerning it in an account book headed "Hudson's Bay Company Accounts with Government Departments," in which the financial affairs of the colony are tabulated. Under the heading "Militia" are itemized the charges for the "Victoria Voltigeurs," to which title and dignity Blanshard's "rural police" had been advanced.

But on what was probably the first serious task set before them, the Voltigeurs failed to distinguish themselves, which no doubt accounts for the fact that in the official record they appear only as "the retinue" of a constable. This incident, so typical of the times, occurred in March, 1852, and as described by Douglas in an official dispatch to the Colonial Office deserves to be recorded in detail:—

A difficulty which nearly led to a fatal affray with the Songies Tribe, occurred last month, in consequence of an attempt that was made to apprehend an individual of that nation, who was accused of having slaughtered several head of neat cattle and sheep belonging to a settler.

Two Indians were in succession charged with the offence, one of whom was captured without difficulty, and brought in by the peace officer, intrusted with the execution of the warrant, but in attempting afterwards to apprehend the other offender, who had taken refuge in the principal Songies Village near Victoria, the

(9) Douglas to J. D. Pemberton, March 2, 1859. Vancouver Island, Lands and Works Department, Colonial Surveyor, Correspondence Inward, January, 1852, to November, 1866. On the Victoria District Official Map, 1858, Nicholas Allger [Auger?] is shown as holding Section LXXXIII (19.83 acres); Jean Baptiste Jollibois, Section LXXX (19.35 acres); and John Lemon, Section XVIIIA (29 acres). Identification of these three individuals is inconclusive. It is possible that J. B. Jollibois was the "Jolibois" who met with a fatal accident on October 5, 1861, at which time the Victoria *Colonist* of October 7 described him as "an old man named Jolibois . . . a French Canadian, and aged about 60 years. He was formerly in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company, and leaves a family."

Constable and his retinue of ten men, were surrounded by a tumultuous throng of armed Indians; who set him at defiance, and were only restrained at the point of the Bayonet from rushing in, and disarming his party, who were consequently compelled to retire in disorder without having executed the warrant and with the loss of two muskets and a Boat, which remained in the hands of the Indians.

As soon as that outrage was reported I sent a second party to demand, of the Songies, the Boat and Muskets, they had so lawlessly seized, on pain of being punished if they objected to restore them; but the mission proved abortive.

They refused to give up the property unless the Indian, who had been apprehended in the morning on the charge of cattle lifting, and who still remained in custody, was set at liberty. Although very unwilling to proceed to extremity with those Indians, who have been uniformly friendly I could not allow Her Majesty's authority to be thus treated with contempt, and the law set at open defiance, without a neglect of duty, and incurring greater evils than those which it was sought to avert. Before resorting to coercive measures I however resolved to try the effect of a demonstration, and with that view ordered out a few guns, and directed the Hudson's Bay Company's Steam Vessel "Beaver" to be anchored abreast of the village, in a position from whence it could be attacked to advantage, and in course of two hours our preparations were completed.

In the mean time there was much excitement and alarm among the Indians, the women and children were flying in all directions while the men appeared to look unmoved upon the scene of danger, but they had also had time for reflection, on the consequences of pushing the matter further, and to my great relief sent a messenger to beg that proceedings might be stayed, as they had resolved to end the dispute by restoring the Boat and Muskets, which were immediately given up. It being then late in the evening, nothing further could be done; and the following morning the Songies Chief, a well disposed Indian, made proffers of compensation for the cattle that had been slaughtered by his people; which were accepted and quiet was restored.[10]

At this time Douglas warned the home authorities that similar difficulties were likely to occur and suggested that stationing one of H.M. ships at Victoria or Esquimalt might "prevent much future evil and in the end be a great saving of expense."[11] His prognostication was soon proven correct, for later that year a more serious difficulty arose. On November 5, 1852, Peter Brown, a shepherd employed by the Hudson's

(10) Douglas to Grey, April 15, 1852. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Dispatches to London, October 31, 1851, to November 24, 1855. Dr. J. S. Helmcken in his Reminiscences, 1892, Vol. III, pp. 88–90, tells of his part in this affray. But in addition he gives an indication of the courage and coolness of Douglas that made him so much feared and admired by the Indians. After Helmcken had lost his hat and had been forced to retire bare-headed across the harbour to the shelter of the fort, Douglas insisted upon the two of them strolling leisurely up and down in front of the stockade while the bullets were whistling from across the water.

(11) Douglas to Grey, April 15, 1852.

Bay Company at its sheep station at Christmas Hill in Saanich, was murdered by two Indians. Douglas was determined that no time should be lost in bringing the murderers to justice. By the end of December the suspects had been identified as a leading Cowichan brave and the son of a Nanaimo chief. Fortunately H.M.S. *Thetis,* commanded by Captain A. L. Kuper, had arrived at Esquimalt in the interim and afforded the Governor the opportunity of requisitioning a naval force in aid of the civil power. Captain Kuper placed 130 seamen and marines under the command of Lieutenant Arthur Sansum and Lieutenant John Moresby at the Governor's disposal.[12] To this imposing array Douglas added the services of the Voltigeurs.

Early in January this force was embarked on the Hudson's Bay Company's brigantine *Recovery* and the steamer *Beaver* with the launch, barge, and pinnace of the *Thetis* in tow. On January 6 they anchored off the mouth of the Cowichan River, and Douglas sent a messenger to the Indians asking them to meet with him to settle the difference. Douglas dramatically recounts the next phase of the venture:—

I received their answer the same evening accepting the invitation and expressing a wish to meet me the following day near the mouth of the River. The disembarkation of the Force was made early the following morning, and we took post on a commanding position at the appointed place fully armed and prepared for whatever might happen. In the course of two hours the Indians began to drop down the River in their war canoes, and landed a little above the position we occupied; and last of all arrived two large canoes crowded with the relatives and friends of the murderer, hideously painted, and evidently prepared to defend him to the last extremity; the criminal himself being among the number. On landing they made a furious dash towards the point which I occupied, a little in advance of the Force and their demeanour was altogether so hostile that the marines were with difficulty restrained from opening a fire upon them. When the first excitement had a little abated, the murderer was brought into my presence and I succeeded after a good deal of trouble, in taking him quietly into custody; and sent him a close prisoner on board the steam vessel.[13]

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(12) For Captain Kuper's version of the incident *see* "Four Letters relating to the Cruise of the Thetis, 1852–53," ed. W. Kaye Lamb, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* VI (1942), pp. 199–203.

(13) Douglas to Barclay, January 20, 1853. Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, May 16, 1850, to November 6, 1855. This letter has been reproduced in full in "Four Letters . . . ," *BCHQ,* VI (1942), pp. 203–206. In the diary of James Douglas, Private Papers, Second Series, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif., a transcript of which is in the Provincial Archives, it is noted under date January 7: "The forces were mustered early this morning . . . the Voltigeurs in the Steamer's Small boat."

Having thus successfully accomplished the first phase of its objective, the force was re-embarked and moved up to Nanaimo, where it arrived on January 9. Again Douglas called upon the Indians to surrender the murderer. At first they consented, but then changed their minds and offered to ransom his life by the payment of furs. To this proposition Douglas could not assent, and a full-scale search for the murderer was then undertaken. Eventually his place of hiding became known, and Douglas gives the following terse account of the termination of the affair:—

We then learned that the murderer had left the River, and was concealed in the woods, on the sea coast, about 3 miles distant. The pinnance was immediately despatched with 16 seamen, and 9 half whites, towards that point where his place of refuge was soon discovered and after a long chase in the woods in which the half whites, took a principal part, the wretched man, was captured, and taken on board the Steamer "Beaver." The Force was withdrawn the same day from the River, without molesting or doing any damage whatever to the other Natives. The two criminals being now in our possession were brought to trial, and found guilty of murder, by a Jury composed of the officers present. They were sentenced to be hanged, and the execution took place in the presence of the whole tribe, the scene appearing to make a deep impression upon their minds, and will I trust have the effect of restraining others from crime.[14]

The trial on board the *Beaver* was a historic one, and the two Indians have the melancholy distinction of being the first persons in British Columbia to be condemned by a jury and sentenced to death. The execution took place on January 17 on the point of Protection Island, at the entrance to Nanaimo Harbour, known to this day as Gallows Point.[15] Two days later the force arrived back at Esquimalt and the incident was ended.

Douglas was highly complimentary of the services that had been rendered. In his diary, following the entry for January 14, there is his address to the troops on this occasion, in which he said:—

(14) Douglas to Barclay, January 20, 1853. Essentially the same information was sent to the Colonial Office. *See* Douglas to Sir John S. Pakington, January 21, 1853. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Dispatches to London, October 31, 1851, to November 24, 1855. Again to quote from Douglas's diary under date January 11: "The pinnace well armed with her proper complement and five marines, making in all twenty one voltigeurs in a canoe under the command of McKay, acting under the orders of Lieut. Moresby were despatched this morning before daylight to be concealed near the mouth of the Nanaimo River, until the Indians assembled about the vessel, when they were to make a rapid push for the village, and to seize the murderer if found there. . . ."

(15) John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592–1906*, Ottawa, 1909, p. 197.

I assure you that I am delighted with you all; the alacrity and promptitude you have shown on all occasions, when danger appeared, deserve my warmest thanks as well as your kindness & forbearance in the hour of victory. I am highly pleased with your conduct and shall ever remember it with pride and gratitude as our victory has not been sullied by a single act of cruelty.[16]

And in particular he was pleased with the conduct of the Voltigeurs, who were, of course, the " half whites " to which he refers. After the capture of the Cowichan murderer on January 7, Douglas wrote a full report on the expedition to the senior member of the Legislative Council of Vancouver Island, John Tod, in which he pointed out:—

The officers and men under his [Lieutenant Sansum] command here won my thanks; not only by their steadiness and discipline, but also by their promptitude and alacrity in the field, and I am happy to say that our little corps of colonial volitigeurs [*sic*] imitated their noble example.[17]

It had been, however, a costly undertaking, as the following summary from the detailed accounts[18] would indicate.

Charged to Militia Account.

"For these equipments to the Men enlisted for the expedition to Cowetchin "	£60/0/9	
" Paid the following Men enlisted in the Voltigeur Corps, for 18 days Service in the Cowetchin Expedition "	37/10/0	
" Steamer Beaver For Charter from 1st to 18th Jany inclusive conveying Expedition to and from Cowetchin "	96/15/0	
" Brigtn Recovery For Charter from 1st to 18th Jany inclusive conveying Expedition to & from Cowetchin "	60/9/9	
" Paid for prizes to best marksmen "	3/16/7	
" Cash pd Timothy Blayan for Services at Cowetchin "	2/18/4	
" Supplied to the Voltigeurs and Naval officers employed in the Expedition "	73/8/3	
" For the following provisions supplied the Volunteers with Governor Douglas on the Cowetchin Expedition "	5/16/9	
" To Puget Sound Agricultl Compy For the following Supplied the Brigtn ' Recovery ' from Esquimalt Farm for the Cowetshin Expedition per order of Governor Douglas "	25/4/0	
	365/19/5	
Less overcharge on charter of Steamer *Beaver*	7/17/3	
		£358/2/2

(16) Transcript, pp. 43–44.

(17) Douglas to John Tod, January 7, 1853. James Douglas, Private Papers, Second Series, Transcript, pp. 36–38.

(18) Hudson's Bay Company Accounts with Government Departments, 1852–1859 (hereafter cited as H.B.C. Accounts), pp. 6–37 *passim.*

Charged to Administration of Justice.		
"For this sum paid per order of Governor Douglas to M. Rowland for Services as Executioner at Nanaimo"	£6/17/6	
"Paid as rewards to Indians for Secret Service on the Expedition"	14/6/10	
"For the following paid to Indians by order of the Governor for Secret Service on the expedition to Cowetshin"	1/3/10	
		22/8/2
Charged to Survey Department.		
"Supplied to Mr. Pemberton at Cowetchin"		1/13/10
Grand total		£382/4/2

Judging from the detailed accounts rendered, no expense had been spared for either equipment or provisions. No doubt the exalted presence of the Governor as Commander-in-Chief added to the importance of the adventure. The list of stores for the commissariat was ample and the supplies of the best quality the colony could provide. No fewer than twenty-four sheep were taken along for the general fare and four more for the officers' mess, and there were barrels of salt beef, salt salmon, and 37 pounds of fresh beef. There was coarse flour and fine white flour, coarse sugar and fine sugar, potatoes, and 400 pounds of sea biscuits, to mention but a few items. The officers must have fared well. Including all who would have been eligible to dine at the officers' mess, from the Governor and the naval lieutenants down to the mates of the *Beaver* and the *Recovery,* there would not have been more than a dozen persons. Their larder included such items as prunes, currants, raisins, brown and white sugar, two brands of tea, coffee, fine butter from Craigflower farm, smoked hams, and other dainties to stimulate their appetites. And to make such fare palatable there were 16 gallons of cognac brandy, 8 gallons of sherry, 8 gallons of port wine, 48 gallons of gin, and, to top it off, 500 Havana cigars.[19]

There is some confusion in the records as to the exact number of Voltigeurs used in the Cowichan expedition. In his report to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, Douglas referred to "a body of 11 half whites, enlisted in the Colony for that service,"[20] but only ten names appear in the accounting records of "equipments to the Men enlisted for the expedition to Cowetchin,"[21] namely: Basil (or Baptiste) Bottineau,[22]

(19) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 6–37.

(20) Douglas to Barclay, January 20, 1853.

(21) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 6–9.

(22) Bottineau, variously referred to as Bazil, Basil, or Baptiste, was a friend of Francois Satakarata and was evidently at Fort Rupert in 1850, for Dr. J. S.

Timothy Blayan, George Bouché, Joseph Charbonneau,[23] W. Hutson, Tapisse Montigny, Louis Montret, James Newbird,[24] Francois Satakarata,[25] Pierre Versailles. However, in the subsequent pay-list for " men enlisted in the Voltigeurs Corps, for 18 days Service in the Cowetchin Expedition " the name of Pierre Versailles is omitted but that of Thomas Quontany (or Quamtany), an interpreter, has been added. The rate of pay was $1 per day, except for Bottineau, who, as sergeant, received $1.50 a day, and the interpreter, who received a similar amount.[26]

Helmcken in his journal of occurrences during his visit to the fort noted under date July 1: " 12 A.M. Baptiste or Bazil Bottineau complained of having been refused to go northward in the Steam vessel Beaver, belonging to the Hudsons Bay Co, altho expressly agreed upon between him & the Co." Helmcken wrote to Chief Trader George Blenkinsop to secure copies of the agreement, which when they came to hand did not substantiate Bottineau's claim. He was then advised to wait until John Work returned to the fort. By the time Work returned on August 18 the greater number of the men at Fort Rupert had returned to duty, presumably including Bottineau. *See* Vancouver Island—Courts, Magistrate's Court, Fort Rupert, Diary, June 27 to August 20, 1850. By J. S. Helmcken, J.P.

(23 The only information on Charbonneau which has been found occurs in a letter of Edward Coker to J. D. Pemberton, April 29, 1862, enclosed in Pemberton to W. A. G. Young, May 6, 1862, in which Coker applied unsuccessfully for a lease of 5 acres of the Government reserve at South Saanich for four or six years for the purpose of locating a house and cultivating the soil for the benefit of " a native woman . . . a member of the tribe located at that point. . . . The person I refer to is the widow of Joseph Charbino (some years dead), an old servant of the H.B. Co.—she is also well and favourably known to Govr. Douglases famely [*sic*], and others of the gentlefolk, of the Island. She is a[t] present and has been for some years liveing [*sic*] in Victoria."

(24) Newbird may have died in 1857, for in the Casual Poor Account, June, 1857, there is an entry " For 10 Com. Cot. Shirts, expenses discovering & examining Newbird's remains 2/6 £1/5/0." H.B.C. Accounts, p. 237.

(25) Satakarata may have been a Kanaka. As previously noted in footnote 22 he was at Fort Rupert in 1850, for Dr. J. S. Helmcken in the report based on his journal which he sent to Governor Blanshard on July 2, 1850, noted: " Francois Satakarata applied for admission into this fort at 11 P.M. June 29th 1850. He was brought before me as having deserted from the steamer 'Beaver'." It appeared that he had agreed at Fort Victoria under the impression that a friend of his, Basil Bottineau was about to proceed Northward, but finding that such was not the case he had deserted in the hope of obtaining permission to work at this fort.

" Mr. Blenkinsop, wishing to employ the man & considering it to be the same service I consented. Moreover we have not the means for keeping persons prisoners." Vancouver Island—Courts, Magistrate's Court, Fort Rupert, Reports to Governor Blanshard, July 2 and 17, 1850.

(26) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 10, 17.

The Voltigeurs were a proud-looking lot, for on leaving Victoria for Cowichan they had been provided with new uniforms. To start at the top, each man had a tasseled blue cap, a white regatta shirt, and a blue " capot " or military overcoat, buckskin trousers, long worsted stockings, boots and mocassins as the occasion might require. A broad scarlet belt or sash was provided, to which was attached the powder-horn, and each man had a trade gun. To add glamour, yards of bright ribbon and tinsel hat-cord had been provided for attachment to any part of the uniform. All of which made for colour but with little consideration for camouflage.

The lesson given to the local tribes by this punitive expedition into the Cowichan and Nanaimo districts was a deterrent for a time, but it did not provide dependable security, and for a long time to come the colonists were not entirely free from the haunting terror of savage attack. The situation was further aggravated when northern Indians, from as far away as Alaska, began to arrive in large numbers. Douglas, ever alert to the danger, outlined the problem in a long letter to Archibald Barclay, London secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, in June, 1854[28]:—

. . . great and dangerous excitements have arisen, among the Natives, who have congregated in large bodies this season in the settlements, to which they have been drawn from almost every part of the coast between this place and the 57th degree of north latitude, by the prospect of obtaining employment as labourers, and procuring by their industry supplies of clothing for themselves and families.

The settlements have in fact been overrun by those wild migrations. Under proper restraints their labour would advance the interests of the Colony; but from their turbulent theivish [*sic*] disposition, it is impossible to prevent discord, arising between them and the white settlers and I would therefore rather dispense with their presence.

Douglas then cited a specific incident. A Tongass chief had been slain in Washington Territory and, in consequence, several hundred of his angry compatriots had retired to Victoria from Puget Sound. Despite their ugly mood, Douglas met with them and " enjoined them to remain quiet, and not to raise a hand against any white man, whether on the British or American side of the Straits." But his advice was not accepted and an outbreak did occur.

About noon on the 26th of May, Thomas Grenham, arrived from the Cadboro Bay Farm, in a state of great alarm, with a report that the place had been attacked and taken by several hundred Indians, and that he had with difficulty escaped from their hands. While mustering and arming the people, I hastened to the spot, with

(27) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 6–9.

(28) Douglas to Barclay, June 15, 1854. Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, May 16, 1850, to November 6, 1855.

a mounted party of six men, and found all safe except Mr Baillie who had been knocked down and severely cut about the head.

The Indians who committed the deed had made a precipitate retreat and disappeared from the coast. I also learned that they had not entered the Premises, but had attacked Mr Baillie near the coast, while he was looking for some stray cattle, in company with Grenham & Hilliard two of his labourers, who ran away on the appearance of the Indians, and left Mr Baillie to deal with them alone. He fought stoutly and knocked two of them down, before he was himself felled to the ground, by a blow on the head; they then seized his gun and must have immediately fled, as we were on the spot, within an hour afterwards, and could discover no trace of the fugitives, except scattered articles of property, which they had left in their flight. I discovered that the Cape Fox Indians, a branch of the Tomgass [*sic*] Tribe, were the parties who committed that outrage.

This incident had the effect of setting the whole visiting Indian population aflame, and until the departure of some 500 of these Indians to their northern homes " the active men of the settlement were all under arms, and were employed in guarding the country."

Presumably it was a party of the Voltigeurs who accompanied Douglas to the scene of the onslaught, and the whole force must have been alerted for the account book shows that the sum of £5/8/4 was paid out for " 16 Men called out by Governor Douglas on the 25th May for the protection of the settlement against an apprehended attack from the Indians."[29]

The situation was further complicated by the outbreak of the Crimean War and the possibility of a Russian attack from Alaska. Douglas promptly warned the Colonial Office of the defenceless state of the colony and submitted a requisition for arms and accoutrements to equip a force of 500 men, it being his opinion that " an irregular force of whites and Indians could be raised here and be made exceedingly useful in harassing and impeding the march of an enemy." Quite properly he assumed the cost of such a force would be borne by the Imperial Government.[30] However, when the Legislative Council discussed the matter on July 12, 1854, their opinion was " that the small number of whites in the settlement could collectively offer no effectual resistance against a powerful enemy; and it was considered dangerous to arm and drill the natives, who might then become more formidable to the Colony than a foreign enemy." In consequence, it was decided not to call out the militia but to leave

(29) H.B.C. Accounts, p. 51.

(30) Douglas to the Duke of Newcastle, May 16, 1854 (No. 27). Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Dispatches to London, October 31, 1851, to November 24, 1855.

the defence of the colony to the home government. The Council did resolve, as a means of protection,

> . . . to charter the Hudson's Bay Company's Propeller "Otter," armed and manned with a force of thirty hands, including Captain, Officers, and Engineers, and to employ her in watching over the safety of the settlements, until Her Majesty's Government take some other measures for our protection; and that arrangements be immediately made to carry that resolve into effect.[31]

The danger had passed by September when it became known that a neutrality agreement had been worked out between the Hudson's Bay and the Russian American companies. No doubt this fortunate arrangement made it possible for the Colonial Office to announce that it was "unnecessary and unadvisable" to meet the Governor's requisition,[32] and also for them to refuse any responsibility for meeting the expenses involved in the charter of the *Otter* as a guard-ship,[33] although this latter decision was ultimately reversed and the account assumed by the Imperial Treasury.[34]

While the danger of foreign attack had thus been resolved, that created by the presence of the northern Indians still remained. On June 21, 1855, the Governor again drew this matter to the attention of his Legislative Council, in consequence of which that body resolved:—

> That a Company of ten, to consist of 8 Privates, 1 Corporal, 1 Sergeant, besides a competent officer to act as Commander, be immediately raised and maintained at the public expense until the Northern Savages leave the settlements; and that the pay to be allowed to persons joining the said company is not to exceed the following rates:—
>
> Privates..... 30 dollars per month with rations.
> Corporals..... 31 dollars per month with rations.
> Sergeants..... 33 dollars per month with rations.
>
> Their arms and accoutrements to be also provided at the public expense.[35]

Likewise, the Governor again took up the subject with the Colonial Office. In a dispatch dated August 21, 1855, informing the Colonial Secretary, Lord John Russell, that something over 2,000 northern Indians had descended upon the colony, Douglas wrote:—

> The presence of so many armed barbarians in a weak and defenceless Colony, was a subject of great and increasing anxiety. . . . I dreaded the sudden ebul-

(31) *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island, 1851–1861*, ed. E. O. S. Scholefield, Victoria, 1918 (Archives of British Columbia Memoir No. II), p. 25.

(32) Sir George Grey to Douglas, August 5, 1854. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Dispatches to Vancouver Island, July 21, 1849, to December 24, 1855.

(33) Sir George Grey to Douglas, December 18, 1854. *Ibid.*

(34) William Molesworth to Douglas, August 3, 1855. *Ibid.*

(35) *Minutes of the Council*, p. 27.

litions of temper common to all savages, which any petty difficulty might have called forth. . . .

Besides a general order warning the settlers to be on their guard against violence and treachery, I raised a small police force of four active men, to detach on emergencies to the aid of any settlers, who might apply for assistance, relying otherwise, for defence on the co-operation of the population at large.

Your Lordship must however be aware that a force of peaceful citizens, hastily mustered, and imperfectly armed, are ill adapted for bold measures, and I would strongly recommend that a regular force of 20 or 30 men, should be raised and equipped, for defence, particularly during the presence of the Northern Tribes of Indians, to serve as a nucleus for the civilian force, and to undertake the really dangerous service which none but men of sterling courage are fit to encounter.[36]

It is difficult to tell whether Douglas considered this "police force" as something new or simply as a regularization of the Voltigeurs. Certainly he did not raise the total force which he had recommended, for he appointed only four men, and these only for the four months July to October, 1855. Joseph Charbonneau and James Newbird, who had served with the Voltigeurs in the Cowichan expedition, were paid £2 a month, and the two new recruits, Celeste Auger and Louis Maurice, £1/10/0.[37] All four received new uniforms and equipment, similar to that issued in 1853, at a cost of £23/0/8[38] and supplies and rations for the period June 23 to October 12 amounted to £27/1/4.[39] In all, Douglas expended £78/2/0 on this force.[40]

John Work, himself a member of the Legislative Council, was his usual cynical self, but perhaps also a little jealous of the younger Chief Factor who had become the Governor, when he referred to this "police force" as follows:—

The Governmental dignity assumed appears to me to have anything but a preposses[s]ing impression on strangers altho everything is sacrificed to carry it out as far as possible. I told you before that an appropriation was made to em-

(36) Douglas to Lord John Russell, August 21, 1855. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Dispatches to London, October 31, 1851, to November 24, 1855. In reply Douglas was informed that the Colonial Secretary admitted "the utility of a Police force" and saw "no objection to the establishment of a sufficient force for that purpose, but you must understand that all expenses connected with its formation and maintenance must be defrayed from the local Revenue or by the Hudson's Bay Company." Grey to Douglas, November 12, 1855. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Dispatches to Vancouver Island, July 21, 1849, to December 24, 1855.

(37) H.B.C. Accounts, p. 107.

(38) *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 110.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 148.

body a Militia force as it was called of a Sergeant, Corporal and 8 men to protect the Island A Captain was also to be appointed, but of all this imposing force only four Men have yet been embodied viz Charbona, Newbird, Celeste Auger & Louis Maurice. This evening on passing Government house I was surprised to see Charbonna on duty as Centinel with his cap & tassel hatband sky blue Capot, red belt and Moleskin trousers, but he had no gun, probably not being able to arm them with anything better than trading guns, horn & pouch, I can scarcely refrain at times from ridiculing openly such apery, and I dont know if I do right in refraining from it.[41]

Work may have chosen to mock the Governor's efforts at defence, but his colleague on the Legislative Council, John Tod, who by virtue of his years of experience with the Hudson's Bay Company was also experienced in handling the Indians, knew the urgency of the problem, for in January, 1855, ammunition to the value of £3/14/4 had been delivered to him " for the purpose of protecting the settlers Cattle in the Neighbourhood of Gonzalo Point from the depredations of wild Indians."[42] There is every reason to believe that even in this year Douglas had to meet further expenses for the police force, judging by the amount of £3/6/8 paid out for " 4 Men for protecting the frontier against the inroads of the Indians for 3 days & 1 night."[43]

The following year the situation became even more critical, partially in consequence of the Indian war raging in Oregon, which made protective measures all the more necessary. By February, 1856, northern Indians were already beginning to arrive in the colony and, in anticipation of " a very large body " of these savages arriving during the summer, the Legislative Council on February 27 reconfirmed its decision of the previous year and increased the force from ten to thirty. Provision was now made for " 1 Lieutenant, 1 Sergeant, and 2 Corporals and 26 Privates " with the same rates of pay as before, and in addition to their arms and accoutrements " one suit of uniform clothes " was also to be provided out of public funds.[44]

Douglas lost no time in implementing this resolution, for just a short time previously he had had to order out a force of ten whites and twenty-five Victoria Indians under the command of J. W. McKay to disperse a body of northern Indians located on one of the San Juan Islands who were plundering the deserted habitations of American set-

(41) John Work to Dr. Wm. F. Tolmie, July 30, 1855. Work Correspondence Outwards.

(42) H.B.C. Accounts, p. 85.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 107.

(44) *Minutes of the Council*, p. 28.

tlers. On March 1 the Governor wrote to the Colonial Secretary as follows:—

Thirty-eight canoes with upwards of 300 northern Indians, arrived at this place a few days ago, and a very large number are reported to be on the route for the settlements I have, in consequence, with the approbation of the Council commenced, raising a militia force of 30 men, and officers, who will remain embodied during the presence of those savages. . . .

The men who have offered for the Militia Corps have been enlisted at [the rate of *cancelled*] £2 Sterling a month for privates being considerably less than the pay sanctioned [in the minute *cancelled*] by Council, which it is not my intention to allow, as long as men can be procured at a lower rate.

In fixing the pay of the militia at one Dollar a day for privates the Council had in view, that the volunteers raised in the United States Territory receive from their Government, two dollars a day and rations, and it appeared then a matter of doubt whether men could be raised in this Colony for the public service without the stimulus of high pay.[45]

The expense, however, still was not inconsiderable, for the account book shows that no less than £181/4/1 was expended during the months of March, April, and May.[46] This included uniforms for twelve men. It is difficult to determine how many men were mustered, but the pay accounts for March, amounting to £15/13/11, covered Captain W. J. Macdonald,[47] Basil Bottineau, and an unspecified number of privates; those for April, amounting to £27/16/1, included at least twelve privates;

(45) Douglas to Sir George Grey, March 1, 1856. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Dispatches to London, December 10, 1855, to June 6, 1859. Similar information was also sent to W. G. Smith, secretary to the Hudson's Bay Company, in a letter dated March 5, 1856, in which Douglas warned the company as he had already warned Grey: "This will lead to a serious expense but I conceive it would be unwise to neglect so necessary a precaution, in the present Circumstances of the Colony, more especially when it is considered that the maintenance of a small force now, may have the effect of preventing much future evil and expense to the Colony." Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, December 11, 1855, to July 8, 1859.

(46) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 177–179.

(47) William John Macdonald, born in the Isle of Skye in 1829, came to Vancouver Island in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1851 and became prominent in the commercial and political life of the colony. In 1871 he was one of the first three Senators appointed in consequence of Confederation, which office he held until 1915. He died on October 25, 1916. In his reminiscences, printed under the title *A Pioneer, 1851*, published in Victoria, about 1914, for 1856 he wrote (p. 11): "In addition to office duty I had to train and organize a body of 50 armed men to guard the Coast from the depredations of the Northern Indians, who used to land on their way home and shoot cattle," and for 1858, along with other duties he listed (p. 13) "Captain of Militia."

and for May the £37/0/5 included Lieutenant Henry McNeill,[48] Sergeant B. Bottineau, and sixteen privates, one by the name of Robilliard.

Apparently about this time the Voltigeurs were put on horseback and assigned more or less systematic patrol duties, judging by Douglas's report to the Hudson's Bay Company:—

The Militia, about 16 in number, have been of great service, in maintaining the peace and detachments are frequently sent to visit the isolated settlements for their protection.[49]

This is confirmed by Martha Cheney, then living at Metchosin with her uncle, Thomas Blinkhorn, who noted in her diary:—

[April 1, 1855] The 1st Lieutenant with 8 Soldiers came down to inquire after our welfare, and to afford us protection in case of any disturbance with the Indians.
[April 15, 1855] The Voltizeurs [*sic*] payed [*sic*] us their usual visit last Tuesday, they come once a fornight [*sic*].
[July 4, 1855] Lieutenant McNeil and 8 men came down to enquire after our welfare, &c.[50]

The Voltigeurs were kept busy during most of the year on routine duties, for one farmer alone reported the loss of 36 head of cattle in three years.[51] The strength of the force varied from month to month, judging by the pay accounts.[52]

June £34/16/9 Lt. McNeill, 1 Corporal, 15 Privates.
July £36/4/6 Lt. McNeill, 18 Privates.
August £34/0/8 Lt. McNeill, 16 Privates.
September £40/13/4 17 Privates.
October £39/14/0 Sgt. Bottineau, Privates C. Auger, L. Maurice, J. Newbird and Jos. Charbonneau.

The total operating charges for the year ending October 31, 1856, amounted to £625/11/3.[53]

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(48) Henry McNeill was the son of a long-time servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, Captain William Henry McNeill, and his Indian wife, a chieftainess of the Kaigani division of the Haida tribe. *See* Dr. J. S. Helmcken, Reminiscences, 1892, Vol. III, p. 16.

(49) Douglas to William G. Smith, April 1, 1855. Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, December 11, 1855, to July 8, 1859.

(50) "Diary of Martha Cheney Ella, 1853–56," ed. J. K. Nesbitt, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1949), pp. 262, 263, 265.

(51) James Deans to Mr. Monteith, May 12, 1878. *See* his "Settlement of Vancouver Island," Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif., transcript in the Provincial Archives, p. 6.

(52) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 183–185, 187–189, 195, 199–200, 205.

(53) *Ibid.*, p. 213.

This did not include the expenses of another full-scale expedition to Cowichan late in August, 1856, arising out of the attempted murder of Thomas Williams by a Cowichan Indian. In this instance Douglas appealed to Rear-Admiral H. W. Bruce for assistance, which was promptly provided, and early in September the Governor was able to report as follows:—

> The expeditionary force was composed of about 400 of Her Majesty's Seamen and marines under Commander Matthew Connolly and 18 Victoria Voltigeurs commanded by Mr. McDonald of the Hudsons Bay Companys service. My own personal staff consisted of Mr. Joseph McKay and Mr. Richard Golledge, also of the Hudsons Bay Companys service. . . .
>
> In marching through the thickets of the Cowegin valley the Victoria Voltigeurs were with my own personal staff, thrown well in advance of the seamen and marines formed in single file, to scour the woods and guard against surprise. . . .
>
> I may also remark . . . that not a single casualty befel the expeditionary force during its brief campaign, nor was a single Indian the criminal excepted, personally injured, while their property was carefully respected.
>
> The expedition remained at Cowegin two days after the execution of the offender to re-establish friendly relations with the Cowegin Tribe, and we succeeded in that object, to my entire satisfaction.[54]

Subsequently the cost of this expedition was calculated at £77/7/3.[55]

The Cowichan expedition was the last major engagement in which the Voltigeurs were involved. In point of fact their period of usefulness was nearly over. Ships of the Royal Navy now made more frequent calls at Esquimalt, and Rear-Admiral Bruce had indicated his intention of leaving one of his ships there for the protection of the colony.[56] No doubt the Indians were beginning to be overawed by the forces ranged against them. During the fiscal year ending October 31, 1857, the expenses for the Voltigeurs declined to £50/5/9. Sergeant Bottineau continued to be active for a considerable period, and from June 8 to August 3 Lieutenant McNeill and three new recruits—Privates Ebony, Juano, and Tom Keavé, for whom new uniforms were provided—drew £18/13/4 in pay.[57]

Curiously enough, in the last year for which accounts are available the expenses charged to the Militia Account rose to £134/14/0, of

(54) Douglas to Henry Labouchere, September 6, 1856. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Dispatches to London, December 10, 1855, to June 6, 1859.

(55) H.B.C. Accounts, p. 263.

(56) Douglas to W. G. Smith, August 19, 1865. Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, December 11, 1855, to July 8, 1859.

(57) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 222, 234, 239, 242, 250, 260, 263.

which £17/15/0 represented additional expenses arising from the 1856 Cowichan expedition.[58] During November, 1857, Lieutenant McNeill would appear to have been the only person kept on strength, but at least a temporary reorganization was effected for the four months December, 1857, to March, 1858. During this period the following personnel were employed:—[59]

Lieutenant Henry McNeill (January to March).
Sergeant Basil Bottineau (December).
Privates Max Lavoie (December to March).
Louis Maurice ,,
L. Lavoie ,,
Leon Morel ,,
D. Bouché ,,
Tom Keavé ,,
Balan ,,
Tamaree[60] ,,
Pakee ,,

In addition, barrack accommodation was also for the first time provided, for which James Yates was paid £4/3/4 for four months.[61]

Designed primarily to deal with Indian law-breakers, the Victoria Voltigeurs had served their purpose. The gold-rush of 1858 was to bring a flood of new people to the island colony as well as to the adjacent mainland, and the altered circumstances made it imperative to create a new body for the enforcement of the law. As the white population increased in number, the threat of Indian outrages became less significant, and the colourful little force, so dear to the heart of Governor Douglas, was consequently disbanded.

B. A. MCKELVIE.
COBBLE HILL, B.C.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES.

(58) H.B.C. Accounts, pp. 269–273, 276, 278, 281, 302, 326.

(59) *Ibid.*, pp. 272–281.

(60) Tamaree or Tamarcee is named by Helmcken as one of the "seven Kanacka Indians, whose term of service [with the H.H.B. Co.] has expired. . . ." *See* the letter to R. Brown, July 10, 1850, in the Fort Rupert diary cited in footnote 22 above.

(61) H.B.C. Accounts, p. 281.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VICTORIA SECTION

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on May 17 with the Vice-Chairman, Mr. J. H. Hamilton, presiding. A report was presented by Miss Ellen Hart on the work of the Craigflower School committee, which is seeking funds to effect necessary repairs to the old school building. The speaker for the evening was the Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Mr. Willard E. Ireland, who is also Honorary Secretary of the British Columbia Centennial Committee. The subject of his address was *1858 to 1958—What Shall We Celebrate?* Unlike Alberta or Saskatchewan, which had a single natal day to celebrate in their golden jubilees, British Columbia was not so fortunate, for it was an amalgamation of four colonial jurisdictions, each with its own birthday—Vancouver Island, 1849; Queen Charlotte Islands, 1852; British Columbia, 1858; and Stikine, 1862. It was not until 1866 that four had become united to form a single colony, in size and shape similar to the Province that came into being on July 20, 1871. However, 1858 was more than merely the birthday of the Mainland colony, for it was the year of the gold-rush which affected Island and Mainland alike. In addition, Mr. Ireland announced certain plans for the centennial celebration—a special stamp, a commemorative silver dollar, and the writing of a new history of the Province, for which Dr. M. A. Ormsby, of the University of British Columbia, had been commissioned. Captain W. Wingate proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker.

Mr. B. A. McKelvie was the speaker at a meeting of the Section held on June 27 in the Provincial Library with Mr. J. K. Nesbitt presiding. The address was entitled *The Untold Story of the Birth of the Crown Colony of British Columbia*, and, as usual, Mr. McKelvie demonstrated his wide knowledge of the history of the Province and his consummate ability as a raconteur. Mr. Robert Hiscocks moved the vote of appreciation.

To mark the hundredth anniversary of the meeting of the First Legislative Assembly of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island on August 12, 1856, a special meeting was arranged for July 31 and held in the "Bird-cage"—the sole remnant of the old Colonial Government buildings. The speaker on that occasion was Mr. E. K. DeBeck, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of the Province, who spoke of the significance of the historic event commemorated, for this was the first elective legislature to meet in British territory west of the Great Lakes. From his rich store of anecdotes Mr. DeBeck brought to life many of the pioneer legislators—Tod, Helmcken, Pemberton, Yates, Kennedy, and Langford, to mention but a few. The appreciation of the meeting was expressed by Major H. C. Holmes, after which refreshments were served in the cafeteria in the Douglas Building.

The annual field-day of the Section was held on the afternoon of August 29 at the Joint Services College, Royal Roads. Captain John A. Charles, Commandant

of the College, spoke on the history of the College facilities from the days of the building of Hatley Park by the Honourable James Dunsmuir. The opportunity was afforded the many guests to inspect the buildings and grounds, following which tea was served.

The first meeting of the fall season was held in the Provincial Library on October 3 with Mr. J. K. Nesbitt in the chair. The speaker was Mr. David Stock, formerly a newspaper reporter now attending Victoria College in the Faculty of Education, and his subject *Ned McGowan*. In a most facile manner Mr. Stock recounted the story of one of the most notorious characters drawn to British Columbia by the gold-rush. During his brief career in the colony—only nine months in all—McGowan lived a hectic life, in keeping with his experiences in the United States. He lived with a flourish—serving in politics from the most petty of offices to high position, acting as a printer, author, gambler, and on one occasion achieved status as a naval hero. In the end he died in destitution at the age of 86. In British Columbia the story of the Hills Bar incident, in which McGowan played a leading and at times hilarious role, is now almost a classic.

VANCOUVER SECTION

The monthly meeting of the Section was held on May 25 in the Grosvenor Hotel with Captain C. W. Cates speaking on *The Terminal Steam Navigation Company*. This was a pioneer company, owned by the Cates family, which ran steamboats up Howe Sound. John Andrew Cates came to Vancouver in 1886 from Nova Scotia and began business with the *Robert Kerr*. In 1899 he acquired the *Defiance* and started a service to Vananda on Texada Island with alternate trips to Squamish. This was the beginning of the passenger service up Howe Sound. In 1905 the *Britannia* was built and fitted with Pullman accommodation. The Terminal Navigation Company had its hey-day prior to the end of World War I, when excursions were run to Bowen Island. On this run the ships used were the *Bowena, Balena,* and *Barimba*. In the early 1920's the company sold out to the Union Steamship Company.

The first meeting of the fall season was held on September 27 in the Hotel Grosvenor. The guest speaker on that occasion was Leon J. Ladner, Q.C., who gave a most informative talk on the future of Columbia River power under the title *White Gold of the Columbia*. Mr. Ladner emphasized that Canadian rights were clear and overwhelming, and that British Columbia's economic future would largely depend upon the stand we now take to safeguard our interests. The controversy has now been taken out of the hands of the International Joint Commission and is being handled directly by the Department of External Affairs for Canada and the Department of State for the United States, a situation which Mr. Ladner deplored, as the Columbia River is only one of a number of problems between the two countries.

The speaker at the meeting held on October 24 in the Grosvenor Hotel was Professor F. A. Peake, Registrar of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia and Archivist of the Anglican Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia. His subject was *Religious Tensions in Early British Columbia,* an interesting analysis of the controversy in 1875 between Bishop Hills and Dean Cridge. The

latter was accused of insubordination because he protested against the high church proclivities of the bishop, and he was found guilty on almost every charge by an ecclesiastical court. The consequence was that the dean and a large part of the congregation of Christ Church Cathedral withdrew from the Anglican Church and joined the ranks of the Reformed Episcopal Church, the first of this new denomination in British Columbia. Professor Peake provided an interesting new approach to this controversy in that he pointed out that it was but one result of the widespread and heated tension between the evangelical and the high church elements in the Church of England throughout Great Britain and North America. A vote of thanks was tendered by Mr. Bruce Ramsey.

NANAIMO SECTION

A regular meeting of the Section was held on Tuesday evening, May 29, at which Miss Margaret Clay, retired Chief Librarian of the Victoria Public Library now serving with the Vancouver Island Regional Library, was the speaker on the subject of the history of the struggle for equal rights for women in British Columbia. Susan Anthony, one of the leaders of the nineteenth-century woman suffrage movement in the United States, visited Victoria in 1871 and held a number of well-attended meetings. British Columbia politicians seemed sympathetic to women's rights, for in 1873 the right to vote in municipal elections was granted them, and in 1884 the further right to vote for school trustees was permitted, providing they had the requisite property qualification. By 1900 women were exercising these rights in many parts of the Province and were electing women to the School Boards. It was not until the First World War that suffragette supporters received a hearing from the members of the Legislature on Provincial voting privileges, and in 1917 the elections laws were enlarged to include women voters.

WEST KOOTENAY SECTION

Mr. Frank Sindell was the speaker at the May meeting of the Section and his subject *Telephones in Kootenay*. The first telephone-line in British Columbia was installed in Victoria in 1877, just one year after the invention had been patented. By the time settlement had spread to the Kootenays in the 1890's, the telephone had come to be considered a necessity. Judging by early photographs, it would appear that Nelson had telephones before it had good streets, for in 1891 a charter was granted to the Kootenay Lake Telephone Company to operate in Nelson, Balfour, and Ainsworth. In the Trail area, Colonel Topping strung the first line along the trees from Waneta to Rossland. In 1895 the Vernon and Nelson Telephone Company established an exchange in Rossland in Munson & Edward's grocery-store. This company acquired both Colonel Topping's line and also the Kootenay Lake Telephone Company and built exchanges in Greenwood, Phoenix, and Grand Forks. It continued to operate until 1903, when it was absorbed by the British Columbia Telephone Company. Long-distance telephone business was good from the beginning, although the rates were high: Nelson to Greenwood, $1.35 per minute. Trouble-shooting on the early lines was a difficult task, particularly on the line to Waneta. In 1896 there were 27 telephones in Trail, 75 in 1912, 550 in 1925, and to-day, including the Cominco plant, 5,324. Mr. Sindell

had on display one of the first automatic telephones installed in Canada. This had been used in Edmonton from 1905 to 1912. At the close of the address a film on the life of Alexander Graham Bell was shown.

The June meeting took the form of a tour of the early business section of Rossland. Mr. Gordon German was in charge, and sixty-three sites of historic interest were visited, beginning with the Miners' Union Hall, just beyond the rock bluff on Columbia Avenue. Now the headquarters for Local 480, this hall was built in 1898 by the first labour organization formed in the Trail Creek mining district. Next to it was the first City Hall and Jail, which have since disappeared, as has their neighbour, the Cliff Hotel. The old Lemon Block, built in 1895, still stands, but all the other buildings in this block—the War Eagle Hotel, Hunter Brothers' store, Tunstall Block, and the Rossland Hotel—have been torn down. The Columbia Garage is now on the site of the old Pacific Hotel. Several saloons and restaurants lined Spokane Street as far as the entrance to Esling Park. Here was the head of Spokane Street and Sourdough Alley, and Centre Star Gulch, the main roadway to the mines, ran through the park. On the opposite side of Spokane Street stood P. Burns' meat market, in which the fire started on August 25, 1902, that burned out the whole section bounded by Spokane Street, Second Avenue, and Earl Street, for a loss of $68,000. The old International House stood on Spokane Street; it had the reputation of being the most up-to-date gambling establishment in the Province, and it also had a large music hall, fitted up with a stage and private boxes. On Columbia Avenue the Allen Hotel still stands. One of the most famous hostelries in the Interior of British Columbia, it was built by Mrs. Margaret Allen in 1895. Directly behind it was the first opera house. The Bank of Montreal building was erected in 1899 at a cost of $40,000. Many other sites were visited, after which the members visited the Rossland Museum in the Court-house.

Mr. Cyril Selby was the speaker at the October meeting of the Section on the subject *The Mackenzie River Valley Story*. In 1925 the Mackenzie River valley in the Northwest Territories was an undeveloped mineral area, its chief importance still being the fur trade. That year rumours of gold strikes became common knowledge, and the mines department of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company sent in a crew of men to explore the territory. All travel was by way of the extensive system of lakes and rivers from Lake Athabasca to the Arctic, a distance of 1,500 miles, with only one serious obstruction, the rapids at Fort Fitzgerald, where portaging was necessary. The C.M. & S. men travelled in two old wood-burning sternwheelers—the *Athabasca* and the *Distributor*. When no gold was discovered, the party took to canoes but still had no luck. In 1926 the Great Slave Lake was explored and the Pine Point area visited, where ore did exist but its isolation made it uneconomic to develop. In 1928 the same group undertook a canoe trip of 1,200 miles from Fort Chipewyan to The Pas in Manitoba, following the river system east of Lake Athabasca and over the height of land to Wollaston Lake and thence down the Cochrane River. It was a formidable undertaking, over rough terrain involving many portages. The next year, aeroplanes were used for the first time to fly men in. Canoes were still used for the detailed work, but the days of back-breaking drudgery were over. In 1930 another exploring party on Great Bear Lake met Gilbert Labine, who had come

in by dog-team and made his famous uranium find. He had been looking for copper, but when he found the pitch-blende ore he recognized it for what it was, and the uranium boom was on. Exploration has continued over the years, and valuable deposits of gold, uranium, and oil have been found, with the consequent establishment of towns and communities in the Territories.

GULF ISLANDS SECTION

During the winter months, because of difficulty of communication, no meetings were held, but on April 8 the members met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Spalding, Little Bay, South Pender Island, with good representation from all but Mayne Island. The meeting-place was of special significance, for it was to Little Bay that Arthur Reed Spalding brought his bride on November 4, 1889. The wedding had been performed by Canon Beanlands in the old Warburton Pike home on Saturna Island, and the bride's father, J. W. McKay, had arranged for transportation of the bridal couple in an Indian war canoe to South Pender Island. The new home had been built by John Beddis, of Saltspring Island, and there the couple lived until the death of Mr. Spalding in 1932, and Mrs. Spalding continued to live there until her death in 1937. At this meeting, papers were presented dealing with early days on Saturna Island, prepared by Mr. Cowan and Mrs. Arthur Ralph, daughter of the late James Georgeson, pioneer light-keeper on the island.

At the May meeting an interesting paper compiled by Mrs. John Freeman and Mrs. Swartz was read. It was based on the diary of Mrs. Ralph Gray (mother of Mrs. Swartz), dating back to 1890, when she and her sister, Mrs. M. A. Grainger, first came to the islands.

The July meeting was held on Mayne Island, and Mrs. Foster brought the scrap-book which she has been compiling for many years, from which she gleaned much of the material for her paper on the early days on Mayne Island.

On August 12 a meeting was held at Saturna Island with Mrs. J. H. Hamilton of Victoria as the guest speaker. Her paper, *Some International Treaties and Their Relation to the Gulf Islands*, linked up dates and place-names and gave a comprehensive picture of early activity in the Gulf Islands, dating back as far as June, 1791, when the Spanish ships *San Carlos* and *Santa Saturnina* dropped anchor in what was to become Bedwell Harbour.

The annual meeting of the Section was held on Galiano Island on September 30, and the following officers were elected:—

Chairman - - -	Mrs. John Freeman (South Pender Island).
Vice-Chairman - -	Mr. J. Campbell (Saturna Island).
Secretary - - -	Mrs. Jennens (South Pender Island).

Councillors are to be selected by each island.

Mr. Cecil Clark, of Victoria, the guest speaker, gave an interesting account of early days on the Gulf Islands, dealing particularly with the pioneer settlers.

Miss Lottie Bowron was the guest speaker at a meeting held on October 28 at Port Washington, in which she sketched the early days of the Fraser River gold-rush and the consequent activity in Cariboo centring around Barkerville. It was reported that membership of the Section now stood at over twenty-five paid-up members.

BOUNDARY SECTION

The second general meeting of this Section was held on Monday evening, May 7, in the Rock Creek Institute Hall with the Chairman, Mr. L. Mader, presiding and members present from as far east as Christina Lake. Mrs. R. B. White brought greetings from Mr. J. D. Whitham, President of the Okanagan Historical Society. Mr. H. J. Smith, of Rock Creek, was elected Vice-Chairman. Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, was present and gave an address entitled *1858 to 1958: A Century to Celebrate*, in the course of which he traced the early history of the Province, noting the significance of the year 1858, the centennial of which is to be commemorated on a wide scale in 1958. At the conclusion of the meeting a tasty supper was enjoyed by all present.

On Sunday afternoon, November 25, a meeting was held in the Institute Hall, Greenwood, at which time a committee was formed to investigate the feasibility of publishing an annual report in 1957, and the wording of a plaque to be placed at the entwined trees at Midway was finalized. Mrs. E. S. Reynolds read an interesting paper prepared by Mr. R. Johnston dealing with his recollections of early days at Grand Forks, where he had been the second school-teacher. Mrs. R. B. White, of Penticton, also spoke in a highly informative and entertaining manner of her experiences at Rock Creek in September, 1895, and at Midway in 1896.

WHITE ROCK SECTION

First organized in November, 1955, a programme for 1956 was arranged, with various members of the Section undertaking to prepare an interesting series of papers. During 1956 nine meetings were held, and a special committee was appointed to examine ways and means of celebrating the centennial in 1958.

PITT MEADOWS-MAPLE RIDGE SECTION

On April 23 the Haney Readers' Club sponsored a public meeting in the Masonic Hall, Haney, for the purpose of considering the organization of a historical society. Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, was the guest speaker and outlined the functions that such a society might undertake and explained the various methods of organization that might be followed. In consequence of this meeting, it was decided to organize as a section of the British Columbia Historical Association, and a petition to that effect was submitted and approved in July. The interim Chairman was Mrs. Cora M. Adair, and Mr. Edward Villiers was Acting-Secretary. By the end of the year a total of thirty-two members had been enrolled.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mrs. Elsie Turnbull, Trail, B.C., is the immediate Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association and an active member of the West Kootenay Section. She has written many articles on the history of the Kootenay country.

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B. A. McKelvie is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association, and for years has been a keen student of the history of British Columbia. His numerous books and articles have earned him an enviable reputation as a writer and journalist.

Willard E. Ireland has been Provincial Archivist since 1940 and editor of this journal since 1947.

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Page 129, line 23: For *Thompson* read *Thomson.*

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