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The

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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THE CHINOOK JARGON AND BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The Chinook jargon, the old trade language of the Northwest Coast, once so widely used in this Province that words from it became part of the common speech of the people, is now practically forgotten, except by the very few early settlers still living. Its only public use is in the nightly news broadcast of the Vancouver *Daily Province*, in which the announcer addresses his young friends with the old Chinook greeting, "Klahowyah, tillicums." Even a journalist long resident in British Columbia, and an author of repute, in a recent publication informed the public that the jargon was "invented" by the late Father Le Jeune of Kamloops about 1881.

Commonly called "Chinook" for short, the Chinook jargon must not be confounded with the Chinook language, the speech of the Chinook Indians, who lived at the mouth of the Columbia River. It is true that in its final form the jargon included many words from that language. It also included many Nootkan words as used by the Indians at Nootka, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. It was not French, although there were many French words included in it. It was not English, although many English words formed a part of it. It was a rude language resulting from a mixture of two or more discordant languages, and therefore is properly called a *jargon*, according to the definition of that word in the *Century Dictionary*. It was not the first or only jargon used in America. In the Gulf States of the United States there was at one time a jargon based upon the Choctaw language, with additions from numerous other forms of speech, Indian and English. It was called "Mobilienne" by the French and "Mobilian" by the English-speaking people, after the city of Mobile, Alabama, the once-great trading centre of the district around the Gulf of Mexico. It was used to some extent in Louisiana as late as 1850. Even to-day there is the "Pidgin English" of the China Coast, and other jargons in parts of Africa, used between English-speaking people and the natives. All these grew out of conditions similar to those existing on the Northwest Coast in the latter part of the 18th century, where

persons speaking different languages, and at different stages of civilization, were endeavouring to do business with one another without the aid of interpreters. Between them they gradually evolved a make-shift form of speech, consisting of words easily learned from each other.

There are two theories and one legend as to the origin of the Chinook jargon. The first and most generally accepted theory is that it grew up from the conditions existing on the Northwest Coast in the early days of the fur trade. The early explorers reported that furs were plentiful along the Coast, especially those of the sea-otter. There was a great demand for these and other furs, especially in China and in Russia. The consequence was that ships came from England, the New England states, and from other parts of the world to the Northwest Coast, seeking these highly prized skins. At first the trade centred around Nootka, that almost forgotten Indian village on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

Trade between the red man and the white man was at first difficult, almost impossible. Indian words were hard to pronounce, and the native languages varied with each particular tribe. Under these circumstances it was only natural that a trading language should grow up. The white man began to pick up Nootkan words; the Indian learned some words from the whites. Soon a jargon, partly Nootkan Indian, partly English, came into existence which made trade possible. The vocabulary increased from time to time as the Indians and the whites became better acquainted with each other. Use of the jargon spread gradually, until in due time it came to the knowledge of all the tribes along the Coast.

After Nootka was deserted, the resort of the early fur-traders centred about the mouth of the Columbia River. Here they met the Chinook Indians, who had their homes there. Naturally the traders tried to communicate with them by means of the words which they had learned at Nootka. Possibly the Chinook Indians had some knowledge of Nootkan; at any rate they were soon able to understand what the fur-traders said and to use the jargon. Evidence of this is furnished by an incident related by Lewis and Clark. In the record of their travels they state that while at the mouth of the Columbia River, late in 1805, Captain Clark shot a

duck some thirty paces away, much to the astonishment of the Indians, who examined the duck, the gun, and the very small bullets used in it. One of the natives exclaimed: "Clouch Musket, wake com ma-tax, Musket," meaning, "That is a good musket, I do not understand this kind of musket."[1] It will be noted that the trade jargon of the Northwest Coast had already reached the mouth of the Columbia River and was used there, for every one of these words is Nootkan except "musket," and that is English.

Words from the jargon were found in many places. *Mahkook* was the Nootkan word for "buy" or "trade." In 1811 Franchère found it being used at Clayoquot. The Nootkan word for "bad" was *peshak*. The word was found in Nootka as early as 1789; in 1791 Ingraham found it at the Queen Charlotte Islands, and in 1805 Lewis and Clark found it at the mouth of the Columbia River. It was later supplanted on the Columbia River by the Chinook word *mesatchie*. Who but the traders could have spread these words over such a wide area? Judge Howay, to whom I am indebted for much of the data above, says in a letter to me:—

> The only persons we know that reached places so far apart were the traders. Is there any evidence of the Haidas coming to Nootka, or the Nootkans going to Queen Charlotte Islands or to the Columbia? I don't know of any; if they did it would be to make war.

Later, when permanent establishments were made at the mouth of the Columbia River by the Astorians, then by the North West Company, and finally by the Hudson's Bay Company, this jargon was employed, but it was not at first sufficient for general use. Further words came into it from the language of the Chinook and Chehalis Indians. During that period a large number of French-Canadian voyageurs were in the employ of the fur-traders, and these men were more closely in contact with the Indians than the other employees of the companies. Not only did they trade with them, but they hunted, fished, and travelled with them. The consequence was that many French words were grafted on to the Indian stem of the jargon. Some English words were likewise added, mostly the names of articles which the Indians bought at the companies' stores. In addition certain words were manufactured to express sounds; for example, *lip lip*, to boil, and *tin tin*, the ringing of a bell.

(1) R. B. Thwaites (*ed.*), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, New York, 1905, III., p. 276.

A second theory as to the origin of the Chinook jargon has been suggested by Edward Harper Thomas in his *Chinook: A History and Dictionary.*[2] His thesis is that there was a trade language in use among the Indians of the Northwest Coast long before the white man came—an inter-tribal language which differed greatly from the local or tribal languages; that this inter-tribal language was used in traffic between the Indians and the fur-traders from the first, and gradually developed under the circumstances above set out into the Chinook jargon. All that can be said at the present time is the Scottish verdict, "Not proven."

It has also been alleged that the jargon was invented by the Hudson's Bay Company. There is no basis for this supposition. The Hudson's Bay Company did not invent the jargon, as so many, including the Rev. J. B. Good, have asserted. The Company found it waiting for them at the mouth of the Columbia River and they quickly recognized its usefulness. It was easy to learn, for it was only necessary to memorize a relatively small number of words. There were no inflections, no singular or plural, no moods or tenses.

Canon Good, above referred to, was a missionary of the Church of England for forty years (1861–1900). He left a manuscript describing his experiences entitled *The Utmost Bounds of the West,* which is now in the Provincial Archives. In it he describes the Chinook jargon:—

> Some three hundred words would make up its vocabulary, but it can be so manipulated as to stand for twice that number of ideas; and an adept can with it make quite a flowery speech, and also a forcible one as well. Thus "Klatawah" is to go or get away, and "Kloshe" is "good;" but by joining them together you convert it into an intransitive idea. "Kloshe klatawah" or "Hyas kloshe mika klatawah," "very good you go," while said quickly and with emphasis, would imply, "Stand not on the order of your going, but *go.*" So again, "Hyou" is plenty and "muck-a-muck" is food; but if you wish to signify there is plenty and abundance to spare you put the stress on the second syllable in the word for plenty, and say "Hy-*you* muck-a-muck." . . .
>
> Two other words have now become largely used by our people like slang words, they are very expressive. These words are "kultus," good for nothing and "potlatch," a present or gift. . . . When you make a present, or the Indian gives you something, it is called a "kultus potlatch," though it may be any amount in value. "Hyas kultus man" would mean an

(2) Portland, Ore., Metropolitan Press [Binfords & Mort], 1935.

utterly worthless fellow. Once more " chee " means " new " and " Chahco " is to come, but " cheechaco " would imply a stranger.

Canon Good says of his associate, Rev. A. C. Garrett:—

He early immortalized himself by translating into Chinook that once favorite children's hymn, " Here we suffer grief and pain," which was adapted to its own setting with the three-fold refrain, " O that will be joyful, joyful, joyful," and which after a while a number of the Indian youngsters, assisted also with right good will by their elders, soon learned to sing with great effect at our Sunday afternoon gathering in the Mission school-room.

He then gives the verse in Chinook, with a translation interlined, as follows:—

Mitlite	yahwah	quonsum	kly
In stay	this (world)	always	crying
Mitlite	yahwah	quonsom	marsh
In	this (world)	always	moving
Mitlite	saghalie	wake	kaakwah
In	the above	not	so
O hyas kloshe,	O hyas kloshe,	O hyas kloshe	
O very good,	O very good,	O very good	
Spose	nesika	wake consick	marsh
If	we	no more	change or move.

This simple ditty spread like wild fire. One tribe taught it to another. It was carried inland to the Thompsons, and they spread it to the Rocky Mountains, and so from the 49th parallel to the Arctic Circle might be heard this taking melody.

It must always be remembered that the jargon was essentially a spoken language, put in form by people of no education. Later, scholars endeavoured to reduce it to a written form. To those who used it daily it was a matter of sounds, not letters. Hence writers differ greatly as to the spelling of many of the words. The word *commattax*, mentioned above, is a good example of this. Later it was written *kumtux* or *cumtux*. So with *clouch* and *kloshe*.

As the Indian languages varied from tribe to tribe, and as they were difficult to learn or to pronounce, no white man, except perhaps a missionary or an anthropologist, would endeavour to learn them; especially when another means of communication easier to master and in widespread use was available. The English language, with its large vocabulary and its varying inflections, was just as difficult for the Indian. So it was an

advantage to both races to use the jargon and both were accustomed to "talk Chinook," as it was termed.

As the traders went north along the coast the Chinook jargon went with them. It became the sole medium of communication between the Indian and the white man from the Columbia River to Alaska, and this continued for many years.

Until the latter part of the last century the white population of British Columbia was small, and the Indians, compared to the present, were numerous, so that the two races were thrown together much more than in later years. The workers in the salmon-canneries and other fisheries, the woodsman in the forest, the trader in his store, and the good wife in her home, all had more or less to do with the *siwash* (from the French, *sauvage*) or the *klootchman* (Indian woman). Those who were compelled to use the jargon in their work-a-day life soon got in the habit of using words from it in their common speech; and in this way many whose vocation did not bring them in contact with the Indian directly began to pick up a word here and there, until a number of Chinook words became a part of the general vocabulary. We thought it rather smart to use a word from the Chinook rather than its English equivalent, an idea which has not died out, apparently, judging from a telegram in the Chinook jargon sent from Victoria to Ashcroft a short time ago by a prominent citizen of the capital city, much to the disgust of the telegraph operator. Many instances might be given, but a few must suffice. Greeting was *Klahowya;* a walk for amusement only was a *cultus coolie;* money was *chikamin,* and so on. One could hear the children in the schoolyard at play, calling *kloshe nanitch* instead of "look out." The wide use of the jargon in British Columbia is shown by the fact that one firm in Victoria, between 1862 and 1899, published no less than seven editions of its Chinook dictionary, and it had no monopoly of the field at that.

A word must be said about *klahowya.* There is a current belief that this word is a corruption of "Clark, how are you." Lengthening the word a little it sounds very much like that. But who the mythical Clark was, where and when he lived, we are not told. This story is sponsored by no less a personage than Paul Kane, the famous Canadian artist, who visited the Pacific Coast in 1846–47, and who says that the Indians had

by their intercourse with the English and French traders, succeeded in amalgamating, after a fashion, some words of each of these tongues with their own, and forming a sort of patois, barbarous enough certainly, but still sufficient to enable them to communicate with the traders. This patois I was enabled after some short time to acquire, and could converse with most of the chiefs with tolerable ease; their common salutation is Clak-hoh-ah-yah, originating, as I believe, in their having heard in the early days of the fur trade, a gentleman named Clark frequently addressed by his friends, " Clark, how are you? " This salutation is now applied to every white man, their own language affording no appropriate expression.[3]

It must be remembered that Kane was a much better artist than philologist. He gives no authority for his statement, yet ventures the broad assertion that their language (meaning, apparently, the language of the Chinook Indians) had no appropriate expression for a greeting. Two things are apparent: first, that he had not the proper pronunciation of the word, and second, that, not knowing anything whatever of the language, he had evolved this explanation in his own mind. For in actual fact the Chinook Indians did have a word for a salutation in their tribal language, and that word was *klahowya.* It had passed into the Chinook jargon, and " Clark " had no existence, except in Kane's vivid imagination.

When Bishop Hills arrived in British Columbia, the first thing the good man had to do was to learn to " talk Chinook." He reached Victoria on January 16, 1860, and on the 17th, in company with A. F. Pemberton, the resident magistrate, and Rev. Edward Cridge, he visited the Songish Indians, who lived near the little city. A treat of molasses and buns was given to the Indian boys, and of course the Bishop had to say grace. He had evidently been coached in his duties, for as soon as all hats were doffed, he gave the grace in good Chinook. It was very short and consisted of the words, *Tyee papa mahsie* [from the French, *merci*] *kloshe muck-a-muck*—" Great Chief Father thanks for good food."

In 1871 the Hon. (afterwards Sir) Hector Louis Langevin was sent to British Columbia by the Government of Canada to examine into and report upon the affairs of the new Province that had just been made a part of the Dominion. In his report he

(3) Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist,* London, 1859, p. 183. The story is repeated, with some variations, by Archdeacon Collison. (*In the Wake of the War Canoe,* Toronto, n.d. [1915], pp. 126–127.)

pays considerable attention to the Chinook jargon, describing it as " the language of commerce," and declaring that " a knowledge of it is indispensable to all who trade with the Indians, or have dealings with them." So important did he consider it that he published with his report a twenty-one-page vocabulary, which ends with the Lord's Prayer in Chinook, with an interlinear translation.[4]

It is also interesting to note as evidence of the widespread use of the jargon that when Edward Roper, the eminent artist and traveller, came to British Columbia in 1887, the first thing he did was to purchase and study a Chinook dictionary, probably one of the well-known Hibben issues.[5]

Many hymns and religious works were issued in the Chinook jargon for the benefit of the Indians by devoted missionaries of various denominations. Some secular poems were composed, many unprintable, but they were what are properly called macaronic, since they were not in one language, but in a combination of two or more. One little *jeu d'esprit* has been given to me by A. D. Crease, K.C., of Victoria.

Oh! be not kwass [afraid] of nika [me],
Thy see-ow-ist [eyes] turn on me,
For thou must hiyu [surely] kumtux [know]
That I hyas [greatly] tikke [want] thee.

I will give thee hyas [many] iktas [things],
I will bring thee sapolil [bread],
Of pa-sis-sies [blankets] and lebiskwee [biscuits]
I will give thee all thy fill.

The growth of population in British Columbia gradually brought about a change in conditions. During the last decade of the 19th century there was a large immigration into the Province from the east and south, occasioned in great part by the mining boom in the Kootenays and the prosperity of the Coast. The newcomers did not understand the peculiar customs of the earlier settlers. Just as they knew nothing of " bits "[6] and did not want to be bothered with a currency that had no coins to

(4) *British Columbia; report of the Hon. H. L. Langevin, Minister of Public Works*, Ottawa, 1872, p. 31; appendix CC.

(5) Edward Roper, *By Track and Trail*, London, 1891, p. 208.

(6) *See* R. L. Reid, " Why Bits? " *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 21–28.

represent it, so, as they had little or nothing to do with the Indians, they could find no reason for trying to speak Chinook. Moreover, the proportion of whites as compared with the Indians was continually increasing, and the importance of the latter declined. Chinook gradually dropped into disuse, until now no one remembers it except the few old pioneers.

There was another factor in the disappearance of the Chinook. The younger Indians were growing up in a country in which English was being spoken all around them, and naturally they began to speak English more and Chinook less. Schools were being established in which they were taught English by teachers who knew little, if anything, of Chinook. The younger Indians began to feel that the speaking of Chinook, either to them or by them, was a badge of inferiority. They would not address any one in Chinook, and if addressed in the jargon they replied in English.

Two anecdotes will illustrate this. The first may be apocryphal, but it seems to be well vouched for. It is said that about the turn of the century a young clergyman came to British Columbia to work amongst the Indians. As soon as he reached Victoria he made a special study of the Chinook jargon. Later, driving with a friend through the Okanagan Valley, they met a young Indian. The cleric, anxious to practise his newly-learned Chinook, said, in a most impressive way: "Klahowya, tillicum." The Indian looked him fairly in the face and in a most courteous way replied, "Good morning, Sir."

The other refers to an experience of some of our own great men. In the early days of the University of British Columbia it was proposed to give that institution, as an endowment, a large land grant in the Northern Interior. In 1917 the then Premier, Hon. H. C. Brewster, with Hon. T. D. Pattullo, then Minister of Lands, Dean (later President) Klinck of the University, and J. E. Umbach, Surveyor-General, were making an examination of certain lands on the Parsnip River. As they travelled along they met a young Indian with a gun on his shoulder. Mr. Brewster, who had been in the cannery business at Alberni for years, spoke to him in Chinook. He said to him: "Kah mika klatawa?" (Where are you going?) Only he and the Indian knew what had

been said until the Indian replied, not in Chinook, but in perfect English: "I am going around the bend to shoot a bear."

A kindred story comes from Oregon:—

A lady, emerging from her house to the porch in the early morning, noticed several Indians squatted on her lawn.

"*Ickeh mika tikeh?*" she demanded. (What do you want?)

A statuesque buck rose gracefully and turned slowly toward her. "It is a beautiful morning," he assured her in finely enunciated English. "We were admiring the view from your lawn. We are Shoshone Indians who are visiting friends here on your reservation."[7]

The last and most ambitious attempt to make an extended use of the Chinook jargon in British Columbia was that made by Father Jean Le Jeune, a devoted missionary priest of the Roman Catholic Church, stationed at Kamloops, who used it not only in religious books for his Indian converts but also in the publication of a newspaper issued for circulation among the Indians of the Province.

Father Jean-Marie Raphael Le Jeune was born at Bleybert Christ, Finisterre, France, on April 12, 1855. He came to British Columbia as a missionary priest in October, 1879. He was at first stationed at St. Mary's Mission in East Kootenay, during railway-construction days. In 1882 he was sent to Williams Lake and later was transferred to Kamloops, where he resided until his death.

He made no claim whatever to the invention of the Chinook jargon and would have been the last man in the world to have done so. As we have seen, the jargon was not invented by any one man, but grew up under circumstances which required its use, long years before Father Le Jeune was born. He knew, as all students of the history of the Northwest Coast know, that it had existed for nearly a century before his time, and that as early as 1846 Horatio Hale, a member of the Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition, had written a scholarly account of it with full vocabulary. What he did invent, and he deserves great credit for it, was a method of using it that would be of value in his work and to his Indian flock. It was difficult for the Indian to connect the written or printed English letters in which Chinook was presented to him with the sounds of the words as

(7) Chester Anders Fee, "Oregon's Historical Esperanto—The Chinook Jargon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLII. (1941), p. 184.

he knew them. Father Le Jeune conceived a way to put the sounds on paper which made it easier for the Indian to connect the characters and the sounds. He had, in his early life in France, learned the use of the Duployan shorthand, which had been invented by the Duploye brothers in 1867. The thought came to him that if he could represent the sounds of the Chinook jargon by its characters, the Indians might comprehend them with less difficulty. He experimented and found that his idea worked well in practice. He taught his people—all of whom, of course, knew Chinook—to read and write its words in this way.

He commenced to publish the *Wawa* (Chinook for "talk") on May 2, 1891. It consisted of four small pages, each divided into three columns—the first in Chinook in English letters, the second the same in Duployan characters, and the third the same in the English language. The paper was widely circulated amongst the Indian population. At first it was issued monthly. Later it appeared weekly, and later still quarterly. Its format and general make-up varied from time to time. The last issue of the magazine was dated September, 1904.

In one number Father Le Jeune expresses his opinion of the value of Chinook. He states that it is a universal language, much easier to learn than Volapuk—a thousand times easier. He also lauds his beloved Duployan shorthand.

Father Le Jeune passed away at New Westminster as recently as November 21, 1930, leaving behind him a noble record of piety and good works, and beloved by all who knew him, whether Catholic or Protestant. With the lapse of his *Wawa* Chinook became a dead language, and it is now only an episode, but a most interesting one, in the history of the West.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

NEW LIGHT ON HERBERT BEAVER.

A good deal has come to light in recent years regarding the sojourn at Fort Vancouver of the Rev. Herbert Beaver, first chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains. In 1938 the late Dr. R. C. Clark unearthed and reprinted Beaver's own account of his experiences, which had appeared originally in the *Church of England Protestant Magazine* for March, 1841.[1] A few months ago a number of interesting excerpts from his correspondence with Chief Factor McLoughlin, which is preserved in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, were printed in *The Beaver*.[2] But only a little more than two of Herbert Beaver's fifty-eight years were spent in the Columbia District, and hitherto surprisingly little has been known about his career before and after his term of office there. This circumstance prompted the writer to institute inquiries in various quarters some time ago, and the result is here set forth. Although it is not yet possible to recount Beaver's career in detail, sufficient has been learned to justify something in the nature of a preliminary report.

A long history lay back of Beaver's appointment, for the Hudson's Bay Company took an interest in religious matters at a very early date. Indeed, the earliest extant instructions forwarded by the Governor and Committee to the resident Governor of Rupert's Land begin with this paragraph:—

> In the first place Wee do strictly enjoyn you to have public prayers and reading of the Scriptures or some other religious Books wheresoever you shall be resident, at least upon the Lord's days. As also to order the severall chiefs in each Factory under your command to do the same, That wee who profess to be Christians may not appear more barbarous than the poor

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(1) *See* R. C. Clark (*ed.*) "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836–1838" *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX. (1938), pp. 22–38. A report by Beaver on Indian affairs, which originally appeared in *Extracts from the Papers and Proceedings of the Aborigines Protection Society, London*, vol. II., no. 5, September, 1841, pp. 138–142 has been reprinted by Miss N. B. Pipes under the title "Indian Conditions in 1836–38," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXII. (1931), pp. 332–342.

(2) *The Beaver*, outfit 272, September, 1941, pp. 10–13, "Mr. Beaver Objects . . ."

Heathens themselves who have not been instructed in the knowledge of the true God, This is what we have formerly directed, and have sent over the proper books for the use of the Factory, to wit, the Common prayer Book, the Bible and the Book of Homilies wch contains choice & well approved Sermons of Instruction. But wee understand there hath been little or no use made of them heretofore, wch neglect wee desire you would reform for the future, that wee may more reasonably expect the blessings of God to attend your endeavours and to prosper ye interest of ye Company.[3]

These instructions were written in 1680, only ten years after the Company received its charter, and were addressed to John Nixon, second Governor of Rupert's Land. Nixon's predecessor, Charles Bayly, though a man of great piety, was a Quaker, which accounts for his failure to observe the Sabbath in the formal fashion expected by the Committee.

Under Nixon and his successors the instructions were better observed. "It became the tradition at the forts not to trade with the Indians on Sunday," one authority notes. "A mess of oatmeal and pease would be given to them to keep them quiet and patient till Monday."[4] Both the fort journals and those kept by the traders show that some sort of Sabbath observance became a characteristic of life at most of the trading-posts. But the matter was left in the hands of the Company's regular officers, and 140 years passed before a chaplain arrived in Rupert's Land.

His coming was one small result of the wave of religious and humanitarian feeling which swept over western Europe in the later years of the 18th century. Even in the midst of wars, revolutions, and famines, men laboured to abolish slavery, to pass factory acts, and to send out missionaries. New and active protestant denominations arose and new energy was infused into the old. From the period of the Reformation until 1787 no new diocese of the Church of England had been formed. In that year the first see in what is now the Dominion of Canada, that of Nova Scotia, was founded. Quebec followed in 1793, and from 1814 to 1859—the year Bishop Hills was consecrated the first Bishop of British Columbia — no less than thirty-eight new dioceses were created in different parts of the Empire, five of which were in Canada.

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(3) Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, London, n.d. [1938], p. 81.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 82.

The new spirit which these developments reflected was well represented in the inner councils of the Hudson's Bay Company. Andrew Colvile, one of the most influential members of the Committee, was a sincere humanitarian as well as a shrewd man of business. The same was true of Nicholas Garry, who, especially after his visit to Rupert's Land in 1821, took a lively interest in the country and the welfare of its inhabitants. Benjamin Harrison, another of the directors, was noted for his charitable activities, and as early as 1815 had tried to persuade a missionary society to establish a mission in Rupert's Land. In all probability it was owing to him that the Governor and Committee decided, in 1819, to send a clergyman to Red River

> for the purpose of affording religious instruction and consolation to the Company's retired servants and other Inhabitants of the Settlement, and also of affording religious instruction and consolation to the Servants in the active employment of the Company upon such occasions as the nature of the Country and other circumstances will permit.[5]

The Rev. John West, M.A., was chosen for the post, and he arrived at Red River in October, 1820. He at once set about organizing a school, and as time and opportunity permitted he travelled to a number of the posts in Rupert's Land, marrying the servants of the Company, and baptizing their numerous half-breed offspring. In 1821 he founded at York Factory an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. A church building was completed at Red River in June, 1823, just before West left the country to return to England. However, a successor arrived the same summer, and as Harrison and Garry—the latter recently returned from Rupert's Land—had succeeded in enlisting the support of the Church Missionary Society, the good work went on almost without interruption. Rupert's Land could boast a bishop and nineteen other Anglican clergy in 1857, when the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company came up for careful scrutiny before a Select Committee of the British House of Commons.

Against this background it is surprising to find that the appointment of a chaplain to serve in the country west of the Rocky Mountains was so long delayed. The reason would seem to lie in the lack of enthusiasm on the part of George Simpson, who became Governor of the far-flung Northern Department in

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 631–2.

1821. It is true that he gave the matter careful consideration in the report which he submitted to the Governor and Committee following his celebrated visit to the Columbia District in 1824–25. He admitted that he did " not know any part of North America where the Natives could be civilized and instructed in morality and Religion at such a moderate expence,"[6] and proceeded to estimate in some detail the cost of establishing and maintaining a mission. The initial expense would, he thought, total from £500 to £700 per annum, depending upon the location chosen, but this would probably decrease substantially after the first year. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Simpson had his doubts about the practicability of the scheme, and in particular he was concerned about the clash of interests which might well develop between the chaplain and the district Chief Factor. In a paragraph which was to prove strangely prophetic, Simpson wrote, early in 1825, that it would be well to

> place the Clergyman in a certain degree under the protection of the Coy's representative (say the Chief Facter in charge of the District) and direct him to look up to that Gentleman for support and assistance in almost every thing as a superior; on the contrary if he attempts to dictate or act independently of, or in opposition to the views & wishes of that Gentleman it is to be feared they will not draw together. The Missionary ought to be cool and temperate in his habits and of a Mild conciliatory disposition even tempered and not too much disposed to find fault severely with any little laxity of Morals he may discover at the Coy's Establishment otherwise 'tis to be feared he would find his situation uncomfortable and it might even interfere with the objects of his Mission; he ought to understand in the outset that nearly all the Gentlemen & Servants have Families altho' Marriage ceremonies are unknown in the Country and that it would be all in vain to attempt breaking through this uncivilised custom. On no other score would he have serious grounds of complaint as the conduct of our people in general is perfectly correct decorous & proper when well managed.[7]

In the course of his travels several Indian chiefs asked Simpson to send them a religious teacher—" a Messenger from the Master of Life," as the Thompson River chiefs expressed it. Simpson promised to transmit the requests to his superiors in London, but probably because of the possible complications which he himself pointed out, there was no response for some years.

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(6) Frederick Merk (*ed.*), *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 106.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 108.

In 1830 the Governor and Committee informed Simpson that it was their intention to send a missionary west of the Rocky Mountains, but no appointment was actually made. Indeed, it may well have been the arrival of the first American missionaries in the Columbia, led by Jason Lee, in 1834, which finally spurred the Company to action.

Unexpected delays occurred, even at the last moment. The first two chaplains chosen by the Hudson's Bay Company for the new post later declined the appointment, as their wives refused to face the long sea voyage round Cape Horn. At last in 1835, when Simpson was in England, he himself took the matter in hand and personally selected the Rev. Herbert Beaver, B.A., who, together with his wife, Jane—" haughty Jane," as she has been described—sailed from London in the Company's barque *Nereide,* bound for Fort Vancouver, on February 13, 1836.

No doubt Simpson congratulated himself upon obtaining just the person required for the new position: a man of intellect, in his middle thirties, and an experienced chaplain. To-day we are probably in possession of most of the data which Simpson had before him when the choice was made.

Herbert Beaver was the son of the Rev. Herbert John Beaver and Katharine, his wife. The father was curate of St. Peter's, Ash, Surrey, in the years 1799 and 1800, during the incumbency of the Rev. Thomas Rickman, absentee rector of the parish, 1796–1811. The son was born sometime in the spring of 1800, and was christened on July 7 of that year. For sponsors he had two tutors of Christ Church, Oxford, the Rev. Robert Trotman and the Rev. Herbert Randolph, and two sisters, the Misses Elizabeth and Wilhelmina Templeman.[8] The records of Queen's College, Oxford, show that he matriculated there " 7th February, 1817. Aged 16." He took his B.A. in 1821.[9] The Registrar of the Diocese of Lincoln has been able to furnish some details of his career during the next four or five years:—

He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Pelham [of Lincoln] on the 22nd September 1822 and he was ordained Priest by Bishop Pelham on the 21st September 1823.

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(8) F. A. Poulter (People's Warden, St. Peter's, Ash) to G. H. Slater, February 11, 1940.

(9) Provost, Queen's College, to G. H. Slater, December 29, 1939.

He was licensed to the Curacy of Kirkby Mallory in the County of Leicester (then in the Diocese of Lincoln) on the 22nd September 1822 and his successor was licensed to the same Curacy in April 1825, so that presumably the Rev. H. Beaver held the Curacy from the 22nd September 1822 to 1825.[10]

This supposition is no doubt correct, for in 1825 Beaver was appointed to St. Lucia, British West Indies, where he was at first both Army Chaplain and Rector of Castries. Canon R. J. Laurie, the present Rector of Holy Trinity, Castries, has been so good as to search the records there, and reports as follows:—

The subject of your enquiry seems to have been an enterprising person, as according to our Records he was evidently the first resident Anglican Priest in S. Lucia after it became a British Colony.

In S. Lucia also he started our Registers. At least, his are the first among those that I found.

Herbert Beaver combined the offices of Garrison Chaplain and Rector of Castries.

The work of our Church started really as a Military Chaplaincy, afterwards taking in Officials, commercial people, etc. To this day we form a very small minority, 90% of the population being R[oman]. C[atholic].

Beaver's first entry was dated May 17th, 1825, and his last July 27th, 1833. There are no written records beyond entries in the Registers for those years. But up to about ten years ago there was a wooden Villa on Morne Fortune, on land which formed part of the old Military Station, and which still belongs to the War Department of Gt. Britain, which went by the name of Beaver Lodge. This house, I am told, actually stood on the site of the Chaplain's Quarters, and took its name from the first Chaplain. The house was sold, and was re-erected in Castries.

I came across a rather interesting entry. Below the record of a Marriage, which took place in Castries on May 21, 1833, there is the following note: "I hereby certify that the above is a true correct copy of a register made by me on the day of the marriage: I being prevented from entering it into the proper book, from Mr. Beaver, the late minister keeping violent possession of the same, and refusing to give it to me.

"Witness my hand this fifth day of February in the year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four.

Witnesses to the above Marriage,

J. McGowan
Herbert Beaver
D. S. Robertson."

Henry George Hall,
Minister at St. Lucia.

N.B. Mr. Hall seems to have been appointed Rector of the Civil Parish while Mr. Beaver was still Military Chaplain.[11]

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(10) A. E. T. Jourdain, Lincoln, to G. H. Slater, May 21, 1940.

(11) Canon R. J. Laurie, Castries, S. Lucia, B.W.I., to G. H. Slater, October 27, 1939.

Beaver probably returned to England late in 1833. Where he spent the next year or two we do not know; but on January 12, 1836, he was licensed by the Bishop of Chichester to the Curacy of Up Waltham, in Sussex. It is unlikely that he ever officiated there, as he sailed for the Northwest Coast on February 13, only a month later. This supposition is borne out by the fact that there are no entries bearing his signature in any of the parish registers.[12] The inference is that the two appointments came to him almost simultaneously, and that he resigned the curacy in order to accept the post of Chaplain and Missionary at Fort Vancouver.

The Governor and Committee had made careful preparations for his coming. In the annual supply ship *Columbia*, which arrived at Fort Vancouver in May, 1836, the Company had sent out a church bell, a pulpit, Bibles, prayer books, registers, a surplice, an altar cloth, and a silver communion service. It is clear, too, that the Committee expected that a church building would be erected; but construction had not even started when Beaver arrived, and services were therefore held in the mess-hall of the fort.

Beaver had been expected to come by the overland route, from Canada, but, as already noted, he sailed instead in the *Nereide*. The vessel reached Fort Vancouver on September 6, 1836, after a passage from London lasting just short of seven months. Beaver contended later that although Chief Factor McLoughlin had known for some days that the *Nereide* had entered the Columbia River, and that he and Mrs. Beaver were on board, no proper provision had been made for their reception. For quarters they were given only part of a dwelling, in which nothing but a thin wall separated them from the noisy inhabitants of the other rooms. The attic was reserved by the Company, and the men of the fort demanded access to it regardless of Mrs. Beaver's convenience. As Beaver's own narrative records, innumerable other small difficulties and disagreements soon developed over such domestic matters as the servant problem, the food supply, and the quality and cleanliness of the cooking.

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(12) T. M. Eggar, Chichester, to G. H. Slater, April 6, 1940; and May 23, 1940.

The difference of opinion soon extended to more serious matters. There had been a school of sorts at Fort Vancouver since 1833, and McLoughlin turned it over to Beaver a few days after his arrival. Before the end of September, however, McLoughlin and Beaver were at loggerheads over the character of the religious instruction which should or should not be given the pupils, and McLoughlin insisted upon resuming control. A sharp difference of opinion also developed regarding the conduct of the various religious services, and in particular those conducted in French for the benefit of the many French-Canadians at the post, almost all of whom were Roman Catholics. Within a few weeks Beaver, having found conditions and prospects very different to what they had been represented in London, decided to give up and go home. Early in November he requested and was granted a passage to England in the *Columbia,* due to sail shortly. Receipt of a petition signed by thirty-four Protestants and twenty-four Roman Catholics, begging him to remain, caused him to change his mind; but his relations with McLoughlin did not improve. In January, 1837, they ceased to communicate with one another, even on paper, and thereafter Mrs. Beaver served as go-between.

Both Beaver's narrative and his reports, several of which are extant, show that the most serious cause of trouble was the irregular marital relations of most of the Company's servants and officers at Fort Vancouver, including Chief Factor McLoughlin himself. In many instances no ceremony of any kind had taken place between the couples. Others were bound together by the so-called fur-trade marriages, the legal validity of which was upheld in later years by the Supreme Court of Quebec. But from Beaver's point of view one and all were living in sin, McLoughlin by no means least amongst the number. Matters came to a climax in March, 1838, when the Chief Factor discovered that in a recent report to the Governor and Committee Beaver had characterized Mrs. McLoughlin as " a female of notoriously loose character " and as " the kept mistress of the highest personage in your service at this station." Meeting the chaplain by chance, McLoughlin's violent temper got the better of him. Seizing Beaver's cane he thrashed him with it, and but for the intervention of others might have injured him seriously. A day

or two later McLoughlin offered an apology, but Beaver would have none of it. The breach had widened beyond all bridging, and Beaver would doubtless have left the Columbia at the first opportunity had not McLoughlin himself departed on furlough within a few days of the assault.

Simpson's worst fears had been realized with a vengeance, for, as we have seen, Beaver flatly refused to overlook the " little laxity of Morals " which Simpson had warned that it would be " all in vain " to attempt to correct.

Looking back over the years it is evident that there were faults on both sides. There is no denying the fact that McLoughlin did not want a chaplain and that he gave Beaver a cool reception. His own sympathies undoubtedly lay with the Roman Catholics, and he may well have felt that, with the coming of Jason Lee and other American missionaries, there were enough Protestants in the country, especially as most of the inhabitants who professed any religion at all were Catholics. A dozen years in Oregon, where his authority was all but absolute, had developed in him dictatorial ways which made him intolerant of criticism, or even a difference of opinion. Once the quarrel with Beaver started, it is clear that prejudice played its part. It is significant that after Beaver's arrival McLoughlin had Chief Trader James Douglas, who was a Justice of the Peace, perform a civil marriage between himself and Mrs. McLoughlin; but the fact was not made public, even though McLoughlin permitted Beaver to officiate at the marriage of his daughter, Eloise, to William Glen Rae, in February, 1838.

On Beaver's side, his background and training must not be forgotten. He regarded the Columbia District as his parish, and, if that premise were granted, he was within his traditional rights in claiming control of the parish school. In that day and age a Church of England clergyman expected to pay deference to no local personage except the squire; and Beaver could not bring himself to look upon such a rough diamond as John McLoughlin in that light. In noting Beaver's arrival, Peter Skene Ogden had remarked that his was " a very appropriate name for the fur trade "; but there was little else about him that fitted in well with conditions in Old Oregon. He was unwilling to make any concession whatever to circumstances; and that being so, the

collision between two such determined characters as McLoughlin and himself became inevitable.

Mrs. Whitman, wife of Marcus Whitman, the most celebrated of the American missionaries, arrived in Oregon soon after the Beavers. She attended the two services held by Beaver the Sunday after her arrival, and noted in her journal:—

> Enjoyed the privaledge much. The most of the gentlemen of the Fort are Scotch Presbyterian, & but very few that are Episcopalians. The great mass of labourers are Roman Catholics who have three services during the Sabbath, one of which is attended at this house in which Doct McLaughlin officiates in French, translates a sermon or a tract & reads a chapter in the Bible & a prayer. The singing in Mr Beavers church was done by the children. Some of their tunes were taught them by Mr Parker.[13] Others by Mr Shepherd[14] of the Methodist Mission.[15]

Beaver must have been reminded in one respect of St. Lucia, in that the great majority of the civil population was of a different religion; but there he did not have to worry over the opposition of the army officers.

It is too often assumed that Beaver's mission to the Columbia was a complete failure. He was a man full of zeal for his work; he laboured hard among the Indians, and befriended the young clerks just out from the old land. He was liked by some of his Methodist confrères, who saw in him and his wife "highly intellectual people," and who regarded their stay as "a feast of reason and a flow of soul." Others sneered at him, probably because he held an official position, and described him as "a man below the medium height, light brown hair, gray eyes, light complexion, a feminine voice, with large pretentions to oratory, a poor delivery, and no energy."[16]

The registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials started by Beaver continued in use until about the close of the century. The location of his charge is given as "Fort Vancouver, River Colum-

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(13) Dr. Samuel Parker, 1779–1866, had been sent out with Whitman and others by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1835.

(14) Cyrus Shepherd, 1798–1840, a pioneer Methodist missionary, was a member of the Jason Lee party which arrived on the Columbia in 1834.

(15) T. C. Elliott (*ed.*), "The Coming of the White Women, 1836," part ii., *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII. (1936), p. 183.

(16) W. H. Gray, *A History of Oregon, 1792–1849, drawn from personal observation and authentic information*, Portland, Ore., 1870, p. 162.

MARRIAGES solemnized ~~in the Parish of~~ at Fort Vancouver, River ~~in the County of~~ Columbia, N.W. Coast of America in the Year 1837

James Douglas of this ~~Parish~~ Place

and Amelia Connolly of this ~~Parish~~ Place

were married in this Fort by Licence ~~with Consent,~~

this twenty eighth Day of February in the Year One Thousand eight hundred and thirty seven

By me Herbert Beaver Chaplain to the Hon'ble Hudson's Bay Co.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { James Douglas / Amelia Connolly }

In the Presence of { P. Chrisopher Chief Factor H.B.C. / Geo. McLeod Clerk Do. }

No. 1.

Benjamin McKenzie of this ~~Parish~~ Place

and Katherine Campbell of this ~~Parish~~ Place

were married in this Fort by Licence ~~with Consent,~~

this twenty eighth Day of February in the Year One Thousand eight hundred and thirty seven

By me Herbert Beaver Chaplain to the Hon'ble Hudson's Bay Co.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { Ben McKenzie / the mark of Katherine X Campbell }

In the Presence of { D. Finlayson Chief Factor H.B.C. / Wm. H. Kittson Clerk Do. }

No. 2.

Aimable Petit of this ~~Parish~~ Place

and Susanne Teroston of this ~~Parish~~ Place

were married in this Fort by Banns ~~with Consent,~~

this twenty seventh Day of March in the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty seven

By me Herbert Beaver Chaplain to H.B.Co.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { the mark of Aimable X Petit / the mark of Susanne X Teroston }

In the Presence of { John F. Patterson / Jno. Brown }

No. 3.

(Photo, courtesy Hudson's Bay Company.)

First page of the Fort Vancouver marriage register.

(Photo by Scott Camera Craft, courtesy Hudson's Bay Company.)

The Communion service, engraved with the Company's coat of arms.

bia, N. W. Coast of America." In the baptismal register he made 124 entries. Baptisms took place at Fort George (Astoria), Steilacoom, and other places, as well as at Fort Vancouver. Entries in the marriage register number nine, and those in the burial register, twelve. The later history of the registers themselves will be noted presently.

After McLoughlin's departure Beaver found life at Fort Vancouver more comfortable. James Douglas had assumed charge of the Columbia District, and Beaver could remember with satisfaction that the first entry in his marriage register recorded the union of James Douglas and Amelia Connolly, on February 28, 1837. In 1838, hearing that Dr. McLoughlin was to come back to Fort Vancouver, Beaver decided to return to England, as he recognized that after McLoughlin's return his services would not be of much avail. He and Mrs. Beaver sailed in the *Columbia* in November, 1838, and arrived in London the following May.

Beaver hoped to arrive in England before McLoughlin started on his return journey, as he intended to prefer charges against him; but in this he was disappointed. Instead, as he himself tells us, he was informed verbally by the Hudson's Bay Company that it had no further occasion for his services. Later he was paid a gratuity of £110, in full settlement of all his claims against the Company.[17]

His treatment and experiences in Oregon left Beaver bitter and defiant, and he wrote scathing letters, one or two of which found their way into print, in which he denounced certain officials of the Hudson's Bay Company by name, described what he regarded as their inhuman treatment of the Indians, and noted the immorality he was expected to countenance. At one time he intended to publish his reports in book form, but so far as is known the volume never materialized.

Beaver's state of mind shortly after his return to England is well illustrated in the following report, addressed by him to the Bishop of Montreal, which is here printed for the first time:—

Stoke by Nayland, Colchester
July 31st, 1839

My Lord,

When on the point of leaving the River Columbia in the beginning of November last I was honored with your Lordship's reply to the letter, which

(17) *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX. (1938), p. 36n.

I had addressed to the Bishop of Quebec on the 13th of Febry 1836, and I should consequently deem myself wanting in due respect, although it appears that I was unfortunately stationed neither in the diocese of Montreal, nor in that, nor in any other that I am aware, were I to omit giving your Lordship a concise account of my motives, together with my reasons for quitting my post.

This was Fort Vancouver, the principal Factory of the Hudson's Bay Company on the North west coast of America, where I resided, with my wife, for upwards of two years, during which time I had to encounter from the Roman Catholic Head of the Establishment, who was desirous that all the children should be brought up in his persuasion, every species of opposition to my ministry, great neglect of our private comforts which totally depended upon him, and much personal insult, ending in a most unprovoked and outrageous assault upon myself, in my wife's presence, at his hands, which determined us on leaving a country, where it was impossible for us to be either useful or happy. And yet, my Lord, there was nothing in it or in the aborigines, which prevented us from being both in an eminent degree; but the conduct of those, with whom we were compelled more immediately to come in contact, was in numerous instances insufferable, uncompensated, as it was, by an adequate sphere of usefulness. We had made up our minds to dwell among *red* savages, but not among *white* ones, by which appellation facts justify me in characterizing many of my late fellow-servants; nor do I hesitate to affirm, some out [*sic*] by the threats of Chief Factor McLoughlin, the officer in charge above alluded to, that my life was endangered by a protracted continuance among them. All this persecution arose from my determination to endeavour, to the utmost of my ability, to cleanse the Augean stable of vice and immorality, in which the Company's servants were too generally immersed to the effectual prevention of the growth of all virtue and religion throughout the half-bred and native population. Yet, in defiance of every obstacle, I have, according to your Lordship's prayer, been blessed in making known to some, even in that uttermost end of the earth, that name, whereby alone they must be saved; and I have, I trust, laid, under His Almighty guidance, a foundation, on which the superstructure of Christianity and Civilization may at no very distant period, be erected. The means, by which this most desirable event can, with a fair prospect of success, humanly speaking, be accomplished, I have, in several reports, which, with notes, I intend to publish, and other notices of the little known regions, of the far Northwest, fully pointed out to the Company; and I have, likewise, as a matter of duty, offered my services to carry them into execution. On my arrival, however, about two months since in England, they were, to my great satisfaction, dispensed with, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, the Deputy Governor, whom your Lordship mentions (my first intelligence of it) as stating himself in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Quebec to be the Author of my appointment, telling me, "That my conscience was too tender, and that a Clergyman of a less tender conscience would do better for their settlements"; which I took as the greatest compliment he could pay me, and which I esteemed as a more satisfactory

approbation than any that I could have received, except that of my own conscience and of many clerical friends. I have not heard whether the Company propose replacing me with any successor; for his own sake, whoever he may be, I hope not, for, without the firm support of the home body and the cordial cooperation of the foreign members, he can do nothing. Unless his powers vastly exceed mine, it is a mean working to attempt to maintain a Clergyman in the Columbia Department. Had not the brutal and cowardly attack for which I can obtain no redress, occurred; it was my intention to have remained sufficiently long to have afforded an opportunity of remedying all the grievances of which I had to complain, both of a public and private nature, albeit I am obliged to conclude that such waiting would have been in vain, from the numberless instances of ill-treatment of their inferior servants, and the reputed horrid massacres of unoffending Indians by persons in their service, which have been overlooked, if not encouraged, by the Company.

Your Lordship will be pleased to learn, that, after experiencing no inconsiderable portion of misery and uncomfortableness, we are at length peacefully settled in the above parish, in which I have been licensed to the Chapelry of Leavenheath by the Lord Bishop of Ely.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, with every respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

Herbert Beaver

To the Right Reverend
The Lord Bishop
Montreal
Quebec
Lower Canada[18]

At Leavenheath Beaver was once again pioneering, although this time it was in the homeland. For the third time he started a new set of parochial registers.

Four years of the quiet, humdrum life of an English country parish sufficed for Beaver's restless nature. This time he sails for another part of the world, Cape Colony, as it was then called; and, as at St. Lucia, he combined military and civil duties.

Writing in 1940 from Fort Beaufort, South Africa, the Rev. W. R. Caley recalls that the first persons to arrive at that outstation were troops, in 1822, and continues:—

Though this is not a military town today it was the center of the frontier forces in the early days, and when Rev. Herbert Beaver, B.A., was here.

I have examined the early minutes of the Anglican Church, and these show that he came here in June 1843. . . . He was successor to the Rev. Geo. Booth who died on the 17th April 1843.

(18) Quebec Diocesan Archives. Red River Rupertsland, 1839–50, p. 2.

He not only administered to the troops, but spent much of his time with the civil community. For some time the Anglicans hired the church built by the Wesleyans for their services. A suggestion that an Anglican Church should be built was made in 1838, but this was quite given up. Rev. H. Beaver however worked hard to get the church built. He wrote to various Societies in England and in the Cape, he arranged for shareholder subscriptions, got help even from the Government &c. and finally got the building erected. The builder, Mr. Adam McKenzie did not complete the work satisfactorily and thus the taking over of the building was delayed.

Owing to the removal of a large number of the troops from Fort Beaufort to Fort Hare, His Excellency the Governor-General directed Rev. H. Beaver to reside at Fort Hare and take spiritual charge of the troops stationed there and at other places, so on 21st July 1848 he resigned his duties at Fort Beaufort.

The St. John's Church was not opened till 24th June 1849.[19]

How long Beaver remained at Fort Hare is not known. He moved about with the troops, and died ten years after the transfer. The story ends with two terse entries in the War Office records:—

1848, 1 August. Officiating Chaplain to the troops at the frontier.[20]
1858, 21 May. Died at Fort Beaufort.[21]

Whether or not Mrs. Beaver survived him does not appear. The date of their marriage and that of her death are two details which are still missing from the picture.

After their experience with the Rev. Herbert Beaver the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company were in no hurry to appoint another official chaplain. More than a decade passed before a successor was named. In the interval Fort Victoria had been built on Vancouver Island, and, following the Oregon boundary treaty of 1846, the district headquarters of the Company were in process of removal to the new post. Oddly enough it was the barque *Columbia*, which had carried Beaver home to England in 1838–39, that landed his successor at Fort Victoria on March 16, 1849.

Of the Rev. Robert John Staines, his wife Emma Francis (as she signs herself as a witness in the marriage register), and their

(19) W. R. Caley to G. H. Slater, January 26, 1940.

(20) Public Record Office, Monthly returns Cape of Good Hope, W.O. 17-1629.

(21) *Ibid.*, W.O. 17-1639. For this and the preceding reference *see* Public Record Office to G. H. Slater, February 13, 1940.

two children, Horace and Jane, little is known, except that Staines himself graduated from Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1845. The Company paid him £200 a year as chaplain, but he received an additional £340 per annum for conducting a school for the children of the Company's officials.[22] In addition to the school, Staines bought a tract of land, about 450 acres, close to the North Dairy Farm of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, like so many of the Old Country clergy of the day, engaged in farming. His efforts to improve the local breed of pigs have been made famous by H. H. Bancroft, the historian.[23]

His attention to these side-lines did not mean that Staines neglected his clerical duties. The three church registers started by Beaver were brought to Fort Victoria, and they reveal that Staines made journeys to Steilacoom and also to the Company's posts at Nisqually and Fort Langley. In addition he visited outlying settlements near Victoria, including Sooke. It is interesting to note that three entries were made in the marriage register after Beaver's departure and before his successor arrived. Upon the first occasion, in 1847, the Rev. Ezra Fisher, the first Baptist missionary in Oregon, officiated; the second entry was made in 1848 by Richard Lane, a Justice of the Peace; while the third marriage, which took place on May 26, 1849, was solemnized by the Rev. George H. Atkinson, a Congregationalist. The many entries made in the three registers in later years furnish interesting glimpses of life on Vancouver Island in earlier days. Thus the burial register shows how appalling was the rate of infant mortality. Then again, the registers show that when the rector of the parish was absent, chaplains from the ships of the Royal Navy lying in Esquimalt Harbour frequently officiated in his stead. Indeed, nearly all the pioneer clergymen of the Province recorded their names as having performed one or more of these occasional offices. The baptismal register contains the signatures of no less than fifty-three different clergymen, the marriage register forty, and the burial register fifty-four. The books themselves are amongst the most treasured possessions of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria.

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(22) *See* D. L. MacLaurin, "Education before the Gold Rush," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 247–8.

(23) *See* H. H. Bancroft, *History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, pp. 238–243.

Not long after his arrival, Staines became involved in the political differences which troubled the small population of the infant Colony of Vancouver Island, and he soon associated himself with a group who became critics and opponents of the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the end Staines himself was chosen to travel to England, for the purpose of presenting the grievances of the settlers directly to the Colonial Office. The exact date of his departure from Victoria is not known, but it was subsequent to February 25, 1854, as he signed an entry in the baptismal register on that day. He sailed from Sooke in a lumber-laden vessel, with the intention, it is said, of transferring to another craft, bound for England, at San Francisco. But off Cape Flattery the cargo of lumber shifted in a gale, the vessel foundered, and Staines perished.

Mrs. Staines and her children returned to England in January, 1855, in the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Princess Royal,* and lived for a time in London.

As soon as word of Staines's death reached London the Company advertised for another chaplain, and the appointment was given to the Rev. Edward (later Bishop) Cridge, who with his bride arrived in Victoria in 1855.

To Staines's energy must be ascribed the commencement of the building of the original District Church in Victoria. It was placed on an eminence near the fort, later known as Church Hill, and later still renamed Columbia Square. The site is now the property of the Government of British Columbia. Construction of the church started in 1853, but although it was a relatively small building, seating no more than 300 persons, it was not opened for service until August 31, 1856, more than two years after Staines's death. To this building were brought most of the articles which had been sent to Fort Vancouver by the Governor and Committee in 1836, including the bell, pulpit, and communion service. The original Bible may have been discarded, as a replacement copy arrived in the Company's barque *Norman Morison* in January, 1853.

Later the District Church was named Christ Church, and became, in the process of church expansion, Christ Church Cathedral. Unfortunately the original building was totally destroyed by fire in October, 1869, and only the Bible, church registers, and

communion service were saved. A few pieces of the bell metal are in the possession of some people as souvenirs. The Bible is now in the Provincial Archives museum. The communion service, however, is still in use. It consists of a handsome flagon, two patens, one with a stand and one without, and a chalice. All are engraved with the coat of arms of the Hudson's Bay Company.

It is pleasant to note that although the Company's relations with its first two chaplains had not been particularly happy, nevertheless when the time came to sever its connection with Christ Church, it endowed the parish handsomely with the $22\frac{41}{100}$ acres of land surrounding the building.

G. HOLLIS SLATER.

VICTORIA, B.C.

THE MYSTERY OF MRS. BARKLEY'S DIARY.*

NOTES ON THE VOYAGE OF THE "IMPERIAL EAGLE," 1786–87.

The voyage of the ship *Imperial Eagle*, Captain Charles William Barkley, which arrived at Nootka Sound in June, 1787, though in most respects an ordinary trading venture, was in others an expedition of some historical importance. For it was Captain Barkley who discovered—or, as the dwindling few who believe in the exploits of Juan de Fuca would have me say, it was he who rediscovered—the Strait of Juan de Fuca. With the captain came his bride, Frances Hornby Barkley, the first white woman to visit the Pacific Northwest. So far as we know, the only account of the discovery of the strait left by the Barkleys themselves was in a diary kept during the voyage by Mrs. Barkley. This document is no longer available, and its very existence has more than once been cast in doubt.

Surprisingly little can be learned about the expedition from printed sources. Dixon merely mentions the *Imperial Eagle;* states that she had come to the coast from Ostend and gives a brief account of the circumstances which enabled Barkley to carry on a successful trade at Nootka Sound.[1] The summary of the expedition given by Meares in the introduction to his *Voyages*[2] is filled with inaccuracies, and most of the references in the text are deliberately misleading. Meares contrived to get possession of Captain Barkley's log-book and journal, and there is little doubt that at least one of the maps printed in the *Voyages* was copied from Barkley's charts.[3] Meares even tried to appro-

* A paper read before the annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Eugene, Oregon, December 30, 1941.

(1) Captain George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World . . . performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788,* London, 1789, pp. 231–233.

(2) John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America,* London, 1790, p. lv. *See also* p. 124.

(3) *Ibid.,* "A Plan of Port Effingham in Berkley's Sound."

priate some of the place-names bestowed by Barkley. Thus, in 1787, Barkley had named Cape Beale in honour of John Beale, purser of his ship; but Meares contends that the headland "obtained from us the name of Cape Beale" in 1788,[4] presumably after one Daniel Beale, who happened to be associated with his own enterprise. Again, in his introduction Meares admits that Barkley had discovered the Strait of Juan de Fuca before him, yet one cannot help feeling that the ambiguity in his reference to the name was intended to mislead. The sentence reads: "The strongest curiosity impelled us to enter this strait, *which we shall call* by the name of its original discoverer, John de Fuca."[5] As these entries suggest, Barkley's expedition was overshadowed by the voyages of other traders and explorers. Only the conspicuous place-name "Barkley Sound," on the west coast of Vancouver Island, prevented it from falling into complete obscurity. It is significant that the name itself was mis-spelled for more than a century. Dixon refers to Captain *Berkley;* Meares spells the name *Barclay.* The correct spelling was not placed on the official charts until 1901, when the Geographic Board of Canada made the change, after the Barkley papers had come to light.

These papers consisted of two log-books kept by or for Captain Barkley, Mrs. Barkley's reminiscences, two of her diaries, and some letters. After Captain Barkley's death, in 1832, they remained in Mrs. Barkley's possession until she, in turn, died in 1845. They then passed to her eldest son, the Rev. John Charles Barkley, of Little Melton, near Norwich, England, by whom the log-books were loaned to Lord Aberdeen in 1846, in the hope that they might furnish evidence of value to Great Britain in the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute.[6] Beyond that point the history of the logs becomes obscure. About the turn of the century they were offered for sale by a dealer in England, and were purchased by the Hon. Mr. Justice Archer Martin,

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 172.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 155; italics added.

(6) *See* F. W. Howay, "Letters Concerning Voyages of British Vessels to the Northwest Coast of America, 1787–1809," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX. (1938), pp. 307–313. Two letters from the Rev. J. C. Barkley to Lord Aberdeen are here quoted in full.

Captain Charles William Barkley.

From a miniature presented to the Provincial Archives by his great granddaughter, Lady Constance Parker, of Waddington.

later Chief Justice of British Columbia. In 1911 Mr. Justice Martin's remarkable collection of Northwest Americana was purchased by the Provincial Library and Archives, Victoria, and one of the logs was included in the transfer. The other was still in the possession of the Chief Justice at the time of his death, in September, 1941.

Meanwhile Mrs. Barkley's papers seem to have passed to her granddaughter and namesake, Frances, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Charles Barkley. About 1900 she gave or loaned them to her brother, Captain Edward Barkley, R.N. (retired), who had settled at Westholme, Vancouver Island. Early on the morning of November 22, 1909, Captain Barkley, who was then in his 81st year, lost his life in a fire which destroyed his home. Mrs. Barkley's letters and diaries were lost in the blaze and only her reminiscences now survive. They are the property of Edward Barkley's son, Captain Robert E. Barkley, of Westholme, who has deposited the original manuscript in the Provincial Archives for safe-keeping.

A very brief description of the various documents in the case will suffice for the present purpose. Taking first the log-book in the Archives, we find that it is titled: "A Journal of the Proceedings on board the *Loudoun* Charles Wm. Barkley Esqr. Commander." The ship *Loudoun* was none other than the *Imperial Eagle*, which was masquerading under the latter name and the Austrian flag in order to avoid the necessity of securing licences from the two companies which held the monopoly of British trading rights in the Pacific—the South Sea Company, and the East India Company. The log or journal records the fitting-out of the vessel, her departure from Ostend in November, 1786, and her voyage up to the time she was approaching the Northwest Coast, in June, 1787. At that point it breaks off abruptly, and presumably it was succeeded by a new journal which described Barkley's activities on the coast and the subsequent voyage to China. It was this new log which was secured by Meares, who used it, as we have seen, for his own purposes.

The surviving journal also includes the latter part of the log of the brig *Halcyon*, in which Captain and Mrs. Barkley made a second voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1791–92. The earlier portion is to be found in the companion volume in the library

of the late Chief Justice Martin. This book was evidently shared by Captain Barkley and his mariner brother, Captain John Barkley, as it contains logs of two East Indiamen in which John Barkley served, as well as a log of the *Princess Frederica,* in which Captain Charles W. Barkley made a successful voyage in 1791.

In none of these records is any mention made of the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and the same is unfortunately true of the reminiscences of Mrs. Barkley. Though her narrative is over 17,000 words in length, only a few hundred of these are devoted to the voyage of the *Imperial Eagle,* and the story is carried no further than the unscheduled call at Bahia, which was necessitated by Captain Barkley's illness. The rest of the reminiscences relate to the voyage of the *Halcyon,* except for one interpolated passage in which Mrs. Barkley recalls her previous visit to the Northwest Coast. In sum, as noted above, and as even these few notes suffice to show, any account of the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca left by the Barkleys themselves must have been in documents—and presumably in Mrs. Barkley's diaries—which are no longer available to us.

Early in 1901 the late Captain John T. Walbran read before the Natural History Society of British Columbia a paper entitled "The Cruise of the *Imperial Eagle.*" Captain Walbran was for many years in command of the Canadian Government lighthouse and fisheries tender *Quadra,* and in the course of his duties he developed a keen interest in the nomenclature of the Northwest Coast. In 1901 he was already busy collecting material for the historical dictionary entitled *British Columbia Coast Names 1592–1906,* which was published by the Dominion Government in 1909. As his book shows on every page, Walbran sought far and near for information, and it is more than probable that it was at his prompting that Captain Edward Barkley, while visiting relatives in England, secured his grandmother's diaries and brought them back with him to Vancouver Island. In any event we know that they were for a time in Captain Walbran's possession, and excerpts and data from them appear both in the paper on "The Cruise of the *Imperial Eagle,*" which was printed in

the Victoria *Colonist* for March 3, 1901,[7] and in *British Columbia Coast Names*. Oddly enough, in neither place did Walbran quote in full the whole of the passage relating to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and it is thanks to the fact that Judge Howay later asked for and received a copy of the complete entry that we now have the historic paragraph in its entirety. Judge Howay received this transcript in May, 1910, about six months after the original diaries were burned. The letter from Captain Walbran which accompanied it read in part as follows:—

You will be pleased to know I need not give you [only] my "best recollections" of what was in Mrs Barkley's journal as regards the discovery of the strait of Juan de Fuca for I have fortunately, and quite unexpectedly, come across some of my pencilled notes in which I jotted down Mrs Barkley's own words recording the *Imperial Eagle* meeting with the wide opening in the land which Captain Barkley recognized as the strait of Juan de Fuca. I attached so little importance to the verbatim notes I was taking down, seeing that I was writing with the journal in front of me that I have omitted the exact dates of the occurrences which took place after the ship sailed eastward from Barkley Sound. I thought that, for my book, a general summary of the facts was enough. . . .

I never dreamt that the journal would be burnt, as I feel sure it has been, but that it would have always been in evidence, or I would have taken many more verbatim accounts from it than I did. It is an irreparable loss to the history of this coast as the Log, which is in the possession of Judge Martin, ends on the arrival of the ship on this coast.

Portions of the despatch box, you mention, which is supposed to have contained the journal, were found, contents entirely destroyed, after the fire, lying near the front door on what had been the verandah of the house, the old gentleman was seen to place it there . . . and then ran back into the burning house for something else but never returned. . . .

Had the old gentleman taken the despatch box a little further away from the burning house before putting it down, it would have been safe. Poor fellow, I suppose he thought he would carry it into perfect safety in returning.[8]

This letter is interesting both for its own sake and because it shows that doubts about the diaries were beginning to spring up, even in 1910. No one questioned Captain Walbran's good faith; but scholars were beginning to wonder if he had not inadvertently mixed his quotations with other notes which were only paraphrases of, or even descriptive passages based on,

(7) The actual page of the *Colonist* on which the paper is printed is wrongly dated March 2, but the rest of the issue (including the reverse side of the misdated page) is dated March 3, 1901.

(8) John T. Walbran to F. W. Howay, May 5, 1910.

original sources. There seemed to be considerable evidence to support such a point of view. To begin with, no one but Captain Walbran was able to state definitely that he had ever actually seen Mrs. Barkley's diaries. In the second place, many (though not all) of the quotations from the diaries cited by Walbran closely resembled, and in some instances exactly paralleled, passages in Mrs. Barkley's reminiscences. Finally, and perhaps most disconcerting of all, Mrs. Barkley states categorically, in the first paragraph of her reminiscences, that she "never kept any Journal." Faced with these facts, some students concluded that the papers burned in 1909 consisted only of a further instalment, or another version of the reminiscences; others refer to the reminiscences as if they were a journal, apparently in the belief that no other document ever existed. Thus in 1910, when the late Dr. C. F. Newcombe wrote his monograph entitled *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island*,[9] he quoted from Walbran the famous passage in which Mrs. Barkley describes the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and then added in a note: "The author has not been able to find this reference in the transcript of Mrs. Barkley's Journal in the Provincial Archives."[10] Needless to say, the transcript in question was a copy of the reminiscences, not the diaries. Again, even as careful a scholar as Judge Howay, who correctly credited the same passage to the diary in 1911, cited it as from the reminiscences in 1938, in the evident belief that the documents were one and the same.[11]

It is very probable that a careful examination of Captain Walbran's notes would have ended the confusion, but unfortunately these appear to have been destroyed after his death in 1913. As a consequence the mystery has remained unsolved for a generation. In spite of the lapse of time, a careful examination of the various transcripts and documents still available suggests that it can still be unravelled, and the notes which follow are submitted as a solution.

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(9) Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. 1, Victoria, B.C., 1914. (Dr. Newcombe's manuscript was completed some years before it was published. The prefatory letter in the volume is dated November 7, 1910.)

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

(11) *See Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XII. (1911), p. 8; and XXXIX. (1938), p. 308.

In the first paragraph of her reminiscences Mrs. Barkley warns the reader that they "must be considered in the light of a Reminiscence of former days, not a correct tradition being founded upon very vague Data, as I never kept any Journal . . ." She adds that the narrative might "be improved by refferance to Log Books & Sea Journals, If I had the courage to Peruse them;" but as she was in her 66th year she felt that it was "too late in the day for such a reserch." The first few pages of the manuscript, which are devoted to her own family and to the first weeks of the voyage of the *Imperial Eagle*, are halting and fragmentary. She confesses that she found herself "sadly at a loss for Dates." Pages and paragraphs abound in blanks, which she hoped to fill in later. Then suddenly, when she commences to describe the voyage in the *Halcyon*, without warning or explanation, the character of the narrative changes completely. It becomes orderly and detailed—so detailed, indeed, that it cannot possibly have been written without the assistance of extensive notes. The first explanation that comes to mind is that Mrs. Barkley had, after all, consulted her husband's logs and sea journals; but these documents are in existence, and their contents indicate that they were not the chief source of her information. She herself gives a clue a few pages later on, when she remarks: "I have been led into this digreshion by the perusal of some old papers, I had to refer too for dates, when I unexpectedly found the Substance of these remarks, *made at the time*."[12] In other words, while preparing her reminiscences, Mrs. Barkley found her diaries, written more than forty years earlier, the very existence of which she had forgotten. There were apparently two of them, the first being devoted to the voyage of the *Imperial Eagle*, and the other to the later venture in the *Halcyon*, for in referring to the *Halcyon*, Walbran wrote: "Mrs. Barkley again accompanied her husband, and kept another interesting journal."[13] Unfortunately she did not rewrite the very incomplete account of the first voyage which she had given in her reminiscences before the diaries came to light; but one later passage, in which she refers in some detail to her earlier visit to the Northwest Coast, shows that she had the journal of

(12) Italics added.

(13) Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 34.

that expedition beside her. By contrast, the account of the voyage in the *Halcyon* runs along smoothly and at length, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was written with a day-to-day journal at hand. Sometimes she quoted directly from it; at others she paraphrased entries, added an occasional detail, deleted passages, or changed the order in which she dealt with events.

This solution of the 30-year-old mystery is consistent with all the facts and documents in the matter. It brings rhyme and reason to Captain Walbran's explanations and quotations. It explains satisfactorily both the parallel entries and the textual discrepancies which exist between Mrs. Barkley's reminiscences and the fragments of her diaries which have survived. And, having accomplished this, and thereby evaluated the surviving Barkley papers, it makes it possible to describe the events of the historic voyage of the *Imperial Eagle* with some certainty.

Charles William Barkley was the son of Charles Barkley, who first entered the service of the East India Company, and later " took to a seafaring life, commanding his own ships."[14] He was drowned while Charles, jr., was still a lad. When he grew up, Charles William likewise entered the service of the East India Company, and rose rapidly in its ranks. In 1786, when he was in his 26th year, he left the Company to take command of the ship *Loudoun,* which was being outfitted in the Thames for a trading voyage to the Northwest Coast. Walbran states that she was a former East Indiaman, and " a fine vessel of 400 tons, ship-rigged and mounting 20 guns."[15] At the time of her arrival she was the largest and finest vessel which had yet visited the North Pacific Coast. Mrs. Barkley states in her diary that she was owned by " supercargoes in China in the service of the East India Company, and several of the owners were directors at home."[16] The voyage was in reality a poaching expedition, financed surreptitiously by sundry employees of the East India Company, and intended to trade within waters in which that company and the

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 35.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

(16) They appear to have called themselves the Austrian East India Company, though Walbran doubts this. *See* Walbran to F. W. Howay, May 5, 1910.

South Sea Company shared monopoly rights. The venture was expected to extend to three voyages, lasting in all perhaps ten years, and Captain Barkley subscribed £3,000 of his own capital to the enterprise.

On September 6, 1786, the *Loudoun* dropped down the Thames, and on the 11th she arrived at Ostend. Here she remained for another ten weeks, fitting out and taking on ballast and supplies. Presumably it was during this stay in port that her name was changed to *Imperial Eagle,* and she hoisted Austrian colours, in an effort to evade the aforementioned monopoly rights, which were binding on all British vessels. It is clear that not even Captain Barkley took the change very seriously, for he kept the vessel's records in the name of the ship *Loudoun,* and Mrs. Barkley likewise refers to her as the *Louden* in her diaries and reminiscences. The use of the Austrian flag was a common subterfuge of the time. A year or two later it roused the ire of Samuel Shaw, United States Consul at Canton, who had this to say of another vessel which had hoisted the same flag: "This ship is owned and navigated principally by English subjects, and there are other instances of a similar nature. For sovereigns, not engaged in commerce themselves, thus, in time of peace, to prostitute their flag to adventurers of other nations, neither adds lustre to their crown nor affords any proof of their benevolence. Renegado Englishmen, whether as Imperial merchants or Prussian consuls, can never be respected by the thinking part of mankind."[17]

While at Ostend Captain Barkley met, wooed, and married Frances Hornby Trevor, daughter of the Rev. John Trevor, D.D., minister of the Ostend Protestant Chapel. The ceremony was performed by Dr. Trevor on October 27, 1786, at which time the bride was in her 17th year. A month later, on November 24, the *Imperial Eagle* sailed for the Northwest Coast of America.

The vessel encountered violent storms in the Bay of Biscay, and put into the Cape Verde Islands to replenish her store of live stock, much of which had been swept overboard. Some

(17) Josiah Quincy, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw,* Boston, 1847, p. 321n. The foot-note may have been added by Quincy, as editor, and not by Shaw himself. I am indebted to Mr. Allyn B. Forbes, Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for this quotation.

weeks later Captain Barkley fell critically ill with rheumatic fever. Mrs. Barkley despaired of his life, but he recovered and was able to resume command of his ship. It was deemed prudent, however, to make a call at Bahia for his benefit, and the *Imperial Eagle* approached the harbour on January 27, 1787. Barkley was a strict disciplinarian, and ran his ship on naval lines, with the result that his well-drilled crew and 20 guns aroused the suspicions of the port authorities. The ship's log for January 28 reads: " Came on Board the Officers who after examining into the Cause of our coming into Port placed a Guard over us and gave us Leave to send our empty water Casks on Shore."[18] When suspicion vanished, Mrs. Barkley was lavishly entertained on shore, and in return Captain Barkley gave a regal banquet for the Governor on board his ship.

On February 7 the *Imperial Eagle* once more put to sea. Captain Barkley's sea journal for the next few months is little more than a bare record of wind and weather, and nothing of interest is known to have occurred until the vessel had rounded Cape Horn and arrived at the Sandwich Islands, in May. The entry for May 19 reads: " A M came off a great number of Canoes & traded for Hoggs at the rate of a large nail Pr. head." The next day the natives returned " with great quantities of Fruit & Vegetables . . ." Trading continued for several days. Some of the crew went on shore and several of the natives were permitted to visit the vessel. On the 24th Captain Barkley noted that " one of the Natives Remained on board signifying an Inclination to go in the Ship." This may refer to Winee, a young native girl, whose amiable manners so pleased Mrs. Barkley that she took her with her, with the consent of Winee's friends.[19]

A week had been spent at the island when, on May 25, the *Imperial Eagle* made sail for the Northwest Coast. The last entry in the log is dated June 11, 1787, when Captain Barkley

(18) This and the subsequent quotations from the log, or sea journal, are taken from the original manuscript in the Archives of British Columbia.

(19) Winee travelled with the Barkleys as far as China. Her health was then failing, and John Meares, who was about to set out on his second voyage to the Northwest Coast, undertook to take her back to the Sandwich Islands. Unhappily she did not live to reach her home, and died at sea on February 5, 1788. *See* Meares, *Voyages*, p. 28. Winee is reputed to have been the first Hawaiian to visit the Northwest Coast.

calculated his position as being 49° 15′ north latitude and 126° west longitude. This would have placed him hard ashore near Ahoussat, in Clayoquot Sound, and he must have been considerably farther west and north than he thought, as he evidently arrived at Nootka Sound within the next two or three days.

There were no other vessels in the Sound, and Barkley was able to carry on a highly profitable trade in sea-otter skins with the Indians. In this trade he received assistance from an unexpected quarter. Basing his account on Mrs. Barkley's diary, Walbran writes:—

> Shortly after the ship moored in Friendly Cove, a canoe was paddled alongside, and a man, in every respect like an Indian, and a very dirty one at that, clothed in a greasy sea-otter skin, came on board, and to the utter astonishment of Capt. and Mrs Barkley, introduced himself as Dr. John Mackey, late surgeon of the trading brig *Captain Cook*. This visitor informed them that he had been living at Nootka amongst the Indians for the previous twelve months, during which time he had completely conformed himself to their habits and customs, which Mrs Barkley in her diary emphatically states were disgusting. Dr. Mackey had learned the language and also had made himself acquainted, more or less, with the surrounding country, thus making his services of great value to Capt. Barkley, who, before the ship left the Sound, engaged Dr. Mackey as trader, a duty which he seems to have carried out to Capt. Barkley's entire satisfaction, that gentleman frequently boasting to Mr. Etches, the supercargo of the *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal*, who arrived later, what an excellent cargo they had secured on the *Imperial Eagle* through Mackey's influence with the Indians.[20]

John McKay had been left at Nootka in July, 1786, by James Strange, supercargo of the *Captain Cook* and *Experiment*, two British ships which had come to the Northwest Coast from Bombay, the intention being that he should ingratiate himself with the natives and so persuade them to reserve their furs against Strange's return.[21] But Strange and his associates failed to outfit a second expedition as intended, and McKay was doubtless glad of the opportunity to join the crew of the *Imperial Eagle*.

(20) Walbran, "The Cruise of the *Imperial Eagle*," Victoria *Colonist*, March 3, 1901. For Etches' account of McKay, as recorded by Dixon, *see* Dixon, *Voyage Round the World*, p. 233.

(21) On Strange and McKay *see* James Strange, *Journal and Narrative*, Madras, 1928, p. 22; John Hosie, "James Charles Stuart Strange and his Expedition . . . 1786," *Fourth Report and Proceedings*, B.C. Historical Association, Victoria, 1929, pp. 48–49; F. W. Howay, "The Voyage of the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment*, 1785–86," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 286, 292.

Early in July the British trading vessels *Prince of Wales,* Captain James Colnett, and *Princess Royal,* Captain Duncan, arrived off Nootka Sound. Colnett's long-lost journal of this voyage came to light recently in the Public Record Office, London.[22] His Honour Judge Howay possesses a complete transcript, and he has most kindly permitted me to quote from it the half dozen paragraphs which relate to the Barkleys. It should be explained that the *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal* were properly furnished with licences entitling them to trade on the Northwest Coast; and it will be noted that Barkley's vessel is referred to throughout as the *Lowden,* not the *Imperial Eagle.*

[July 6, 1787.]

Two Chiefs paid me a visit . . . we learnt from them of a Ship in Port much larger than ourselves . . . At the Mouth of the sound a Boat came on board belonging to a Ship named the *Lowden* Captain Barkley, they had been here twenty three days & lay at Anchor under the North point of the entrance; they informed us of a Man living here nam'd McKay left by a Mr. Strange who commanded a Vessel here the preceeding season & went to Sandwich Isles to winter.[23]

My not meeting the people here I expected nor factory, another Vessel such a length of time before me & unable in our present situation to search for another port was a cutting stroke to the Voyage but there was no remedy; nothing could be done till the recovery of the People, & [the] Sloop masted. . . .

[July 16, 1787.]

The few skins & pieces we had collected from the Natives for the length of time we had been here, and the Natives informing me, Capt. Barkley of the *Lowden* had purchas'd them all gave me little hopes of being able to make any returns to my Owners; the Ship's crew being mostly able to do something we began to wood, water, & fit out with every expedition to proceed to the Northward, in hopes of better success.

The commander of the *Lowden* sent his boat twice with some deer, & he being in want of a little paint oil & some black varnish I spared it, & got some dead Eyes from them which we were Short of, the Ship's crew visited and were on a very friendly footing. Captain Barkley came on board me the thirteenth, I did not mention to him then the Illegality of his trading in the Southsea Company's limits thinking it would have been a breach of Friendship nor did I at that time think our situation so bad as it afterwards prov'd

(22) The journal was discovered by Mr. Donald Angus, who also unearthed the journal of Colnett's voyage of 1789–91 in the *Argonaut.* For a biographical note on Colnett and the text of the latter journal *see* F. W. Howay, *The Journal of Captain James Colnett . . . 1789 . . . 1791,* Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1940.

(23) As it proved, neither of Strange's vessels called at the islands.

for having no Copper which was the only exchange the Natives took for their Skins he engrossed the whole trade & ruined ours, he was not Ignorant he had no right here as he fitted out in the [Thames] River at the time we did & went to Ostend for a Clearance.

On the Eighteenth I sent a letter to Captain Berkley, by my chief mate, requesting he would shew him his Authority for trading in the Southsea Company's limits; my right for so doing carried with him, it was refus'd but several letters & Messages pass'd, but it being in a language my chief mate could not understand we remain'd as much uninform'd as ever, but himself & Crew being mostly Englishmen which is contrary to act of Parliament it remains to be settled on our return to England. The man named Mackey that had been living on shore some months came one day on board with one of the *Lowden's* Mates but by some mistake I did not see him.

I had now some thoughts of staying in the coast another season, & if so, some few of the articles Captain Berkley had offer'd me would be very acceptable to the Ship's Company & he repeating his services everytime the Boat went, I got him to spare me some little matters with a hhd. [hogshead] & Quarter Cask of wine, & twenty Gallons of Brandy to be divided between us & the Sloop [the *Princess Royal*] sending the Supercargo' Bill on his Brother, the Owner, for payment he very politely return'd me ye Bill desiring I would leave it till we met at China taking the mates receipt for the things. Captain Berkley's behaviour was as humane & Generous as I ever met with, and I am sorry his Busyness so clash'd with mine that I was oblig'd to behave in the distant manner I did.

On the 24th. [July] the *Lowden* sail'd.

Colnett's journal is the only contemporary account of the visit of the *Imperial Eagle* to Nootka Sound, except the surviving paragraph or two from Mrs. Barkley's diary. Fortunately the diary, every known quotation from which will be found in the appendix, takes up the story at the point at which Colnett breaks off. Sailing to the south and east, Captain Barkley traded and explored first in Clayoquot Sound and then in Barkley Sound. Leaving the latter late in July, the *Imperial Eagle* continued to follow the coast of Vancouver Island until Cape Flattery and a new coast-line suddenly hove in sight, far to the south. Mrs. Barkley describes the historic moment as follows:—

In the afternoon, to our great astonishment, we arrived off a large opening extending to the eastward, the entrance of which appeared to be about four leagues wide, and remained about that width as far as the eye could see, with a clear westerly horizon, which my husband immediately recognized as the long lost strait of Juan de Fuca, and to which he gave the name of the original discoverer, my husband placing it on his chart.[24]

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(24) Quoted from a transcript sent to Judge Howay by Captain Walbran, May 5, 1910.

Basing his narrative on the diary, Walbran continues his account of the cruise as follows:—

The *Imperial Eagle* did not go up the Strait, but kept along the ocean coast, which was now found to be compact and unbroken by bays or inlets. In latitude 47.43 a small island, a short distance from the mainland was met with, and between this island and the main shore the vessel anchored, the coast appearing to be inhabited. The long boat was hoisted out and sent in with another and smaller boat in tow to go up a small river which could be seen from the ship, in order to trade with the natives. The small boat was taken with the long boat in order to go up the stream should the water be too shoal for the larger boat. The long boat was in charge of Mr. Miller, the second mate,[25] accompanied by Mr. Beale, the purser, and ten men. The river was found too shallow, as expected, for the long boat, and the smaller boat with Mr. Miller, Mr. Beale, and four seamen, rowed away up the stream, taking with them a sheet of copper for purposes of trade. These unfortunate persons were never seen again, though every exertion was made by the long boat's crew to find them before returning to the ship.

The next day a strongly armed party was sent in search of the unfortunate people. A landing was effected and a careful search made, when to the horror of the searchers, some portions of their clothes and linen, mangled and bloody, were found, but no part of their bodies or boat, so the dreadful conviction was forced upon the *Imperial Eagle's* company, that all had been murdered and their bodies eaten or burnt. This sad catastrophe much depressed everybody, and after naming the island Destruction island, (a name it still bears), and the river Destruction river, Capt. Barkley determined to proceed to China with his good collection of furs amounting to eight hundred, the vessel arriving at Macao in December, 1787.[26]

Although the market in China was overstocked with furs, Captain Barkley finally succeeded in disposing of his 800 sea-otter skins for the sum of $30,000.[27] He then secured a cargo for Mauritius, for which he sailed in February, 1788. At Macao the *Imperial Eagle* may have been formally registered under that

(25) The officers of the *Imperial Eagle* were: Chief Officer, Henry Folger; Second Officer, William Miller; Purser, John Beale.

(26) Walbran, "The Cruise of the *Imperial Eagle*," Victoria *Colonist*, March 3, 1901. Meares relates that in June, 1788, a dried human hand, which members of his crew believed to be Miller's, was offered for sale at Nootka Sound, and he had great difficulty in preventing his men from wreaking vengeance upon the natives on the spot. *See* Meares, *Voyages*, p. 124. A further reference to the massacre will be found in the log of the *Ruby*, Captain Bishop, under date December 8, 1795. *See* MS. and transcript in Archives of British Columbia.

(27) The Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1790, states that the *Imperial Eagle* left Nootka "with a cargo of near 700 prime sea-otter skins, and above 100 of an inferior quality: They were not sold when the *Queen Charlotte* left China, but the price put on them was 30,000 dollars."

name, for on February 14 she was sighted at sea by the *King George*, commanded by Captain Nathaniel Portlock, who describes the meeting thus:—

On the 14th instant spoke with the ship which we had been within sight of all day, which proved to be a vessel formerly called the *Lowden*, British built, and about fifteen months ago fitted out in the river Thames, from whence she sailed under Imperial colours to King George's [i.e., Nootka] Sound on the North West coast of America, and from thence to Macao in China. She is now called the *Imperial Eagle*, commanded by captain Berkley, and manned by British subjects. She at this time sailed under Portuguese colours, and was bound for the Mauritius.[28]

From Mauritius Captain Barkley proceeded to Calcutta, where he expected to outfit his vessel for the second of her three projected voyages to the Northwest Coast. Instead he found that the character of the venture had become known to the East India Company, and that his associates were anxious to get clear of the ship and the whole enterprise as quickly as possible. Barkley's contract was therefore ignored and the *Imperial Eagle* sold forthwith. As Mrs. Barkley describes the transaction indignantly and at length in her diary, there is no need to enter into details here, other than to state that Captain Barkley took the matter to Court and was awarded the sum of £5,000.

Thus terminated the voyage of the *Imperial Eagle*. A few words may be added regarding the later history of Captain and Mrs. Barkley. Nothing is known of the Captain's activities between 1788 and May 8, 1791, when the first entry in the surviving log of the *Princess Frederica* shows that he was in command of that vessel off the Cape of Good Hope, eastward bound. In June the ship called at Mauritius for water and supplies, and then proceeded to Madras. She finally docked at Calcutta late in August.[29] Mrs. Barkley explains in her reminiscences that Captain Barkley intended to settle in Calcutta and enter the Indian coastal trade; but unfortunately his brother, Captain John Barkley, arrived just in time to convince him that the coastal trade, however lucrative, was beneath his station. Much against Mrs. Barkley's advice, Captain Barkley abandoned his

(28) Nathaniel Portlock, *A Voyage Round the World*, London, 1789, p. 368.

(29) *See* John Forsyth, *Catalogue of Canadiana and Americana*, New Series No. 1, Victoria, B.C., December, 1940, pp. 31–32, for a description of the log.

plans and invested his capital in another expedition to the Northwest Coast. For the purpose he purchased the 80-ton brig *Halcyon* and the still smaller cutter *Venus*, " two paltry vessels bought at a great cost," as Mrs. Barkley describes them, that made her long for the broad decks and comfortable quarters of the *Imperial Eagle*. She was determined to accompany her husband, and in spite of his efforts to dissuade her she sailed with him in the *Halcyon*, along with their two children, one of whom died at sea a few weeks later.

Mrs. Barkley's reminiscences and the logs of the *Halcyon* describe the voyage in detail. After parting company with the *Venus*, which was to sail directly to Vancouver Island, the *Halcyon* proceeded northward to Kamchatka. Her visit to Petropavlovsk is graphically described in the reminiscences. Sailing thence across the Pacific, the *Halcyon* sighted land on August 16, 1792. By a fortunate chance the concluding part of Mrs. Barkley's diary, which describes the *Halcyon's* activities on the coast, was copied *in extenso* by Captain Walbran and is therefore still available.

The *Halcyon* spent most of her time in Norfolk (now Sitka) Sound, Alaska. It was intended to come farther south, but the vessel was blown off the coast by a gale and proceeded first to the Sandwich Islands and then to China, where she arrived on Christmas Eve, 1792. The following February, like the *Imperial Eagle* before her, the *Halcyon* sailed for Mauritius, and Captain Barkley's log concludes with her arrival there on June 6, 1793. Once again it is Walbran who supplies the remainder of the story:—

At Mauritius the French having re-occupied the island, the *Halcyon* with her cargo, was confiscated, and Capt. Barkley and his crew made prisoners. Through the kindness of an influential French merchant named Hippolyte, who received as his guests Capt. Barkley and Mrs. Barkley at his country home on the island, the brig. was restored to him. A cargo was found for her and she sailed for the United States under the charge of an American captain, who had been engaged by Capt. Barkley. This man ran away with her, but strange to say, some few years afterwards, when Capt. and Mrs. Barkley were in England, the former received information that his brig *Halcyon* was in Boston. He proceeded to that port, and through the influence of the British consul and others who became interested in his case, the brig *Halcyon* once more became the property of Capt. Barkley.[30]

(30) Walbran, " The Cruise of the *Imperial Eagle*," Victoria *Colonist*, March 3, 1901.

Nothing seems to be known of Barkley's career during the next thirty years. Judging from the fact that Mrs. Barkley dated all her misfortunes from the time that Captain John Barkley dissuaded her husband from entering the Indian coastal trade, it was not an overly prosperous one. His death is recorded in a note added to Mrs. Barkley's diary: "On 16 May, 1832, I lost my beloved husband—in his 73rd year—worn out more by care and sorrow than by years, as he had been blessed with a very strong constitution."[31] Mrs. Barkley commenced writing her reminiscences four years later, in May, 1836, and according to her son she died in the summer of 1845,[32] at which time she would be in her 76th year.

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(31) Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 35.

(32) *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX. (1938), p. 309. Walbran, who did not have access to the letters of the Rev. J. C. Barkley here cited, states that Mrs. Barkley died in 1843. (*British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 35.)

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MYSTERY OF MRS. BARKLEY'S DIARY.

I. EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARIES OF FRANCES HORNBY BARKLEY.[1]

1.

[On the west coast of Vancouver Island, July, 1787.]

A day or two after sailing from King George's sound[2] we visited a large sound in latitude 49.20 North, which Captain Barkley named Wickaninnish's sound,[3] the name given it being that of a chief who seemed to be quite as powerful a potentate as Maquilla at King George's sound. Wickaninnish has great authority and this part of the coast proved a rich harvest of furs for us. Likewise close to the southward of this sound, we came to another very large sound, to which Captain Barkley gave his own name, calling it Barkley sound. Several coves and bays and also islands in this sound we named. There was Frances Island, after myself; Hornby peak, also after myself; Cape Beale after our purser; Williams point and a variety of other names, all of which were familiar to us.[4] We anchored in a snug harbour in the sound of which my husband made a plan as far as his knowledge of it would permit.[5] The anchorage was near a large village, and therefore we named the island Village island.[6] From here my husband sent the boats out to trade under the charge of Mr. Miller, second mate, and Mr. Mackey[7] and they were again very successful.

2

[The discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, July, 1787.]

In the afternoon, to our great astonishment, we arrived off a large opening extending to the eastward, the entrance of which appeared to be about four leagues wide, and remained about that width as far as the eye could see, with a clear westerly horizon, which my husband

(1) Of the four extracts quoted, three are taken from a transcript of Captain Walbran's paper on "The Cruise of the *Imperial Eagle*," made by His Honour Judge Howay. Some variation in punctuation and occasionally in text exists between this transcript and the paper as printed in the Victoria *Colonist*, March 3, 1901. The passage describing the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca is from a transcript forwarded to Judge Howay by Captain Walbran in May, 1910.

(2) Nootka Sound.

(3) Now Clayoquot Sound.

(4) Of these names only Barkley Sound and Cape Beale appear on modern charts.

(5) The "Plan of Port Effingham" published by Meares was copied from, or at least based on, this plan.

(6) Now Effingham Island.

(7) Dr. John McKay. *See supra.*

immediately recognized as the long lost strait of Juan de Fuca, and to which he gave the name of the original discoverer, my husband placing it on his chart.

3.

[Captain Barkley's difficulties with his agents at Calcutta, 1788.]

The facts are these: My husband was appointed to the command of the *Loudin*, since named the *Imperial Eagle*, and engaged to perform in her three voyages from the East Indies to Japan, Kamskatcha, and the unknown coast of North America, for which he was to have the sum of £3,000. His owners were supercargoes in China in the service of the East India Company, and several of the owners were directors at home. On my husband's arrival in China, the owners there found they were not warranted in trading to China and the North West coast, even under the Austrian flag, the change being well known and for what purpose, so they found themselves through fear of losing their own situations obliged to sell the ship to avoid worse consequences. They then wanted to get off their bargain with my husband, who, having made provision according to the original contract made in London would have been actually a loser to the sum of thousands of pounds, after making upwards of £10,000 for the owners, since he had been in command, besides the loss of time and great expense incurred by our Journey to England from Bengal.

Capt. Barkley, therefore, brought an action for damages, but before the case came into Court at Calcutta, the affair was compromised by an Arbitration of Merchants, and my husband was awarded £5,000. The whole transaction was the most arbitrary assumption of power ever known, for the owners and agents, not only dismissed Capt. Barkley from the ship, but appropriated all the fittings and stores laid in by my husband for the term agreed upon, which would have taken at least ten years, for on the second and third voyages he was to winter on the Northwest coast, and with the furs collected trade to the unfrequented parts of China, wherever he thought furs would sell for the highest figure. Of course my husband had supplied himself with the best and most expensive nautical instruments and charts, also stores of every kind for such an adventurous voyage. A great portion of the latter were obliged to be expended for owner's use, who had not laid in sufficient stores for such a voyage, and then these people actually pretended Capt. Barkley was bound to furnish them, and in their first claim actually brought him apparently in debt to the concern. However when the contract between Capt. Barkley and the owners was investigated Justice, though to a small extent, prevailed, and he was awarded the sum of £5,000 as I have previously stated. My husband left the vessel with the remaining stores on board, and these articles fraudently obtained from him were transferred to Capt. Meares, who was in the same employ, though not acknowledged to be so. In the same manner as he got the stores, Capt. Meares got possession of my husband's Journal and plans from the persons in China to whom he

was bound under a penalty of £5,000 to give them up for a certain time for, as these persons stated, mercantile objects, they not wishing the knowledge of the Coast to be published.

Capt. Meares, however, with the greatest effrontery, published and claimed the merit of my husband's discoveries therein contained, besides inventing lies of the most revolting nature tending to vilify the person he thus pilfered. No cause could be assigned, either by Capt. Barkley or myself for this animosity, except the wish of currying favor with the late agents and owners of the *Loudin*, named the *Imperial Eagle*, these persons having quarrelled with Captain Barkley in consequence of his claiming on his discharge a just demand.

4.

[On the coast of Alaska in the brig *Halcyon*, August, 1792.][8]

On the 16th of August 1792 we made the coast of America again in two places at once, the northern and southern extreme of Behring's Bay, with Mount St. Elias and Mount Fairweather both in view. They are very high mountains and their heads are covered with snow. The weather at this time was tolerably warm, but misty and like the weather we met with on the coast of Asia, very changeable and at times chilly. The coast was entirely unknown. We did not reach a port of safety until the 18th, owing to unfavourable winds, and then further to the north than Captain Barkley originally intended. The land formed a deep bay, called Admiralty bay, a bay of large extent with many harbors in it.[9] The one in which we cast anchor was called Lord Mulgrave's harbor. The country looked green and pleasant to the eye, the anchorage safe and snug. Several canoes came alongside and some had women on board. They appeared most disgusting objects covered with dirty sea-otter skins, with the fur to the skin, the leather tanned red and filthy beyond description. It was here we first saw women with those pieces of shaped wooden lip ornaments, which are described in Captain Cook's voyages—if such a frightful appendage can be called ornamental, a thing that distorts the mouth and gives the whole features a new and most unpleasant character. The piece of wood is inserted into a slit made in the under lip when the females are about 14 years old, and it is replaced from year to year, larger and larger, until in middle age it is as large as the bowl of a table spoon and nearly the same shape, being concave on the inside of the lip, which it presses out from the gum, thereby showing the whole of the teeth and gums,—a frightful sight at best, but still worse when the teeth are black and dirty, which was invariably the case, also generally uneven and decayed. This odious mouthpiece so completely disfigured them, that it was impossible to tell what they would have been without

(8) This entire passage is paraphrased very closely in Mrs. Barkley's reminiscences.

(9) Now Yakutat Bay.

it, for even their complexions could not be ascertained, their skins being besmeared with soot and red ochre. Their hair is dark and shiny and appeared to be kept in good order, parted in the middle and kept smooth on each side behind the ears and tied behind the top in a knot. The men, on the contrary, have their hair matted and daubed with oil and ochre. The dresses of both sexes are made with the skins of animals, sometimes with the fur on and sometimes without. The women seldom wear any valuable furs, the men sometimes wear sea-otter skin of which they well know the value, and will strip themselves whenever they can make a good bargain. The women have sometimes a kind of rug thrown over their shoulders, a manufacture of their own. They wear it over their skin dresses, the men in like manner wear two or more sea-otter skins, which they throw over themselves. The people we saw did not seem settled. They had come on a fishing expedition, we conjectured, and they hastily built up huts, with boards, with which each canoe was furnished, upon the small island, and when they had sold the few furs they had with them, and had got all they could out of the ship, the most of them went off, leaving a few fishermen who were very diligent in catching fish, which we bought, and the women frequently supplied us with very nice berries of different kinds, such as wild strawberries of excellent flavor, and, considering the difficulty of picking them in such a wild country, plentiful. The men brought an indifferent kind of salmon with a long snout, it might have been out of season, the flesh looked very pale; they likewise, brought a few river trout. These were large, but the flesh quite white, not the pale pink color of our English trout. The only weapon that we saw them with was spears, with large sharp iron barbs. These iron barbs were at least 18 inches long, and they seemed to possess a great number of them. The men had also daggers, suspended from their necks.

I was allowed to land here often, and Capt. Barkley and myself explored the island, which sheltered and made the harbour we lay in, and was astonished to see on this island the traces of cultivation. The ground was covered with coarse grass and oats amongst it. Peas, one crop apparently just out of bearing and another in bloom, and plenty of strawberry plants not of the wild sort, but evidently planted ones. These plants were also stripped of their fruit, no doubt by our Indian friends who had brought them on board for sale.

The ship having now been put in order and the water butts filled, we prepared for our departure on the 25th August, when we were surprised by the appearance of a brig which hove in sight in the offing. We were much pleased by the idea of seeing some of our countrymen when we saw a boat approaching and entering the sound. Capt. Barkley rowed off in order to conduct them into port or render them any assistance they might require, and was astonished and disappointed at finding there was no officer in the boat, only four sailors, who said they were dispatched on seeing a sail in the sound to get relief, they being very short of provisions. They said that their vessel was an American

brig, commanded by Capt. Hancock, last from China,[10] that they were going to try their fortune on the coast, and were on their way to Prince William Sound. The brig was to remain at the entrance to the bay until they returned to report their success.

The four men were taken on board and given refreshment, being very much exhausted, and when they had rested, they got into their boat again in order to join their own vessel, but no vessel was to be seen, so after pretending to have been rowing all night, they returned in the morning, saying the brig must have been blown off the coast, but as it was a very fine night, Capt. Barkley began to suspect that all was not right, but, as the men appeared able-bodied seamen, he took them on board the *Halcyon* and promised them a passage to China. They were extremely thankful for this offer, not, as they said, much relishing being left to winter on this coast with savages. They had no stores or clothes with them in the boat, except what they had on, and it had altogether a very odd appearance.

We remained three days to give the vessel an opportunity of returning, but as they did not, we left Mulgrave harbor with this addition to our crew. That these men had been turned adrift, and deserted there could be no doubt, but for what reason we could not find out. We had scarcely got an offing when on the 29th a violent gale arose, so that we were obliged to stand out to sea, and when we had weathered the gale, Capt. Barkley looked for a harbor, but was unsuccessful, the wind continuing to blow off the shore. He was obliged to give up his intention of visiting Portlock's harbor, the weather being so unfavorable. But when the weather became more mild my husband made for Norfolk sound,[11] where the *Halcyon* anchored in a cove at the bottom of the bay, the surrounding country looking very green and pleasant. The day after our arrival we had a number of visitors who were in large well-appointed canoes. They soon fixed their habitations on the beach opposite the vessel, and displayed several fine sea-otter skins for sale, but they set such a high value on them that it was very difficult to do any trade, their being no end to their demands. Powder and shot was always the first thing they wanted, two or three musskets being in every canoe, then blankets, cooking utensils, and tools or other iron weapons. Indeed they seemed the most dangerous and most mischievous set we had ever seen, being very expert with their iron weapons, and so dilatory in their traffic that although there seemed no difficulty in getting a fresh supply of furs, they kept haggling about the price for what they had at such length that much time was lost, yet Capt. Barkley purchased a good lot of furs.

The inhabitants increased daily, and they got so bold and troublesome at last that it became difficult to avoid disputes, they stealing

(10) Possibly the brigantine *Hancock*, Captain Samuel Crowell, is meant, as there is no record of an American vessel commanded by a Captain Hancock having been on the coast in 1792.

(11) Now Sitka Sound.

every article that they could lay their hands upon, stripping them when they went on shore, and upon the slightest offence presenting their fire arms at us, the use of which they perfectly knew, but we conjectured had never felt the effect of, and certainly not of our great guns. Capt. Barkley, on one or two occasions, had our great guns fired off to astonish them, but they only seemed to think him in play. Thank God, we left them in ignorance of their deadly effect, but as they saw the trees shivered and broken by the cannon shot, they must have been aware of what mischief they could do. Once in particular, Capt. Barkley saw several war canoes with his night glass stealing along under the shadow of the land on a fine moonlight night, and as we were very indifferently manned, he was suspicious of their intentions. We therefore had the whole broad-side fired off over their heads, which made a tremendous noise among the trees. Every canoe scuttled off, but we kept perfect silence on board that they might not think we were alarmed. Early next morning they came alongside again, dressed in their war dresses and singing their war songs and keeping time with their paddles. When they had paddled three times around the vessel they set up a great shout, they pulled off their masks, resumed their usual habits, and exhibited their sea-otter skins for trade, giving us to understand that they had been on a war expedition and had taken these skins from their enemies. They never alluded to the firing but went on trading as if nothing had passed.

They are a very savage race, and their women are still more frightful than the women of Admiralty bay, the disgusting mouthpiece being still larger than theirs, in fact, the mouthpieces of the old women were so large that the lip could not support them, so that they were obliged to hold it up with their hands and to close their mouths with great effort. When shut, the under lip entirely hid the upper one and reached up to the nose. This gave them a most extraordinary appearance, but when they opened it to eat, no description can be given of what it is like, for they are obliged to support the lip whilst they opened their mouths, and then they throw the food into their mouths, throwing back their heads with a jerk to prevent the food lodging in the artificial lip or saucer, which is concave, and when let down receives whatever escapes the right channel. How any rational creature could invent such an inconvenient machine I am at a loss even to guess, as there is no stage of it that has the most distant appearance of ornament even in the young women. It looks like a second mouth as long as the lip will bear its weight. The women supplied us here regularly with a vast quantity of fresh plucked berries and wild flowers. There was one sort of berry different to any one I have ever seen. It was of a pale transparent red, the size of a currant, but grows separately, like the black currant on the slender twigs of a very elegant bush as tall as a barberry and much such a plant. They brought boughs with the fruit hanging to them. The fruit was rather tart but of a delicious flavor. I made preserve of it which proved very grateful to us all when

we were at sea, and we regaled ourselves with all in our reach whilst it was fresh. The strawberries were done, but the other berries brought to us for sale were often covered with the leaves of that plant, so strawberries must be wild in the woods, although those we met with in Admiralty bay had been cultivated. The men would not perform any work. They seemed idle, now and then bringing us a few fish and that is all we could obtain from them in the way of food. They seemed to think of nothing but their arms, being very proud of their spears, which are very formidable weapons, being similar to those used by the natives of Admiralty bay, and they are very expert in the use of them, and informed us they liked them better than muskets, because they were sure to hit with them, whereas the fire arms made a great noise but did not always do execution. We conversed with them through the vocabularies annexed to Capt. Cook's narrative, the aptitude Capt. Barkley showed in learning languages being of an extraordinary nature, to which was joined great perserverance. The language of the natives of Nootka sound he soon understood, having on our visit to that part of the coast on the previous voyage of the *Imperial Eagle* regularly studied it. I have no memorandum of the time we remained at Norfolk sound, but the long boat was despatched from thence to Portlock's harbor, and was absent sixteen days, and returned with only one skin, Mr. Nowell, the mate, who commanded her having experienced very bad weather. He reported that the sound in which Portlock's harbor is situated of such vast extent that he did not attempt to explore it. This is a part of the coast my husband was most desirous of visiting, but as I have before observed, we were blown off it, which appeared not to be favored with pleasant weather when we consider this was the month of August.

[Captain Walbran states that the diary concluded at this point.]

II. EXTRACTS FROM THE REMINISCENCES OF FRANCES HORNBY BARKLEY.[1]

May the 2d in the Year 1836

The following Narative of my Voyages and Adventures of my life, Penned by me in the 66th year of my Age, must be considered in the light of a Reminiscence of former days, not a correct tradition being founded upon very vague Data, as I never kept any Journal, it might however be improved by refferance to Log Books & Sea Journals, If I had courage to Peruse them, but it is too late in the day for such a reserch, to begin then

I was born at Bridgewater in Somersetshire, My Father the Revd Doctor Trevor was Rector of Otterhampton, where I was Christened in the Year 1772 being then upwards of two years old. My Mother

(1) Quoted from the original manuscript in the Archives of British Columbia.

whose Name was Beacher died when I was an Infant and a Twin, by all account a very weakly child. My Father Married a second Wife, Miss Harriot Smith of Bridgewater, he having by my Mother living at that time four Daughters, Harriot James, now Mrs. Cook Jane Rebeca, Now Mrs. Mullens My Twin sister Elizabeth who died at Hambourgh in her seventh Year and myself Frances, all the three survivers, being Widows,—My Father had four sons by his second Wife, John, Frederic, Charles and Henry, three of whom are now Living Married and have numerous Families, excepting Fredc. who is a Bachilor, it would be tedious for me to follow up the various perigrinations of our Childhood. My Father being an expensive Man, contrived to spend a handsome Fortune & being of a restless disposition, a few years after his Second Marriage, quitted Bridgewater, and came up to London, and took a House in Ormond, Street, the Journey, arrival at Bath, and the second day in London, is the first thing I recollect, at which time I must have been about five years old, as all the Boy[s] but John & Fredc. were Born at Hamburg where My Father took his Family his Family [*sic*] when the latter was an Infant, indeed I believe he was born at Hamburg as well as the other two, we went from England to Roterdam, and the story goes, that I was put into a Birth on board the Traeder [Trawler?] on which we were boarded, and that I slept very comfortably the whole Passage, whilst My Father Mother in Law three Sisters the Infant & two Maidservants were all dreadfully afflicted with sea sickness, so that it seems I was destined to make a good sailor, from Roterdam we proceeded in two Carraiges, called Post Coaches, which My Father bought for the Journey to Hambro, for particulars see My Fathers Journal,

1786

I was Married to my late Lamented Husband Charles Wm. Barkley Esqr. on the 27th of October 1786 he being in his 26th year, and I in my 17th we were Married in the Protastant Chapel at Ostend in Flanders, of which My Father was Minister by whom the Maraige Ceremony was performed in the presance of several Friends several of whom subscribed their Names in the Register of the Chapel as follow,

[Blank of several lines in the MS.]

Charles William Barkley was brought up in the Honorable East India Company's sea service, but at the above period, he commanded the Ship *Louden*, fitted out, and bound for the North West Coast of America on a Mercantile Speculation, we accordingly Sailed from the Harbour of Ostend on or about the bound Round Cape Horn, on the we touched at the Cape de Verde Islands, where we got plenty of live stock & provisions, which were very acceptable as we had lost a vast number of Poultry &c in the Bay of Biscay, where we had

experienced a Violent Gale of Wind,—
sadly at a loss for Dates to be filled up at some future period.

[Blank of several lines in the MS.]

We had a long passage from thence, in consequence of bafling Winds on the Line, and my dear Husband having caught a Violent Cold was laid up with a Rhumatic Fever, and being in Unskillful hands, there was little hope of his recovery. My situation was very critical at that time from the unprincipled intentions of the Chief Mate supported by the second Mate, who being a Lieutenant in his Magesties service ought to have had more honor.

to be continued.

Captain Barkley as I shall in the course of these Notes style him, however got better, and was able to resume his duties as Commander of his Ship, and directed her course for the Brazells, in order to recrute his health take in water and refreshments. The Portuguese Authorities, did not like the appearance of the Ship, she having so many Guns Mounted, with such a numerous Ships company Officers in Uniform, a Boats Crew dressed alike, & the manner of Managing the Oars, gave the whole an appearance of a Kings Sloop of War, so that they set a watch over her, but when they were given to understand that she was bound to the Pacific Ocian and as they concluded on a Voyage of Discovery, they were altogether polite & attentive, allowed us a House on shore at *St Salvadore* or Bay of All Saints* a Caraige to take us out Airing we received invitations from Families residing in the Country thinking it good for the Captains health, but at first he was too weak to be able to pay visits, so that those invitations which it was deemed absolutely necessary that I should accept, I was Chaparooned by Mr M[oore] the second Mate who being a Leutinant in the Kings service, cut a dash, with his sword at his side & his Naval Uniform, it was on one of those occations, when my youth and inexperience led to a very ludicrus adventure,—to be related—

Having very much recovered his health and Spirits which naturally were of the most Exuberant kind fond of Company & Show, when on Shore but a great Martinet on board, he determined upon giving the Governer (or Vice Roy, I believed he was styled) together with his Lady Donna Maria and his little Daughter, with a numerous suite—of Officers and attendants a fete on board, they came on board in a splended Barge The Ship was Dressed as it is Called with the colours of all Nations, the yards maned a salute fired, and a handsome collation prepaired, and after they had examined everything on board,

**Boca de todos santos* [Note in original manuscript.]

they departed in the same style & ceremonies, we had been entertained by this Gentleman & Family several times on Shore at the Government House, and the Young Lady performed on a Musical Instrument, which I never saw or heard of before or after, it was play'd on by Keys like a Peanoforte, but instead of the hammers striking strings or wires, it was fitted with Musical Glasses, and it had a most beautiful Harmonious sound, it was called an Harmonicon, the Ladies spoke French which was a great relief to me, who did not understand a word of Portuguese, at that time,

[This concludes Mrs. Barkley's account of the first voyage, and she next turns her attention to the cruise of the *Halcyon*, which she describes in detail. Gales which blew the *Halcyon* off the coast prevented Captain Barkley from visiting a number of points, and in noting this fact Mrs. Barkley recalls, in the following words, her visit to Vancouver Island in 1787.]

. . . As I before observed we were blown off the Coast, which appears not to be favored with pleasant weather when we consider that this was the Middle of August and the fruit we got ripened at a much more advanced season on this Coast than the same berries do in England or even in Scotland, on our former Voyage we found the Climate much Milder, altho we had a dreadful storm the day we first made the Coast off Nootka Sound, which was the Northernmost, part of the Coast we visited on that expidition and from thence made excursions to the Southward a part of the Coast, that Captain Cook was prevented visiting by temptious Weather, and we were consiquently the first Ship that ever at that time had visited a large sound in the Latitude and Named it Wickinanish's Sound, the Name given it by the Chief who seemed to possess great authority there, this part of the Coast proved a rich harvest of Furs, likewise another very large sound to which Captn Barkley gave his own Name calling it Barkleys Sound, and several coves & Bays he Named, there was Frances's Island —Williams point, and a variety of other Names there was Hornby Peak, and a variety of familiar appellations, all of which were left out of the plan of the Coast by Sir Josiph Banks, who surreptitiously obtained from Captn Barkley his plans and drawings, and under various pretences retained them, in the same manner Captain Mears got possession of his Journal from the persons in China, to whom Captn Barkley was bound under a penalty of five thousand pound to give them up, for a certain time, for mercantile objects, the owners, not wishing the knolidge of the coast to be published, Captn Mears however with the greatest afrontery published and claimed the merit of the discoveries therein contained besides inventing lies of the most revolting nature, tending to vilify the person whom he thus pilfered, no cause can be assigned except the wish of currying favor with the Agents of the Ship *Louden* which was the Ship that Captn Barkley commanded, they the Agents having quarelled with him, in consiquence of his

claiming a just demand the fact was that he was appointed to the Command of the *Louden,* and ingaged to perform three Voyages, for which he was to have three thousand pounds, but the Owners being Supercargoes in *China* in the Service of the East India Service, as well as Directors at home, in the Company's Service, they found that they were not waranted in trading to China and therefore found themselves obliged to give up, and sell the Ship to avoid worse consiquences, they then wanted to get off their contract, with Captn Barkley who having made provision accordingly would have been actually a loser by the concern himself, after making upwards of ten thousand pounds for the owners, besides loss of time and great expenses incurred in returning to England, he of course brought an action against them for damages, but the affair was compromised by an Arbitration of Merchants, and he was awarded five thousand pound, the whole transaction being the most arbitrary assumption of power ever known, for they not only dismissed him to answer their own purposes, but appropriated all the fillings up and stores laid in for the term agreed for, which would have taken up at least ten years, for he was to winter on the Coast the second and subsiquent Voyages, which was to imbrace the whole of the Coast of America Kamschatka and the

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Japan and to open a trade with the unfrequented ports of China, where the Furs were likely to Sell, of course he had supply'd himself with the most expensive nautical Instruments and stores of every kind, a great part of which he had been obliged to expend upon the owners, who had not laid inn sufficient Stores for such a Voyage, and then pretended that he was bound to furnish them, so that they actually brought him apparently in debt to the concern, and it became certain when the affair was investigated that all the articles thus obtained were transferred to Captn Mears, who was in the same imploy, altho not acknolidged to be so, altho the same objection did not actually subsist with respect to his Vissel that there was to the *Louden,* the one having been fitted out in England, and the other in Bengal, so that there was no Law in force to prevent the Company's Servants having a property in her, she being construed *what* was called a Country Ship, namely a trading Ship, from Port to Port in the Indian Seas, whereas the *Louden* was actually a Ship which by the Company's Charter was not allowed to go to China—from Europe.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found a review of the booklet entitled *Meet Mr. Coyote*, which was published in Victoria recently by the Society for the Furtherance of British Columbia Indian Arts and Crafts. Both the existence of this Society and the energy with which it has pursued its objectives have been in great measure due to the enthusiasm and perseverance of the Honorary Secretary, Miss Alice Ravenhill. Having become interested, some years ago, in the Indians of British Columbia, Miss Ravenhill was distressed to find that there was no authoritative but inexpensive account of their history and manner of life available to the ordinary reader. In the end she was moved to write a short study herself, and the result was the well-known manual entitled *The Native Tribes of British Columbia*, published by the Department of Education in 1938. Soon after this Miss Ravenhill found her interest centring more and more in the Indian arts and crafts, and in the possibility of reviving them in an authentic fashion. She was hopeful that such a step would foster the self-respect of the Indians by arousing pride in their own heritage, and she hoped, further, that many of the native designs might be utilized for commercial purposes. With this in mind, Miss Ravenhill approached the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, and she was later commissioned to prepare a series of twenty large charts, together with an explanatory handbook, which would illustrate in colour authentic examples of the designs of various tribes in several mediums, including sculpture, painting, basketry, and weaving. The work of executing these charts was shared by Miss Betty Newton, the artist, and readers will remember that they were listed and described in this *Quarterly* a year ago. The charts themselves were displayed in Victoria in February, 1941, and they aroused much interest and appreciation when they reached Ottawa. Unfortunately the war has made it necessary to postpone the printing of the handbook; but photographic reproductions of the charts are available. These have been purchased by a considerable number of museums, libraries, and other institutions in Canada.

While these charts were being prepared, a few friends joined Miss Ravenhill in January, 1940, to form the committee which has since grown into the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts. One of its objects was declared to be " The encouragement in Indian Schools and among certain Tribal experts [of interest in] the revival of their native gifts of Art, Crafts and Drama, with a view to improving their economic position, restoring their self respect and inducing more sympathetic relations between them and their fellow Canadians." Encouraging progress toward this end has been made during the past two years. Special interest has been taken in the work being accomplished on the Inkameep Indian Reserve, near Oliver,

B.C., by Anthony Walsh, the schoolmaster there. His pupils include the gifted boy artist *Sis-hu-lk*, an exhibition of whose work was held by the Society in Victoria. In the autumn of 1940 the Society ventured into print and published *The Tale of the Nativity, as told by the Indian Children of Inkameep*, with illustrations by *Sis-hu-lk*. The booklet appeared in a first edition of a thousand copies, and sold so readily that it has since been reprinted. *Meet Mr. Coyote*, the Society's latest venture, consists of a series of Thompson Indian legends, illustrated by five pupils of St. George's Indian School, Lytton. It is hoped that other series will follow.

In May, 1941, a group of the Inkameep Indian children visited Victoria, by invitation of the Provincial Board of Education. There, on Empire Day, they acted three of their dramatized tribal legends in costume; and the unsophisticated grace and absence of self-consciousness of the children gave great pleasure to the audience. At the request of the Hudson's Bay Company, one of the scenes was shown for a week as a window display, at a later date.

The commercial aspect of the Society's programme has not been neglected. Last August the Cotton Board of Manchester appealed in *The Times* for native designs, originating in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies, and suitable for use on cotton fabrics. A collection of British Columbia Indian designs was prepared and forwarded to Manchester early in December.

Hitherto most of the work of the Society has been done in Victoria by Miss Ravenhill, assisted by a dozen or more friends; but interest is developing rapidly in other centres. An Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts has been formed. One of its ventures was the publication of Christmas greeting cards designed by *Sis-hu-lk*. It is hoped that a third committee may be formed in Vancouver in the near future.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Grosvenor Hotel, Vancouver, on the evening of Friday, January 16, 1942. This was the first occasion upon which the annual gathering had been held on the mainland, and the Vancouver Section was happy to welcome the delegates from the Victoria and New Westminster Sections, and the members at large who attended.

The Secretary, Miss Helen Boutilier, submitted her report, covering the activities of the Society for the fourteen months ending December 31. The record proved to be a most encouraging one, for in spite of the innumerable demands now made upon the time and attention of the public, paid-up memberships in 1941 numbered 481, as compared with 504 in 1940. The number of members at large actually increased from 94 to 98; and subscriptions to the *Quarterly*, as distinct from memberships, likewise increased slightly. Victoria retained its place as the largest and most active Section, with 191 members, while the Vancouver Section membership was 170. Mention was made of the fact that during the year the Society suffered the loss of two Past Presidents, Dr. J. S. Plaskett and Chief Justice Martin.

The retiring President, Mr. Kenneth A. Waites, had chosen for the subject of his address *Responsible Government—Rider to British Columbia's Terms of Confederation.* The tangled skein of events which constituted the political history of British Columbia between 1866 and 1871 was unravelled by the speaker with skill and humour, and the conflicts of the time were seen to be clashes between personalities quite as much as between principles. The address will be printed in a later issue of the *Quarterly.*

The scrutineers reported the election of the following ten members to the Council for 1942:—

Miss Helen Boutilier.	Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Mr. John Goldie.	Rev. John Goodfellow.
Judge F. W. Howay.	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Major H. T. Nation.	Dr. Robie L. Reid.
Dr. W. N. Sage.	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Ex-officio members of the new Council will be:—

Past President—Mr. Kenneth A. Waites.

Presiding Officers of Sections—Mrs. Curtis Sampson (Victoria), Dr. M. Y. Williams (Vancouver), and Mr. E. M. Cotton (New Westminster).

Provincial Archivist—Mr. Willard E. Ireland.

Editor, *Quarterly*—Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.

Immediately following the adjournment of the general meeting the new Council met, and in accordance with the provisions of the amended constitution elected the following officers for the year 1942:—

President.....Rev. John Goodfellow (Princeton).
First Vice-President.....Mr. B. A. McKelvie (Victoria).
Second Vice-President.....Mr. E. M. Cotton (New Westminster).
Honorary Secretary.....Miss Helen R. Boutilier (Vancouver).
Honorary Treasurer.....Mr. Willard E. Ireland (Victoria).

The Council then proceeded to confer an Honorary Membership upon Mrs. G. C. Fay, better known to the members of the Association as Miss Gladys Hutchinson. Owing to her marriage, Mrs. Fay will be resigning shortly from the staff of the Provincial Library and Archives. By unanimous vote the Council expressed its appreciation of the great interest which she has always taken in the Society, and of the time and effort which she has contributed without stint to its work.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on October 27. Following the reading of the reports of the Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer, and the various committees, the President, Mrs. Curtis Sampson, delivered her address, which took the form of an interesting and amusing paper entitled *Reminiscences of Bygone Days at Government House.* When Richard Blanshard, Vancouver Island's first Governor, arrived in 1850, he found no official residence awaiting him; and while a modest four-roomed dwelling was constructed he was compelled to live, first, on board H.M.S. *Driver,* and later in old Fort Victoria. His

successor, James Douglas, built and owned his own home, and it was not until his retirement, in 1863, that the need for an official Governor's residence, owned by the Colony, became pressing. It so happened that in 1859 the Hon. George Hunter Cary, later Attorney-General, had built an imposing stone residence known as Cary Castle, and after much agitation it was purchased for the use of Governor Kennedy, who took possession in July, 1865. The ball held on May 24, 1866, to honour the birthday of Queen Victoria, was the first of a long and memorable series of similar celebrations. Those in attendance included Governor Seymour, of the mainland Colony of British Columbia, officers from the ships of the Royal Navy lying in Esquimalt Harbour, and officers of the American garrison then on the San Juan Islands. Passing on to the years since Confederation, Mrs. Sampson noted that the first Governor-General of Canada to be entertained in Cary Castle was Lord Dufferin, who arrived with his Countess in 1876, at which time A. N. Richards was Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. They were followed in 1882 by the Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise, who so enjoyed their stay that an intended visit of ten days lengthened to one of ten weeks. Princess Louise described British Columbia in a letter to her mother as "halfway between heaven and Balmoral." In 1899 Cary Castle was completely destroyed by fire, and as a consequence when the Duke and Duchess of York (later King George V. and Queen Mary) arrived in October, 1901, they stayed at the old Mount Baker Hotel, which had been redecorated for the occasion. It was not until 1902 that the present Government House was completed and occupied by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henri Joly de Lotbiniere. In conclusion, Mrs. Sampson reviewed the interesting happenings of more recent years, and in particular of 1939, when Cary Castle opened its doors to Their Majesties, the King and Queen. Slides illustrating Mrs. Sampson's address were shown by Dr. J. A. Pearce, of the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory.

It was fitting that the audience of the evening should include His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Woodward, and, in response to the welcome extended by Mrs. Sampson, His Honour addressed the meeting briefly.

At the suggestion of Mr. B. A. McKelvie, the Section will endeavour to secure the preservation of two iron rings, deeply embedded in the rock near the Victoria Customs House. These rings, which are all that remain of the old Hudson's Bay Company fort, were used both to tie up the steamer *Beaver* and other vessels, and as anchors for canting ships when their hulls required scraping. It was on a tree nearby that James Douglas posted the first notice that the adjacent land was claimed by the Company.

At the opening of the meeting members paid tribute to the late Dr. J. S. Plaskett, who was prominent not only in the Victoria Section but in the Provincial association as well.

Mrs. Curtis Sampson was re-elected President of the Section at the meeting of the new Council held on Tuesday, November 20. Other officers and councillors for the year 1941–42 are: Vice-President, Mr. F. C. Green;

Honorary Secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree (who is serving in this capacity for the seventh consecutive year); Honorary Treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden. Members of the Council: Miss Muriel Galt, Mr. John Goldie, Col. H. T. Goodland, Mr. W. E. Ireland, Mr. B. A. McKelvie, Major H. T. Nation, Commissioner T. W. S. Parsons, Dr. T. A. Rickard, and Mr. W. E. McMullen. Committee conveners: Publicity, Mrs. S. Dudley Markham; Necrology, Miss Alma Russell; Historic Landmarks, Mr. C. C. Pemberton.

Special interest attached to the meeting of the Section held on the evening of November 19, for the day was the anniversary of the two most important events in the political history of the Province. It was on November 19, 1858, that James Douglas was sworn in at Fort Langley as first Governor of the Colony of British Columbia; and the meeting also marked the 75th anniversary of the union of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, which was proclaimed on November 19, 1866. The speaker of the evening was Dr. W. N. Sage, Head of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia, and author of the standard life of Sir James Douglas. His address was entitled, *British Columbia in the Balance—Union and Confederation.* Dr. Sage pointed out that the union of 1866 was merely a palliative, and that it did not really cure the economic ills of either Vancouver Island or the mainland. A much more far-reaching decision and union were in the offing, and it was during the troubled years from 1866 to 1871 that the new united Colony of British Columbia made its choice between the allures of "manifest destiny" and the United States on the one hand, and Confederation with the youthful Dominion of Canada on the other. The difficulties of the confederationists were in many ways greater than those faced by the annexationists, and Dr. Sage had much of interest to say regarding the circumstances which enabled them to win out in the end.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

Russian Naturalist Explorers of the Pacific Northwest was the subject of the most interesting address delivered by Mr. J. W. Eastham at the meeting of the Section held in the Grosvenor Hotel on November 13. The speaker pointed out that the first contributions to our knowledge of the Natural History of the Pacific Coast really began with the exploration of Siberia and Kamchatka, owing to the common element in the floras and faunas of Northwest America and Northeast Asia. Mr. Eastham illustrated this point by exhibiting specimens of common local plants which were first discovered and named from specimens collected in Northeast Asia. Of the naturalists who visited the coast of America with the Russian exploring expeditions the first and most outstanding was Georg Wilhelm Steller. A German by birth and training, he accompanied Bering on his famous but disastrous second voyage in 1741. Mr. Eastham described the difficulties he faced, the conditions under which his scientific work had to be done; his personal character, in so far as it is known to us, and, finally, his contribution to knowledge. Steller's name is forever associated with our

flora and fauna, two well-known examples being the Alaska heather (*Cassiope Stelleriana*) and Steller's jay (*Cyanocitta Stelleri*), the common blue jay. The other naturalist whose work was described at some length was Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, a German physician, who, after varied service as an army surgeon in the Napoleonic wars, secured the post of naturalist to the expedition of Krusenstern and Lisiansky. Sailing from Kronstadt in 1803 in Krusenstern's vessel, the *Nadeshda*, he went first to Kamchatka, and from there accompanied Chamberlain von Rezanoff on a special mission to Japan. He then accompanied Rezanoff on his inspection tour of all the Russian settlements along the Pacific Coast of North America, including the one near San Francisco, finally returning to Europe overland through Siberia. Langsdorff wrote an interesting and important account of his journeys, which contains much information on the natural history of the places visited. In later years he became Russian consul-general for Brazil. His name has been long associated with one of our common wild flowers, Langsdorff's monkey flower, or mimulus (*Mimulus Langsdorfii*).

There was a large attendance at the meeting of the Section held in the auditorium of the Medical-Dental Building on December 4, when the speaker was His Honour Judge Howay, who is this year President of the Royal Society of Canada. Judge Howay's subject was *The Spaniard in British Columbia*. Anxiety lest the Russians should intrude upon and gain possession of territories which Spain regarded as her own was perhaps the most pressing consideration which lay behind the first Spanish expeditions which ventured northward from Mexico, and from that starting-point Judge Howay traced the history of Spanish claims, aspirations, and explorations on the Northwest Coast. One of the highlights of the address was an amusing description of the celebrated Spanish settlement at Nootka. Its characteristics included the absence of women, of any ordinary civilians, and of any taxes. It appears to have been less solidly built than is sometimes supposed, for Judge Howay pointed out that the guns in the fortifications were never fired all at once, for fear the fort structure might crumble from the shock. Judge Howay was also able to describe with new authority the actual events at Nootka Sound which resulted in the famous controversy and convention. The journal of Captain James Colnett, edited by the speaker and published by the Champlain Society in 1940, together with the manuscript diary of Martinez, throw much new light on the seizure of the British ships in 1789, and the subsequent troubles. Judge Howay also described in some detail the Spanish explorations of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Gulf of Georgia, including the waters immediately adjacent to Vancouver Harbour. He dealt with the interesting problem as to whether or not Narvaez was the first white man to enter the harbour and land on the shores of Burrard Inlet, and contended that there was no documentary evidence to support either of these contentions.

Judge Howay was introduced by the President of the Section, Dr. M. Y. Williams, and at the conclusion of the address Dr. W. N. Sage expressed the thanks and appreciation of those present.

SIMILKAMEEN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The tenth annual banquet of the Association was held in the Travellers' Hall, Princeton, on Friday, October 3, 1941. It proved to be one of the most enjoyable of the series. Ninety-one persons sat down to dinner, and all parts of the Valley were well represented, including Hedley and Keremeos. Mr. A. Gould, President, presided. The first speaker of the evening was Mr. S. R. Gibson, who contributed a remarkable description of how the Indians in the Fraser Valley staged the Passion Play in early days. At the conclusion of the address Mr. Gibson presented to the President a gavel which he had fashioned from a section of an historic elm-tree in New Westminster. This tree had been sent by a friend in England to Colonel Moody seventy-nine years ago. Colonel Moody in turn gave it to Mrs. Holmes, wife of William Holmes, a pioneer pack-train operator, and she planted it on the bank of the Fraser River. It soon became a landmark to Indians and others travelling by water, as its distinctive foliage made it easily distinguishable from the native trees.

The second address was given by Mr. C. R. Mattice, who dealt with the poetry of the Similkameen Valley. References were made to the works of Gordon Stace Smith and the late Mrs. S. L. Allison, and quotations from their poems were read. The last speaker was Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, who read a manuscript by Mrs. M. A. Kenny, which told the story of how Douglas Lake, in the Nicola country, came to be so named.

The meeting concluded with the singing of *Auld Lang Syne.*

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

G. Hollis Slater has long been interested in the early history of Vancouver Island, and has devoted special attention to the early activities of the Church of England and the Church Missionary Society in the Pacific Northwest.

Frederic H. Soward, B.Litt. (Oxon.), is Professor of History at the University of British Columbia. He is the author of *Moulders of National Destinies*, and of many other books and articles.

Albert C. Cooke, M.A. (Oxon.), is Associate Professor of History at the University of British Columbia, and is well-known as an authority on the history of the Crown Colonies and British Commonwealth.

A. E. Pickford, associated with the Forest Branch of the Department of Lands, Victoria, B.C., is an enthusiastic member of the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts and has made a considerable study of the folk-lore and customs of the Indians of this Province.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The First Fifty Years: Vancouver High Schools, 1890–1940. Edited by K. A. Waites. [Vancouver, 1942.] Pp. 160. Ill. $1.25.

Historic anniversaries should, quite properly, be occasions for celebration and intelligent retrospection. This book is a conscious effort to perpetuate in print the story behind the golden jubilee of secondary education in the City of Vancouver. Students, teachers, and administrative officials alike co-operated in the execution of this self-imposed task. To all who laboured, great credit is due; but it is only proper that especial mention should be made of the work of the editor, Mr. K. A. Waites, whose enthusiasm and tireless energy provided the necessary dynamic.

Like many western cities, Vancouver has experienced a phenomenal development—educationally speaking—from one little school in the woods with one teacher and sixteen scholars in 1872 to sixty-seven schools, 1,200 teachers and nearly 40,000 scholars in 1940. Great care has been taken to chronicle the various stages in that evolution. Consequently, due attention is paid to the origins of the elementary-school system in the period preceding the inauguration of the first high school on January 6, 1890. From that date until 1908 the story is that of one institution—Vancouver High School—and the rôle played by pioneer teachers and students in academic life as well as extra-curricular activities has been well retold. The sketch of the gradual development of the secondary system, which now embraces fourteen schools, is supplemented by excellent short histories of each of the respective high schools. Naturally greater attention is paid to "the mother of high schools"—King Edward High School, to which *part ii.* of this book is entirely devoted. Special chapters are also devoted to the Thomson Cup and Inter-high sports, the pioneer Cadet Corps, and the Vancouver High School Old Boys' Association.

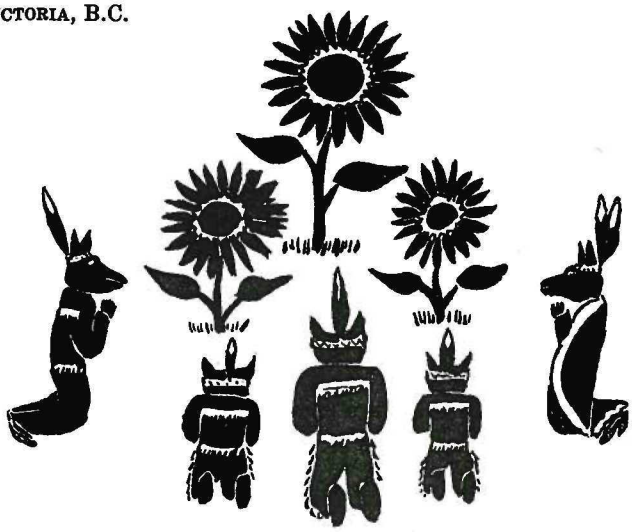
A separate section is devoted to records. For the pioneer high school complete lists of its staff, its Great War honour roll, and its head pupils are printed. In addition, lists of the School Trustees and their years of service and of the Rhodes Scholars of British Columbia along with sports records are included. An excellent "chronology of the curriculum" provides a brief but careful sketch of educational trends of the Province. To those responsible for the compilation of the mass of facts comprising this section of the book great commendation is due.

Quite apart from the immense amount of factual information presented, this book deserves special mention for the wealth of illustrative material reproduced, much of it for the first time. It forms, in reality, a pictorial counterpart of the written story and is remarkable for its completeness. In addition, judging by the numerous well-chosen extracts from official educational records interspersed throughout the narrative, the Vancouver Board of School Trustees is to be congratulated upon the manner in which it has preserved its records.

The First Fifty Years perpetuates a noble heritage. Its publication is a credit, not only to those whose diligence accounts for its excellence, but to the City of Vancouver as a whole.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.



The Invocation of the Sunflower-roots.

"*Meet Mr. Coyote,*" *a series of B.C. Indian Legends (Thompson Tribe).* [By Noel Stewart, with introduction by Alice Ravenhill and illustrations by young pupils of St. George's Indian School, Lytton, B.C.] Victoria, n.d. [for the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts, 1941]. Pp. 28. Ill. 25 cents.

Here are ten stories of Mr. Coyote, a hero long dear to the heart of the Indians of the Southern Interior where he is known as a powerful transformer and creator. These stories, in their present form, are new to the printing press, but very ancient in mythological origin; they tell of Mr. Coyote's relations with the animal people, of how he assisted at their ceremonies and helped them in their difficulties. This book is so simple in its approach that, at first, one is apt to look upon it as just another of those books for children. However, despite the limit of its scope, careful consideration of the work as a whole shows that Mr. Noel Stewart has a deeper purpose and has performed a service for which much credit is due to him. In the production of this work the author has visited some of the older Indians of the Lytton district and heard from them details of some of the ancient stories which have been told among them for generations; these he has moulded into a form of charming reading. Further credit is due in that, by using drawings by Indian children to enhance his text, the author has tapped a pictorial source at its clearest and best; that is, while the latent feeling engendered in the mind of the Indian child by the mythology

of his forefathers is still unclouded. Thus appropriate life and movement has been added to the stories and an air of authenticity given to the work as a whole.

The reader of these stories should remind himself that they were originally told and retold to the Indians by tribesmen each selected not only for his powers of eloquence but also for his histrionic abilities. In these recitations Mr. Coyote was always represented as a living character, the peculiarities of his speech, the puckering of his mouth, and all his mispronunciations of certain words were faithfully reproduced. His voice was often very deep as coming from the depth of his throat, but he could change it at will and, as became a great traveller, could speak many languages. He had lived a great while on earth, and did most of his feats at middle age and thus was regarded as a man of authority. Although he travelled a great deal, he did not practise his arts as a transformer on the Coast, nor would he permit any transformers of outlying districts to intrude upon his territory. He was generally a man of power and took pleasure in creating large features of the landscape for the delight of the Indians and performing miracles for the improvement of their conditions.

Thus Mr. Noel Stewart's version of Mr. Coyote is true to former written records in that he represents the transformer as a man of beneficence, but his version is somewhat out of harmony with Teit's accounts in other respects. The principal lack of agreement lies in the want of emphasis on the tribal associations which marked the life of the "animal people." In Teit's stories Mr. Coyote is shown as chief among a tribe composed entirely of Coyote people; and we are given independent stories of the Goat people and the Dog people. Although, according to Teit, members of these various tribes met and had dealings with one another, yet their family ties and associations were much more pronounced than shown in the stories here collected. Again, Mr. Noel Stewart's stories do not deal with Mr. Coyote's weaknesses, for, despite the transformer's great power, he was not always successful in his enterprises, or supreme in his magic; although crafty, he was often the dupe of other people, and at times his wisdom was perverted to cunning, selfishness, and deceit.

These and other deviations from former accounts may be due, in part, to variations in local versions and, therefore, must not be taken too seriously as a criticism of the present work. Never, since the golden age of research in which Teit and Boaz worked, had conscientious collection of native mythology been a thankful task, and it becomes more difficult with the years. The effect of modern conditions is to obliterate the old mythology in the minds of the Indians, leaving the field open to warped and spurious versions of no value. In this connection we are of the opinion that Mr. Noel Stewart deserves credit, perhaps, not so much for the collection as for the selection of his material.

We note that Mr. Coyote is presented as the first of a series. If those responsible for further contributions will keep stability in mind we shall look forward with pleasure to further productions, especially if the Indians forming the source of the information be named.

A. E. PICKFORD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The Ninth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society of Vernon, British Columbia. [Vernon, B.C.: The Society] 1941. Pp. 75. $1.

The Okanagan Historical Society continues its good work of stimulating interest in the history of this important region of our Province. Credit is due to its officers and members and especially to Mr. Leonard Norris, the Secretary-Treasurer. The present report is not confined to historical material in the narrow sense of the term. Mrs. Gellatly and Dr. Lang have written on "Basaltic Columns at Westbank," and on "The Origin of Columnar Jointing in Lavas." Several poems appear in the concluding pages of the report, culminating in an address to the moon by a "budding Okanagan poetess," aged 9.

Of the historical articles special mention should be made of Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby's "Canadian Opinion on British Columbia's Entry into Confederation"; Mr. Thomas Stevenson's "An Old-timers' Celebration," in 1887; Mr. F. W. Laing's "Scotty Creek and Scottie Creek"; and Mrs. Sophia Patten's "Henry Jergen Ehmke." Dr. Ormsby's brief article is based on research made in the preparation of her doctor's thesis. Mr. Stevenson records the "matched horse races" of the early days. Mr. Laing by his researches has carefully traced the story of William Donaldson, "a man whose nickname has been perpetuated in two widely separated parts of the Province, whilst his real name has been obscured." Mrs. Patten has told the story of her Danish-German parents, of their settlement in Pleasant Valley, and of their descendants. In addition, Mr. Norris has contributed three articles which deal with certain phases of the history of the judiciary of Canada.

Mr. Burt R. Campbell in his "Kamloops Museum Association" strikes an up-to-date note. Kamloops is to be congratulated for the creation and maintenance of its historical museum. Mr. Campbell gives deserved credit to the little band of faithful workers to whose efforts is due the foundation of this most useful institution. Other cities in British Columbia might well follow the example of Kamloops.

A pleasing tribute is made to Mr. Augustus Schubert, the sole survivor of the Overlanders of 1862. It is pleasing to learn that he is engaged in writing his memoirs.

Although much credit is due to the Okanagan Historical Society for its keenness and industry it must be confessed that a few of the articles are hardly up to the standard set in the earlier issues. It is almost inevitable that the reports of local historical societies must be "local," but it is well when they are able to maintain a high standard of historical scholarship. None the less, the Okanagan Historical Society must be congratulated in that in these difficult days it has been able to publish an annual report, and it is hoped that the series will continue without interruption.

WALTER N. SAGE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Purchase of Alaska; Contemporary Opinion. By Virginia Hancock Reid. Long Beach, California: *Press-Telegram,* Printers, 1939. Pp. xii., 134. $1.

In a little book, which was obviously a labour of love, Virginia Hancock Reid has established from a study of contemporary opinion that the American people were not so contemptuous of the Alaskan purchase as later writers would have us believe. On the contrary, by the time the transaction was ended, they were "convinced that a great piece of statesmanship had been fittingly concluded." The author commences her narrative with the decision of the Czar of all the Russias, on a cold winter day in 1866, to offer the country to the United States, and traces the evolution of opinion at home and abroad until the House of Representatives finally voted the purchase money almost two years later. A side-light on contemporary opinion in British Columbia is afforded by an extract from the Victoria *British Colonist* of May 16, 1867. That journal, incidentally, devoted more space to the cession than any other foreign newspaper. The *Colonist* viewed with alarm the prospect which placed "the whole of Her Majesty's possessions on the Pacific in the position of a piece of meat between two slices of bread, where they may be devoured at a single bite." It was also the "imbecility, ignorance or neglect of British Statesmen" which left British Columbia with "scarcely room left in which to draw a long breath." Miss Reid has strengthened the usefulness of her study by three documentary appendices and an annotated bibliography, which abounds with frank comments such as "Dunning's account of the purchase is interesting because it is not based on facts."

F. H. SOWARD.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Sea Power and British North America, 1783–1820. By Gerald S. Graham. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. 302. $3.50.

If this new volume in the Harvard Historical Series falls into the hands of some readers of this *Quarterly* it may disappoint them on two scores. It does not deal with the Pacific Northwest, since that part of the coast which later became British Columbia was not, during the period covered by the book, a part of British North America. Neither does it discuss British sea power to the extent suggested by the title. Nevertheless, the book has a value of its own, and any one interested in the attempts at economic readjustment within the Empire following the loss of the thirteen American Colonies, and in the character and operation of the forces gradually bringing about the transition from eighteenth century mercantilism to nineteenth century free trade, will welcome this scholarly contribution to the growing literature on the subject.

In 1933, when Helen Taft Manning published her book, entitled *British Colonial Government after the American Revolution, 1782–1820,* she described the period with which it dealt as "the most obscure in the three and a quarter centuries of British colonization." Her work, together with

A. L. Burt's recent study, *The United States, Great Britain and British North America*, has thrown light on the political, administrative, and diplomatic problems of the time, and to a lesser extent on economic developments. Dr. Graham, both in his earlier book, *British Policy and Canada, 1774–1791*, and in the present one, which carries the story almost a generation farther, is interested chiefly in economic policy.

His argument runs somewhat as follows: The navigation Acts of the old colonial system had not only an economic purpose but were designed also to stimulate ship-building and ensure an adequate supply of trained seamen, in the belief that this was the best way to safeguard British naval strength. "Defence" was a more fundamental consideration than "opulence" even in the so-called "era of trade ascendancy."

After the American Revolution the attempt was made to continue the old system involving a monopoly of the carrying trade, for the same reasons as before, but practical considerations forced many modifications. The bulk of the book is devoted to a discussion of the various forces impelling Great Britain along the road toward freer trade. These included the difficulty of breaking established trade connections when these were mutually advantageous; the growing economic power and aggressive policies of the United States; the need of the Maritimes and of the West Indian colonies for trade with the United States; the difficulty of applying the restrictions of the navigation Acts to an inland colony like Upper Canada; the prevalence of smuggling and the apparent inability to suppress it; the change in the character of the Newfoundland fisheries; the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars; the impact of the continental system on the United States; and American policies preceding and following the war of 1812. At a dozen points necessity compelled temporary or partial relaxation of the regulations while in theory the system remained unaltered.

When fundamental changes finally had to be faced, and freer trade became a matter of practical politics, the chief impetus came from the representatives of a new class in English society, a product of the Industrial Revolution, who were more concerned with opulence than defence. In their attempt to free British commerce from all restrictions they were able to point to post-war depression and unemployment, and to argue that under changed conditions of commerce and of naval training the old need for a "nursery for seamen" had passed away. These were the forerunners and supporters of William Huskisson and liberal reform.

The book is a sober account of unspectacular but significant developments. It is concerned with duties, conventions, embargoes, treaties, orders in council, free ports and triangular trade. But from these details, and from a series of useful charts, there emerges a clearer picture than we have had before of the character of British commerce and commercial policy during a too much neglected period of Empire history.

ALBERT COLBY COOKE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

A History of Ogden. [By Dale L. Morgan.] Ogden: Ogden City Commission, 1940. Pp. 70. Ill.

A Brief History of Oregon City and West Linn, Oregon. By William D. Welsh. [Oregon City: Oregon City *Enterprise.*] 1941. Pp. 30. Ill.

A Brief History of Port Angeles, Washington. By William D. Welsh. [Port Angeles: Port Angeles *News.*] 1941. Pp. 24. Ill.

A Brief Historical Sketch of Port Townsend. By William D. Welsh. [Port Townsend: Port Townsend *Leader.*] 1941. Pp. 27. Ill.

A Brief History of Shelton, Washington. By Grant C. Angle and William D. Welsh. 1940. Pp. 14. Ill.

A Short History of Caulfeild Village. By H. A. Stone. [Vancouver: Wrigley, 1941.] Pp. 25. Ill. 50 cents.

For many years local history has been in an unhappy position. Thanks to the enthusiasm of local historical associations noble efforts have been made to keep alive the interest in bygone days, but with limited funds at their disposal it has been next to impossible to put into print the history of local communities. The publication recently of *History and Development of the Agassiz-Harrison Valley,* by J. J. Woods, was an interesting venture in this field in British Columbia and one which merits every consideration. The present series under review suggests other means by which the desired end may be achieved.

A History of Ogden, prepared under the Utah Historical Records Survey Project of the W.P.A., was published by the Ogden City Commission. It is an eminently satisfactory piece of work, based upon sound research and well documented, as is evidenced by the nine-page bibliography. The history of the only city in Utah which reaches unbrokenly back to the fur-trade days has been condensed into sixty-odd pages. The fur-trade period, full of the exploits of men like William H. Ashley, Jedediah Smith, and Peter Skene Ogden, soon gave place to the era of the hardy emigrant-settler, of whom Miles Goodyear was the pioneer. But it remained for the Mormon migration to mould and give character to the entire district. Fortunately Ogden, unlike its neighbour, Salt Lake City, never experienced the full heat of the gentile-Mormon antagonism, although occasionally it made itself felt. The period of beginnings in the 1850's and 1860's is adequately detailed and the transformation effected by the coming of the railroad in 1869 is graphically retold. Due attention is paid to more modern developments as well, and the history of the various public utilities and of the social and educational agencies of the city has been recorded. All in all this book might well serve as a model; for that sense of proportion so necessary for local history is here splendidly preserved.

The series of local histories, written for the most part by William D. Welsh, are in a different category. They have been sponsored by the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, which has local paper-mill interests, and distributed by the Chambers of Commerce of the respective cities. In consequence, the history is here recounted more from the publicity angle than as a purely historical record. In so far as there is little distortion of the historical facts it is a commendable undertaking. All four follow much the same pattern—

beginning with the Indian background, detailing the coming of the white man and the gradual development of the social and economic life of the frontier community, and culminating in a more detailed reference to the history of the paper-mill industry. There are many references to pioneers and pioneer activities—early newspapers, fraternal organizations, schools, lumber-, paper-, and woollen-mills, railroad construction, to mention but a few. A profusion of illustrations and cartographs adds considerably to the interest of the pamphlets.

In many respects *Oregon City* has had the most interesting history, for it was the first incorporated town west of the Rocky Mountains. In addition, it has many historic associations with the "father of Oregon," Dr. John McLoughlin. Around the history of the city has been woven the story of the Oregon crusade of the 1840's. The histories of *Port Angeles* and *Port Townsend* are complementary. They both shared essentially the same historical background and experienced much the same type of development. As might be expected there was considerable rivalry—political as well as economic. The early history of *Shelton* is largely the life-story of David Shelton, the pioneer settler, and his family.

A Short History of Caulfeild Village has been privately printed and is the tribute inspired by a long and intimate connection with the district. In it is perpetuated the memory of an English gentleman, Francis William Caulfeild, whose dream of a model village in keeping with the natural beauty of its setting gradually became a reality on the north shore of Burrard Inlet, in the lee of Point Atkinson. It pays tribute also to the faith and loyalty of Captain Frank Kettle and his wife, who shared in the slow, and, at times, heart-breaking venture in town planning. This pamphlet is an admirable publication; it is beautifully printed and illustrated with delightful pen and ink sketches of the locale.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

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