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

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THE ROYAL NAVY ON THE NORTHWEST COAST, 1813-1850.

PART I.

The first ships of the Royal Navy to visit the Northwest Coast were Captain Cook's famous vessels, H.M.S. *Resolution* and H.M.S. *Discovery*. They dropped anchor in Nootka Sound in April, 1778. Fourteen years later, in 1792, Captain Vancouver arrived on the coast in another *Discovery*, accompanied by the armed tender *Chatham*. Commander Broughton brought H.M.S. *Providence* to Nootka in 1796. But Cook, Vancouver, and Broughton were one and all explorers and surveyors. It was not until 1813 that one of His Majesty's ships sailed for this coast on a warlike mission.

John Jacob Astor was indirectly responsible for this expedition. The founding of Astoria in 1811, at the mouth of the Columbia River, and the probability that Astor's Pacific Fur Company would rapidly extend its operations through the whole of the Columbia watershed, seriously perturbed the North West Company. Its agents in London, having some inkling of Astor's plans, had appealed to the British Government for help in forestalling the Americans; but in time of peace the Government was unwilling to act, lest hostilities with the United States should result. The outbreak of the War of 1812 removed this objection, and early in 1813 plans were made to seize Astoria and drive the Americans out of the region.

In March the North West Company's supply ship *Isaac Todd* sailed from Plymouth, bound for the Columbia River. On the first leg of her journey she was convoyed by H.M.S. *Phoebe*, a 36-gun frigate that had been present at Trafalgar, though she had taken no active part in the battle. Her commander, Captain (later Rear-Admiral Sir James) Hillyar, had served with distinction under Nelson; and had seen action in the *Phoebe* herself off Madagascar and Java.¹ In addition to keeping an eye on the

(1) For an account of his career see William R. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1849, p. 516. This source, cited hereafter as O'Byrne, has been drawn upon freely in the preparation of both the notes and text of this paper.

Isaac Todd, Hillyar was under instructions to clear all American ships off the west coast of South America. At Rio de Janeiro the *Todd* and the *Phoebe* were joined by two sloops, the 18-gun *Cherub* and—of special interest in the present connection—the 26-gun *Racoon*,² the latter under Commander William Black.³ The four vessels left Rio on July 6 and set sail for Juan Fernandez Island. Off Cape Horn the *Isaac Todd*, which was known to be a slow sailer, became separated, and all three of her escorts arrived at the rendezvous long before she did. After a time Captain Hillyar decided that he could not wait for her, particularly as Commodore David Porter, flying his pennant in the United States frigate *Essex*, 32 guns, was causing much havoc amongst British whaling-ships. He therefore instructed the *Racoon* to proceed to the Columbia River alone, while the *Phoebe* and *Cherub* searched for the *Essex*. A tedious hunt followed, but the *Essex*, in company with the *Essex Junior*, was finally brought to action near Valparaiso in March, 1814. The battle was hard-fought, but the *Essex* suffered so many casualties and so much damage to her rigging that in the end she was compelled to surrender.

Long before this the *Racoon* had paid her visit to Astoria, where the situation was not without its comic element. The North West Company had sent a strong party overland to the

(2) Built in 1808. In 1838 she was a convict hospital ship at Portsmouth. As she is not shown in the *Navy List* for December, 1842, presumably she had by that time been sold out of the service.

(3) See O'Byrne, p. 85. Entered the Navy in 1793 as A.B. in the *Leviathan*, Captain, later Rear-Admiral, Lord Hugh Seymour, and served most of the next ten years in this and other ships under the command of Seymour, whom O'Byrne describes as "an officer of surpassing excellence." Black was present at the investment of Toulon; at Lord Howe's action of June 1, 1794; at Lord Bridport's action with the French fleet off Ile de Groix in 1795; and at the surrender of the Dutch colony of Surinam in 1799. Acting-Lieutenant 1798; confirmed in that rank, 1801. While in the *Aeolus*, fought in Sir Richard Strachan's action on November 4, 1805, against the French and Spanish fleets; soon after appointed First Lieutenant in the *Egyptienne*, with whose boats he captured a powerful privateer in 1807; present at the expedition to Copenhagen later the same year. Appointed in May, 1808, to the *Polyphemus*, as Flag-Lieutenant to Rear-Admiral B. M. Rowley, Commander-in-Chief on the Jamaica Station. Promoted to the command of the *Racoon*, November 5, 1809; Captain, June 7, 1814. Returned to England in January, 1815, and placed on half-pay; retired 1846.

Pacific, led by John George McTavish, one of the great figures of the fur trade. McTavish arrived at Spokane House, then the farthest west of the Company's posts, as early as January, 1813. He was aware that war had broken out between Great Britain and the United States, and soon travelled on to the mouth of the Columbia, where he hoped to seize Astoria with the assistance of the *Isaac Todd*. McTavish expected her to arrive any day, well armed and furnished with letters of marque, whereas in reality her sailing had been much delayed, and, as we know, she did not even leave England until March. Although his intentions seem to have been known to the Astorians, they received McTavish cordially—which was just as well, for he soon found himself dependent upon them for supplies. After a time this predicament became embarrassing, and he retired up the river. There, in the course of the summer, he learned the date of the *Isaac Todd's* actual departure from Plymouth, and it seemed safe to assume that she would reach the Columbia by the early autumn. In October McTavish therefore journeyed once more to Astoria, this time with a force of seventy-five men; but to his mortification the *Isaac Todd* had still not appeared. However, the Astorians knew that she or a warship or both were approaching, and McTavish was able to wage what would to-day be called a war of nerves. To avoid the total loss of their assets which capture would involve, the partners of the Pacific Fur Company who were at Astoria agreed on October 16 to sell all the Company's property in the region to the North West Company, and the agreement was signed by both parties on the 23rd.

Five weeks later, on November 30, the *Raccoon* entered the Columbia River. Exaggerated reports of the size of Astoria and the strength of its fortifications were current, and the prospect of a brisk engagement had given great pleasure to Commander Black, who had seen action on many occasions, and the ship's officers and ratings. Great was their disappointment when they learned of the peaceful transfer to the North West Company, and greater still was their disgust when they examined the reputed stronghold they had expected to demolish. Black is said to have exclaimed: "Is this the fort about which I have heard so much talking? D——n me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with

a four pounder!"⁴ Nevertheless, on December 13 he took formal possession of Astoria, raised the British flag, and renamed the post Fort George. The fact that the North West Company already possessed a post of that name was evidently brushed aside as an irrelevant detail; to do honour to His Majesty King George IV. was the chief consideration.

The brevity of Black's official report, dated December 15, suggests that he was not much impressed with the importance of the event. He wrote in part:—

Country and fort I have taken possession of in name and for British Majesty latter I have named Fort George and left in possession and charge North West Company.

Enemies party quite broke up they have no settlement whatever on this River or Coast.⁵

Bancroft tells an amusing story about the reaction of old Comcomly, Chief of the Chinooks, to the arrival of the *Raccoon*:— Not knowing exactly why or how, he saw plainly enough that on the Columbia King George was in the ascendant.

"Ah," he cried to Captain Black, spreading a fine sea-otter skin upon the deck, "the Bostons are brave, but they have no ships like this, no men like these," his eyes running admiringly from the brightly polished guns to the gilt-buttoned officers, and along the line of marines. Next day saw Comcomly approach the little wharf before the fort from the *Raccoon*, flying the Union Jack at the bow of his canoe, and step ashore in full British uniform. Upon such trifles the destinies of nations often turn.⁶

The *Raccoon* left the Columbia on the last day of the year. In passing out she "several times struck so heavily as to carry away part of her false-keel, and cause her so to leak that she reached . . . [the shelter of San Francisco] . . . with seven feet of water in the hold." Black had decided that he must abandon her, when help came from an unexpected quarter. Battling her way slowly up the coast, the *Isaac Todd* had been obliged to put into Monterey. There her captain heard that a British man-of-war had entered San Francisco Bay in distress. Proceeding

(4) Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* [second edition], New York, 1935, I., p. 223.

(5) The complete text (about half of which is here quoted) is given in "Captain Black's Report on Taking of Astoria," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XVII. (1916), pp. 147-8.

(6) Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, San Francisco, 1884, II., p. 232.

thither, he was surprised to find that the vessel was none other than one of his own escorts.⁷ Means were devised to careen and repair the *Racoon*, which thereupon went her way, while the *Isaac Todd* plodded on to the Columbia, where she finally arrived in April, 1814.⁸

Four years later Astoria was the cause of a further excitement that brought a British man-of-war to the Northwest Coast. On October 4, 1817, the U.S.S. *Ontario* sailed unobtrusively from New York, and soon after rumours reached the North West Company that she was on her way to the Pacific, with orders to seize and destroy Fort George. On November 15 Simon McGillivray wrote on behalf of the Company to Sir Charles Bagot, the British Ambassador in Washington, informing him of these reports and asking him to investigate. Bagot did so, and was informed that although it was true that the *Ontario* was bound for the Columbia River, her purpose was not to destroy but to re-establish the settlement the United States formerly possessed there—in other words, Astoria. This was in accordance with the American view that the post should be returned to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent, which provided that all territories and places taken by either side during the war should be restored. The British, on the other hand, held that the Treaty did not apply, as Astoria had been acquired by purchase, not by conquest. However, as the Americans had chosen to act rather than to negotiate, the British Government, when notified by Bagot of the departure of the *Ontario*, decided to acquiesce gracefully and co-operate in the formal act of repossession, while declining to admit that the ceremony would in any way prejudice the British claims to Old Oregon.

The length of time required for the various messages and ships to travel to their appointed destinations shows how remote the Northwest Coast was a century and a quarter ago. On January 27, 1818, the Admiralty wrote to Captain William Bowles, senior officer on the Brazils Station, then flying his pennant in

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

(8) On this whole episode see Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade*, I., pp. 222-3.

H.M.S. *Amphion*, at Rio de Janeiro, instructing him to send a Captain to Astoria, to return the post to the United States. This order was received in Rio on April 19. Captain Bowles wrote at once to Captain William Henry Shirreff, H.M.S. *Andromache*, senior officer on the Pacific Coast, at Valparaiso, and he in turn gave orders to Captain Frederick Hickey,⁹ of the sloop *Blossom*,¹⁰ 26 guns, to proceed to the Columbia River. The *Blossom* actually sailed on July 12, and arrived off the Columbia River at the beginning of October, eight months after the original order left London.

Meanwhile the *Ontario*, Captain J. Biddle, had visited both Valparaiso and the Columbia. She reached Valparaiso about the end of January, 1818. Captain Biddle and J. B. Prevost, who had travelled in the *Ontario* from New York, had been appointed joint commissioners by the United States Government to take possession of Astoria. When they discovered that the British naval officers had received no instructions about the matter it was decided that Captain Biddle should go on to the Columbia and take formal possession, while Prevost would remain in Valparaiso for the present, in the hope that some joint action with the British might yet be arranged.

This plan worked out very well. The *Ontario* proceeded to the Columbia River, where, on August 9, Captain Biddle took preliminary possession of the country in the name of the United States. In Valparaiso, when Captain Shirreff received his orders, he offered Commissioner Prevost a passage to the Columbia in the *Blossom*, in order that the formalities of repossession might be completed without delay. This offer Prevost gratefully accepted. Thus it came about that on October 6 Captain Hickey of the *Blossom* formally lowered the British flag, and Prevost hoisted the Stars and Stripes at Fort George. As James Keith,

(9) Commissioned Lieutenant, October 30, 1794; promoted to Commander in 1806, and to Captain on February 19, 1814. He was present on February 6, 1806, at Sir John Duckworth's action at San Domingo, and at Curaçao on January 1, 1807. Commissioned the *Blossom* for the Brazils Station on June 24, 1817. As he is not included in O'Byrne, he probably died before January, 1845.

(10) Built in 1805. Commissioned for the Pacific in 1817 (*see* foot-note 9, *supra*), and again by Commander F. W. Beechey on January 7, 1825, for a voyage of discovery to Bering Strait and the Arctic via Cape Horn.

the Nor'Wester in charge of the post, had also received an order from the Colonial Office instructing him to surrender the fort, the business was soon carried out. Both he and Captain Hickey signed the written transfer drawn up at the time.¹¹

After a short stay the *Blossom* sailed for the South Pacific, and there, for practical purposes, the matter ended. The Americans did not reoccupy Astoria for purposes of trade, and the North West Company continued in undisturbed possession.

The *Blossom* was again in the North Pacific in 1826, this time on a very different mission. Commander (later Rear-Admiral) Frederick William Beechey, the noted hydrographer, had been appointed to her in September, 1825. Sir John Franklin (whom Beechey had accompanied on his first cruise in Arctic waters, in 1818) had just set out on the second of his great ventures in search of the North-west Passage, and Beechey in the *Blossom* was to co-operate by cruising through Bering Strait and exploring the western approaches to the Passage. This he did in the summer of 1826 and again in the summer of 1827. The intervening months were spent exploring more southerly waters; for Beechey was never idle, and by the time the *Blossom* arrived at Spithead in September, 1828, she had covered the remarkable distance of 73,000 miles.¹²

It was in the autumn of 1826, at the conclusion of her first season's work in the Arctic, that the *Blossom* sailed down the Northwest Coast. She was bound from Alaska to California, and Beechey devotes only a few sentences to the voyage in his printed narrative:—

After clearing the Aleutian Chain, we had the winds from the westward, and made rapid progress towards our port. The first part of the passage was remarkable for heavy rolling seas, misty weather, and a low barometer . . . ; in the latter part of the passage we had dry foggy weather . . .

On the 5th of November we made the high land of New Albion about Bodega, and soon afterwards saw Punta de los Reyes [Reyes Point], a

(11) See Katharine B. Judson, "The British Side of the Restoration of Astoria," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XX. (1919), pp. 308-25; also Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, II., pp. 290-5.

(12) See O'Byrne, p. 67.

remarkable promontory, from which the general line of coast turns abruptly to the eastward, and leads to the port of St. Francisco.¹³

The wars of independence in Central and South America changed conditions on the Pacific Coast so completely that a corresponding change in the distribution of the ships and commanding officers of the Royal Navy became necessary. So long as the Spanish Crown, represented by its Viceroy and naval squadrons, continued officially to keep the door shut to all foreign traders, non-Spanish vessels and merchants could not enter Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, or New Spain except as smugglers. By degrees rebellions in the various Spanish colonies weakened and finally destroyed Spain's authority. The casting-off of the Spanish yoke may be said to have begun in 1818, when Admiral Lord Cochrane led the infant Chilean Navy in revolt against a Spanish squadron, and to have ended in 1836, when Spain recognized the independence of the Republic of Mexico.

Once restrictions were removed, British trading activities in the Pacific, both afloat and ashore, grew rapidly. By the eighteen-thirties the Royal Navy had to take direct cognizance of this fact. The old South American Station, which up to that time had been responsible for patrols in the Pacific, disappeared from the *Navy List*, and a new "Pacific Station" was created, to the command of which Rear-Admiral Charles Bayne Hodgson Ross was appointed on September 4, 1837.¹⁴

Although the headquarters of the new station was at Valparaiso, it was at Callao that the store or depot ship was to be found. To begin with, most of the matters requiring attention arose on the Central or South American coasts. Rear-Admiral Ross was scarcely called upon to look beyond that area during the three and a half years he was in command. It was otherwise

(13) Captain F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait . . . performed in His Majesty's Ship Blossom . . . in the years 1825, 26, 27, 28*. London, 1831, I, p. 471. On Beechey see O'Byrne, pp. 66-7; also John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, Ottawa, 1909, pp. 43-4. Cited hereafter as Walbran.

(14) See F. V. Longstaff, *Esquimalt Naval Base: A History of Its Work and Its Defences*, Victoria, 1941, pp. 9, 110; and on Admiral Ross see *ibid.*, p. 111, and O'Byrne, pp. 1004-5.

with his successor, Rear-Admiral Richard Thomas, appointed on May 5, 1841.¹⁵ Difficulties first arose in the Sandwich Islands, where the activities of the Royal Navy are a story in themselves. In October, 1842, Lord Aberdeen requested the Admiralty to instruct Admiral Thomas to keep a careful watch over events there. The letter from Lord Canning, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, embodying this request, read in part as follows:—

Considering the increasing importance to Great Britain of many of the islands in the Pacific, and especially of the Sandwich and Society Islands, both in a naval and commercial point of view, Lord Aberdeen is desirous of impressing on the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the expediency of a more frequent intercourse between Great Britain and those Islands, by the visits of ships of war, than has hitherto been maintained. . . . I am directed further to suggest, that the Admiral or officer in command on the Pacific station, should be instructed to direct all commanders of Her Majesty's Ships of War who might be ordered to visit those islands, to treat their rulers with great forbearance and courtesy, and, at the same time, that those officers afford efficient protection to aggrieved British subjects, not [nor?] to interfere harshly or unnecessarily with the laws and customs of the respective Governments.¹⁶

A copy of this letter was received by Admiral Thomas on April 1, 1843. Soon after its receipt he was astonished to learn that Captain the Hon. Lord George Paulet, who had called at Honolulu in February, in H.M.S. *Carysfort*, had, upon his own responsibility, demanded and secured the surrender of the Sandwich Islands to the British Crown. Thomas immediately repudiated this action, hurried to Honolulu in his flagship, and restored the islands to their lawful sovereign, King Kamehameha III.

Not long after this another area, still farther north, was thrust upon the attention of the Commander-in-Chief. American immigrants were pouring into Oregon, and American claims to the region, which since 1818 had been jointly held by Great Britain and the United States, were being pressed in Congress. For the first time in twenty-six years the Royal Navy was called upon to intervene and safeguard British interests on the Northwest Coast.

(15) For biographical notes see Longstaff, *Esquimalt Naval Base*, p. 112; O'Byrne, pp. 1169-70.

(16) Canning to Barrow, October 4, 1842. In Ralph S. Kuykendall *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, Honolulu, 1938, p. 186.

During the whole of the period since the visit of the *Blossom* to Astoria, in 1818, the only Royal Navy ships to visit the coast had been two surveying vessels. If things had gone as expected, Captain Beechey, who had taken the *Blossom* herself to the Arctic in 1826 and 1827, would have been in command of them. At Plymouth, on September 25, 1835, he had commissioned H.M.S. *Sulphur*,¹⁷ a barque-rigged craft of 380 tons, outfitted for surveying duty. The next month Lieutenant (later Vice-Admiral Sir Henry) Kellett¹⁸ was appointed to the 109-ton schooner *Star-*

(17) Built 1801; twelve guns. On this commission her crew numbered 109.

(18) Born 1806; entered the Navy 1822; promoted Lieutenant, 1828; Commander, 1841; Captain and C.B., 1842. Served in the West Indies in the *Ringdove*, 1823–26, then on the coast of Africa in the *Eden*, 1827–31, being part of the time in command of the tender *Cornelia*. From 1831 to 1835 he was back on the African coast in the surveying ship *Aetna*, Captains Belcher, Skyring, and Arlett; at various times during this period he was in charge of the tender *Raven*. On October 29, 1835, he was appointed to the *Starling*, tender to the *Sulphur*, Captain Beechey. When Beechey fell ill, Kellett was in command of the *Sulphur* until Captain Belcher arrived to take over. For an account of the whole cruise see Captain Sir Edward Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World performed in Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur during the years 1836–1842*, London, 1843, 2 volumes. In the fall of 1840 the *Sulphur* and *Starling* were ordered to China, where hostilities had broken out, and Kellett served with great distinction as an officer, surveyor, and pilot. For his services he was appointed Captain and nominated a C.B. in December, 1842. In the course of the war he and Captain Belcher were separated—much to Kellett's disappointment, as the new duties to which he was assigned prevented his return to England. Belcher, in noting this fact, adds: (*Narrative*, II., p. 240): "His separation from me was a still greater blow, all our operations for the last six years [1835–41] having been carried on so entirely in conjunction, that they could only be unravelled by our united efforts; and as he was my only actual assistant, I was thus left burthened with the whole labour of the expedition, as well as our Chinese surveys, which even our united endeavours could not possibly 'lick into shape' before the return of the ship." Kellett was finally granted leave to return home to England, from which he had been absent nearly eight years, in 1843. On February 8, 1845, he was appointed to the surveying vessel *Herald*, as noted later in this narrative, and in 1848 was ordered to the Arctic to search for Franklin. He was thus employed for three summers, and did not return to England until 1851. On February 10, 1852, he was appointed to the *Resolute*, one of three vessels sent to the Arctic under Captain Belcher to resume the quest for Franklin. In 1854 he was ordered to abandon the *Resolute* in the Arctic ice, and did so sorely against his own judgment. The *Resolute* later drifted free of the ice, was picked up in the

ling,¹⁹ which was to act as a tender for the *Sulphur*. Both vessels were "intended for carrying on the survey of the Pacific, from Valparaiso to 60° 30' N."²⁰ They reached Valparaiso on June 9, 1836, where Captain Beechey was compelled by illness to go ashore and return to England. With Lieutenant Kellett temporarily in command the *Sulphur* sailed for Panama, where she arrived on January 29, 1837. There, in February, Commander (later Admiral Sir Edward) Belcher, who had been Beechey's assistant-surveyor in the *Blossom*, took charge of the expedition.

From Panama the *Sulphur* and *Starling* sailed to the Sandwich Islands. In August they finally headed for the Northwest Coast, and on the 17th the *Starling* was detached to Port Mulgrave. One object of the expedition was "to verify generally the principal longitudes of Vancouver," and Lieutenant Kellett, in the *Starling*, was to make the observations necessary to determine the position of Mount St. Elias.²¹ Meanwhile the *Sulphur* went to Port Etches, where Belcher visited the Russian establishment and made a further series of observations. Later he picked up the *Starling* at Port Mulgrave, and on September 11 the two approached Sitka, where Russian boats soon towed them into the harbour. The Russian Governor was most friendly, and the entertainment offered included a party and dance "to show us the female society of Sitka."²²

On the 27th the vessels left Sitka, and on the morning of October 3 they arrived off Woody Point (now Cape Cook), near Nootka Sound. By four in the afternoon they were at anchor in Friendly Cove, a spot made famous by its associations with Cook and Vancouver. Belcher did not find the Cove impressive.

Atlantic by an American whaler, refitted at the expense of the United States Government, and presented to "the Queen and people of Great Britain." Kellett was appointed Commodore at Jamaica in 1854; promoted to Rear-Admiral on June 16, 1862; served as Admiral Superintendent of Malta Dockyard, 1864-67; promoted to Vice-Admiral, April 8, 1868, and concluded his active service as Commander-in-Chief of the China Station, 1869-71. Knighted 1869; died 1875. See O'Byrne, p. 601; Walbran, pp. 279-80.

(19) Built 1805. At times she is mentioned as a cutter and at other times as a schooner, while to enable Captain Kellett to receive Post-rank she was rated a sloop-of-war! See O'Byrne, p. 601.

(20) Belcher, *Narrative*, I., p. 3.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 105.

"At first," he writes, "I doubted my senses, that so small a space could have occupied so much type, and until I had examined it myself in my boat, did not think it could afford shelter to two vessels."²³

The local Indian chief, Macquilla, the husband of a descendant of Maquinna of Vancouver's time, came off to the ship with his wife, son, and daughter. The family was treated to rice, molasses, and diluted rum and sugar, with a little wine for the young princess. On shore, Belcher entertained them with a magic lantern and rocket display. Their pleasure at the former and fear at the latter seemed to him alike foolish and excessive. "If the season had permitted," he adds, "I certainly would have gone with them to Tasheis [meaning Tasis Canal, to which the Indians moved at times], and examined that part of the country, but time was precious . . ." Mindful of the controversy that nearly plunged Spain and Great Britain into war, Belcher noted: "No vestige remains of the settlement noticed by Vancouver, nor could I discover on the site of the Spanish battery the slightest trace of stones employed for building. The chiefs pointed out where their houses stood, and where the potatoes grew, but not a trace remains of an European."²⁴

Belcher was anxious to visit Fort Vancouver, but unfavourable weather forced him to keep out to sea. In his own words:—

. . . the bad season had now arrived, and I much doubted even of the propriety of nearing, much more in attempting to enter, the river Columbia.

On the morning of the 9th October, having completed our observations at Friendly Cove, Nootka, we sailed, intending to call off the mouth of the river Columbia, and if tranquil enter; but twenty-four hours after our departure, the weather proved boisterous, attended by a long westerly swell, which rendered it necessary to preserve our offing, and make the best of our way to San Francisco.²⁵

Shortly after midnight on October 19–20 the *Sulphur* and *Starling* dropped anchor in San Francisco Bay.

One wishes that Captain Belcher had been a more attractive personality, for even the *Dictionary of National Biography* goes so far as to say that "Perhaps no officer of equal ability has ever succeeded in inspiring so much personal dislike . . ." It is

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

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 113.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 113–114.

true that one of the purposes of his expedition was to check the longitudes recorded by Vancouver, but the obvious relish with which he remarks upon the discrepancies uncovered is not much to his credit. Referring, for example, to the visit to Port Etches, he writes: "The result of our observations at this port gives Vancouver in error nearly to the amount which he ascribes to Cook."²⁶ There is nowhere any recognition of the fact that in Vancouver's time chronometer longitudes were in their infancy; and Belcher would doubtless have been surprised to learn that it has since been discovered that some of Vancouver's work was more accurate than that of much later surveyors.

The *Sulphur* and *Starling* spent all of 1838 in southern waters, and it was not until 1839 that they headed once more for the Northwest Coast. Generally speaking, they repeated the cruise of 1837, going first to Honolulu, and thence to the Kodiaks and Sitka. The *Sulphur* sailed from the latter port on July 19. "Being (as usual) unfortunate in our breezes," Belcher writes, "it was not until the 28th that we reached the mouth of the Columbia, when Lieutenant Kellett, having descried us, weighed and stood out with the *Starling* to conduct us in."²⁷

Unfortunately the manœuvre was not entirely successful, and the ill-famed bar of the Columbia treated the ships roughly, as it had the *Raccoon* in 1813. Belcher's account reads: "Just at our last tack, which would have taken us safely to our anchorage, the ship tailed, and the flood forced her instantly on the bank . . ." Later, freed by the tide, she "anchored in security until the morning, when we weighed and ran up to our berth in Baker's Bay. Not so the *Starling*; in weighing (in ten fathoms) she tailed, and instantly lost her rudder."²⁸

This accident made it necessary to take the *Starling* up the river to Fort Vancouver for repairs, and Belcher complains of the cramped navigation, and of the failure of the Hudson's Bay Company to train a corps of river pilots. He acknowledges, however, that at the fort they "were very kindly received" by Chief Factor James Douglas (who was in charge in the absence of Dr. McLoughlin), and that everything possible was done to

(26) *Ibid.*, pp. 74-5.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 288.

(28) *Ibid.*

assist the *Starling*. It is clear, however, that he was thoroughly incensed by Douglas's polite but firm contention that the Company could not undertake to furnish supplies, except for Belcher and his immediate staff. His account of the matter is worth quoting in full:—

The attention of the chief [factor] to myself and those immediately about me, particularly in sending down fresh supplies previous to my arrival, I feel fully grateful for, but I cannot conceal my disappointment at the want of accommodation exhibited towards the crews of the vessels under my command, in a British possession.

We certainly were not distressed, nor was it imperatively necessary that fresh beef and vegetables should be supplied, or I should have made a formal demand. But as regarded those who might come after, and not improbably myself amongst the number, I inquired in direct terms what facilities her Majesty's ships of war might expect, in the event of touching at this port for bullocks, flour, vegetables, &c. I certainly was extremely surprised at the reply, that "they were not in a condition to supply."

As any observation here would be useless, and I well knew this point could be readily settled where authority could be referred to, I let the matter rest. But having been invited to inspect the farm and dairy, and been informed of the quantity of grain, and the means of furnishing flour,—and notwithstanding the profusion of cattle and potatoes, no offer having been made for our crews, I regretted that I had been led into the acceptance of private supplies; although at that time the other officers of the establishment had told my officers that supplies would of course be sent down.

Sturgeon, however, were in abundance; and though we had lately killed our last bullock, San Francisco would soon be reached.²⁹

Belcher was unfair to Douglas, who probably had no authority to inform him that he was expecting to hear that an agreement had been arrived at by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company under the terms of which heavy shipments of agricultural products, which would tax the resources of Fort Vancouver to the limit, would have to be shipped to Sitka. Nor is it likely that Belcher took much account of the many years that McLoughlin had devoted to building up the herds he saw about the fort. From 1825 until as late as 1836, McLoughlin "never killed more than a Bull Calf or Two annually for the purpose of getting rennet;" and animals were slaughtered in strictly limited numbers for some years after that date.³⁰ Indeed, not long before Belcher's visit, the London headquarters

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 296-7.

(30) E. E. Rich (ed.), *The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1825-38*, Toronto and London, 1941, p. 207.

of the Company had been asking why it was that McLoughlin was unable to properly provision the Company's own homeward bound supply ships with beef.

When repairs to the *Starling* were completed, she dropped slowly down stream, surveying the river as she went. All went well until she reached Puget Island, "when she unfortunately drifted on a snag . . . and broke her rudder short away, taking with it the lower part, with all the metal work."³¹ This new damage to the rudder was eventually made good with the assistance of help from Fort Vancouver, and the *Starling* dropped down to Baker's Bay. In leaving the river, however, the winds, currents, and bars at the mouth exacted a further toll, and the *Sulphur* and *Starling* each lost an anchor. Belcher abandoned them, as he felt that it was too dangerous to return and try to recover them. "Heartily sick of this nest of dangers," he took a final look at Cape Disappointment on September 14 and headed south for Bodega Bay, where he arrived on the 20th.³²

Douglas's account of Belcher's visit, contained in a report to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, is typically restrained and businesslike:—

Her Majesty's surveying Ships the *Sulphur* and *Starling* visited this River and were employed in its survey from 16th July to the 12th September. They have not made any discovery of importance, if we except a hitherto unexplored passage from Fort George leading through the south sands and uniting with the regular channel about a mile west of Cape Disappointment. It will be of advantage in some cases, but the old passage is preferable and will be most generally followed. The *Starling* met with several accidents in this River, and on different occasions lost two rudders, which we furnished means to replace. We aided their professional researches to the utmost of our ability, at the same time Captain Belcher and Officers were entertained with the kind attention, pointed out to us in your instructions and by their own peculiar situation.³³

Captain Belcher proceeded to San Blas, and thence to the South Sea Islands and the East Indies. Homeward bound, he had reached Singapore when, in October, 1840, he was ordered to China, where war had broken out. After a year's adventurous service there, the *Sulphur* sailed for England by way of the Cape

(31) Belcher, *Narrative*, I., pp. 302-3.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 312.

(33) *Letters of John McLoughlin, Second Series*, pp. 227-8. Douglas to the Governor and Committee, October 14, 1839.

of Good Hope, and arrived at Spithead on July 19, 1842. For the next five years Belcher was in the surveying vessel *Samarang* in the East Indies. His last appointment was to the command of an Arctic expedition sent in search of Sir John Franklin, in 1852, which ended ingloriously in 1854, when Belcher too hastily ordered his ships abandoned. One of them eventually worked herself free of the ice and was picked up adrift in the Atlantic.³⁴

(34) See Walbran, p. 279. For biographical sketches of Belcher see *ibid.*, pp. 44-5; O'Byrne, pp. 68-9. Belcher was born in 1799 and entered the Navy in 1812; Lieutenant, 1818; Commander, 1829; Captain, 1841. Almost from the first days of his service he displayed a keen interest and marked ability in survey work. While still in his first ship, the *Abercromby*, Captain Fahie, he executed a survey of the Basque Roads from the masts-heads of the ships of the squadron in so satisfactory a manner that he was complimented by the captain. In 1814, as a Midshipman in the *Bellerophon*, he assisted in the survey of St. John's Harbour. In 1816 he was present at the bombardment of Algiers, and made a plan of the batteries. While serving on the west coast of Africa in 1819 he did good service against the slave trade, and discovered that the principal slave dealer was Captain Kearney, of the Royal African Corps, who was outlawed. In 1821 he joined the *Salisbury* at Bermuda, and took a trip to the United States at his own expense. While there he met the British Minister, Sir Stratford Canning, who invited him to serve as surveyor to the boundary-line. While in Bermuda Belcher made many surveys. In September, 1824, he volunteered to accompany Captain Beechey in the *Blossom*, on her voyage to the Pacific and Arctic, and in January, 1825, was appointed assistant surveyor of the expedition. Some details of the *Blossom's* cruise are given in the narrative; she returned to England in 1828. In 1830-33 he commanded the surveying ship *Aetna* on the coast of Africa, in the River Douro (where she went to protect British interests when hostilities broke out), and in the Mediterranean. As noted in the narrative, he joined the *Sulphur* at Panama in January, 1837; see also notes 17 and 18, *supra*, for certain details of the cruise of the *Sulphur* and *Starling*. Belcher returned to England in 1842 and was knighted in January, 1843. In November, 1842, he had been appointed to the *Samarang*, a surveying vessel. In her he proceeded to Borneo. There the ship sank, and he raised her unaided. His last command came in February, 1852, when he was appointed to the *Assistance*, one of three ships proceeding to the Arctic to search for Franklin. In April, 1853, a party from the *Resolute*, Captain Kellett, fell in with a party from the *Investigator*, thereby solving the problem of the North-west Passage. In 1854 Sir Edward deemed it necessary to abandon his ships in the ice; for this he was tried by court martial when he returned to England, but was acquitted. As noted elsewhere, the *Resolute* later floated clear of the ice and was recovered. Belcher received a handsome pension in 1856, was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1861, Vice-Admiral in 1866, and Admiral in 1872. He died in 1877.

It would be interesting to know where and when the first draft of the orders which brought H.M. corvette *Modeste*³⁵ to the Northwest Coast in the summer of 1844 were drawn up. The reasons for her coming are clear. After twenty years of practically undisputed possession, the position of the Hudson's Bay Company in Old Oregon was being definitely threatened by the inflow of American immigrants. At the same time this immigration, in conjunction with a persistent and noisy propaganda both in and outside Congress, was also threatening the territorial claims of Great Britain in the whole Pacific Northwest. The time had clearly come when it was desirable that the Company and British interests in general should be supported by a small show of force.

The probability is that late in 1843 or early in 1844 Admiral Thomas received a general instruction from the Admiralty, directing him to investigate the state of affairs on the Northwest Coast. Be that as it may, we know that he detached the *Modeste*, a trim new corvette of 568 tons, carrying 18 guns, and instructed her commander, Thomas Baillie,³⁶ to visit all points on the coast where British subjects had settled, and report upon conditions there.

Commander Baillie's visit to the Columbia River, Fort Vancouver and the Willamette Valley may be described in his own words, as his first report to Admiral Thomas, written when he was preparing to leave the river, was found and copied by the

(35) First ship of the name in the Royal Navy; launched at Woolwich in December, 1837; designed by Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Elliot; took only four months to build. Length on keel 107 feet; on deck 120 feet. Tonnage 568; pierced for 18 guns. Complement, 90 men. She had inverted semicircular troughs on each side of her keel, which gave her a good turn of speed. She was commissioned at Sheerness by Commander Baillie on June 5, 1843, for the Pacific.

(36) Born 1811; entered the Navy in May, 1827, and in October following was present in the *Dartmouth* at the battle of Navarin. Appointed Lieutenant, October 18, 1837; Commander, December 21, 1841; Captain, November 13, 1845. Served in the *Dublin* and *President*, flagships on the South American Station. Promoted in December, 1841, to the command of the *Rose*, 18, on the South American Station, and on June 5, 1843, commissioned the *Modeste* for the Pacific. He was appointed to the Coast Guard in 1857; Rear-Admiral, November 30, 1861; Vice-Admiral, April 1, 1870; Admiral, January 22, 1877. Retired May 29, 1873. See O'Byrne, p. 34.

writer in the Public Record Office, London. It is dated August 4, 1844, and reads as follows:—

I have the honour to inform you that Her Majesty's sloop under my command arrived on the 7th July, and anchored in Baker's Bay, at the mouth of the Columbia River, Mr. Birnie, the Hudson's Bay Company's officer in charge of Fort George, immediately came on board, and piloted the ship up to Fort George; feeling convinced that the objects of the present visit would be much furthered by taking the ship up to Fort Vancouver, I determined on doing so, and a person well acquainted with navigation of the river having been sent on board by the H. B. Company, I succeeded in reaching Fort Vancouver on the fourth day from leaving Fort George, having touched on a sand bank, once for a few minutes only.

Since my arrival in the Columbia I have received every attention and assistance from Messrs McLoughlin and Douglas, the principal officers of the H.B. Company, they have manifested the strongest desire to render any service, and give every information in their power towards forwarding the objects in view; during my stay, the ship had been supplied with fresh beef and vegetables, also several articles of sea stores not to be procured at Oahu; I enclose the copy of a letter from Mr. McLoughlin, stating what supplies a vessel may expect here, and if Her Majesty's Government should think fit, what the Company could supply at Oahu.

With regard to the settlement in this Territory all are at present on the south bank of the Columbia with the exception of a few Canadians (British Subjects) on the river Cowlitz, where the H.B. Company have a farm; the total number of settlers, their families included, in what is called "Oregon Territory", south of the Columbia river, at present amount to about two thousand (as near as I can ascertain) of which about 450 are British subjects, principally Canadians, old servants of the H.B. Company; Oregon City, situated on the Falls of the Wallamette about 20 miles above its junction with the Columbia, contains between 90 and 100 houses and is fast increasing; in 1843, at a meeting of the settlers, it was agreed to establish a Provisional Government for the protection of persons and property. At the same time, the country was divided into districts, returning in all 13 members; the Executive Government was vested in the hands of three individuals to be chosen annually by the people . . . A large emigration is expected this autumn, from the United States, but nothing certain is known here, concerning their number. I intend leaving this, tomorrow morning at daybreak, in prosecution of the remaining part of my instructions, and hope, at this season of the year, to get out of the river without much detention; I purpose touching, in the first place at "Port Victoria" in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, then over to Port Discovery, and afterwards to the Northward. It is difficult to calculate the time this may require, but I am confident the ship is sufficiently supplied with provisions pointed out in my Instructions.

Correspondence which will be included in the forthcoming third series of *The Letters of John McLoughlin* shows that Bail-

lie's visit was not entirely satisfactory from the point of view of the Hudson's Bay Company. James Douglas, in particular, felt that he had failed completely to appreciate the value and possibilities of the Oregon country.³⁷ To this poor opinion the bar of the Columbia did not fail to make its contribution. Instead of getting out of the river safely and without detention, as Baillie had expected, the *Modeste* struck heavily in attempting to get out to sea, knocked off her rudder, and only by good luck was able to get back to an anchorage. From this plight she was rescued by Captain W. H. McNeill, who piloted her over the bar when he set sail for Fort Simpson in the supply ship *Cowlitz*. The *Modeste* thereupon visited Port Victoria (as Fort Victoria is termed in much of the naval correspondence of the day), and then followed the *Cowlitz* to Fort Simpson, where she was hauled ashore and some of the damage she had suffered made good. From there she sailed for the Sandwich Islands.³⁸

A change in command on the Pacific Station took place this same year. Rear-Admiral Sir George Francis Seymour³⁹ was appointed May 14, 1844; his flagship, the 80-gun line-of-battleship *Collingwood*, was commissioned August 13. Because of strained relations with France, she did not leave England for several months, but Admiral Seymour was in Valparaiso early in 1845. Douglas had gathered from Commander Baillie that a cruise to the Northwest Coast by one of Her Majesty's ships was to be an annual event, and the new Commander-in-Chief more than fulfilled this expectation. In September, 1844, the Admiralty had instructed him to report upon the situation in Oregon; and the aggressive attitude assumed by the President of the United States, which gave the impression that the boundary dispute might well lead to war, no doubt was an additional reason for the increased attention devoted to the Northwest Coast.

(37) See James Douglas to Sir George Simpson, private, March 5, 1845.

(38) See R. C. Clark, *History of the Willamette Valley*, Chicago, Clarke, 1927, p. 819. Sir George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, June 20, 1845.

(39) For biographical details see O'Byrne, p. 1052; Walbran, pp. 453-4; Longstaff, *Esquimalt Naval Base*, pp. 112-3.

In February, 1845, H.M.S. *America*,⁴⁰ an old 74 of 1,758 tons that had been rebuilt into a powerful 50-gun frigate, was detached and sent northward. She was commanded by Captain the Hon. John Gordon,⁴¹ brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, who at the time was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of Captain (later Rear-Admiral) William Gordon, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Her officers included Lieutenant William Peel, son of Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Peel was a brilliant youngster, who in his brief career was destined to gain the Victoria Cross in the Crimean War, and to be knighted for his services as leader of a naval brigade during the Indian mutiny. Would that as favourable an account could be given of Captain Gordon, who had secured his appointment through influence after no less than twenty-six years on half-pay. Rear-Admiral John Moeresby, who served in the *America* as a cadet, stated in after years that the chief reason he sought the command was because the ship was bound for the Pacific, "where at that time one of the principal employments of Her Majesty's ships was to collect gold and silver specie on the coast of Mexico, a freighting which lined the captain's pocket to some purpose." Of this more later.

(40) Sixth of name in the Royal Navy. Started building January, 1808, by Messrs. Perry & Co., Woolwich; docked April, 1810. Commissioned for the Mediterranean; then in reserve at Plymouth. Commissioned at Plymouth by Captain Gordon on February 22, 1844, for the Pacific. Returned home in 1846; commissioned for the Channel in November of that year. In 1864 she was fitted as a target ship at Portsmouth for *Excellent*. An Admiralty Order dated June 27, 1867, at which time the hulk of the *America* formed part of a pier at Whale Island, reads: "To be broken up at her moorings as far as possible and if the lower part cannot be removed it is to be blown up with gunpowder."

(41) Born 1792; entered the Navy 1805; Lieutenant, March 21, 1812; Commander, June 15, 1814; Captain, December 31, 1818. He served first in the *Medusa*, which made a voyage to India, then as Midshipman in the *Revenge* in the Channel and off Cadiz. He was next in a number of ships on the Home Station, including the *Nymphe*, wrecked at the entrance to the Firth of Forth in December, 1810. As a Lieutenant, served in the frigates *Revolutionnaire* and *Seahorse*, on the Western Island and North American Stations. His first command was the *Carnation*, 18, on the Newfoundland Station; he was there appointed Acting-Captain of the *Tamar*, 26, on November 20, 1818, and was confirmed in that rank in December. He had no further employment until appointed to the *America* in 1844. Retired, October 1, 1846; appointed Rear-Admiral (retired), 1851; Admiral, 1863. Died November 11, 1869. See O'Byrne, p. 411; Walbran, pp. 209-10.

The character of the man was shown by his conduct during the passage from Callao to San Blas. Instead of covering the distance in the usual three weeks, the *America* was becalmed so frequently that she was no less than ninety-three days en route. Her water-supply was limited, and as she was without distilling apparatus the condition of her crew soon became pitiable. In spite of this, Captain Gordon sailed away from one source of supply because the natives, who alone could furnish water, demanded a price that he considered excessive; and throughout the passage he not only used water freely himself, but actually insisted that the sheep and poultry carried to supply his personal table should be kept on a generous allowance.⁴²

Admiral Seymour thus summarized his instructions to Gordon in a letter written later in the year:—

My directions to Captain Gordon were to take up an anchorage, which will be, I have no doubt, in Port Discovery, (as there is no good anchorage for a ship of war at the new settlement of Fort Victoria) and request the officers of the Hudson Bay Company in charge at that Station, to procure him the assistance of the Company's small steam vessel [the *Beaver*] by which to establish a communication by Nisqually at the head of Puget's Sound, and thence overland to Fort Vancouver; and if he detached officers to make the enquiries directed by their Lordships' Instructions of September last, he was to select those of prudence and intelligence, and cause them to be accompanied by a sufficient party to secure them against the attacks of predatory Indians, or other ill disposed persons, but to avoid any military display.

After calling at San Blas the *America* sailed on to San Francisco Bay. Leaving the latter harbour on August 9, she moved slowly up the coast, battling the inevitable head winds most of the way. In view of the mishaps to the *Racoon* and *Modeste*, it was felt that her size made it unwise for her to attempt to enter the Columbia River, and she therefore proceeded direct to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. This she entered on August 28 and anchored for the night in Neah Bay, comfortably within the entrance. Captain Gordon's report to the Admiralty describes his next move as follows:—

(42) Admiral John Moresby, *Two Admirals: Sir Fairfax Moresby, John Moresby: A Record of a Hundred Years*, revised edition, London, 1913, pp. 50, 54-9.

Weighed next morning and stood over to Vancouver Island, in search of Fort Victoria, which place is almost impossible for a stranger to find. It is situated about a mile up a narrow inlet.⁴³

Finding the ship in shallows, Gordon judged it best to move her across the Strait to Port Discovery, as Admiral Seymour had anticipated; but he sent Lieutenant Peel to Fort Victoria to seek information from the officer in charge. This was Roderick Finlayson, who accompanied Peel when the latter rejoined the *America* on September 1. From Finlayson Captain Gordon learned that the steamer *Beaver*, in which he had hoped to explore Puget Sound, was absent on a trading cruise. The *America* therefore proceeded to Nisqually, at the head of the Sound, whence Lieutenant Peel, and Captain H. W. Parke, of the Royal Marines, travelled overland to Fort Vancouver to interview Dr. McLoughlin and visit the settlements in the Willamette Valley. The *America* herself soon returned to her anchorage at Port Discovery.

Captain Gordon now visited Fort Victoria, and Roderick Finlayson gives the following entertaining account of his adventures:—

. . . we made several excursions in the district on horseback, and in the vicinity of Cedar Hill fell in with a band of deer, which we pursued until they got into a thicket and were thus disappointed in the hunt. Capt. Gordon, being a noted deer stalker in the Scottish Highlands, got much disappointed at not getting at the deer, and on our return, riding through an open, fine country, with the native grass up to the horses' knees, I happened to make the remark, "What a fine country this is," to which he replied that he "would not give one acre of the barren hills of Scotland for all he saw around him." Another day he was preparing his fishing rod to fish for salmon with the fly, when I told him the salmon would not take the fly, but were fished here with bait. I then prepared fishing tackle with bait for him, after which he went in a boat to the mouth of the harbour, and fished several fine salmon with the bait. His exclamation on his return was: "What a country, where the salmon will not take the fly."⁴⁴

James Douglas, who accompanied Lieutenant Peel when he returned to the *America* from Fort Vancouver, and who spent several days on board the frigate, had a similar experience. His arguments made no impression on Captain Gordon, who held

(43) Captain Gordon to the Admiralty, October 19, 1845. This dispatch is given in full in Leslie M. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845-46," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIX. (1928), pp. 66-71.

(44) [Roderick Finlayson] *Biography of Roderick Finlayson*, Victoria, n.d. [1891], p. 15.

politely but firmly to his opinion that the Oregon country was of little value, and that it was certainly not worth going to war about.

At Fort Vancouver Peel had found Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, who had arrived overland from Montreal a few days before. These two young officers had been sent out by the Commander of the Forces in Canada, in fulfilment of instructions from London, to make a secret military survey of the Oregon country. The meeting was quite accidental, as the *America* had been ordered to the Strait of Juan de Fuca several months before orders for the military reconnaissance reached Canada, but it was nonetheless convenient. Lieutenant Peel was to proceed to London with all speed to report on the Oregon situation, and no doubt his discussions with Warre and Vavasour enabled him to speak with authority from both the military and naval point of view.

Whatever he may have thought of plains and mountains, no naval officer could be indifferent to the importance of waterways and harbours, and in a report prepared by Lieutenant Peel while he was on his way to London, we find this passage:—

May I venture to say, as expressing also the opinion of my captain [Gordon], that if the 49th degree be the boundary determined on, it must not include the southern extremity of Vancouver Island. That point commands the navigation of the magnificent inlet [the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Georgia Strait] and possesses a fine harbour. The Hudson's Bay Company have seen its advantages and security, and, by lately erecting a large stockade fort with buildings and a farm attached, are preparing to change their principal seat of business from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia to this new settlement called Fort Victoria.⁴⁵

The *America* left Port Discovery on September 26, though she did not actually clear the Strait until October 1. Honolulu was reached on the 20th, and on the 22nd Lieutenant Peel left for England, travelling the first stage of his journey in an American vessel bound for Mazatlan. From there he hurried on to Vera Cruz, where he boarded a Royal Mail Steam Packet liner. He arrived in London on February 9 or 10, 1846, and reported at once to the Admiralty and the Foreign Office. The Oregon boundary treaty was negotiated within the next few months, and

(45) Lieutenant Peel to Minister Pakenham, January 2, 1846. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIX. (1928), p. 65.

Peel furnished the latest information available to the British Government during those critical weeks.⁴⁶

As for the *America*, she proceeded from Honolulu to Valparaiso. There she found H.M.S. *Daphne*, Captain Onslow, homeward bound with a fabulous freight amounting to about three million dollars. Taking advantage of his seniority, Captain Gordon compelled Captain Onslow to give up his cargo. Having transferred it to the *America*, Gordon sailed for home, oblivious of the fact that he was detaching the second most powerful British man-of-war in the Pacific at a time when, for all he knew to the contrary, war with the United States might be imminent. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the Commander-in-Chief had him brought before a court martial, and that he soon retired from the service.⁴⁷

The Hudson's Bay Company was not left without protection for long. Within a few days of the departure of the *America*, the *Modeste* entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca to pay her second visit to the Northwest Coast. Later she moved to the Columbia, and on November 30, 1845, took up her old station in the river, off Fort Vancouver. There she remained for the next seventeen months. By the end of 1845 the population of the Willamette country was overwhelmingly American, and as local feeling over the boundary question was somewhat tense, the *Modeste*, in Bancroft's phrase, was "regarded ominously." To ease the situation, Captain Baillie and the Hudson's Bay officers organized a variety of entertainments, including balls and plays in which the daughters of the American settlers could join, and such sporting events as horse races and curling matches. In addition, Captain Baillie had to reckon with the possibility that the lure of 640 acres of free land, which was allowed to each settler, might lead to desertions from his crew; but he managed so well that the *Modeste* lost only one man.⁴⁸

[To be concluded.]

F. V. LONGSTAFF,
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(46) *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2, 65-6.

(47) See Moresby, *Two Admirals*, pp. 59-60.

(48) See Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, San Francisco, 1886, I., pp. 574-8.

SOME EARLY ROADS AND TRAILS IN NEW WESTMINSTER DISTRICT.*

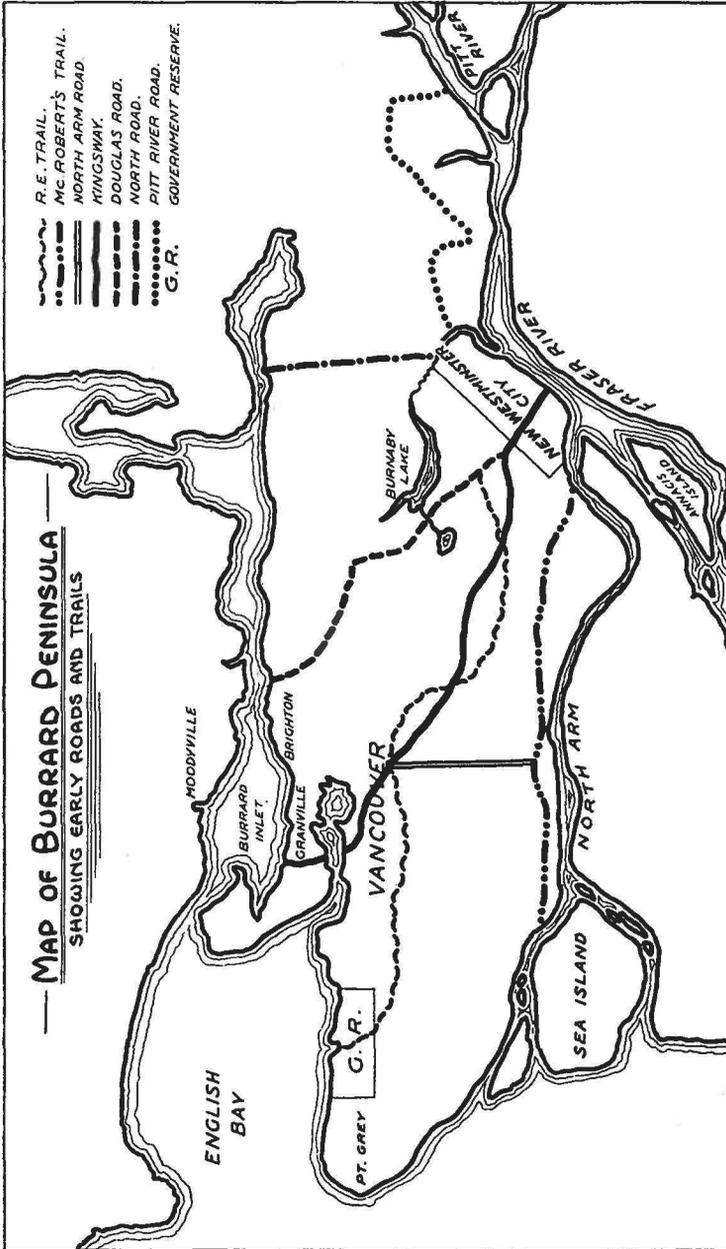
To our war-ridden generation the early history of British Columbia seems by comparison to be a singularly peaceful story, and no doubt it will surprise many to learn that military needs were the chief consideration taken into account when the first roads were being opened on the Lower Mainland. In those days the Fraser River, upon which was situated New Westminster, the capital of the new Crown Colony of British Columbia, was frequently closed in winter by ice. For strategic reasons Colonel R. C. Moody, R.E., who was a soldier first and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works afterwards, felt that some alternative means of access to the capital must be provided, and with this in mind he constructed the first road built on the north side of the Fraser River. It ran from the Royal Engineers' camp at Sapperton almost due north to Port Moody, which in those days simply meant to the South Arm of Burrard Inlet. Appropriately enough, it was called—and to-day is still known as—the North Road.

The distance to Port Moody was approximately 5 miles. The road was first opened in 1859 as a pack-trail, and over it supplies were brought to the city and military camp when the Fraser was frozen. During the next two years it was gradually improved to a cart-road, and later still it was transformed into a good highway from New Westminster as far as the present Clark Road. From Clark Road to Burrard Inlet it is still very much in its original condition.

It is interesting to note that the east and west boundaries of this road were used as bases for the survey of lots on each side of it. This makes it, from the surveying point of view, one of the most important base-lines in the whole Lower Mainland.

Most of the British men-of-war on the Pacific Station in the sixties were sailing-vessels, and both to avoid the long beat up

* The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. George Green, of Burnaby, who not only furnished information on many points, but permitted certain passages in his *Early History of Burnaby and Vicinity* to be paraphrased in the present narrative.



The Royal Engineers' trail is here shown continued on to its intended destination at Jericho. As noted in the text, it was actually diverted to False Creek at a point near the foot of the present Yukon Street.

Burrard Inlet and "to afford the earliest and latest contacts with them"¹ Colonel Moody proposed that a trail should be built from New Westminster to English Bay, in the neighbourhood of Jericho. Governor Douglas was not in sympathy with the plan, and referred the question to the Colonial Office in London for a ruling. The decision was evidently in Moody's favour, as it was decided to construct the trail.

Its route can best be traced by reference to present-day streets. From the corner of Douglas Street (now 8th Street, in New Westminster) and 14th Avenue, in Burnaby, it ran in a westerly direction to a point near the British Columbia Electric Railway Company's old power-house. Thence it continued on, roughly parallel to Kingsway. Indeed, judging from an old map in the files of the Department of Lands, in Victoria, the trail appears at no place to have been more than 300 feet from the roadway of to-day.² From the corner of Kingsway and Fraser Avenue, or thereabouts, Moody doubtless intended to carry the trail westward to Jericho, along the higher ground. By the time it had been opened to the vicinity of Fraser Avenue, however, money was running short, and Douglas was not willing to supply more. Moody therefore had no alternative but to cut costs by diverting the trail to False Creek, which was relatively close at hand. A contemporary map³ shows that he continued the trail, almost in a straight line (though naturally it deviated somewhat here and there to avoid natural obstacles and take advantage of grades), to a point on the shore-line about half a mile west of the present Main Street. This placed the terminus about the foot of Yukon Street, and beyond the swampy lowland that then lay along False Creek between that point and Main Street.

So far as we know, the trail was never carried on to Jericho. The original contractors were Messrs. Brouse and Ross, and on October 9, 1860, no doubt in response to promptings from Moody, they addressed a letter to the Chief Commissioner that read in part as follows:—

(1) F. W. Howay, "Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), p. 102.

(2) Map 14 T 3, Department of Lands, Victoria.

(3) Map 10 T 1, *ibid.* This map is undated, but appears to have been prepared late in 1861.

As you are aware the contract just completed by us of Ten miles does not reach English Bay [meaning the naval reserve at Jericho] by some Four miles, We therefore offer to complete the same, upon receiving the like amount, per mile, viz: Sixty pounds per mile—twenty per cent Cash, the balance in Scrip at 10/ per acre.⁴

On the 16th Colonel Moody forwarded this letter to Douglas, with the comment:—

As the ten miles of road now made cannot be approached at either end, I beg to recommend your Excellency to allow me to accept the offer of Messrs. Brouse and Ross for the completion of the road to English Bay . . .⁵

But Douglas was obdurate, and on the margin of the letter he made the notation in pencil: "This work reserved for consideration."

On February 5 of the next year Moody returned to the attack, requesting the completion of the road to English Bay. To this Douglas now consented, provided the work could be done at reasonable cost. By that time, however, Brouse and Ross had withdrawn their offer, and it was necessary to look elsewhere for a contractor. A certain George Esselwood tendered, and on March 11, 1861, his offer for construction of a wagon-road to English Bay to be completed by May 31st was accepted. The annual report of the Lands and Works Department shows that Esselwood started work on March 14, 1861, and that he had progressed about half a mile by the end of the month. In October, Sapper Breakenridge was ordered to False Creek "for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the line of road which had been blazed from thence to English Bay by Mr. George Esselwood," but no further record of actual construction has been found.

Some years later, when the western line of D.L. 200A, the Cambie Street of to-day, was surveyed, the surveyor noted a "trail running west" a short distance south of False Creek. This was Esselwood's work, which came to a dead end in dense forest a short distance west.⁶

(4) Brouse and Ross to Moody, October 9, 1860. Provincial Archives.

(5) Moody to Douglas, October 16, 1860. *Ibid.*

(6) For a detailed account of this trail see George Green, *Early History of Burnaby and Vicinity*, in *Burnaby Advertiser*, August 8 and August 15, 1941.

Settlement was now commencing, and the next trail constructed was planned with the needs of settlers chiefly in mind. This was the trail that, when rebuilt, was later to become part of the Douglas Road. It was simply a projection of Douglas Street (8th Street), in New Westminster, which at the time itself extended from Carnarvon Street, in the business section of the little city, to the present 14th Avenue, a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. At that point, it will be remembered, the military trail to False Creek turned off to the west. The new trail continued Douglas Street practically in a straight line for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the vicinity of the present Haszard Street, in Burnaby. At that point it was about a quarter of a mile from the western end of Burnaby Lake.

The first contract for this trail was awarded to Sparrow and McDonald, but they soon abandoned it. The contract was relet in February, 1861, to Murray and Kelso, but they, too, stopped work in June, before the trail had been completed satisfactorily. By that time, however, a trail of some sort had been carried as far as the vicinity of Deer Creek. From that point John French, who had pre-empted land on Still Creek, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther on, cut a rough pathway through the forest, over which he carried his produce to the Murray and Kelso trail, and thence to market in New Westminster.

One of the trials of the traveller by this route was the mosquito plague that then burdened the district each year. Bishop Sheepshanks recalls an incident that happened not long after the trail was built:—

On the Douglas trail I met with the Indians covered with paint, carrying branches of trees in their hand, which they were sweeping round them as they walked. They were evacuating their country, being temporarily driven out by these pests. Life was simply not livable.⁷

By 1864 a sawmill was in operation on Burrard Inlet, a considerable settlement was springing up, and there was great need for a wagon-road between the Inlet and New Westminster. In the autumn a contract was awarded to John T. Scott (known to old-timers as "Colonel Scott") for the construction of the Douglas Road, which was to follow the existing trail as far as Burnaby

(7) D. Wallace Duthie (ed.), *A Bishop in the Rough*, London, 1909, p. 42.

Lake, and was then to wind its way across country to a point on Burrard Inlet which had been selected by Colonel Moody, a short distance west of the Second Narrows. This point was near the foot of the present Windermere Street, on the shore-line below Hastings Park. At different times it was called "The End of the Road," "Brighton" (at the suggestion of John Robson), "Maxie's" (after Maximilien Michaud, who kept a hotel there), and finally, when surveyed in 1868 as a townsite, "Hastings." The road was completed in the spring, and on May 12, 1865, Colonel Scott drove Governor Seymour and A. N. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, over its entire length. The drive must have been a rough one, for long stretches of the road consisted of corduroy, with only a very thin covering of gravel on top.

Unfortunately, in spite of his good work, the contract proved ruinous to Scott. The official specifications had called for the construction of a bridge only 66 feet long over Still Creek (which in those days was known as Deep Creek), but when the time came to build the span the flats round about were flooded to such an extent that, with the consent of the road inspector, Scott increased the length of the bridge to no less than 1,188 feet. Apparently the inspector failed to realize how great an extra expenditure would be involved, and as he had agreed to the change without authority from his superiors, the Government declined to pay Scott's supplementary account covering this and other items, which amounted in all to \$11,875. Governor Seymour was much distressed over Scott's predicament, as it forced him into bankruptcy; but there seemed to be no alternative but to disallow the account.

The Still Creek bridge proved expensive to keep in repair. It was finally replaced by fills and a shorter, higher bridge, 134 feet in length, in the summer of 1877. The official report on the change reads as follows:—

The old "Long Bridge," some 1300 feet in length, which has cost very large sums year after year for repairs, has been done away with. A substantial straining beam bridge has been placed across the creek, and the low ground on either side embanked.⁸

For years after that the road was often extremely bad at certain seasons. One old-timer writes as follows:—

(8) *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works . . . 1877, Victoria, 1877, p. 267. See also pp. 289, 325.*

There was always an amusing side to those early days. For instance, we used to walk to church in New Westminster (how many would do that now?), and on the way home one day, Mr. Bernard Hill lost his high rubber boot in the middle of the Douglas Road where flow from a spring ran across near what is now Stanley Street; and we had quite a job to get it out of the hole. There was a section of corduroy near what is now the Burriss junction, and it was generally afloat. A mis-step and you had a bath or, at least, a wet leg. In those days and using saw and axe as the occasion or trees might require, it might take four hours to get home from New Westminster with a load.⁹

The Government was frequently berated in the press over the condition of the road. In June, 1873, when W. J. Armstrong, of New Westminster, was Minister of Finance, the *Mainland Guardian* had this to say:—

Our sagacious Ministers appropriated \$150 for the repairs of this road—nine miles long, with quite a number of wooden bridges—but in spite of numerous applications, even this sum has never been expended. . . . It may as well be noted that a sum has been appropriated (so we are told) to keep the False Creek trail open, over which useful roadway, an average of one man passes per month. But the mail road, [Douglas Road]—the road over which the whole traffic between this city and Burrard Inlet travels, is left to take care of itself. Verily, it is a good thing to have Ministers at \$3,500 per annum each, to look after our welfare. . . . The above-named road is the only one out of this city that is decently passable for vehicles—it should be kept in repair.¹⁰

Another early settlement road was that to the Pitt River. This branched off from the North Road a short distance from the Royal Engineers' camp, ran along what is now Brunette Street, continued on through the present Essondale grounds, and crossed the Coquitlam River by the "Red Bridge." From that point it continued on to the Pitt River, just north of Mary Hill. There were many complaints in the *British Columbian* about the delay in the construction of this road, but when finally completed it was very little used until the building of the Fraser Mills years later. It is now an important highway.

Still another early travel-route was the McRoberts Trail, opened in 1861 from New Westminster to Musqueam, along the North Arm of the Fraser River. Except at two points this trail lay wholly within the limits of the present Marine Drive (better known to many as the "River Road"), running from New West-

(9) F. J. Peers in the *Douglas Road School Magazine*, June, 1940.

(10) *Mainland Guardian*, New Westminster, June 7, 1873.

minster to Marpole. One exception was where the trail went around the base of Rose Hill; the other was at Boundary Road, where the trail was taken down to the low land to avoid crossing a difficult ravine. For his work on the trail Hugh McRoberts was paid in land scrip, and this he used to take up land in the neighbourhood of Sea Island.

The first bridge over False Creek, located where Main Street now crosses on a fill, was opened on October 2, 1872. It has been described as a "somewhat pliable structure,"¹¹ and was in fact a flimsy affair, continually in need of repairs. The Public Accounts show that \$581 was spent on it in 1873, and in 1874 no less than 186 feet had to be replaced with new construction. But the bridge, such as it was, did afford an easy crossing, and a road was soon constructed from the corner of Cordova and Carrall streets, in the Granville townsite, in a more or less direct line to its north end. The writer, when a boy, walked on several occasions from Granville to the end of the bridge, and then, guided by the sound of its machinery, went straight through the woods to the Hastings Mill. On the way he passed numbers of large cedar trees that had fallen so long before that hemlocks as much as 2 feet in diameter had grown on top of them. The cedars themselves must have fallen before Captain Vancouver sailed up the Inlet.

As there was now a bridge giving access to Granville, the people of Lulu and Sea islands, together with the local loggers, induced the Government to open a trail from it to the North Arm of the Fraser River, at what later became the foot of Granville Street. The distance was somewhat less than 6 miles. For opening the first 3 miles of this trail in 1873 William Lister was paid \$365. This carried the trail from the Eburne (North Arm) end to one of Jeremiah Rogers' skid-roads at or near Little Mountain.¹² Lister tendered to open the trail the rest of the way to the False Creek bridge for \$250, but his offer was refused.

(11) Alan Morley, "The Romance of Vancouver," *Vancouver Sun*, May 13, 1940.

(12) This skid-road, it may be added, led to False Creek, in the vicinity of the present Ash Street. From there a rowboat ferry was in operation across False Creek, but the ferryman spent much of his time in "Gassy Jack" Deighton's saloon, and often did not hear the shouts of would-be passengers from the south shore.

The following year Jackman and Digby undertook to do the work for \$225, their offer being the lowest of six tenders.¹³

Soon after this, in response to a petition from the residents of Lulu and Sea islands, the Government sent Joseph Hunter, a civil engineer, to look over the ground. He recommended that the above-mentioned trail be abandoned, and that a new road be opened from the McRoberts Trail to the False Creek Trail—in present-day terms, from Marine Drive to Kingsway—along the line of what is now Fraser Avenue. Some of the residents were much opposed to this, as we may gather from the following item in the *Mainland Guardian*:—

On Wednesday evening last, a meeting was held at the residence of W. D. Ferris, Esq., J.P., for the purpose of taking into consideration the matter respecting the road from North Arm . . . to Granville. It will be remembered that in the early part of the winter the settlers of this place sent a petition to the Chief Commissioner of Lands & Works, praying that the trail made last year be converted into a wagon road, and from the answer received, they were led to believe that the prayer of the petition would be complied with; but they were greatly surprised to find, when the tenders for the construction of the road was called for, that instead of the road being made where the trail now is, it is to be about two miles above [i.e., up-stream or east of] the settlement rendering it almost useless to the settlers, unless a branch road is made to connect with it. The meeting was attended by the whole of the settlers; Mr. Ferris was called to the chair and Mr. C. Wood elected Secretary. Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed at the conduct of the C[hief] C[ommissioner] of L[ands] & W[orks]. A petition to that gentleman, couched in very respectful language, was drawn up and signed by the whole settlement, showing the inconvenience that would be caused to the settlers by carrying the road by the way proposed, and praying that it may be taken by way of the trail.¹⁴

The petition evidently had little effect, for on June 16, 1875, the *Guardian* announced that Henry Simpson had been awarded a contract to build the "North Arm Road" on the route recommended by Joseph Hunter. Simpson's road is now Fraser Avenue, as noted above; and to meet the needs and objections of the settlers on the North Arm it was continued westward along the McRoberts Trail (Marine Drive) to the old Methodist Church at Eburne (the Marpole of to-day).

(13) One of the few maps showing this trail will be found in the Geological Survey of Canada, *Report of Progress for 1876-77*, Ottawa, 1878, p. 192. It accompanies the "Report on the Coal Fields of Nanaimo, Comox, Cowichen, Burrard Inlet and Sooke," by James Richardson.

(14) *Mainland Guardian*, June 9, 1875.

There was a genuine need for this road, and for the road from Granville to Hastings which, as we shall see, was built the same year. Feed for the oxen and horses in Granville and in the logging camps was high in price owing to the lack of roads from Sea and Lulu islands and from New Westminster. The *Guardian* had reported a discussion of the question that had taken place in February, 1875, at a public meeting:—

. . . At present, there are cattle in various Logging Camps almost starving for want of hay, when there are farmers distant only five miles, anxious to turn that very commodity into money to help them in their spring operations. That at present the owners of those cattle can purchase hay on Fraser River at \$15 per ton, which, for the want of a road of about five miles, they cannot avail themselves of, but are forced to buy it in Victoria at \$20 or \$25 per ton, besides having the freight to pay.¹⁵

It will be noticed that the demand was always for a *road*. The forest paths from Eburne and from Hastings were useless for the purpose in view.

A personal experience may be recalled at this point. In April, 1877, the writer walked with his father along the Granville and North Arm Road (as the road built by Simpson was called) as far as the False Creek Trail, and then along the latter to New Westminster. The first sign of life seen after leaving Granville was some charcoal-pits at the corner of what is now 10th Avenue and Douglas Road (8th Street), on the outskirts of New Westminster. Then the woods closed in again until we got to 3rd Avenue and 8th Street, where there was an empty house. At that time there were five houses on 3rd Avenue, and only three of these were occupied. The avenue had not been cut or graded through, and the only access to the houses was by means of wood roads starting from Queen's Avenue and 6th Street. One of these extended towards 8th, and the other in the direction of 4th Street. There were three houses on Queen's Avenue itself, but no road.

Nowadays it is difficult to imagine the Royal City as it was in 1877. The whole population, with the exception of perhaps fifteen families, lived between Royal Avenue and the Fraser River. Leopold Place was the limit of settlement to the east, while to the west the houses did not extend far beyond 8th Street. Moreover, this small settled area was divided into two parts by a large undeveloped block of land reserved for Government offices

(15) *Mainland Guardian*, February 4, 1875.

and parks. This extended from 4th Street to 6th Street and from Carnarvon Street to Queen's Avenue. The only road joining the two halves of the little city was Columbia Street.

It was also in 1875 that the Government entered into a contract with Arthur M. Herring for the construction of a road from Granville to Hastings, for the sum of \$5,990. Herring having failed to fulfil his contract "from pecuniary difficulties" his sureties took over the work; but as it was still unfinished at the end of 1876 the Government itself completed the road by day-labour. L. F. Bonson acted as superintendent, and the total cost was \$6,723.46.

An old Canadian Pacific Railway map of the foreshore and adjacent land, on file in the City Engineer's office in Vancouver, shows that this road started at the intersection of Carrall Street with Cordova Street, ran easterly along Alexander Street to Gore Avenue, then diagonally across the present subdivisions to the Hastings Mill site; thence close to and roughly parallel to the Canadian Pacific right-of-way to near the site of the B.C. Sugar Refinery; thence roughly along Powell Street to one block east of Victoria Drive; thence easterly along Wall Street to the Douglas Road, and, finally, along the Douglas Road to Brighton; i.e., to what is now the north end of Windermere Street, at Hastings Park.

Except along Alexander Street, Wall Street, and the Douglas Road, this roadway does not seem to have been utilized as the location of the existing street system of the city of Vancouver.

The last road to be considered is the New Westminster and Granville Trunk Road—the modern Kingsway. The first stretch of this road was a continuation of 12th Street, in New Westminster. It crossed the Royal Engineers' trail to English Bay at 14th Avenue, in Burnaby, and again near Central Park, and finally joined it before it reached Fraser Avenue. At the latter point the road connected with the existing North Arm and Granville wagon-road. The contract to build this road was let to McDougall Brothers in 1884, but later in the year a disagreement with the contractors arose and the Government, having made a settlement, took over. The work was completed in 1885, the actual cost being \$13,144.70.

W. N. DRAPER.

WALTER MOBERLY'S REPORT ON THE ROADS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1863.

In the papers of Sir Sandford Fleming, in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, are to be found two letters written to him in 1863 by Walter Moberly. These letters were brought to my attention in June, 1944, by Miss Norah Story, head of the manuscript division of the Archives. They are to be found in Volume 194 of the Fleming Papers, which contains miscellaneous letters written to Fleming between the years 1863 and 1874.

The first, or covering, letter, dated Victoria, V.I., December 16, 1863, acknowledges receipt the previous day of a letter from Fleming. It then makes certain general remarks regarding British Columbia and its roads and concludes with some personal reminiscences and news. The second letter is Moberly's report on the roads of British Columbia.

It might be well to include a statement regarding the careers of these two distinguished railway engineers who played their part in the plans and explorations for a transcontinental railway across British territory. Of the two Fleming was the elder. He was born at Kirkaldy, Fifeshire, Scotland, on January 7, 1827, the son of Andrew Greig Fleming and Elizabeth Arnot Fleming. He received his early education at Kirkaldy and then without leaving his home town obtained his training as a surveyor and engineer. At the age of eighteen he emigrated to Canada in 1845 and joined the engineering staff of the Northern Railway, which ran north from Toronto to Barrie, Collingwood, Penetanguishene, Orillia, and Gravenhurst. In 1857 Fleming became chief engineer of the Northern Railway but later left its employ to become a partner of Messrs. Ridout and Schreiber. The people of the Red River Settlement commissioned Fleming in 1863 to proceed to England to urge on the Imperial Government the construction of a railway between Red River and eastern Canada. On his return he was appointed by the governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada, and Great Britain "to conduct a survey for the first link in a railway which would extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific within British

territory."¹ He was appointed chief engineer of the Inter-colonial Railway during its construction. In 1871 he was placed in charge of the surveys for the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway. His reports on these surveys are too well known to need comment here. When the new Canadian Pacific Railway Company was about to be formed, Fleming in 1880 left the Federal service. His later years were devoted to science, literature, and education. He became Chancellor of Queen's University in 1880, and remained in office until his death in 1915. In 1881 he published a volume on *Universal Standard Time*, which he had originally proposed in 1878-79. He had also in 1879 advocated the construction of a Pacific cable connecting Canada with New Zealand and Australia, thereby providing an important link in the "All Red Route." His services to the British Empire were recognized by Queen Victoria in 1877, when she conferred upon him a Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. In 1897 he received a Knighthood, being raised to the Knight Commandership of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, or more briefly, K.C.M.G.

Walter Moberly, C.E., was the second son of Captain John Moberly, R.N., and of his wife Mary, a lady of Polish extraction. He was born at Steeple Orton, Oxfordshire, England, on August 15, 1832. The Moberly family moved to Canada in 1834 and took up their residence on the military reserve at Penetanguishene. Walter Moberly and his brother Frank received their early education at Penetanguishene and at the Barrie grammar school whose headmaster, Frederick Gore, was a product of Trinity College, Dublin. After his father's death, Walter became an engineering pupil of Messrs. Frederic William Cumberland and William George Storm, civil engineers and architects of Toronto. F. W. Cumberland was chief engineer of the Northern Railway, and Moberly received his first training in railway engineering while in that company's employ.

Struck by the possibilities for the development of a lumber industry north of Lakes Huron and Superior, Moberly obtained timber limits and made plans for the westward extension of the Northern Railway. He carefully traversed the territory from

(1) Morgan, Henry J., *Canadian Men and Women of the Time, A Handbook of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, Briggs, 1898, p. 336.

Lake Simcoe to Lake Huron and on north of Lake Superior. On his return to Toronto at the end of 1857 he learned of the Palliser expedition. His attention was attracted to the Pacific Coast by the gold discoveries on the Fraser, and late in 1858 he arrived in Victoria, Vancouver Island. He had sold his timber limits in eastern Canada and was ready for a fresh start.

Before he left Toronto, Moberly had obtained from Sir George Simpson a letter of introduction to Governor James Douglas. Douglas received Moberly most kindly but showed no great enthusiasm for his proposed surveys for a railway-line through the Rockies. Moberly, undaunted, made his way by the Harrison-Lillooet route to Pavilion Mountain. It was a gruelling experience which convinced him that this route was not suitable for railway construction. Early in 1859, Moberly explored the Fraser canyon between Yale and Lytton. On his return to Victoria, Colonel R. C. Moody, R.E., employed him as a surveyor and he helped to select the site of New Westminster.

During the winter of 1859-60, which he spent at Victoria, he met Captain Palliser and Dr. Hector from whom he obtained valuable information. Palliser and Hector were convinced that, although passes could be found through the Rocky Mountains, there were no passes suitable for a railway over the Selkirks and the Gold Range. Moberly, therefore, determined to explore the Gold Range. By this time Moberly had come to an end of his financial resources and Governor Douglas, impressed by Palliser's unfavourable reports, was not prepared to provide the necessary funds for surveys from Fraser River to the Rocky Mountains.

In 1860 and 1861 Moberly was employed in making surveys of the Fraser and Thompson rivers and in "opening a trail and constructing a wagon road over the Hope Mountain."² The next year Moberly became interested in the construction of the Cariboo Road. As a Government engineer he, in 1863, "superintended the work of completing the unfinished portion of the road from the big rock bluff above Cook's Ferry [Spences Bridge] to

(2) *British Columbia, Biographical*, Vancouver, 1914, III., p. 973. This long and rather eulogistic account of Moberly (pp. 969-985) is based largely on two addresses given by him in Vancouver about the year 1910.

Clinton, for which Mr. William Hood had taken the contract."⁸ It was in December of that year that Moberly sent to Fleming his report on the roads of British Columbia which is here reproduced.

The later life of Walter Moberly may be briefly summarized. In 1864, after the retirement of Sir James Douglas, Moberly resigned from the Government service in order to contest the election for Cariboo West. He was successful and took his seat in the Legislative Council of British Columbia. As a member of Council he secured the necessary funds for carrying out exploratory surveys east of Kamloops. He then resigned from the Council and was appointed by Governor Seymour as assistant surveyor-general of British Columbia. In 1865 he discovered Eagle Pass. The next year, according to Moberly, Albert Perry, under his orders, found Rogers Pass in the valley of the south-east fork of the Illicilliwaet River. Moberly did not favour the construction of a railway over the Selkirks, but advised that the line follow the Columbia River around the Big Bend and across the Rockies, preferably by Howse Pass. This proposal he later laid before the Canadian Government. In 1871 he entered the employ of the Dominion of Canada and was appointed engineer in charge of railway surveys in eastern British Columbia from Eagle Pass to the Rocky Mountains. All went well for a time, but subsequent difficulties with Sandford Fleming caused Moberly to resign from the Federal service. He then settled in Manitoba where he became one of the promoters and later the chief engineer of the Manitoba South Western Railway. His last years were spent in Vancouver, B.C., where he died in 1915.

WALTER N. SAGE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
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(3) *Ibid.*

WALTER MOBERLY TO SANDFORD FLEMING

Victoria V.I. Dec. 16th 1863

Dear Fleming,

Many thanks for your kind letter which I received yesterday. I have drawn up the accompanying rough sketch of the roads &c. &c. which will serve you to base Estimates upon. I could write you details very fully but as they might only Confuse I have given you the Cream and I have gained any knowledge of the Cost of the different works from Conversations with the different Contractors as Engineer as well as with the Govt. and from my own Contracts, so you may rely upon the figures the only chance of [error] being slight, and it is in the Royal Engineers work, but I am very near the figures indeed. This Govt. does not publish returns of Expenditure from which you could derive any information worth having. I send a Gasette [*sic*] which gives only general accounts, it is the only thing they publish to show how the cost goes. The books and maps I send will give you the best information you can get of the Colonies in a printed form. I will try and send you in a few days some printed reports which I hope to be able to get at N. Westminster where I am going next week. Pray send me a copy of your Prospectus—also let me know which way you think of taking the road and telegraph on your side and whether you wish to get as far away from the American frontier as possible. I am afraid of the Jasper House pass on account of the inclement seasons, particularly for a railway. I will have a Confab with our Governor in a day or two, I know he is in favor of the Jasper Ho. route, and I think opposed to the granting of a Government Guarantee to pay interest for the capital necessary to build the road—he thinks it would be better for this Colony to borrow the money itself but I think it is very doubtful and as we are to have an Executive Council in a few days things will change. I am very thick with the Old boy and will find out how he is inclined to go in all these matters. I enclose a badly [?] printed Copy of the printed specifications (the only one I have) used by the Royal Engineers and under which the waggon roads have all been built. The Royal Engineers all left the Colony about a month ago for England and at present we have not got a Chief Comm. of Lands and Works but I expect that a particular friend of mine will get it A Mr. J. W. Trutch, mentioned in my other letter, he is a very fine fellow, a thorough business man and an honest one too—"Rara Avis" in this Country. You Bet as we say here. If you go home do not forget to push my appointment which you have so kindly Volunteered. Colonel Moody proposed to me to apply for the very same thing and promised me to write to a Mr. Watkin—who he is I do not know—applying for the B. Columbian section. I have done so as it might put a spoke in the wheel. This overland road etc. will be a grand thing to be connected with and I hope to shake hands with you yet on the Rocky Mountains. I fear you will be rather disappointed in my descriptions

of this Country but it is the only one I feel justified in giving—Most of the accounts in the papers are written with a View to draw Emigration here and the Essays are, in many material points, too favorable.

The Expense of building roads will in proportion be less in future as the Cost of Transport of supplies will be much lower now that we have got the roads through the mountain ranges.

We are expecting two new Governors, one for Vancouver Island one for B. Columbia. I am sorry our old one is going for although he is a great humbug he is a good governor.

With regard to clearing a line 2 ch[ain]s wide for a telegraph through the woods it will depend greatly which route is taken. If it Crosses the Rocky Mountains by Either the Kootanae or Vermillion Passes and thence anywhere through by Okanagan Lake, Kamloops and down the Thompson and Fraser rivers to Yale the expense of clearing will be Very Trifling as the Country is not at all thickly timbered and little or no underbrush. The line could be carried along the Waggon road from Yale to Cooks Ferry [Spences Bridge], a distance of 77 miles at an expense of \$60 to \$70 per mile for Clearing. From Cook's Ferry to the Okanagan Country it can go for miles and miles with only an occasional tree to remove. The timber here is short and stunted and generally scarce. From Yale to New Westminster along the banks of the Fraser the timber grows thickly, consisting of Alder, Cottonwood and pine with a good deal of underbrush. The distance is about 95 miles and to Slash the timber would cost from \$125 to \$150 per mile.

If the line Crosses by the Leather Pass (Jasper's House) from the information I can get, the timber along the banks of the Fraser R. to the mouth of Quesnell is plentiful and owing to the great cost of the Conveyance of supplies would be very costly to remove. From the mouth of Quesnell either along the line of waggon road or by the banks of the Fraser R. the clearing will be light either to Cook's ferry Lytton or Lillooet. By the Bute Inlet road it will also be very easy and if the line crosses there with a submarine cable it can be brought to Victoria passing through a tolerably well timbered Country on Vancouver Id.

* * * * *

I intend to remain either here or in N. Westminster for the balance of the winter and then if not for the Overland road will take a trip to Carriboo [*sic*] or Shuswap. Any letter you write will be certain to find me, as, in this delightful place you can always find out in half an hour where anybody is, what doing, how many dollars in his pocket, how he made them and Even how many drinks he has per diem. I Trust that war in the States will soon come to a conclusion, the Southerners hold out well, both sides have come out much stronger than I anticipated.

I will write again soon, so will now conclude, if you see the Duke of Newcastle or Sir E. Head or any of the promoters of this Overland

road give my name "Honourable Mention." With Kind remembrances to Mrs. Fleming and family—how many now?

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

W. Moberly

S. Fleming Esq.
Toronto

WALTER MOBERLY TO SANDFORD FLEMING.

Victoria V.I. Dec. 16th 1863¹

Dear Fleming,

I give you below a description of the Roads of British Columbia, their cost and a rough sketch of the Agricultural resources &c such as I have formed after an Experience of five years residence in it. As the Steamer is hourly Expected it is necessarily meager and drawn up in a hurry as I am anxious to answer your letter by return Mail. I forward you by this mail the Prize-Essays on both British Columbia and Vancouver Island² also Begbie's Map of B.C.³ and the last and best map yet published by the Royal Engineers⁴. On this map I have marked in red ink the Waggon roads in continuous lines and the proposed ones in dotted lines—the Trails are already marked.

THE WAGGON ROADS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

1. THE DOUGLAS-LILLOOET-ALEXANDRIA ROAD.

This road commences at Port Douglas the head of steamboat navigation on the northerly end of Harrison Lake. It passes over four portages to Lillooet which are connected by small steamers on the several lakes. It is twelve feet in width from Douglas to Lillooet and was built partly by J. W. Trutch at a cost of about \$2200 per mile. Considerable sums have been since expended for repairs, alterations &c. The first portage from Douglas to Tenass (small) Lake is 29 miles in length. The second portage between Tenass and Lillooet Lakes is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in length. (These two lakes can be connected by building a dam at the lower End of Tenass Lake in order to back the water to give a sufficient depth for steamers over the small rapids which connect the two lakes. A dam was built which answers the purpose, but owing to its faulty construction was swept away in the spring freshets. A good dam would cost \$12,000. The third portage connecting Lillooet

(1) The original is endorsed: "Answered Rimouski 10th March, 1864."

(2) R. C. Lundin Brown, *British Columbia. An Essay*, New Westminster, 1863; Charles Forbes, *Vancouver Island: its resources and capabilities as a Colony*, Victoria, 1862.

(3) Not identified.

(4) Probably the map appearing in *Papers Relating to British Columbia, Part IV*, facing p. 54.

and Anderson lakes is 24 and the fourth portage between Anderson and Seaton lakes $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length. There is a small Tramway as well as Waggon road over this last portage. From Port Seaton $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Waggon road brings brings [*sic*] the Traveller to Lillooet which is situated on the west side of the Fraser River. The whole of the above described Section of this route is through a narrow heavily timbered Valley between high ranges of mountains, very rocky, some swamps and very little agricultural land. The Mountains on either side of the Lakes rising abruptly from the waters edge. The Grades are generally easy except two or three in the neighbourhood of Douglas which are about 1 in 10. There was much blasting on the first 29 mile portage. At Lillooet the Fraser river is crossed by means of a Ferry boat (a wire suspension bridge is now in contemplation). From Lillooet to Soda Creek (near Alexandria on the Fraser) the northern terminus this road is Eighteen feet in width. The section from Lillooet to Cut-off Valley [Clinton] a distance of 35 miles passes over a very broken Country, cut up with numerous steep ravines and it crosses Pavillion Mountain at an Elevation of 4040 feet above the sea with steep grades and sharp turns both ascending and descending. There is little or no timber on this section—some small patches of Agricultural land which with the help of irrigation produce Vegetables and Cereals abundantly. From the northerly side of Pavillion Mountain to Clinton—the Junction of the Douglas-Lillooet-Alexandria and the Yale-Lytton-Alexandria Waggon roads—through Cut-off Valley a distance of twelve miles the road is nearly level and passes through a Valley of scattered pine timber, some patches of good soil, but large quantities of Alkali. There was very little blasting but much heavy side cutting and timbering on the first 35 miles of this section. The cost was \$100,000 from Lillooet to Clinton—47 miles. This will always be an Expensive route for the Conveyance of freight owing to the numerous transshipments. From Clinton to Soda Creek (the Steamboat Landing) a distance of 133 miles—For the first 53 miles to Bridge Creek it passes through a country thickly timbered with small sized [*sic*] pine and poor agricultural land; the rest of the distance is tolerably open—with much good agricultural land. There was not any blasting on this section and the grades generally very good. From Clinton to Soda Creek cost about \$175,000. The whole road from Lillooet to Soda Creek was built by G. B. Wright. The Govt. advanced certain sums and gave a charter to W. for 5 years Empowering him to collect a Toll of 1 cent per lb. (\$20 pr. ton) on all goods & a small toll on animals & carriages. The Charter is redeemable at any time by the Government.

From Soda Creek to the Mouth of Quesnell 64 miles there is a good steamer on the Fraser built at a cost of \$75,000 by Wright. From the Mouth of Quesnel to Williams Creek 75 miles there is a bridle Trail 10 feet in width passing through a densely wooded Country with much underbrush—Grades easy—very muddy except for two or three months in the middle of summer.

2. THE YALE-LYTTON-ALEXANDRIA ROAD 18 FT. WIDE.

Commencing at Yale the head of Steamboat Navigation on the Fraser R. to Sailors bar, a distance of 7 miles, built by the Royal Engineers—very heavy blasting, wall building and side cutting—Grades easy—cost \$32,000. From Sailor's Bar to the Suspension Bridge built by Thos. Spence. Eight Miles in length Contract price \$36,000—heavy blasting, side cutting and much timbering—Wire Suspension Bridge nearly 200 ft. span, private Speculation—built by J. W. Trutch at a cost of \$35,000 [\$36,000?] Government Grant charter for seven years—Toll $\frac{1}{3}$ of a cent per lb. on all goods & a small toll on animals and carriages—Charter redeemable. From Suspension Bridge to Boston Bar Eleven Miles built by J. W. Trutch—four miles of which is Tolerably Easy other seven miles the very heaviest description of work—high wall building, an immense quantity of blasting, heavy side cutting and timbering—cost about \$150,000. From Boston Bar to Lytton thirty-two miles built by T. Spence at a cost of \$104,000. Country very much cut up steep ravines, a great deal of heavy side cutting, much timbering and blasting. From Yale to Lytton along the Fraser the road passes through a rough, rocky, broken mountainous and sterile valley. On the whole of this section there are only three or four gardens.

From Lytton to Cook's Ferry on the Thompson, a distance of twenty-four miles the road runs along the south bank of the Thompson river through a rough, rocky, broken and barren Valley—was built by W. Moberly at a cost of \$130,000—much heavy blasting, side cutting and timbering. The Thompson is here crossed by a ferry (a wooden bridge 500 ft. in length will most probably be built this next season at a cost of 15 to \$18,000) and for a distance of Eight Miles to Venable's Creek the road was built partly by W. Moberly and partly by the Royal Engineers at a cost of \$32,000. Much blasting and side cutting—road nearly level. From Venable's Creek to Moberly's Camp a distance of 4 miles was built by Thomas Spence, 12 feet wide (*Govt. funds short*) cost \$9000. From Moberly's Camp to Clinton (The Junction) a distance of forty-one miles—built by W. Moberly—Generally through an Easy Country—it passes partly along the north bank of the Thompson and the west bank of the Bonaparte rivers, through Maiden Creek Valley (Glen Hart) to Clinton—not much blasting some timbering & side cutting—Cost \$70,000. Country sterile and barren—little or no timber One or two small poor farms—a good deal of bunch grass but much Alkali.

3. THE HOPE & SIMILKAMEEN ROAD—12 FEET.

This road commences at Hope and is only made for a distance of twenty-three miles. It has never been used and is now much out of repair. It was built partly by the Royal Engineers and partly by W. Moberly—passes through a narrow and thickly wooded valley—no agricultural land—much heavy side cutting and a good deal of

Blasting. Cost about \$2250 per mile 12 feet wide. The great objection to this route is that it crosses the Cascade Range of Mountains at a high Elevation and through a bad narrow pass which is much obstructed by snow for seven months and sometimes more during the year. Valuable as a frontier road for Military purposes.

PROPOSED ROADS.

1. BUTE INLET AND MOUTH OF QUESNELL.

Commencing at the head of Bute Inlet it is proposed to Construct a Waggon road to the Mouth of Quesnell. Estimated distance 215 miles. First portion of road very mountainous and rocky for a distance of 38 or 40 miles, rest of distance through a Tolerably open and level Country—Much Bunch Grass and some good land said to Exist. A mule Trail will probably be open next summer it is now partly made. Waggon road 18 ft. wide will in all probability cost \$4 to \$500,000—Very doubtful if the money can be raised. Charter granted 3 yrs. to Complete road and 10 years term afterwards. Toll 3 cts. per lbs on Goods. Charter not redeemable.

2. BENTINCK ARM AND MOUTH OF QUESNELL.

A charter granted but nothing done. Very doubtful if opened—Very conflicting reports about the Route. Lieut. Palmer of the Royal Engineers reports very strongly against both the line as adopted for a road and the Harbor.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

On the lower Fraser, from Hope to the Mouth of the river, there is much land adapted for agricultural purposes but generally densely wooded, the best portions flooded in the Spring and mosquitoes innumerable. The Want of a market and the heavy Cost of Clearing the land will for many years keep this part of the Country in a backward state. The section of Country North of the 49th parallel, south of the latitude of Kamloops Lake, East of Hope and Extending to the Columbia is generally sparcely [*sic*] timbered with red pine, abounds with bunch grass and dotted with land Capable of bring rendered useful for agricultural purposes—requires irrigation—summers very dry—not much snow except on Cascade Range—Animals winter well, feeding on the grass, which even in the severest winters they can always get at. The Section north of the latitude of Kamloops lake and extending to the latitude of Lake la Hache and Eastward from the Fraser R. is high, mountainous, generally thickly timbered principally with a small species of fir pine, and the land almost useless for agricultural purposes. About Lake la Hache and Horse fly Creek & up to Williams Lake is the best agricultural district and the area most available in British Columbia having the Carriboo mines for a market. The Country North of this is wild, mountainous thickly timbered & unfit for agriculture—

it rains and snows almost incessantly Except for about three Months in the year. I may add that reports say that there is Excellent land on the Peace river but I feel very doubtful of it. The Section of Country west of the Fraser and Extending to the Coast, with the Exception of a portion in the neighborhood of Chilcotin Lake is rugged, mountainous and I may say totally useless Except for mineral purposes. Copper has lately been discovered at Skeena river, of a very inferior quality, also at several other points.

With regard to its mineral resources I am convinced that British Columbia is Extraordinarily rich, but owing to the short seasons at the mines, the want of Capital, the Expense of living and the difficulty of access to the interior it will take years to develop. Innumerable copper mines have lately been discovered on the Coast, Queen Charlotte's Island and on Vancouver Id. and at present the Excitement is very great and many Companies formed to prospect and work them. Very rich gold mines have lately been reported at Shuswap and from my knowledge of that part of the country I feel satisfied that the whole of that section and the head of the Columbia R. will ultimately be the best district in B.C. as there is a good deal of good land, the climate is the best in the Colony and the poorer classes of miners can work for several months longer in the year and at a much cheaper rate of living than at Carriboo.

Such is a hasty Sketch of our Colony. I consider the description of its agricultural resources as given by the Revd. R. C. L. Brown too highly colored. When you write me more fully I will give you my opinion about the different lines I would propose for the Telegraph, road, &c. but you must let me know the point at which you propose to cross the Rocky Mountains. Send me your prospectus of road &c. Roads here will have to be supported by Toll on Goods—cannot rely on settlement along them.

Believe me Yrs. Truly

[sd.] W. Moberly

S. Fleming Esq. C.E.

Toronto C[anada]. W[est].

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, 1835:

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE NORTHWARD
FROM THE COLUMBIA RIVER TO FORT SIMPSON
AND RETURN IN THE BRIG *LAMA*, JANUARY-
OCTOBER, 1835.

EDITED BY HENRY DRUMMOND DEE.

PART IV.

[At *Fort Simpson*.]

Sunday, July 5. Raw cold weather, some rain squalls of wind from the S.E. At a little past noon Capt. McNeill arrived with the *Lama*, last from Neweetie [*sic*]. He has not yet given in an account of his cruise, but since he went off he has been to Kygarny, Sabasses, Millbank and Naweetie, and has traded about 450 beaver & land Otters & 33 Sea Otters besides some small furs, which is much better than we expected. A South East wind came on which he could not make head way against, and induced him to go into Kygarny, contrary to the arrangements when he left this. At that place he procured a few beaver and some land Otters & Sea Otters. Shortly after he reached Kygarny, Capt. Dominis & Allan also arrived, and they proceeded all then to Sabasses, and thence to Millbank, where they separated from Allan & the other two went on to Naweetie, & from thence they returned here. At Naweetie a good many furs were procured, but not many elsewhere.

Monday, July 6. Overcast fair weather. The men employed Sawing, building the chimney, attending the coalp[i]t¹⁵⁰ and sundry other jobs. Received a deer from the Indians today which we are in much want of, as we were out of fresh provisions.

Tuesday, July 7. Fine weather, wind Westerly but very little of it. The men employed as yesterday. Had the furs all landed from the *Lama* and some more supplies sent on board. They are a lot of good furs, but cost high indeed. So long as an opposition continues it cannot be otherwise.

Wednesday, July 8. Fine warm weather. The men still employed the same. Had the furs which were landed yesterday all aired and beat. Sent some empty casks and salt on board the *Lama* so that Capt. McNeill may be able to salt salmon¹⁵¹ should he be able to procure them in any of the ports he may touch at; but as he has our opponents to look after he is directed not to run the risk of losing beaver for the sake of salmon. It is too early in the season for salmon yet. The *Lama* has nothing further to detain her, but she remains to ascertain where our opponents are going; had it not been [for] that she would have sailed today. Should our oppo-

(150) Charcoal pit.

(151) For use at the fort during the winter.

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nents go to Millbank it is desirable that the *Lama* would accompany them. Little is to be expected elsewhere.

Thursday, July 9. Overcast fair weather in the morning, but heavy rain wind from the Southward and dirty like weather. Capt. Allan sailed in the afternoon, unfavourable as the weather was. He said he was going to Clemencitty for spars, but we have little doubt he has gone to Nass. It is not supposed he will get much at this season, as the Indians, even had they a few beaver, are scattered up Nass River and Observatory Inlet¹⁵² fishing salmon. A Canoe from Nass arrived yesterday evening, from whom we traded 6 beaver. It is supposed they also gave a few to the ships, probably 2 & an Otter.

Friday, July 10. Very heavy rain in the night & all day. Wind Southerly but very light. The men still employed as before. Late last night two canoes arrived from the Canalls¹⁵³ a little inland from Sabasses, with about 40 beaver, 8 of which they traded here and took all the rest to Dominis, from whom they received 2 gall: liquor with a blanket which is a gallon more than we give (and when all liquor,¹⁵⁴ 6 gall. per beaver, which is double what we give). This is much higher than the Americans gave last Cruise, when McNeill was with them. These furs were all traded before we were aware what price our opponents were giving or I should have ordered Capt. McNeill to trade also and give as much or more than they were giving. This I look upon as a Yankie trick. It was unfortunate that the weather was unfavorable or the vessels would have been off and we would not have lost these beaver. A scamp of an Indian, who had been furnished with ammunition and the lend of a gun to kill some deer for us, killed one but instead of bringing it here gave it to our opponents.

Saturday, July 11. Cloudy showry weather. Wind S.W., but very light. Both vessels got under weigh in the afternoon, but the wind was so light that it was late before they got out of the harbour. They are bound first to Kygaryn, where it is expected they will find a few furs, as it is some time since the vessels left that. Capt. McNeill is directed to be back here in sufficient time to have the vessel and every thing in readiness to sail for the Columbia by the 1st of September.¹⁵⁵

Sunday, July 12. Very heavy rain in the night and greater part of the day. Wind S.E., a breeze & squally. This wind is favorable for the vessels bound to Kygaryn, and they have most likely arrived there before now.

An Indian arrived from Pearl Harbour with 20 fresh Salmon, but demanded too much for them, and he was allowed to take them away rather than rise our price as it would be a precedent and all the others that would come would demand the same, altho' we had no fresh provisions. During the day we received a few halibut but they are of a very bad quality.

The gardens have come on very well for the last week. Some of the potatoes are flowering.

(152) Extending inland from Portland Inlet, northeast of the estuary of the Nass River.

(153) The network of channels and inlets which extend around Banks, Pitt and Princess Royal islands.

(154) See F. W. Howay, "The Introduction of Intoxicating Liquors amongst the Indians of the Northwest Coast," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1942), p. 157.

(155) With the annual returns, for Fort Vancouver.

Monday, July 13. Rain in the night and most part of the day. Part of the men employed drawing the coal kiln which was kindled on the 16th June. There are a good quantity of coals in it, though a good deal of one side of it is not thoroughly burned. The rest of the men employed building the chimney in the dwelling house, burning lime, sawing and other jobs. In the evening some Indians arrived from Skeena who have been lately at Millbank, and are accompanied by a Sabassa Indian. They have a few beaver with them, but have not traded them yet.

Tuesday, July 14. Wind Southerly, rained a good deal in the afterpart of the day, also heavy rain in the night. Part of the men employed bringing home stones for the chimney, the others as yesterday. Some more Indians arrived from Skeena who have been lately at Millbank. One of them, Looking Glass, brought a letter from Mr. Manson,¹⁵⁶ dated 5th Inst., by which we learn that they are all well. Their trade amounts to about 900 beaver and Otters, and at present is very dull. They have had a very backward spring and what potatoes and other things they sowed is getting on very slowly.

These Indians brought a few furs part of which they have traded.

The *Europa*, Capt. Allan, passed down Nass straits in the morning and stood away towards Tongass or Kygarny.

An Old Indian, the Cape Fox¹⁵⁷ Chief, who has been remaining about the place ill for some time, died last night. He was a good friendly Indian for the Whites. None of his people were here, but his wife and a son, a boy; so that he may be said to have ended his days among strangers.

Wednesday, July 15. Very heavy rain in the night and greater part of the day. Wind Southerly, stormy. The people employed boating home stones, building the chimney, sawing, and other jobs. The Indians who arrived yesterday traded 8 beaver. They had a sea otter, but demanded too high a price for it, and took it away again.

Thursday, July 16. Rain in the night. Fair weather during the day & clear in the afternoon, but cloudy in the morning. Part of the people employed bringing home the coals. The kiln in which there were 34 cords of wood, yielded about 200 barrels of coals. The other men employed as these days past. We were like to have a row among the Indians. One of the Chiefs, Legigh, though he is an old man & has 4 or 5 wives already, is in love with a young girl, Cogill's stepdaughter, and would have her right or wrong, though it appears she is neither willing herself, nor are the parents willing to give their consent. The lover insisted he had got a promise and would have her right or wrong, and went so far that one of his people snapped a gun at Cogill. The girl made her escape and took refuge in the fort. Both parties are on their guard lest their opponents attack them in the night. Cogill has but few people with him, but he is a brave determined fellow and the others are loth [*sic*] to come to close quarters with him; there are but few of them here now either. We advised Cogill to go away from here, as there is reason to apprehend that they will come in greater force and kill him, but the poor devil is afraid to go away any where else, as he has enemies every where, and has fled here from his own people on account of a quarrel he had with them in which 8 men were killed lately.

(156) Donald Manson, in charge at Fort McLoughlin.

(157) On the opposite side of the entrance to Portland Inlet from Fort Simpson.

He bears a bad character among the Indians, but he has been a great deal among the whites, and should any mischance befall him I would be sorry it would happen here. We have therefore advised him strongly to be off.

Friday, July 17. Overcast weather, some rain in the afternoon. The men employed as before. Legigh and his party went off in the morning, when he declared he would give himself no further trouble about the girl, but love got the better of his resolution and he returned in the course of the day to renew his suit, but without effect, as he would not be listened to. It is suspected that he has a party of his people lurking about to carry her off by force should an opportunity offer, but Cogill it seems is keeping a look out and is prepared for them. Legigh verifies the old adage that "an old fool is the worst of fools," particularly when love is in the question.

A canoe arrived from Nass. They traded only one beaver skin. They say that Allan got a few beaver when he was up at Nass, but there is no getting any information from them that can be relied upon.

Saturday, July 18. Cloudy, heavy rain part of the day. The men employed as before. Cogill and his people went off today accompanied by some Indians that were here. We are glad he is gone lest the Pearl Harbour people might return & kill him at the fort. The Nass Indians that arrived yesterday also went off. Only one lodge of Indians remain at this place. It is long since we were so clear of them. They are well away, for they are so lazy that they do nothing here, not even took after a little fish.

Sunday, July 19. Showry weather. We have been some time living on salt fish & venison. Not a bit of fresh meat or fish to be got. There have been plenty of salmon in the bay for some time back, but it is too early in the season for them to ascend the rivers yet, and the Indians are taking but very few.

Monday, July 20. Showry weather. The Men employed finishing the Chimney, and laying the flooring in the dwelling house, and about different other jobs.

A Canoe of Indians arrived from about Sabasses some where, & traded 16 beaver & 2 Otters principally for rum, and went off in the evening. Two of the Pearl Harbour Chiefs came along with them. Some Pearl Harbour Indians brought us 3 deer & $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. salmon, which is a seasonable supply & will relieve us from salt meal[s], which we have been living upon for some time past.

Tuesday, July 21. Rained most part of the day. The men employed about the dwelling house laying the flooring, putting up partitions, and at sundry other jobs. The two chiefs that arrived yesterday went off. Another canoe arrived from Pearl Harbour and brought a few half dried salmon. They are taking but few salmon yet, as they have not begun to ascend the river in any numbers; though opposite the fort here, they are seen passing in considerable numbers.

Wednesday, July 22. Heavy rain part of the day. A canoe arrived late last night from Clemencitty and traded a good many salmon this morning. Since the rain set in they have been taking a good many fish at Clemencitty. The men employed as yesterday.

Thursday, July 23. Very heavy rain in the night, fair weather during the day. The men still employed the same. The Indians who arrived two

days ago went off. A lodge of Indians who have been remaining about the fort all the summer also went off. Just as they were starting the man's two wives quarrelled about a paddle, and had a fight into which the man and his brother were also drawn, & became so heated that the brother snapped a musket twice at the women's husband. Luckily it did not go off. What a blood thirsty set of scoundrels they are! The man lingered on about the fort till towards evening, and assigned as a reason for delaying that he wished to let the others cool, and the passion go off them, before he came up with them. There are no Indians encamped about the place now, which is the first time we have been rid of them for a length of time. A Canoe arrived from Pearl Harbour and traded about a hundred salmon, mostly half dried. This enables the men to get a day's fresh provisions, a thing they have not had for a considerable time back.

Friday, July 24. Fine fair weather. The men still employed the same.

Saturday, July 25. Fine fair weather. A canoe of Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour and traded a beaver and a few pieces of half dried salmon.

Sunday, July 26. Stormy in the night. Cloudy fair weather during the day. Wind Westerly. Three Canoes of Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour, but brought only a few pieces of dried salmon & 1 large and two small deer. The large deer was a buck in pretty good order, the carcass weighed 108 lb. Salmon are very numerous towards the lower end of the bay a short distance from the fort. Had we either seines or nets and people that knew any thing of fishing, there is no doubt we might ourselves take sufficient for the daily use of the fort, large as our establishment is, and might salt plenty also. The salmon at this season before entering the river are in fine condition.

Monday, July 27. Fine clear weather forepart of the day. Overcast some rain towards evening. Part of the men employed burning and dragging away stumps and brush wood from the waterside in order to prevent the landing place from being choked up. The stumps are so heavy that they will not float away nor will they burn with out a great deal of dry wood being used with them, & from their great weight, removing them is a difficult laborious business. The other men employed at the dwelling house, sawing, and in the blacksmith's shop. In the evening a large canoe with 10 or 12 Indians arrived from Nass, but they have nothing with them, but some half dried salmon.

Tuesday, July 28. Rained in the night and all day. The Men employed as yesterday. A canoe with three slaves, a man & 2 women who had ran away from some of the people on Queen Charlotte's islands, arrived on the little island opposite the fort in the night, or early in the morning. The Nass Indians who arrived last night immediately seized them canoe and all. On learning the circumstance we secured five of the Nass men who were in the fort, and made the others bring up the slaves, which they did with great reluctance, and not before we threatened to send the ones we had hold of & sell them for slaves also. The poor slaves are from the Southward, but how long they have been taken or from whom they ran away we could not exactly learn from from [*sic*] them, nor yet where they intended to go. We first intended to have given them their canoe again, and let them go on their way; but on considering that it might be the cause of getting us into trouble with the Nass people, who might perhaps seek a favorable opportunity and seize some of our men, which would be not at

all improbable, and that the poor slaves would have very little chance of escaping, as they would almost to a certainty be taken by some other Indians before they could go far, and as it would be as well for them to be in slavery with one tribe as another, we allowed the Nass men to take them away, but at the same time warned them never to take any near our establishment again, or we would undoubtedly fire upon them. It is customary among them when ever they find any runaways this way to seize them at once, and dividing them is often the cause of serious quarrels among them which not infrequently terminates in bloodshed.

Wednesday, July 29. Continued raining the most of the day. The people employed as before. Three Indians arrived in a canoe from Pearl Harbour & traded 2 beaver & some half dried salmon. These with some that was traded yesterday, serves to give the people a few days rations, which is a seasonable change for them from salt fish and wheat which they have had for some time back.

Thursday, July 30. Rained the most of the day. The men employed as yesterday. The Indians who arrived yesterday went off again.

Friday, July 31. Showry in the morning, fine fair weather afterwards. The men employed the same. Three Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour with a few half dried salmon which they traded, and went off immediately. Dr. Kennedy¹⁵⁸ with some of the men have been trying these two nights past to spear salmon by torch light, but without success, though fish¹⁵⁹ are very numerous. Their spears are not good and they are not adroit themselves.

Saturday, August 1. Fine weather till towards evening when it became overcast with some light rain. The men still employed the same. Dr. Kennedy & some of the men were out last night again spearing salmon with torch light and killed a dozen or fourteen. Their spears are not well constructed, which with want of skill in themselves, prevented them from killing more, as they saw the salmon very numerous. No Indians visited us today for a wonder.

Sunday, August 2. Overcast weather, drizzling rain the greater part of the day. Part of the potatoes in the garden are growing remarkably well, particularly where there are some sand and shells mixed up with the light peat soil especially down on the side next the water. Whereas the other parts of the garden farther from the water where there is no mixture with the peat soil some of the potatoes are not yet come up, and others only a little above the ground. There are spots where the stalks are [*blank in MS.*] feet high and growing most luxuriantly, while two or three paces distant they are only a few inches above the ground, though sowed at the same time. I have no doubt when the ground will be dug up and the stratum of sand turned up & mixed with the light black peat soil, that potatoes, pease, & barley, and different garden stuffs, will thrive in it remarkably well. Some pease are sowed among the potatoes and have a fine appearance, there are also two stalks of Indian corn but it is feared it will not ripen.

Monday, August 3. Rained the most of the day. A party of men were sent down to the bottom of the bay to square timber, a party employed in

(158) John Frederick Kennedy, clerk and physician at Fort Simpson.

(159) The salmon were schooling for their annual run up the rivers and creeks, where they would spawn and die, their life's cycle complete.

the dwelling house, two sawing, two in the Blacksmith's shop, and the others carrying in sand to level the square of the fort and render the soft boggy ground hard and firm.

Tuesday, August 4. Rained the most of the day. The people employed as yesterday. Late in the evening a vessel was seen out off the harbour standing in beating against the wind, she fired two guns, which we answered. As the Americans are not accustomed to fire, we concluded that it was our vessel from Vancouver.¹⁶⁰ Dr. Kennedy and a party of men went out to her in a boat, when she turned out to be the *Bolivar*, Capt. Dominis, so that we experienced a disappointment. The Doctor brought me a letter from Capt. McNeill dated on the 2nd Inst., by which it appears that since they left this, they have been to Kygarny, Tongass, Sabasses, & Millbank. Capt. McNeill is going to pay another visit to Kygarny and thence to Tongass to salt salmon, as nothing more is to be made in the way of furs. Since he last left, Capt. McNeill has traded 120 Land fur & 23 Sea Otters. Three Indians brought us a small deer from Pearl Harbour. For a wonder, no Indians have been here these 3 days.

Wednesday, August 5. Heavy rain in the night and most of the day. The men employed the same, part of them washing out one end of the dwelling house, which is finished. The *Bolivar* came into the harbour in the night and anchored. In the evening two large Canoes arrived from Skidegates, Q. Charlottes Islands, with potatoes of this season; but it was late and they have not offered any of them for sale yet. These confounded American vessels are always seen to cast up when any Indians come about. Luckily, these people are not likely to have any furs.

Thursday, August 6. Very heavy rain in the night and forepart of the day. Fair weather towards evening. The men employed as before. We have been getting cords¹⁶¹ cut to tie the furs, but the weather continues so wet that they wont dry and we are afraid they will rot. From all appearance we will scarcely get enough of dry weather to pack our few furs little as they are. The Blacksmith doing a little work for Capt. Dominis. The Indians who arrived yesterday would not come to terms with the Doctor about their potatoes, they demand to [*sic*] high a price for them. As our opponents are here, having two markets to go to, makes them more difficult to deal with. They traded a good many of their potatoes with the Americans, for which they obtained a high price. Two Canoes arrived from Pearl Harbour with some dried Salmon, a few fresh ones, three deer and 5 beaver & two land Otters. They traded 3 of the beaver, the deer & salmon with us. The other two beaver and the otters they took to our opponents, who give a higher price than we do and are provided with a better assortment of goods than we are and of different kinds. The quantity of furs they have to trade are so small that it is not worth our while to

(160) The vessel which was to bring the fall shipment of trade goods and supplies from Fort Vancouver. Her departure north from the Columbia would be delayed until the arrival of the annual supply vessel from England, which did not arrive in 1835 until July 30. See McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, September 30, 1835, in E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1825-38*, Toronto and London, 1941, p. 137.

(161) Rawhide thongs cut from deerhide. See *infra* entry for August 16, 1835.

raise our price for and have the difficulty of lowering it again. We cannot get the Indians to bring us fresh salmon. They say it is too far to come with them. I am apprehensive we will not be able to salt any for the winter. About this time last year the Cape Fox Indians were bringing abundance of fresh salmon from Clemencitty, but probably owing to their [*sic*] being fighting among themselves and killing each other, none of them have come near us with any fish this season yet.

Friday, August 7.—Overcast, lowering, but fair weather. The men employed as before. Some more Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour but had only a few dry fish.

Saturday, August 8. Overcast, showry weather. The men were all sent down to the bottom of the bay to assist the squarers with what timber they had squared to the fort. They brought 18 fine logs besides one log to saw up for stairs, & two pieces 70 to 80 feet long for eve spouts for the dwelling house. Two Canoes of Cape Fox Indians, accompanied by Cogill, arrived late in the evening from Clemencitty. They have a few fresh salmon and some dry ones, but it was too late to trade them. The Men who were down for the wood killed a good many salmon in a little brook down at the bottom of the bay. Salmon are now going up it in great numbers and might be easily taken in considerable quantities, but they are all the hunch back salmon¹⁶² and so very poor and bad that but few of them are eatable.

Sunday, August 9. Drizzling, rain all day, with some heavy showers. Dr Kennedy busy the most of the day trading salmon with the Indians that arrived yesterday evening. He traded about 400, part dry, part fresh, & part split & partly dried, the fresh half dried ones were put in salt, so that they might keep till required. Of furs these Indians had only two land Otters which they took to our opponents. It is to be regretted that we are necessitated to buy their salmon, or we would not take one of them, and when they could not sell them but to us they would have to bring their furs also, or we would not take their salmon. We shall adopt this plan as soon as we get a few fish on hand to make us a little independant [*sic*] of them, but we cannot do so with these Cape Fox Indians as it is on them we have principally to depend for deer to salt bye & bye. A canoe of Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour with some dried salmon. It is reported among the Indians that Capt. Allan had a quarrel with the Sabasses Indians some time ago in consequence of some thefts they committed upon him, and that in retaliation he seized two of their men and 15 beaver and carried them off to the Northward with him, and that Sabasses is threatening to retaliate upon us, and carry off some of our people if he finds an opportunity for that. Though opponents we are all whites. So that if this scoundrel comes this way he will require to be looked after.

Monday, August 10. Heavy rain, thick weather the most of the day. Part of the men still employed at the dwelling house, the others burning stumps & rubbish on the beach about the landing place, and sundry other jobs. The wood is so wet that it will not burn, advanced as the summer is. The Indians that arrived yesterday, traded a few salmon and went off again. They had two beaver, but would not trade them, and took them away with them again. Capt. Dominis sailed today for Kygary. He saluted the fort when going off with 5 guns, which was returned. I am very glad to see

(162) *Oncorhynchus gorbusca*, or humpback salmon, an inferior species.

him gone and would be well pleased to see none of them returning, for when they are here, by giving a little more, they are always sure to get the greater part of what few furs any chance Indians that may drop in have, and for us to alter our price for every few beaver which may cast up would eventually raise the price beyond all bounds, and when ever we begin to lower the tariff it is sure to stop the trade for some time and make the natives hold up their furs in expectation of the opposition casting up when they are sure to obtain higher prices. Capt. Dominis means to proceed to Kygarny to engage Indians, and go on to California and remain 6 or 7 months hunting sea otters, and trading along the coast. Although he says he will not return to trade here next spring as there is nothing to be made, yet it is most probable he will return to make the best of the residue of his cargo, unless he can sell it to good advantage elsewhere.

The Pearl Harbour Indians¹⁶³ that arrived yesterday quarrelled among themselves while trading to day about an axe, which one of them was bargaining with the Doctor for, and another took it up at the price demanded for it. In consequence of this dispute one of them was afraid to accompany the others home though his friends, and remained here behind them. Another canoe arrived from the same place late in the evening. The people that arrived late on Saturday with Cogill, went off today to hunt deer, and have not returned yet.

Tuesday, August 11.—Rain in the morning, fair weather afterwards. As the rubbish & stumps along the beach is too wet to burn, it was dropped and the men sent to square timber for a kitchen, the others employed as yesterday. We were employed assorting the furs to be ready for packing as soon as the weather will permit. A canoe of Indians arrived from Nass, and two from Pearl Harbour. They had a lot of dry & some fresh salmon and a few furs. They traded 6 beaver but took some more out and a lot of 30 fine Martens as they would not accept our price, though they were offered an inferior 3pt. Blanket for ten Martens. They are not yet gone and may perhaps come to terms tomorrow.

Wednesday, August 12. Some light rain in the morning. Overcast damp weather during the day. The men employed as yesterday. The Cape Fox Indians who went off to hunt deer on Monday, returned this morning with 6 deer, which they traded. One of them, a good Indian named Jack, is missing, and though they again went in quest of him, cannot be found. His friends accused Cogill, who was also of the hunting party, of having killed him and went off very suddenly as they said to get a reinforcement of their friends to come and revenge his death. Cogill on his part denies the charge, and says that probably Jack has been shot accidentally by some of his own friends, as such accidents some times happen when parties are out hunting in the woods. Although there is suspicion attached to Cogill, yet it is not easy to conceive what inducement he could have for committing such a barbarous act. Be that as it may, if the man be not found, it will likely stand hard with Cogill, be he guilty or innocent, as strong suspicion attaches to him. He went of [*sic*] to seek the lost man after the others were gone, but returned late in the evening without success. Three Canoes arrived late in the evening from Pearl Harbour, but appear to have nothing with them but dry salmon.

(163) Tsimpsean Indians, who inhabit the peninsula of that name on which Fort Simpson was located.

Thursday, August 13. Drizzling rain with occasional heavy showers all day. The men employed as yesterday. The Cape Fox Indian, Jack, who was missing these two days, returned today much fatigued and states that he had gone far in pursuit of deer, five of which he killed. Thus poor Cogill might have been knocked in the head on groundless suspicion. A large canoe of Indians was seen in the evening coming from the Northward, and coasting along the opposite side of the harbour, but did not come to the fort.

Friday, August 14. Still rainy weather. The men employed the same. The Canoe which was seen last night arrived early this morning and proved to be Stikeen people, 15 men & some women. They were afraid to come here last evening not knowing how many or what Indians might be here. They put a few beaver into the shop but have not traded any yet. They got a little liquor on arrival. It appears that this and a number of other canoes have been in Tongass and traded a considerable quantity of beaver with Capt. McNeill and Capt. Allan, that the latter's blankets are all done, and that he has even sold the few Muskets which he had for the ship's defence. Capt. McNeill's large sized blankets and duffle are also all done. Capt. McNeill did not write by them. It is conjectured their object in coming this way is to procure slaves. They have rum with them, but whether they obtained [it] from the ships at Tongass or brought it from the Russian Settlement at Stikeen we cannot say. Some Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour and traded a deer and 14 beaver, and went off again.

Saturday, August 15. Overcast damp but fair weather in the morning, but cleared up and became fine afterwards. As soon as the weather cleared up, had a party of the men employed airing and beating furs. The other men employed as before. The Stikeen Indians who arrived yesterday embarked in the morning, when we thought they were going off without trading any of their furs, but they afterwards landed, and kept the Doctor busy trading till towards evening. He got altogether from them 76 beaver a beaver robe & a Marten robe. They still took some skins, about 20 beaver, which they would not dispose of as we had not the kind of articles they required; but they parted with some of these beaver to the Indians here for slaves. They went off towards evening. They were treated a little more liberally than the Indians here in order to induce them to return again, which it is expected they will, yet their furs from the articles they took amount to about 11/6 per large beaver in the goods actually paid for them, which, considering the hot opposition now carrying on, can't be considered high. Three canoes of Nass Indians arrived in the forenoon with salmon and a few furs, and immediately on arrival assembled about the strangers all armed. This shows the propriety of the Stikeen men embarking and having themselves afloat before they began to trade, so that they might be ready for a start should any row occur which the others evidently wished for. Moreover the goods they traded were transferred to the canoe piecemeal as it was bought, and did not appear so great in the eyes of the Nass men as it otherwise would have done, and was not so strong an incitement to attempt pillage. Some Pearl Harbour Indians also arrived in the course of the day, with some salmon and a few furs, but have not yet traded.

Sunday, August 16. Clear fine warm weather. Wind Northerly. The Nass and Pearl Harbour or Chimsian Indians who arrived yesterday, kept Dr. Kennedy busy all day trading 22 beaver, a few small furs and some

salmon. We have stopped the trade of salmon as we have a sufficiency to serve for some time, and can always get more when required. If we have many of them on hand, owing to the dampness of the climate, it is scarcely possible to keep them from spoiling. A canoe of Tongass Indians arrived, but they appear to have little with them but a few dried salmon, which they will be allowed to take away again. While the opposition vessels were to the fore and had goods, not one of these people looked near us so that they may take their salmon and sell them where they sold their furs. We mean to follow this plan with all the Natives except when want of provisions compels us to act otherwise. A Chimsian Indian brought us two fine buck deer yesterday, one of which weighed 116 lbs. and the other 95 lbs. These two deer cost $\frac{1}{2}$ pint Rum, 1 quart Molasses, 6 lbs. Buck shot & 2 Heads Tobacco, which altogether amount to $\frac{2}{7}$ and is sufficient for the rations of 26 men for 1 day or nearly less than $1\frac{1}{4}^d$ per man per day. This is about the highest price paid for deer, they will cost on an average considerably less. The Americans used to sell the skins at Woahoo at $\frac{1}{4}$ Dollar each. Were they to bring the same price at present by preserving the skins & sending them to that market, the skins alone would bring all that the deer cost. Since my arrival here all the skins of any size obtained, have been preserved for that purpose, but a number of them had to be cut up for cords to tie the furs with. At Fort McLoughlin they are also preserving them for the same purpose.

Monday, August 17. Clear, fine, warm weather. Wind Northerly. Part of the men employed airing and beating furs, and packing the beaver which were beat on Saturday. The others working in the blacksmith's shop, sawing & making tables, ladders, &c., for the dwelling house & gallery, & preparing wood to loft and fit up the Indian shop. The Nass Indians went off. The Chimsian Indians who arrived yesterday traded 25 beaver, 4 Otters, & a few fine Martens. Some more of the same tribe arrived in the course of the day with some furs, but have not yet traded them. Last night the Indians pulled up an armful of the potatoe tops, though there is little or nothing yet at them. Previous to this at different times they have pulled up a few stalks, and have been repeatedly threatened to be fired upon if detected. This morning when called to account, they all denied [it] and the one laid the blame on the other. They were told to take care, for that the guard would be doubled, and ordered to shoot the first Indian found tresspassing. The nights are so dark now that though the potatoes are close under the stockades, yet the thieves cannot be seen. It is provoking after all our trouble to see the potatoes destroyed this way and before they are come to maturity, too. The potatoes where they have not missed are growing most luxuriantly, I am afraid too much so, as they are pushing too much up to stalk to yield well. They are too thick sown. About the half of what were planted have missed, part of which never came up, and the others are yet but a little way above the ground. What few pease were sowed among the potatoes in the good parts of the ground also show a luxuriant growth and will be productive. Some of them are ready for pulling for green pease, but in the bad soil they are gnarled and dwarfish like the potatoes. Carrots are also thriving well in places, so are cabbages and some other garden stuffs where the ground is good, or where the stratum of sand has been turned up among the peat soil.

Tuesday, August 18. Still fine, clear, warm weather. The men employed as yesterday. Had the remainder of the furs aired and well beat,

and 8 packs of bearskins made. The Indians that arrived yesterday evening traded 4 Beaver and 3 Otters, and went off in the afternoon, when only one family remained here; but late in the evening a small canoe of Clemencitty men and another of Nass men arrived.

Wednesday, August 19. Foggy with some light drizzling rain in the morning, fine weather afterwards. The men employed making ladders for the gallery,¹⁶⁴ & tables & bed steads for the rooms in the dwelling house, packing furs & sundry other jobs. Had the remainder of the furs packed, and part of them pressed when the weather cleared up in the afternoon. It is a wedge press¹⁶⁵ we have, and it presses the packs well but takes like all its kind a great deal of time, and we make but slow progress with it. The Indians that arrived yesterday evening traded two beaver skins, and returned home this morning.

Thursday, August 20. Cloudy, threatening weather, forenoon, heavy rain in the afternoon. The men employed the same. Finished pressing the furs before the rain set in. Unfortunately, after all our labour and expenses there are but few to press. I accompanied Mr. Kennedy and three men down to the little river at the bottom of the bay, which is now literally swarming with salmon. Though it is so shallow that in many places it is not over 6 inches deep, the half of the fish is out of the water while going up these shallow parts. And all around the mouth of the river they are in Meriads [myriads]. In the course of three hours we caught 400, and only choosing the female ones which are best, but even these are so bad that they are scarcely eatable, and cannot possibly be wholesome. We nevertheless salted 3 Casks, should provisions be scarce they will serve with potatoes, and be preferable at times as a change from dried salmon. In the evening a canoe arrived from Pearl Harbour with two lean deer.

Friday, August 22 [21]. Rain in the night and foggy with rain forenoon, fair afternoon. The men employed fitting up and putting upper flooring in the Indian shop, and sundry other jobs. The blacksmith repairing & putting in order Axes and other tools that are in use. Sent down some men to Little river for another canoe load of salmon to salt, 3 more casks, which is all we mean to salt of them, they are so bad. Had there been nets and means of taking the salmon out in the salt water some time ago, when they were still good, a sufficiency might have been salted here for the establishment and for more if required. Indians brought two poor female deer which is a relief from dry salmon & salt meat.

Saturday, August 22. Overcast lowering weather, some drizzling rain. The Indians that arrived late last night from Pearl Harbour traded 6 or 8 beaver. A large canoe of Chimsians arrived from Tongass and traded 6 beaver but took some more away with them. They had some misunderstanding with the Doctor, choosing and choosing all the blankets in the shop, till at length they wore out his patience, when he sent them out of the shop,

(164) Platform for defence inside the stockade. See entry for February 11, 1835, *supra*, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1944), p. 138, n. 24.

(165) The typical modern press, used for baling fur, is of the screw type, not unlike a huge letter-press. See *The Beaver*, December, 1943, pp. 26-7. In the type used by Work, a clumsier, slower method of securing pressure was used instead of the screw, by driving in a series of wedges.

which displeased one of them, & when he was embarking he was threatening to stab one of the Owhyhees who was working at the water side, but the other Indians dissuaded him from making the attempt. This conversation was among themselves, some of the women in the fort overheard them. This canoe passed here some time ago to Tongass with a lot of wretched slaves, mostly children, to sell, for whom they obtained these furs. They also no doubt traded a good many with the vessels, if their goods were not done. This scoundrel, for such a trifling affair as being turned out of the shop, threatening to stab one of the men in revenge, which he no doubt would have done, either to a gentleman or a man,¹⁶⁶ could he have effected it with impunity, is but another instance of the danger to be apprehended from them, and the great caution necessary to be observed, and the strict watch to be kept over them.

In the evening Elgigh¹⁶⁷ & a party arrived in five canoes from Pearl Harbour or Skeena, they were all drunk. It appears that Captain Allan had been out off that place and that the Indians had gone out to him, but probably on account of his blankets being done, he was able to purchase only a part of their furs from them, as they have brought a good many here with them. Allan must be hard up for goods now as he is selling off his ships arms, these people have a fine metal Scabbard Saber with them, which they obtained from him. This is the way with the Americans, when they come to a winding up they part with every thing they have, and often at such low prices, as they say to, "*get rid of it,*" that it is exceedingly difficult to deal with the Indians afterwards. Indeed all along the Americans sell a quantity of articles, which stand them in cheap at such a low price, that the natives obtain them in such abundance that they lay little or no value upon them, particularly liquor and ammunition, especially the latter which is so essential to them in their hunting and continual wars, that little or no profit can be made on them to cover the loss, or at least very slight profit on woolens and other expensive goods. Unpromising as these circumstances render our affairs, there is little likelihood of its being otherwise so long as our opponents get worth their whiles for coming on the coast to to [*sic*] wind up a voyage, which is all they calculate upon, as they chiefly reckon upon the profit of their sales at the Islands,¹⁶⁸ Sitka, and California.

Sunday, August 23. Still dark lowering weather, with some rain. Eight or ten beaver were traded from the Indians that arrived yesterday. More would have been got, but Dr Kennedy was taken ill and could not attend to them. He thinks that it is the liver complaint he has. It is much to be regretted his being thus taken ill, as from his superior knowledge of the ways of the Indians and the trade his place can be ill supplied. The Indians however are in no hurry and it is hoped he will soon get better. The Indians brought two deer last night, but it was not enough to give the people a days rations and they were issued dried salmon, which they have had the most of last week. Some of them complained, particularly the Owyhees. The salmon are certainly not good, but from the superior manner in which they

(166) In the records of the Company any employee from the rank of clerk up, was termed a gentleman. Labourers, hunters, and the like, were collectively referred to as the "people."

(167) Probably the Indian referred to earlier as Legigh. This native was Dr. Kennedy's father-in-law. Dr. Tolmie, in his *Diary*, entry for July 25, 1834, renders the name as "Ligeich."

(168) Hawaiian Islands.

have been fed all along, and knowing that when better is to be obtained they get it, they have no cause to complain, and their complaints were not listened to. During this summer the supply of fresh fish was very scanty, the Pearl Harbour Indians or Chimsians, fish too far off and the Tongass and Cape Fox people, from the wars and fighting among themselves brought us very few, though last year they brought plenty to the Fort from Clemencity where there is good fishing, both for salmon and halibut, so much so that we had calculated to obtain from thence a sufficiency to salt.

Monday, August 24. Thick fog in the morning, fine clear weather afterwards. Wind N.W. A fresh breeze in the afternoon. Such of the men as can do any thing at carpenter work, employed making and putting [sic] up stairs to the gallery and bastions, preparing & fitting upper flooring for the Indian Trader's house, and other jobs, & making spouts for dwelling house. Two employed Sawing, two in the blacksmith shop, repairing Axes and other tools. The others clearing up, and burning wood, and rubbish off a piece of ground at the east end of the garden, which is intended for cultivation next year. This is a tedious laborious job, and even after it is done, the worst part of the business is still to perform, that is rooting up the stumps and clearing them off the ground.

Mr. Kennedy still continues ill, and I had to send Mr. Birnie¹⁶⁹ to the Indian shop to assist him trading with the Indians. They traded about 30 beaver and about the same number of fine Martens. They have still some beaver, but the doctor was so ill that he had to leave off trading. The Indians however don't appear to be in any hurry. A canoe with a man and woman arrived in the evening. The Indians immediately rushed into the water seized the canoe, the two people, & what little baggage they had. It appears that they are from Kygarny, that the woman, (who is pretty old) belongs to Sabasses, and was married at Kygarny where she was looked upon as half slave & half free, that owing to some quarrel, her husband or some of his relations threatened to kill her, when in order to escape she prevailed upon the young man who is a slave, to make his escape with her, and make their way to her friends at Sabasses, and got this far when they were again seized. The woman will be given up to her friends, but the man will be still a slave. Previous to leaving Kygarny they had stolen a good deal of tobacco and were provided with fishing tackling [sic] and a variety of other articles. They report that 4 more slaves in another canoe deserted at the same time, and the Indians here are keeping a good look out for them. These poor wretches desert frequently, but as they have little chance of escaping, and are mostly taken again by some other tribe, they seldom better their case, and as they have seldom an opportunity of providing themselves with arms, they are unable to defend themselves. The man now taken, had a new blanket given him immediately, and sat down to eat with the Indians the same as one of themselves, after which they gave him liquor and he soon made himself roaring drunk.

Tuesday, August 25. Clear fine calm warm weather. The men employed as yesterday. Early in the morning two vessels, the *Lama* & *Europa*, were seen off Dundass' Island. The former came to anchor abreast of the fort past noon, and the latter late in the evening. They are last from Tongass which they left yesterday, where they had been lying a fortnight. In the

(169) James Birnie. See entry for February 10, 1835, *supra*, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1944), p. 137, n. 20.

evening 12 Casks of salmon which Capt. McNeill salted, the furs he traded, and some other articles were landed. Since the *Lama* was last here, she traded 38 Sea Otters, 717 beaver 9 Land Otters, 31 Bears, 46 Martens, 38 Minks & some other small furs, which is certainly far beyond what I expected, as I did not reckon on over 150 or 200 beaver at most. The success is entirely owing to having fallen in with a large party of Stikeen Indians at Tongass, from whom alone 633 beaver were obtained. Capt. Allan who was also there procured a like number, a thing we did not at all anticipate, as the Russians have an establishment at Stikeen on these people's lands, and last year the Americans obtained only about 300 from the small parties that came down to about Tongass to purchase slaves.

This season there have altogether come down from about Stikeen at least 14 to 1500 Beaver and Land Otters. It is conjectured that there is some misunderstanding between these Indians and the Russians, and that they cannot obtain such a high price there as from the vessels. Capts. McNeill & Allan, who are both old hands on the coast, affirm that such a quantity of furs was never known to be obtained from them before, and there is no doubt but that they must have given the Russians a good many too. These beaver are of a small size in general, which is a sign that they are on the decline, notwithstanding the number now got. They have cost high, Allan's blankets are all done. When they began to fail he sold a variety of other articles at exceeding low prices, for instance, a swivil gun for a beaver, a ship's cooking Camboose¹⁷⁰ half worn [?] for 2; a Metal Scabbard Sabre for 1; a 30 gall: cask of Molasses pure [?] for 3 beaver; a 30 gall: cask of rice for 5; a 100 lb. Cask of fine bread for 3; an 18 gall: cask of Malaga wine for 3; an 18 gall: cask of brandy for 3 (this was reduced nearly $\frac{1}{2}$); 20 yd. fine calico & 2 gall: Mixed rum for a bear; a shirt, vest & Trousers with 2 gal. rum for a beaver; 4 yd. Cloth, nearly the quality of our 2d. Cloth, for a beaver; & a variety of other articles proportionally low, and he even bought a number with cash at 4 dollars and 4 yds fine calico per beaver. Thus it is always with the Americans, when they come near winding up their voyage they sell off what they have at almost any price they can obtain for it. This conduct so overstocks the Natives with goods of every description, and renders them so difficult to deal with, that nothing can be traded from them so as to yield any adequate profit, and if they dont get the price they want, they hold up their furs, being in no pressing want of goods. Were it not for this plagued opposition, with a proper assortment of goods, when the Indians are so rich in beaver as these Stikeen men were, notwithstanding the high price paid for beaver in some expensive articles, yet an advantageous and profitable trade might be carried on with them; but as the business must unavoidably be carried on as at present in order to obtain a share of the trade to cover the indispensable expenses of the shipping and establishments, such a result can scarcely be expected. Capt. McNeill took advantage of his being able to supply the Natives with blankets and notwithstanding the high prices Allan was not [now] giving did not exceed a blanket and 2 gall. mixed rum for a beaver; but still as he was not provided with cheap suitable articles to dispose of with the expensive ones, the furs came very high.

Mr. Kennedy is a good deal better today, but when the Indians, who have still some furs, saw the vessels they stopped trading immediately expecting to get higher prices. As it would not be advisable to raise our

(170) Probably "cambuse," a French-Canadian term meaning a "stove."

tariff at the fort, Capt. McNeill is directed to oppose Capt. Allan and give as high prices as he does, so that it may prevent him from getting many of the skins and discourage him from remaining long here. One of the chiefs, Elgigh, traded from 25 to 30 beaver these days past and probably regrets having done so seeing the vessels cast up. Be that as it may, he got drunk today, and though he is one of the best Indians about the place, became quite outrageous and abusive, so much so, that, when I was coming ashore from the *Lama* with Capt. McNeill he attempted to stop the boat from landing, and some of his people immediately came to support him and even threw some stones at the crew. His women laid hold of him to pacify him. Had not the crew not been prevented, they would have knocked him down with the oars. He is a principal man, and of weight and standing among the Natives, and Dr. Kennedy's fatherinlaw too, or I certainly would have had him severely punished on the spot, though it is likely it would have been attended with bloodshed. He had been abusing the Doctor all the morning, Thus it is that these savage barbarians, even with the very best of them we dont know the moment a quarrel may arise, and even bloodshed be the result.

Wednesday, August 26. Fine, clear weather. The men employed part airing, beating, & packing the furs landed from the *Lama*. The others as before. Rum, Molasses, and other articles of the outfit, remaining on board of the *Lama* were landed. All their blankets and powder were expended. Some more Indians arrived late last night and have been with them that were here these days past, going between the fort, and the vessels trying where they could get most for their furs. From all we can learn, owing to Allan being out of blankets, we get the bulk of the furs.

Thursday, August 27. Weather as yesterday. Men employed the same. Some more arrivals of Indians from both Pearl Harbour and Nass. The trade going on as yesterday.

Friday, August 28. Thick fog in the morning. Fine, clear, warm weather afterwards. Men employed the same, and the trade going on as yesterday. Several of the Indians went off and some more arrived.

Saturday, August 29. Thick foggy weather, some drizzling rain. Scarcely a breath of wind these several days. The men employed at the same work. The [sic] doing little in the way of trade today. Since the vessels arrived, the *Lama* has traded 86 beaver & Otters & 90 Martens & the Doctor 30 Beaver & Otters & 90 Martens. Capt. Allan says he has got about 60 Martens and about 30 beaver, but the account he gives cant be relied upon, and we do not think he has got such a number, most probably not over the $\frac{2}{3}$ of it.

The Indians reported yesterday that they saw a vessel, and we sent off a note to the captain directing him to send us an answer, and a boat should be sent out from the *Lama* to bring him in, but as we conjectured it was a false report. I am very anxious to see the vessel from the Columbia arrive, as it would enable me to make the necessary arrangements more satisfactorily previously to the *Lama's* departure, which must be in a few days. The weather has been so calm that she may be lagging about at no great distance for several days past. We will be getting short of blankets for the trade, and the men are wretchedly in want of their supplies.

Sunday, August 30. Thick overcast weather, heavy rain in the afternoon, with a little breeze of wind from the Southward, but in a short time it died away and became calm again. A few straggling Indians arrived and some others went away. In the evening Sabasses arrived with two canoes, but I believe they have very few furs with them. The Indians brought five deer today, one of which a fine buck, brought by Cogill, weighed 158 lbs.—only the carcass without head, legs, or entrails.

Monday, August 31. Fog with some drizzling rain in the morning, fine weather afterwards, but quite calm, so that the ship from Columbia which we are so anxiously looking out for is likely to make but slow progress wherever she may be, if she has no more wind than we have here. The men employed as last week. I bought¹⁷¹ a cask of Tobacco, weight 1010 lbs., at 13 Cents per lb.; 3 barrels beef at 17 dollars each; 1 do. Pork at 22 dollars; & 4 boxes Soap 20 lbs. each, at 2 dollars per box, from Capt. Allan and paid him with a draft on our agent at Woahoo.¹⁷² The tobacco is rather dear, but as we have only a few hundred pounds remaining, should any thing occur to the vessel coming from Columbia or should a short supply be sent, Tobacco is such an indispensable article & so much of it required that it will be of the utmost importance to us. Though we could have managed to get to the Columbia without the salt provisions, yet we would have been rather short, and what of it remains it is presumed will be found very serviceable. The Soap is bought to sell to the people who are wretchedly off for want of it, their supplies are so long of coming.

I was busy the most of this day reengaging the men. Several of them will not engage on any condition, as they are determined to return to Canada.¹⁷³ Others will not accept the terms offered, none of them have any objections to the place, but not one of them would engage on any terms to go to Fort McLoughlin.¹⁷⁴

In the evening the door keeper turned out a Sabassa Indian, who remained outside the gate sulky, and shortly after, when one of the men Lapierre went out, he attacked him without any provocation, some other Indians of the same tribe and one of Sabasses wives, joined to assist him. Some of the Islanders¹⁷⁵ were bye and aided Lapierre. One of the Indians got a cutting blow on the face, and I believe the woman also got a blow which exasperated the Indians, and though they threatened to have recourse to their knives and arms [*entry incomplete*]

Tuesday, September 1. Foggy in the morning. Clear, fine weather afterwards, but no wind. The men employed as before. Sabasses and two canoes went off home. Two more canoes of his people arrived last night & are still here. Two more canoes also arrived from Pearl Harbour. These people have all a few beaver skins and keep trading at the fort and the two vessels, & keep us busy. A Canoe of Chimsians which passed here some

(171) Work's purchase of these goods was no doubt occasioned by his concern lest the supply vessel from Fort Vancouver might not arrive, and that Fort Simpson might have to subsist for the winter without further help from outside.

(172) Honolulu.

(173) Upper and Lower Canada, represented roughly by the present Provinces of Ontario and Quebec respectively.

(174) See entry for February 1, 1835, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1944), p. 135 and n. 12, for information on this reluctance.

(175) Hawaiian Islanders.

time ago for Tongass to sell slaves, returned with plenty of blankets and other articles, and among the rest two casks of rum, but it is believed very few beaver. Capt. Allan meant to have sailed today but there was no wind. I would be very glad to see him off, as his being here deters us from winding up this year's affairs and being off for the Columbia. For, though he has no blankets, yet he has plenty of many other articles, of which he gives such a quantity, that he still gets a few beaver, and gives us a great deal of trouble in obtaining what we get.

Wednesday, September 2. Thick weather, very heavy rain most part of the day. Wind from the Southward, but very little of it. The men still employed the same. Captain Allan sailed for Kygarny, and I am very glad he is gone. Since he has been here, notwithstanding he had no blankets, we conjecture he has got 50 or 60 beaver & land otters; but he paid enormously high for them in such articles as he has got. He bought a Sea Otter when going off, for which he gave 7 pieces Cotton 30 yds. per piece, 2 bags shot 28 lbs. each, and an Axe, besides all the articles termed presents. Certainly on such a bargain he can have little if any profit. Since he has been here, 97 beaver & land Otters, 2 Sea Otters, & 86 Martens have been traded on board the *Lama*, & 46 beaver and land Otters and 86 Martens in the Ind. Shop. Some Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour with deer and a few skins, and some that were here went off. These two days 12 deer have been received, which has enabled us to supply the vessel & save salt provisions, and also to give a day's rations to the people in the fort.

A few more of the men were arranged with to remain another year on their old terms. They all dread being sent to Millbank,¹⁷⁶ which makes them afraid to engage. However, we have now settled with as many as will be required at this place. Mr. C. F. McLoughlin¹⁷⁷ recommended the number being reduced to 15, but it is considered that it would not be safe to reduce them lower than 20 Men and two gentlemen for at least another year. A good deal of work is still to be done about the establishment, and the Indians are about & within a short distance of the fort the greater part of the year, and very easily irritated and hostilely disposed, & from their numbers very formidable.

Thursday, September 3. Heavy rain, blowing fresh and squally in the night, showry & a fine breeze of wind from the Southward during the day till the afternoon, when the wind died away. The men employed as before. Had the remainder of the furs packed. Some Indians arrived from Pearl Harbour, and several of those who were here went away. A few furs and some deer were traded.

Friday, September 4. Overcast calm weather, some light rain no wind. The people employed at sundry jobs. Busy all day giving out supplies for the *Lama's* voyage to the Columbia and taking the Inventory. A large party of Indians arrived from Nass and have a good many furs. They expected that Allan was not gone and that they would still obtain the high prices he was giving for their skins. Some canoes also arrived from Pearl Harbour, with some furs and 3 deer. No appearance yet of the Columbia vessel, although She had a fine favourable wind yesterday. Her not casting up I much regret, as it would enable me to make the necessary arrangements more satisfactorily previous to the *Lama's* sailing, besides our blankets are

(176) Fort McLoughlin, on Milbanke Sound.

(177) Chief Factor McLoughlin, at Fort Vancouver.

getting short, and we will not be able to secure the fall trade without further supplies. The watch is doubled tonight in order to keep a better look out, and prevent the Indians, who have arrived to day and who are great thieves, from stealing the potatoes. The night before last, & last night also, they stole some of them, and right under the stockades. The nights are so dark that the watch cannot see any distance.

Saturday, September 5. Very heavy rain all day. Wind Southerly, blowing fresh afterpart of the day. The Men employed as before. Finished taking the Inventory except the Indian shop, and that we could not do as the Doctor was busy trading with the Indians that arrived yesterday. We intended to have shipped the returns¹⁷⁸ today but could not on account of the bad weather. Mr. Kennedy busy trading all day with the Indians. The Pearl Harbour men went off.

Sunday, September 6. Very heavy rain, & stormy in the night. Fine fair weather during the day. Aailed ourselves of the fine weather and had the furs all shipped on board the *Lama* except what has been traded these two days which are not yet packed. Dr. Kennedy finished trading with the Indians in the afternoon, when they all went off to their home at Nass. These two days, 112 beaver, 5 Land Otters, 438 Martens & 1 Marten Robe, 5 Fisher, 21 Minks, 110 Musquash, & 3 Black Bears have been traded. These Indians had come down here in hopes of finding the Opposition that they might obtain higher prices. It was rather difficult dealing with them on the terms established at the fort. Of salampores¹⁷⁹ they got only half the quantity they would have obtained from the vessels for their Martens, that is 1 yd. per Marten, while our opponents give two. They still took away a few furs with them but not a great many. Our blankets are falling short, and more Indians are expected tomorrow. The non-arrival of the vessel from the Columbia will be a serious loss. After the Doctor had finished trading with the Indians, took the Indian shop Inventory, and closed the business for Outfit 1835. The returns for this place and the *Lama* stand as follows.

		<i>Lama</i>	Fort	Total
Beaver large	No.	1067	772	1839
" small	"	477	413	890
" Cuttings	lb	5	2	7
" Coating	"		6	6
Bears Black large	No.	157	77	234
" Small	"	10	6	16
" Brown large	"	1	1	2
Castorum	lb		24	24
Fishers	No.	3	8	11
Martens	"	628	1368	1996
" Robes ¹⁸⁰	"	8 189 ski[n]s	6 144 sk[in]s	14 333 sk[in]s
Minks	"	686	106	792
Musquash ¹⁸¹	"	21	243	264
Otters Sea large	"	144	3	147
" " Small	"	9	3	12
" " Pups	"	1		1
" " Tails	"	1	5	6

(178) The annual shipment of fur.

(179) Blue cotton cloth.

(180) Eight robes collectively, containing 189 skins, six robes containing 144 skins, making a total of fourteen robes containing 333 skins in all.

(181) Muskrat.

		Lama	Fort	Total
Otters Land large		210	100	310
" " Small		10	5	15
" " Tails		18		18
Lynx		2		2
Fur Seals			1	1
Rabbits		1065		1065
Oil Whale	Gal	90	40	130
Ermine Robes	No.		1	1

Amounting to about 5700 £ at the established valuation, which is much better than I at one time anticipated when I saw the active opposition we had to contend with. The high prices the opposition caused created such a heavy expense, that our gains can be but light, I have not been yet able to ascertain exactly what it may be. As far as we can ascertain Capt. Allan has got from 1500 to 1600 beaver & land Otters and about 45 Sea Otters, & Captain Dominis about 900 beaver & Otters & about 45 Sea otters, but they were more successful in Martens owing to their being well supplied with cheap calicoes, handkfs., & vermilion and some other articles which we were entirely without in other respects. We met them on a pretty equal footing, but still the worst of small trade, as it is called, caused us to pay much higher for our furs than we otherwise would have done, and also caused the loss of a great many martens probably not short of 1000. The want of cheap Calico, handkfs., & Vermilion, though of little value in themselves, was a great loss to us.

Monday, September 7. Fine weather, Wind Northerly and favourable for the vessel to sail, but it was impossible for us to get off. However we have every thing arranged and ready to sail tomorrow should the wind be favourable. In the afternoon sent the passengers, ten returning men, a woman & child on board, The men¹⁸² are J. B^t Benoit, F. Faniant, wife & child, S. Grenin [?], A Lapain, J Lozeau [?], C. Lozeau, J McKirby, J Ploseff, P. Portelanu & C Proulx [?]. This reduces the establishment to 20 Men, which are considered requisite for at least another season, when it is probable the Natives will have become more peaceable & the Fort completed, the number may be reduced 2 or 4 more. The men remaining, besides Messrs Birnie & Kennedy, are N. Auger, A Azure, P. Bibeau, A Dauphin, A. Detulen [?], J B^t Jolibois, L. Latain, J B^t Lapuni, J. Maurice, N. McIvor, J. McLenon, A Marlell, J. Marlell, J B^t Proveau, J. Sansaucin, H. Napika, Nahia, J. Puahelle, J. Tacanui [?], J. Teneramaka [?], 22 all told. The houses have to be reroofed which will take up a good deal of time, besides ground have [*sic*] to be cleared for garden. However if the natives were not to be apprehended all the work might be accomplished with 4 or 5 men less. Two of these men are engaged for two years, all the others have only one year to serve & have all given notice to retire. The distance we are from head quarters causes a very heavy expence in replacing the retiring servants, and they appear to take advantage of this circumstance. None

(182) Until official lists of the personnel of the fort are available, there is little chance of getting or checking information about these minor employees. It is interesting to note that they consisted either of French-Canadians or Hawaiian Islanders. The following were still at Fort Simpson in 1839: Auger, Dauphin, Jolibois, Maurice, and Proveau. Antoine Azure was with the southern party of Laframboise. See *Hudson's Bay Company—Employees, 1839*, p. 4, in Archives of British Columbia.

of these going off seemed to have any objection to the place or the gentlemen at it, but said they wished to return home to their own country. I understand, tho' they refused to engage, some more of them would have reengaged to remain at Fort Simpson, but none of them would on any account engage to remain at Ft. McLoughlin. At Ft. McLoughlin the work is at present but light as the fort is finished, but the living is very bad, being principally dry salmon, which from the mode of drying them in smoke, are very bad. Lest any thing might deter the vessel from Columbia from arriving with supplies, I take from this place 20 bags Pease and a sufficient quantity of grease, so that it may be a help for the people at Ft. McLoughlin. I much wish also to call at Skidegates should a favourable opportunity offer and purchase a quantity of potatoes for them, but as the season is so far advanced and we have been so long unavoidably detained here should the wind be favourable we cannot afford to lose time, but should the wind be unfavourable I shall certainly put this project in execution.

[To be concluded.]

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Grosvenor Hotel, Vancouver, on the evening of Friday, January 12. In spite of the strike of the street railwaymen, seventy-five members and friends attended. The reports presented showed that the society had had an active and successful year, while financially the Association was better off than at any time in its history. Paid-up membership on December 31, 1944, was 455, as compared with 423 on the same date a year before. This total was made up as follows: Victoria Section, 164; Vancouver Section, 166; members-at-large, 125. Circulation of the *Quarterly* had increased from 484 to 520.

For his presidential address Mr. B. A. McKelvie had chosen the subject *Jason Allard: Prince, Trader, Gentleman*. Born at Fort Langley in 1848, Allard was justly entitled to the first designation, for, through his mother, he was the rightful heir of the Chief of the Cowichan confederacy. But young Jason chose to follow in the footsteps of his father, Ovid Allard, who was in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1853 the family moved to Nanaimo, which had been founded the year before by J. W. McKay. There they remained until the spring of 1858, when Chief Factor James Douglas, who had a high regard for the ability of Ovid Allard, moved him to Fort Yale. The gold-rush to the Fraser River was clearly impending, and it was essential that the Company should have an able and experienced trader there. Jason was soon doing odd jobs about the sales shop, and within a few years was serving as a full-time employee. In 1866, somewhat against his will, he became apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company, and after a brief course of training in Victoria was assigned to Fort Shepherd, the post at the junction of the Pend d'Oreille and Columbia rivers, just north of the International Boundary. It was the time of the Columbia River gold excitements, and in 1867 Jason was promoted to the charge of the store on famous Wild Horse Creek. Soon after this he resigned in a moment of irritation, being unaware of the fact that it was the intention of his superiors to place him in charge of Fort Kamloops. In 1871 he joined one of the Dominion Government railway surveys in British Columbia, and during the next seven years served under such well-known men as John Trutch (brother of Sir Joseph), Edward Mohun, and Walter Moberly. In 1878 he finally settled down as a trader and farmer at Fort Langley, having already experienced, at the age of 30, more variety and adventure than ten ordinary men meet in a lifetime. Jason Allard died in New Westminster in 1931, at the age of 83. He had seen British Columbia develop from a wilderness in which the white population was probably not more than 250, to a modern community of 700,000 persons.

Mr. McKelvie knew Allard intimately in his later years, and no summary of his address can even suggest the humour, drama, and romance that made it of absorbing interest to his audience.

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Greetings from the Victoria Section were brought by Mrs. M. R. Cree, while Miss Helen Boutilier, of the Vancouver Section, welcomed visiting members and introduced them to the meeting.

The report of the scrutineers, in which the result of the election for the Council was tabulated, was read by the Secretary. The new Council met after the adjournment of the general session, and elected the following officers for 1945:—

Hon. H. G. T. Perry	- - - -	Honorary President.
Miss Helen R. Boutilier	- - -	President.
Mr. B. A. McKelvie	- - - -	Past President.
Mrs. Curtis Sampson	- - -	1st Vice-President.
Mr. E. G. Baynes	- - - -	2nd Vice-President.
Miss Madge Wolfenden	- - - -	Honorary Treasurer.
Dr. W. Kaye Lamb	- - - -	Honorary Secretary.
Members of the Council—		
Mr. E. M. Cotton.		Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.		Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Major Cuthbert Holmes.		Dr. T. A. Rickard.
Mr. E. G. Rowebottom.		Dr. W. N. Sage.
Dr. Robie L. Reid.		Major H. T. Nation.

Hon. Mr. Justice H. B. Robertson.

VICTORIA SECTION.

Alaskan History was the title of the interesting address delivered by Dr. T. A. Rickard at the meeting of the Section held in the Provincial Library on Monday, November 20, 1944. All the first inhabitants of North America came from Asia, presumably by way of Bering Strait and Alaska, and Dr. Rickard first sketched briefly the state of the continent at the time of their arrival, and suggested some of the reasons that may have prompted their migration. Turning next to relatively modern times, he showed how first the lure of gold and later the search for furs led Russian and other explorers to venture into the "geographic fog" that shrouded the northern part of the Pacific Ocean. Peter the Great took a keen personal interest in the question as to whether Asia and America were united, and it was he who sponsored the first expedition of Vitus Bering, in 1725-28. After Peter's death Bering led a second expedition toward Alaska in 1740-41. Though he sailed sufficiently far down the Alaskan coast to catch sight of the towering summit of Mount St. Elias, Bering perished wretchedly on the barren island that now bears his name, and it was left for Captain Cook to reveal the true significance of Bering Strait. In conclusion, Dr. Rickard dealt with the Russian fur-traders in Alaska, and recalled the stirring days of Shelekov, Baranov, and Rezanov.

After the address, Archdeacon F. W. Goodman, D.D., of Port Townsend, who spent twenty years as a missionary at Point Hope, in Alaska, was persuaded to describe some of his interesting and amusing experiences amongst the Eskimos.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of Monday, January 8, 1945. The Chairman of the Section,

the Hon. Mr. Justice H. B. Robertson, presided. His address, captioned with a line from Tennyson's *Revenge*—"Spanish ships of war at sea!"—dealt first with Spain's efforts to explore and monopolize the Northwest Coast, and then outlined the complicated background of the celebrated Nootka Sound Controversy, that brought Spain and Great Britain to the verge of war in 1790.

Reports were submitted by Mrs. M. R. Cree, Honorary Secretary, and Miss Madge Wolfenden, Honorary Treasurer. The number of paid-up members was 164, and the work of the Section had been fully maintained in every way. Miss Alma Russell, Chairman of the Necrology Committee, paid tribute to the old-timers who had died during the year. No less than 171 persons had passed away who had lived at least fifty years in Victoria, and of these thirty-five had been born in the city. Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Chairman of the Historic Sites Committee, reported that a number of sites had been marked during the year, and announced that a plaque in memory of Joseph William McKay, fur-trader, explorer, legislator, and founder of Nanaimo, would soon be placed on the old bastion in that city.

Mr. F. W. Laing, reporting for the scrutineers, announced the result of the election for the Council, which had been held by mailed ballot. The new Council met on January 11 and elected the executive for 1945.

Chairman	- - - -	Major H. Cuthbert Holmes.
Vice-Chairman	- - -	Mr. E. W. McMullen.
Honorary Secretary	- - -	Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Honorary Treasurer	- -	Mr. John Goldie.

Members of the Council—

Miss Muriel Galt.	Dr. J. A. Pearce.
Mr. G. H. Gowan.	Dr. T. A. Rickard.
Mr. J. A. Heritage.	Hon. Mr. Justice H. B. Robertson.
Mr. B. A. McKelvie.	Mr. E. G. Rowebottom.
Major H. T. Nation.	Miss A. M. Russell.
Mr. T. W. S. Parsons.	Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson.
	Miss M. Wolfenden.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The annual meeting was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday, November 14, 1944. More than seventy members were present. Miss Helen Boutilier, Vice-President, presided in the absence of the President, Mr. A. G. Harvey, who, though much improved in health, was still not sufficiently well to attend. In place of a presidential address, the Council had asked Dr. W. Kaye Lamb to pay tribute to the work of the Association's most distinguished member, the late Judge F. W. Howay. Dr. Lamb entitled his remarks *Judge Howay: Historian and Friend*, and explained that he was limiting his subject to those aspects of the Judge's work with which he was personally familiar. After briefly sketching his early life, Dr. Lamb dealt in some detail with Judge Howay's career as an historian. His methods of work, the trend of his interests, the gathering of his remarkable historical library, his publications (which appeared over a period of forty-three years

and included almost 300 items), and his contribution to the history of the Pacific Northwest were all considered in turn. Many points were illustrated with personal anecdotes, or with material drawn from Judge Howay's books and papers, which he bequeathed to the Library of the University of British Columbia.

The election of officers resulted in the selection of the following executive and councillors for 1945:—

Honorary President	- - -	Dr. Robie L. Reid.
President	- - -	Miss Helen R. Boutillier.
Vice-President	- - -	Mr. E. G. Baynes.
Honorary Secretary	- - -	Miss M. Audrey Reid.
Honorary Treasurer	- - -	Mr. George B. White.
Members of the Council—		
Mr. E. M. Cotton.		Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop.
Mr. E. W. Eastham.		Mr. George Green.
Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.		Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Mr. D. A. McGregor.		Mr. A. DeB. McPhillips.
Dr. W. N. Sage.		Mr. A. E. Stephens.

Rev. W. Stott.

The Section met in the Grosvenor Hotel on the evening of Wednesday, December 6, 1944. Dr. A. M. Sanford was the speaker, his subject being *Reminiscences of My Experiences in the Slocan*. As a young minister of the Methodist Church, Dr. Sanford spent the years 1897 to 1907 in and about Sandon, then a flourishing mining town, and the many members present thoroughly enjoyed his amusing account of his adventures. Dr. Sanford ascribed his own interest in mining districts to the stories his father used to tell of the gold diggings in California, and it was that interest that prompted him to go to the Kootenay. Arriving in 1897, he held his first service in Spencer's Opera House. The church, a barber-shop, and a cigar-store "all did business at the same time," and he found the competition stimulating. Later, when a church building was erected, it had to be placed on a hillside, up many flights of stairs that totalled no less than 132 steps, and in winter time clearing them of snow was one of Dr. Sanford's regular Saturday chores. Level spaces were so small and the hills so steep that the path to the church, like practically every other path, had a switchback. (Indeed, there was even a switchback between first and second base on the baseball field!) The original church was built of logs; Dr. and Mrs. Sanford lived in the basement, where they had "two or three rooms according to the way we hung the curtains." The miners were a rough and ready lot, but they were generous, and within a year the little church was self-supporting. One of the local "characters" used to pass the hat at the hotel, for the benefit of those who did not intend to go to church. The most spectacular event of the early days was the great fire which wiped out most of Sandon in 1900. It swept through the town and up the near-by levels, and Dr. Sanford recalled that he had had to move a trunk farther up the hill five times in order to save it from the flames. Many of the citizens were ruined, but the community rallied to the support of the church, which carried on in a large tent until a new building could be constructed.

At the conclusion of the address Judge Forin, who first visited Sandon in 1892, related some of his own experiences there, and commented upon the remarkable absence of both petty and major crime in the Kootenay mining towns of the nineties.

LOCAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES.

The Kamloops Museum Association was reorganized at a general meeting held in December, and the new executive met on December 28, at the home of the President, Mr. Burt Campbell. Present were: Mrs. Isaac Oakley, Vice-President; Miss Melva Dwyer, Secretary-Treasurer; T. S. Keyes, W. H. Gurney, and Angus MacDonald, Committee Chairmen. The Association hopes soon to add to its various collections, which include Indian relics, natural history specimens, historical data, and photographs. Mr. H. E. Taylor, the Indian Agent, has kindly consented to serve on the committee responsible for the collection of Indian relics, etc. The President reported that the Association had received a most valuable and interesting gift from Mrs. Van Antwerp, consisting of fifty-six photographs. These include many early railroad scenes and early views of Vancouver, and were collected by Mrs. Van Antwerp's husband, the late W. F. Van Antwerp, who was one of the first locomotive engineers employed in British Columbia by the Canadian Pacific Railway. His first run, upon which he served from 1886 to 1890, was from Donald to Revelstoke. He was then transferred to New Westminster, and after another four years moved to Vancouver. In 1897 he moved to the Okanagan branch line (Shuswap and Okanagan), where he remained until his retirement in 1920. He died in March, 1943.

At present the Museum is open only on Saturday evenings from 7 to 9, but the President will be pleased to arrange for special showings for clubs or interested groups. Longer hours will go into effect as soon as the tourist traffic returns.

The Okanagan Historical Society recently issued an attractive 32-page collection of poems entitled *Songs of the Okanagan*. Some of these have already appeared in the *Reports* of the Society. Seven writers are represented in the collection—Sara Jean McKay, George A. Meeres, Dorothy Hewlett Gellatly, Doris Walmsley, Grace Hewlett, Leonard Norris, and Elsie Ross. Miss Ross is the nine-year-old poetess whose quatrain on "The Moon" much intrigued readers of the *Ninth Report*. It may be of interest to note that a kindred effort was produced a good many years ago by a housemaid in the employ of Mrs. Edmund Gosse, wife of the celebrated critic. It was entitled "Address to the Moon," and was printed by E. F. Benson in *As We Were* (London, 1930; Penguin Books edition, 1938).

The Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts recently printed a 20-page brief entitled *Native Canadians: A Plan for the Rehabilitation of Indians*, that has been submitted to the Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, Ottawa. A short prefatory statement is fol-

lowed by an "Analysis of Present Deficiencies as revealed by the Annual Report of the Indian Affairs Branch, March, 1942." War services, welfare, health, housing, etc., are each considered in turn. This is followed by a statement of the progress made in Indian administration in the United States in the last ten years. The brief concludes with a tabulation of short-term improvements that could be implemented at once, without the addition of extra personnel to the Indian Affairs Branch, and an outline of long-term plans, including a thorough investigation by a qualified Royal Commission, and a new Act to replace the present antiquated legislation, dating from 1868, that would, in the opinion of the Society, transform the Indian scene.

The Okanagan Society is an autonomous branch of the Society for the Furtherance of B.C. Indian Arts and Crafts, founded in Victoria some years ago by Miss Alice Ravenhill. The officers are as follows: President, Mr. A. Millar; Vice-President, Mr. B. Webber; Secretary, Mrs. A. Millar; Recording Secretary, Mrs. E. Parham; Treasurer, Mrs. S. M. Worsfold. All the officers reside in Oliver, except Mr. Webber, whose home is in Penticton.

The pupils of Grades VII. and VIII. in the New Denver Elementary School have printed and published a history of their community. It takes the form of a well-produced 28-page booklet entitled *New Denver: Eldorado of the Past*. There are no less than forty-six illustrations. The narrative is not limited to New Denver itself—the whole Slocan region is included—but the town naturally receives most attention. Hotels, schools, churches, hospitals, lake steamers, and newspapers—old and new—are all described in lively detail. Mr. J. C. Harris contributes two interesting "Thumbnail Sketches of Slocan Oldtimers," the subjects being Eli Carpenter and R. T. Lowery ("The Colonel"). It is to be hoped that some day some one will write a full-scale study of Lowery and his paper, *The Ledge*, for few more interesting characters figure in our history. A special chapter is devoted to "The Japanese in New Denver," and their life and activities in the community are described and illustrated. All in all, the booklet is a most creditable production for a group of young folk in their early teens. Despite this contribution, so much of the history of the Slocan still remains unwritten that it is to be hoped that they will follow it up with a further instalment.

Mr. Ernest Doe, of Salmon Arm, recently completed a project upon which he has been engaged for some years. In 1939 he compiled a 64-page typewritten brochure entitled *Salmon Arm: A Basic History of the District* from its beginnings to 1912. He has just completed two later and larger volumes, consisting in all of nearly 300 pages, which together form *A History of Salmon Arm, 1912-1944*. Since the earlier narrative was completed Mr. Doe has secured additional material on the early days, and it is to be hoped that he may be able to prepare a revised and enlarged edition of the history of the district up to the incorporation of the City of Salmon Arm, in 1912. The two later volumes constitute a remarkably complete record of the community, and careful use has been made of municipal and government records, local newspapers, etc., in its compilation. The excellent maps,

tables, and photographs add much of interest and value. Copies of the three volumes have been deposited in the Provincial Archives and in the Library of the University of British Columbia.

Readers will recall that a *History of Prince George* was completed by Rev. F. E. Runnalls last year, and that an article entitled *Boom Days in Prince George*, based upon several chapters of the *History*, appeared in the October number of this *Quarterly*. Valuable historical work of this kind is being done in a number of communities, and as the narratives are completed it is hoped that copies may be made available for reference in the Provincial Archives, and for review in the *Quarterly*.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Major F. V. Longstaff, author of *Esquimalt Naval Base: A History of Its Work and Its Defences* (Victoria, 1941), is widely known as a writer on the history of the Royal Navy. He has contributed to the *Canadian Defence Quarterly* and other periodicals, and is a Member of the Society for Nautical Research.

William N. Draper, B.C.L.S., has lived in British Columbia since 1877, and is one of the pioneer land surveyors of the Province. The account of the first trails and roads north of the Fraser River, which he contributes to this issue, should be read in conjunction with an earlier article entitled *Early Trails and Roads in the Lower Fraser Valley*, which dealt with those south of the river. It appeared in the *Quarterly* for January, 1943.

Walter N. Sage, Ph.D., F.R.S.C., is Head of the Department of History in the University of British Columbia, and Member for British Columbia on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

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