THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

JULY, 1944

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Published by the Archives of British Columbia
in co-operation with the
British Columbia Historical Association.

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The *Quarterly* is indexed in Faxon's *Annual Magazine Subject-Index.*

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. VIII. VICTORIA, B.C., JULY, 1944. No. 3

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THE FOUNDING OF NANAIMO.*

The Spaniards were the first Europeans to visit the locality of Nanaimo. In July, 1791, José Maria Narváez, sailing master in command of the schooner *Santa Saturnina,* explored the vicinity and bestowed the name of " Boca de Winthuysen " on the waterways contiguous to the present city.[1] The Indians knew the area as " Sne-ny-mo," meaning " the whole," or " a big strong tribe," referring to the collective strength of the various villages located along the shores of the sheltered harbour. Officially, until 1860, the settlement itself was called " Colvile Town," although locally known as " Nanaimo."[2]

It was J. D. Pemberton, Colonial and Hudson's Bay Company surveyor, who corrupted the Indian word into the pretty name of to-day. " Mr. Pemberton has I observe adopted the Indian name ' Nanaimo ' for the Harbour, which I shall therefore use instead of Wentuhuysen Inlet, in my future correspondence," stated James Douglas, Hudson's Bay Chief Factor and Governor of Vancouver's Island, in writing to Archibald Barclay, secretary of the Company in London, under date of October 5, 1852.[3] Douglas doubtless welcomed the change, for his letter-books of the period show that he had difficulty in spelling the Spanish name (in its altered form). He usually forgot the first letter " u " in " Wentuhuysen " and had to insert it.

Pemberton did not always adopt Indian nomenclature. The stream known to-day as " Nanaimo River " was called " Quamquamqua " by the natives, while the dominating mountain be-

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* The revised text of the presidential address delivered before the British Columbia Historical Association on January 14, 1944.

(1) Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800,* Berkeley, 1937, II., p. 524.

(2) John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names,* Ottawa, 1909, p. 349.

(3) This and all subsequent extracts from Douglas's letters to Barclay are quoted from the original letter-book (now in the Provincial Archives) in which Douglas kept copies of his correspondence with the Hudson's Bay Company regarding the affairs of the Colony of Vancouver Island.

hind the city, called by the white settlers "Wakesiah," was known to the natives as "Tai-took-tan."[4]

It was the epochal development of steam applied to world-wide transportation that hastened the inevitable settlement of Nanaimo. Coal had been discovered towards the northern end of Vancouver's Island in 1835. Its existence had been disclosed to Hudson's Bay officials by an Indian. But it was not until 1847 that serious consideration was given to the possibilities that such a discovery held.

In 1846 the boundary-line dispute between Great Britain and United States was settled. With commendable celerity the United States Navy Department set about establishment of a mail service to the Oregon territory. In 1847 a contract was entered upon by the Navy with William H. Aspinwall, of New York, for establishment of a line of mail steamers between Panama and the Oregon Coast. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company came into existence as a result. It faced one great difficulty: that of obtaining coal for steam purposes. Arrangements were made with British mines for this very necessary commodity, while efforts were made to find a supply of suitable coal on the Pacific littoral. Upon learning of the existence of coal deposits on Vancouver's Island, Aspinwall entered into negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company was willing to open mines if a market could be found for coal. As a preliminary step Fort Rupert was established on Beaver Harbour, replacing, to a great extent, the former Fort McLoughlin as a trade centre, and acting as a protection for the mines to be opened in its immediate vicinity. But the Fort Rupert mines were never a successful venture.[5] The seams were narrow and the quality was not that of good steam coal. Even the experienced miners brought from the United Kingdom to work in the pits and to bore for new deposits could accomplish little. This was most disappointing, for, quite apart from the Aspinwall contract, the discovery of gold in California and the rush to that territory opened a new and most attractive field for consumption of the output of the Hudson's Bay Company's collieries.

(4) B. W. Pearse, *Survey of the Districts of Nanaimo and Cowichan Valley*, 1859. (Pamphlet in B.C. Archives.)

(5) John Haskell Kemble, "Coal from the Northwest Coast, 1848–1850," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), p. 123 *et seq.*

But as marketing prospects brightened so hopes of finding a profitable coal deposit at or near Fort Rupert waned. For several years the work went on, some small shipments of shallow-depth coal being made, but nothing being found to warrant expectations of a substantial industry being established. Thus, on March 18, 1852, Douglas wrote: "After trying the ground at Fort Rupert and boring in Muirs shaft to a depth of 20 fathoms he [Boyd Gilmour] gave it up in despair of finding coal, and removed to Saquash [*sic*]."[6] Here, however, no better results were obtained, for on July 11 Douglas stated, respecting the report of Gilmour upon the new location, "it is hardly necessary to remark [that it] is a very unfavourable indication for Coal."[7]

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION.

The Fort Rupert mines had proven to be a complete failure, but James Douglas did not abandon hope of developing a source of supply to meet the ever-growing coal demand along the Pacific seaboard. It was after the discouraging reports of the spring of 1852 upon the Fort Rupert operations that he recalled that J. W. McKay, an energetic and capable clerk stationed at Fort Victoria, had confirmed several years before Indian statements that coal existed at Wentuhuysen Inlet, though nothing had been done to open mines there.

McKay's own story of how he learned of the coal was recorded for Hubert Howe Bancroft more than a quarter of a century after the event.

> While engaged in the office there [Fort Victoria] I was one morning in December [1849] called out by the foreman of the Blacksmith shop, who told me that an Indian from the vicinity of Protection Island (now Nanaimo Bay) had been in the shop to have his gun repaired and while waiting and watching operations he had picked up some lumps of coal which he observed very closely. Subsequently, when he saw the men use some coal to replenish the fire, he said that there was plenty of such stone where he lived. I went to the shop and talked with the Indian and told him to bring me some pieces of coal from his home and I would give him a bottle of rum and have his gun repaired for nothing.
>
> The man, who was quite old, went away, but he was taken sick and did not return until early in April, 1850, when he brought a canoe load of coal

(6) James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, March 18, 1852.

(7) *Ibid.*, July 11, 1852.

which proved to be of fine quality. I fitted out a prospecting party at once and about the first of May we landed near the place where the town of Nanaimo is built now. For several days we looked around and on the 8th of May I located the Douglass vein, which is still being worked [1878] at the place from which the old Indian had taken his specimen.

On our return to Victoria I made a favorable and very circumstantial report on our discovery, but owing to the press of other business on hand the mine was not actually opened until August 1852.[8]

Now that the failure of the Fort Rupert mines was practically certain, Douglas turned to the other prospect. Apparently McKay was again sent to the place he had visited in 1850, for on June 23, 1852, the Chief Factor was able to report:—

A bed of surface coal of considerable depth was discovered by M[r] Joseph McKay of the Company's service at Point Gabiola [Gabriola], on the east coast of Vancouver's Island nearly opposite the mouth of Fraser's River. Mr McKay who was sent with a small party to examine that part of the Island, discribes [*sic*] the Coast as abounding in Sandstone, and he observed in several places seams of Coal varying from 8 to 12 inches in depth; cropping out from the cliffs; but the principal bed is at Point Gabiola, where the seam measures thirty seven inches in thickness; if so it will be immensely valuable, and I will take the earliest opportunity of having it carefully examined and secured for the Company.[9]

Douglas was impressed by McKay's report. He decided to make a personal visit. This was done during August, and under cover of August 18 he was able to make a triumphant announcement, justifying his faith in the mineral resources of Vancouver's Island. The letter[10] telling of his inspection of the coal measures was that of an enthusiast; rarely, in the hundreds of letters he wrote as Company official or as Governor did he display so much dignified jubilation—for dignified he was at all times.

"I returned last night from an exploratory excursion through the Canal de Arro and along the east coast of Vancouver's Island, undertaken for the purpose of examining the beds of Coal reported to exist in that quarter, and I rejoice to say that our journey has been productive of very satisfactory results; as we have had abundant evidence to prove that the mineral wealth of Vancouver's Island has not been over rated," he enthused. "In the course of that excursion, we discovered three beds of Coal, the first and

(8) Joseph William McKay, *Recollections of a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Simpson, 1878*, MS., Bancroft Library. (Photostat in B.C. Archives.)

(9) Douglas to Barclay, June 23, 1852.

(10) *Ibid.*, August 18, 1852.

upper bed measuring 3 inches, a second immediately under it measuring 20 inches, and at the distance of about ¾ of a mile, nearly due west a third bed measuring 57¾ inches in depth, of clean coal; from which, with the assistance of the Natives, we procured about 50 Tons in a single day at a total cost of £11.0.0 paid in goods. This discovery has afforded me more satisfaction than I can express and I trust the Company will derive advantages from it equal to the important influence it must necessarily exercise on the fortunes of this Colony."

Here both the Chief Factor and the Governor were in harmony! Continuing, Douglas wrote:—

I was accompanied in that journey by Mr. Pemberton Mr. Muir,[11] the Company's late oversman at Fort Rupert and Mr. Golledge,[12] with 6 men and a few Indians in two canoes; while the *Cadboro* was despatched with a small supply of goods, by the Gulf of Georgia to meet us in Wentuhuysen Inlet which was appointed the general rendezvous.

After describing a stop made at Cowichan, where he talked with the Indians, he continued:—

We found the *Cadboro* at anchor in Wentuhuysen Inlet having made the voyage from Victoria in four days. It is in that Inlet that the Coal is found. The three and the twenty inch seams appear about high water mark on the Islands at the entrance of the Inlet. The Coal crops out on two sides of those Islands and we therefore, and for the reason that the overlaying beds of shales and sandstone exist in their natural order, exhibiting no evidence of displacement from volcanic or other agency, suppose that the seams are continuous and extend from side to side of those Islands. About ¾ of a mile almost directly west of that coal the main seam 57¾ inches in depth rises above the surface in a narrow cove in the main land of Vancouver's Island.

The face of the seam is alone visible and takes a direction from low water mark across the beach, until it disappears under the banks of the cove, see sketch. The general dip or inclination of the seam, which is rapid, is towards the cove, being in Mr Pembertons opinion east north east, while Mr Muir thinks it is nearly due South. It is supposed that this seam underlies those on the Island a conclusion drawn from the displacement of a bed of old red sandstone in the vicinity which has been thrown up into a vertical position, and has evidently been the immediate cause of raising this valuable bed of Coal partially to the surface.

Speculating upon the different formations that existed, Douglas carried his presumptions to the point of sketching an assumed strata log.

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(11) John Muir, who was in charge of mining operations at Fort Rupert until succeeded by Boyd Gilmour. The latter expressed contempt for Muir's work there but was no more successful in finding coal than his predecessor.

(12) Richard Golledge, sometime secretary to James Douglas.

"Without venturing an opinion as to the pecuniary results of this discovery I have resolved until I receive the Governor and Committee's instructions on the subject to take possession of the Coal District for the Company, and to employ Mr Muir and two of his sons in opening a shaft at high water mark, over the thick seam from whence they will work the bed inwards towards the land, to ascertain its extent in that direction," he declared. "A few of the common servants will also be sent there at the same time to assist in that work and as a protection against the Natives. They will also put up a few temporary buildings to shelter the workmen and purchase coal from the natives. I will not go to much expense until we see our way clearly, and have ascertained that the coal beds may be worked to advantage. In that case it may be desirable to remove Mr Gilmour & his party of Miners from Fort Rupert should no discovery be in the mean time made there, to this new coal field and to commence a permanent establishment on the spot by withdrawing a part of the officers and and [*sic*] [of the] Servants now employed at Fort Rupert.

"Mr Pemberton having completed the general survey as far as Soke Inlet, and the present thick smoky weather being unfavourable for continuing it farther, I propose to send him immediately to make a geological exploration of the Coal District about Wentuhuysen Inlet on which he will prepare a report for the information of the Company. It will take from two to three weeks to complete that service, but I trust the Governor and Committee will consider the object in view of sufficient importance to justify the expense, as well as the delay it will necessarily cause in his regular work."

OCCUPATION.

Douglas's planned early occupation of the new coalfield was quickened by the fear that others might forestall him in taking possession of the country. He was not too certain of the precise extent of Hudson's Bay possessory rights as defined in the Company's leasehold of Vancouver's Island, and decided that he would take no chances on losing the coal deposits through any technical blunder on his part. These things he explained in a letter to Barclay under date of August 26, 1852, adding:—

Mr Joseph McKay was despatched on the 22nd Inst. with a few labouring servants to maintain possession of the Coal field in Wentuhuysen Inlet, a step which I was induced to take rather hurriedly, in consequence of a report that other parties, were going thither to dig and purchase Coal from the Indians a plan which I thought it necessary to anticipate by unequivocally establishing the Company's right to the Coal District through actual possession.

While in the foregoing Douglas says that McKay left on August 22, the formal instructions for his guidance were dated two days later. It is possible that they were forwarded by other

conveyance. In any event they were as formal and ceremonious as Douglas could make them. The letter[13] is worth reproducing in full, being of great historic value:—

Fort Victoria
24th August 1852

Mr Joseph McKay.

Sir.

You will proceed with all possible diligence to Wentuhuysen Inlet, commonly known as Nanymo Bay and formally take possession of the Coal beds lately discovered there for and in behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.

You will give due notice of that proceeding to the Masters of all vessels arriving there and you will forbid all persons to work the Coal either directly by means of their own labour or indirectly through Indians or other parties employed for that purpose except under the authority of a license from the Hudson's Bay Company.

You will require for such persons as may be duly licensed to work coal by the Hudson's Bay Company, security for the payment of a royalty of 2/6 a ton which you will levy on the spot, upon all Coal whether procured by mining or by purchase from the Natives, the same to be held by you and from time to time duly accounted for.

In the event of any breach or evasion of these regulations you will immediately take means to communicate intelligence of the same to me.

I remain
Sir
Your obed't servt.
James Douglas

That McKay carried out the instructions given to him by Douglas personally and by writing is evident. Unfortunately, gaps occur in the records extant of that interesting period, but the old Correspondence Book of Nanaimo contains sufficient to give a fairly accurate picture of happenings at the new establishment. Unfortunately, one of the letters that is missing is McKay's first report to Douglas upon the incidents of his landing and taking formal possession of the coal deposits.

J. D. Pemberton and his assistant, B. W. Pearse, were sent off from Fort Victoria without loss of time to make the geological survey that Douglas planned, for on August 26 Douglas sent

(13) This letter, and the extracts from later letters that passed between Douglas and McKay, are quoted from a transcript of McKay's letter-book made many years ago by Judge F. W. Howay. For convenience the copy in the Provincial Archives has been titled *Nanaimo Correspondence, 1852–1853.*

his " compliments to Mr Pemberton and Pearse " indicating that they were already at Nanaimo.[14] They camped at the entrance to the small rivulet originally called Millstone Creek, but now more generally known as Millstream Creek. This location was known in pioneer times as " Pemberton's Encampment." It was about the junction of the present Bridge Street with Comox Road. There was a neck of low land there. A deep ravine extended from the head of Commercial Inlet to this point. At extreme high tides it was practically filled with water, making a peninsula of what is the main business section of Nanaimo of to-day.

ESTABLISHMENT AND INDUSTRIES.

It was on August 26 that Douglas wrote to McKay informing him that he was sending the first party of miners to the new coalfield aboard the Company's brigantine *Cadboro*. He had learned something about the temperament of coal-miners since they first came to work the Fort Rupert seams, and took pains to impress upon McKay that they were to be treated with due regard to their sensibilities. No doubt he realized that the proud Scots would not take kindly to receiving instructions concerning their work from a fur-trader. " The Miners are under the special instructions of Mr Muir," Douglas wrote, " and you will please to avoid all interference with them directly, giving any instructions you have to give through Mr Muir himself, but in no case directly to the men under his orders."

The first of the thousands of miners who, during the next seventy-five years, worked in the exploitation of the Nanaimo coal-beds were, according to the same letter: John Muir, overman; Robert Muir, miner; Archibald Muir, miner, and John McGregor, miner.[15] McGregor, owing to illness, was detained at Fort Victoria and did not come with the Muir family, father and sons. Along with the miners was a blacksmith, Raymond. He was assigned to general duty, with piority to be given to the requirements of the miners.

An interesting side-light of conditions of those times is contained in a postscript to the same letter:—

(14) Douglas to McKay, August 26, 1852.

(15) *Ibid.*

The miners are allowed 1/- per diem instead of rations and will therefore provide their own provisions, which will save you much trouble.

Douglas was eager and enthusiastic about the new venture to an extent that was unusual with him. He wanted to learn all that he could about the progress of the mines, and told McKay

Please to write me by every opportunity and let me know all particulars about the coal and if any fresh discoveries have been made since my visit.

This letter was dated August 31, only a week after McKay had been sent from Fort Victoria to open the mines. In the same letter the Chief Factor announced that

The *Recovery* has just left port on her way to Wentuhuysen Inlet with a further supply of goods for trade, as per Invoice herewith.

You will endeavor to load her with Coal as soon as possible, and despatch her to this place. In case you require her presence either as a protection to the party or as a trade room for the time being you may detain her until the return of the *Cadboro* and I have directed Capt Mitchell to attend to your instructions in that particular.

As already noted, the first report made by McKay upon his activities at Nanaimo is missing, but that of September 9[16] has survived. He told of the arrival of the *Cadboro* on the night of September 3—having left Victoria on August 26! The *Recovery* reached port the following day. The *Cadboro*, McKay boasted, was now ready for her return voyage to Fort Victoria, " with 480 barrels of Coals on board." This was the first commercial shipment from Nanaimo's mines, but was the second in point of fact, as Douglas reported having taken 50 tons upon his exploratory inspection of the locality earlier in the year. The report continued:—

The Natives commenced working Coal on the 8th Instant, and have been busily employed ever since, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, which has been very wet the last few days.

Mr Muir and miners landed on the 6th and are at present living in a log hut lined and covered with cedar bark.

Raymond and the rest of the men are also comfortably lodged and are in very good spirits.

Raymond, the blacksmith, while " comfortably lodged and in very good spirits," had cause for complaint, for he had forgotten to bring his " toe iron," and he found that the bellows that he had brought from Fort Victoria was a poor thing and almost useless.

(16) McKay to Douglas, September 9, 1852.

"The greater part of the *Cadboro's* cargo was purchased with small trade," McKay explained. "A few of the chiefs have retained their tickets until they can afford to purchase blankets. I have continued the tariff established last voyage, as the Indians were at first, so extravagent in their demands, that I considered any concession on my part would only increase their importunacy. They are very well satisfied with the present arrangement. An able man can earn at the rate of one shirt per diem. They have opened the seam up to the bank and Mr Muir has a favorable opinion of the appearance of the Coal; he commenced boring about 10 yds further along the beach this morning, but has not as yet reached the Coal. . . ."

Such was the account of the first steps in the development of the Nanaimo collieries, written by the man who was directing affairs.

On September 10 McKay sent off another letter to Douglas, announcing news of importance. Muir had "reached coal at seven feet, ten yards beyond the section opened by the Indians. He is now boring ten yds further on."

Reporting on September 16,[17] the energetic McKay had further good tidings. It was the finding of a thick bed of coal probably near what was called "Pemberton's Encampment," in a steep bluff south of the present Comox Road. He wrote:—

"The seam which attracted my attention on the 28th ult. is found by actual measurement to be 6 feet 2 inches in thickness including a stratum of clay 2 ins. thick, and 2 ft 4 ins below the upper surface of the coal which is about the level of highwater and 15ft from the cliff, which rising to height of 30 feet forms the coast along a bay ¼ mile Westward of a point from which Mr Pemberton took the bearings and angular distances between point Upwood, point Gore and Laurel point. A small stream of water enters the bay at which you landed on your visit to this place. . . . Between this seam and low mark are three other seams of coal. . . . Mr Muir pronounces the Coal in all the seams to be of good quality and equal to good English coal. He thinks that ten thousand tons might be raised there by natives. On calculation," the careful McKay observes, "one thousand tons might certainly be raised by them within a short period.

"Most of the natives are now at work on this seam as they have worked the 3 feet seam in the harbour near by to the level of low water mark and owing to the thickness of super stratum of clay a large quantity of coal cannot possibly be raised from it without raising embankment to shut off the sea."

The natives worked on a strictly cash-and-carry basis; they not only mined, but they loaded the vessels as well. McKay in his letter announcing the new coal discovery observed that more

(17) *Ibid.*, September 16, 1852.

trade goods were urgently required, and especially tobacco, cut glass beads, kettles, and soap.

At the same time the Chief Factor was told that Muir and his men had started a new shaft, " 100 yds further along the coast 8 feet from the edge of the bank He is confident that they will reach the coal at a depth of 12 fathoms. He will require two steady men as early as possible to work the winch. Indians are not to be trusted as they might endanger the lives of the men below."

This latter observation is indicative of the ever-present hazards of mining with native labour. If, for any purpose, the Indians were to stop work, especially when hoisting a bucket, the result could easily be fatal to the men below. And the Indians were likely to do just that sort of thing. They would down tools in an instant to engage in hostilities against any strangers that might be sighted passing in a canoe if they were believed to be enemies.

Work went steadily ahead on the pit, it having reached a depth of 9 feet by September 30, and it had been properly lined. Coal was raised from " the 5 feet seam " for the *Recovery*, which sailed on that day with 1,391 barrels of coal on board.

Muir had done good work in laying the foundations of Nanaimo's collieries. Now he was to be succeeded by Boyd Gilmour, who had been in charge of the miners at Fort Rupert. Gilmour did not have much of an opinion of the capabilities of Mr. Muir, who had been his predecessor at Fort Rupert. It was on April 9, 1853, that his name first appears as being at Nanaimo. Gilmour brought some Fort Rupert men with him, and the names of four of them were given in a letter from Douglas to McKay at that time: Pierre Versailles, George Cook, George Thomas, and Magnus Edgar.

Unfortunately, the pages of the letter-book between September 27, 1852, and April 9, 1853, are blank.

Fortunately, a record made in 1907 by the late Mark Bate, who came to Nanaimo in 1857, indicated the location of the first mining operations.[18] These were all prior to the opening of the Park Head level, which was in front of the present fire-hall. It

(18) Mark Bate, " Reminiscences of Early Nanaimo Days," *Nanaimo Free Press*, February 9–May 18, 1907.

is from the development of the Park Head and Dunsmuir levels that the steady growth of Nanaimo's coal industry may be measured. There were seven openings made, as well as a number of bore-holes and experimental or prospect workings. Two more or less serious efforts were made to mine on Newcastle and Protection Islands, where later large operations were carried on. But the first mining was done on the then peninsula, which is now included in the heart of Nanaimo's business section. As indicated by Mr. Bate, and brought up to date with more precise data for permanent record, the first five workings were:—

No. 1. An open-cut on the beach off Wharf Street at the point of Commercial Inlet. This was where coal was first discovered.

No. 2. Between Bastion and Wharf streets, and between Commercial and Front streets. This was at first an open-cut and later a shaft. It was near the centre of the space enclosed by those streets.

No. 3. Within the same block, but about 40 yards from Commercial Street on the Wharf Street side.

No. 4. About 30 yards from No. 3 in a southwesterly direction on the Commercial Inlet side of Commercial Street.

No. 5. About 40 yards south of Comox Road in a cliff that rises as one of the ramparts of the Ravine. It would be south of a point about two-thirds of the distance east of Bridge Street, on Comox Road.

Coal-mining was not the only industry in Nanaimo's earlier days. Salt was manufactured from a brine spring, and a sawmill was constructed and operated for some years.

The first mention of salt is contained in McKay's letter to Douglas of September 9, 1852,[19] but earlier reference to it had been made by McKay in a letter not included in the dispatches copied into the Correspondence Book.

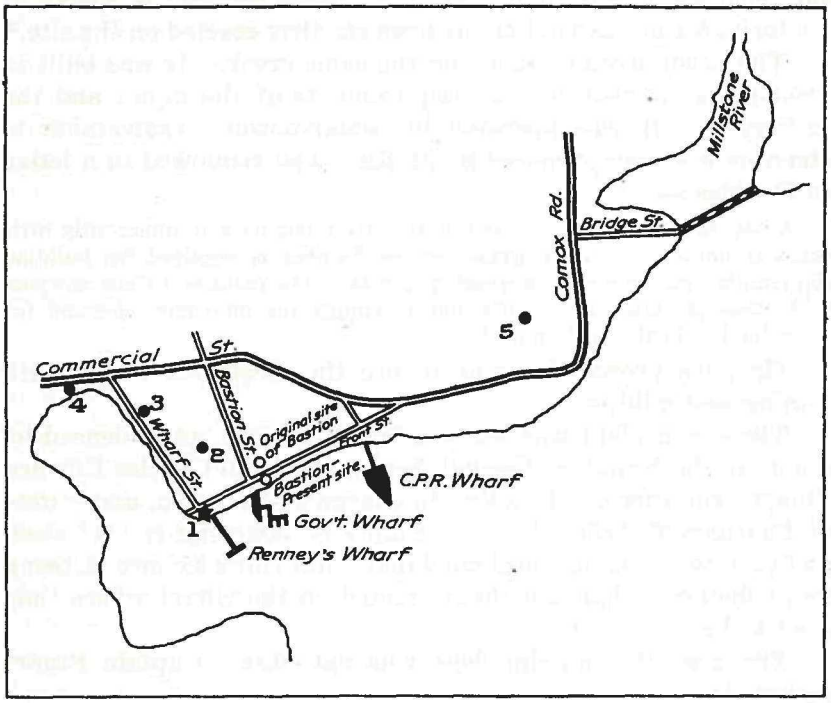
"The Salt Spring mentioned in my last communication," McKay wrote, "yields by evaporation at the rate of 1 pint of Salt from 7 pints water. The salt is a little coloured by the debris brought down by the little rivulet which runs into it. It appears to be of good quality and might be much improved by deepening the spring and turning off the fresh water which would not be difficult to accomplish. . . .

(19) *Nanaimo Correspondence, 1852–1853.*

"There is a salt lake or pond reported by the Indians as being at no great distance from the salt spring which I intend to visit per the first opportunity."

Faced with the possibility of a shortage of provisions for the coming winter, McKay thought of utilizing the salt springs for the curing of meat. Writing to Douglas under cover of September 16, he said:—

We are also in want of salt and bbls as a large quantity of salmon and venison might be put up here; if we had a salt pan and a man to tend it we might manufacture a sufficient quantity for home consumption.



Location of initial workings at Nanaimo in relation to present streets. No. 1 (marked with star) is where coal was first discovered.

The salt spring was on Millstone Creek, as it was known in earlier times, now called Millstream. It was located just about where an extension of Wallace Street would intersect the creek. Salt-pans were provided and a shed was built.[20]

(20) Mark Bate, "Brief Descriptive Notes of Nanaimo in 1874," *Nanaimo Free Press*, fiftieth anniversary number, April 15, 1924, pp. 33, 40.

Salt of high quality[21] was intermittently manufactured there until the Hudson's Bay Company sold out its holdings in and about Nanaimo to the Vancouver Coal Company in 1862, and disposed of its store to Cunningham Bros., of New Westminster. Not only was the salt used locally, but some shipments were made to Fort Langley for the salting of salmon. When the Hudson's Bay Company withdrew from the locality neither the new proprietors nor Cunningham Bros. were interested in manufacturing salt. The springs were neglected and filled up, and the salt-shed lay idle until it was acquired by Stewart & Keast, of Victoria, for use as part of the brewery they erected on the site.[22]

The sawmill was erected on the same creek. It was built in 1853 to cut lumber for the requirements of the mines and the settlement. It was operated by water-power. Conversion to steam-power was proposed by McKay, who remarked in a letter to Douglas:—

> A circular saw may be worked by the steam engine with apparently little extra trouble. . . . As a great deal of Lumber is required for building the circular saw would be a great acquisition, the more so as our sawyers with three pit saws, are barely able to supply the increasing demand for sawn lumber in the coal mines.[23]

McKay's proposition was to use the steam-power for both mining and milling.

The steam plant was secured, but it lay idle, as evidenced by a note in the Nanaimo Journal, kept by Captain Charles Edward Stuart, who succeeded McKay in charge of Nanaimo, under date of February 6, 1856: ". . . Employed boarding in 'O' shed, and getting steam saw mill machinery, flat ropes &c into it, being more sheltered than the sheds erected on the wharf where they used to be. . . ."[24]

The cost of acquiring logs was not high. Captain Stuart reported:—

> The Nanaimo Indians bring us large quantities of saw logs—none less than fifteen inches in diameter at the small end and fifteen feet long, at the tariff of eight for a blanket delivered at high water mark where required. If

(21) J. Despard Pemberton, *Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1860, p. 159.

(22) Personal narration by the late Mark Bate to the writer.

(23) *Nanaimo Correspondence, 1852–1853*, McKay to Douglas, September 24, 1853.

(24) *Nanaimo Journal, 1855–1857.* (Transcript in B.C. Archives.)

an occasional one arrives under that size it is bought by us at the tariff of sixteen for a Blanket.[25]

When Mark Bate landed in Nanaimo in 1857 the mill was still operated by water, and continued so for many years. Mr. Bate described it as follows:—

There was one saw, a perpendicular-up-and-down, jerky-jiggy thing. Who ever "saw to saw like that saw"? It was operated by a small horizontal water wheel, of rather crude construction, which also was very unsteady, and erratic in its revolutions. In 1860–61 a great improvement was made in the mill machinery—the horizontal wheel was supplanted by a large overshot wheel, which did fairly good work for many years.[26]

COMMUNITY LIFE AND DANGERS.

While the harbour had been named "Nanaimo" by Pemberton, the first official name of the settlement was "Colviletown" named in honour of Andrew Colvile, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Despite the high authority of the proprietors the name did not stick. Even Douglas in his correspondence applied the Indian name to the community as well as the harbour. In 1861 the effort to maintain the official name was dropped, and the settlement formally adopted the name it has borne ever since.[27]

The first habitations, as already indicated, were rude log and bark shelters. But immediate steps were taken to build more substantial dwellings of squared logs. On September 9, 1852, McKay wrote to Douglas: "Lazard and gang have most of the wood on the site for a house 25 x 15 feet and have commenced building. The Indians have brought 1000 pces bark. They cannot raise any more this year as the season is now far advanced." At the same time he noted that the Indians were bringing in "a constant supply of provisions."

A week after announcing the start on house-building McKay was able to record that "the carpenters are now roofing the miners house." As the Muir family and McGregor constituted

(25) *Ibid.*, August 29, 1855. *See also* W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 40–41.

(26) Mark Bate, "Reminiscences of Early Nanaimo Days."

(27) Mark Bate, "Nanaimo's Growth and Prosperity," *Nanaimo Free Press*, April 15, 1924.

the whole force of miners at the time, this dwelling was obviously intended for them.

The building operations went on as steadily as could be expected with the few facilities and meagre force at McKay's command. Douglas kept reminding him that accommodations would be required for the coming of the Fort Rupert miners. The marvel of that first year of Nanaimo's history is how the capable McKay accomplished so much. He was a man of outstanding ability. When the war with Russia broke out in 1854 he was removed from Nanaimo and was sent to Fort Simpson, where his tact, courage, and enterprise were relied upon to prevent the Tsimpshean Indians from falling under Russian influence.

In the spring of 1853 he had to direct the construction of the bastion, the defensive work that still occupies a dominating position on Nanaimo's waterfront. It was completed in June and was largely the handiwork of two French-Canadian axemen, Leon Labine and Jean Ba'tiste Fortier, with a gang of labourers. Proud of their handicraft were these axemen. Mark Bate relates in his reminiscences that Fortier would often offer to wager that he would permit himself to be dragged naked over any piece of timber he had squared without fear of being injured by splinters.

By the time that the bastion was completed, "there were, as the make-up of Colville [*sic*] Town, four dwelling houses 26 x 15 feet, and three 30 x 20, habitable, and filling pieces raised for three more 30 x 20." The armament of the bastion consisted of two 6-lb. carronades, which were sufficiently powerful to overawe the natives, and were useful for firing salutes.[28]

The construction of a big store followed the building of the bastion. It was located facing Commercial Inlet and some 50 yards or more southwest of the block-house, and considerably below it in elevation. The store was surrounded by a high picket fence, with a water-gate where Indians could come to trade. It was fully protected from the bastion, which then stood on higher ground immediately to the west, and across Front Street, from its present site.

Indian intertribal warfare had already disturbed the serenity of the little establishment though no attempt had been made to molest the white men. But during the winter of 1852–53

(28) Mark Bate, *History of the Bastion*, n.d.

a Nanaimo Indian and a Cowichan native murdered Peter Brown, a shepherd, near Christmas Hill, Saanich. Governor Douglas outfitted an expedition and started in pursuit. The Cowichan was apprehended. Arriving at Nanaimo the surrender of the other murderer was demanded from the native chiefs. They sought to protect him, although offering to pay indemnity according to Indian custom. This was refused. The wanted man escaped up a small stream. Sailors, marines, and a posse of miners followed him. The Indian hid in a hollow tree-trunk. It was snowing, and had he remained quiet he might have escaped, for his footprints had been obliterated; but seeing the approach of his pursuers he attempted to shoot one of them. A flake of snow had fallen into the firing-pan of his musket and it dampened the priming charge. He was detected and captured. An hour or so later he was given trial aboard the steamer *Beaver* and was sentenced, with his companion, to death. The sentence was immediately carried out and both were hanged on the point of Protection Island, which is now known as Gallows Point in remembrance of that gruesome occurrence.[29] The little creek where the Nanaimo Indian was taken has ever since been called Chase River. The late Chief Justice Archer Martin stated that the trial aboard the *Beaver* was the first time that a jury was empanelled in British Columbia.

This murder of Peter Brown undoubtedly hastened the construction of the defensive work at Nanaimo, for the condition of the times required means of protection against savage treachery. Prior to the construction of the block-house it was customary to have one or other of the Hudson's Bay vessels always in the harbour acting as a guard-ship, while coaling, as well as a trade-room. It was therefore an economic necessity as well as a protective one to construct the bastion and the store.

Less than a month after his arrival at Nanaimo, McKay reported (September 18, 1852) "a tragical event" had taken place. Chief Tsan-si-si had arrived the previous day with forty Cowichan warriors, professing to be on a friendly visit to the Nanaimoes, but upon quitting the harbour the next morning the

(29) John T. Walbran, *op. cit.* *See also* W. Kaye Lamb, "Four Letters Relating to the Cruise of the *Thetis*, 1852–53," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1942), p. 205.

Cowichans had killed a Nanaimo Indian who had been employed about the mines.

Twelve days later McKay reported: "A Sku-who-mish Indian was murdered at this place eight days ago by a Nanaimo in revenge for three Nanaimoes who were killed by the Sku-who-mish the last winter."

The account given by McKay to Douglas on May 18, 1853, of a killing is characteristic of happenings common in the dangerous times and savage land in which the foundations of the future city were being laid.

> Two young Nanaimoes fired on a Cowichan last Wednesday in revenge for the murder committed on the 29th of last August. The Cowichan escaped with two wounds, not mortal; as this occurrence took place within 50 yards of Mr. Gilmour's house I was under the necessity of chasing the belligrent parties away from the place and warned the Nanaimoes to refrain for the future from carrying on their murderous practises so near the dwellings of the whitemen.

Apparently McKay had no desire to interfere unduly with the private and public feuds of the savages, but he did object to them carrying on their warfare in and about the settlement. Such disturbances slowed down coal production. "The excitement occasioned by this occurrence [the killing of the Nanaimo Indian on September 18] has nearly died away and the coals are coming in this morning as usual."

Early in September McKay reported that the Indians were bringing in a good supply of provisions, but this did not continue, and he was running short of supplies with which to pay the natives by October 22, when he informed his superior:—

> I have limited the number of Indians employed on a/c of want of goods to pay them as owing to their poverty they require to be paid up regularly. Upwards of 20 bbls of salmon have been salted down, potatoes are rather dull. The Nanaimoes do not appear to have a large stock of that vegetable. We have had little or no venison since the last fracas with the Cowechins. I am consequently obliged to indent for some salt provisions. The miners have also expended all their stock of tea and sugar and I have consequently been obliged to supply them with those necessaries from my own stock.

The hard-worked and anxious McKay received but little sympathy from Douglas, who coldly replied that it was, in effect, a case of "feed yourself—or starve":—

> I am glad to hear that you have put up so many salmon, and I would impress upon your mind the great importance of securing as large a stock

of Country provisions as possible, seeing that the stock here is quite inadequate to meet all the demands upon it.[30]

More or less thrown upon their own resources, the Nanaimo people managed to carry on through the winter, gathering what food they might where they could, mining, building, whip-sawing lumber, and laying the foundations for a permanent settlement. The advent of the Fort Rupert miners strengthened the force of workers, but it was the following year that saw the first large influx of population, when the ship *Princess Royal* arrived at Esquimalt, November 27, 1854, with some twenty-two Staffordshire miners and their families, numbering in all some eighty-three persons. Along with the party came George Robinson, who was to take charge of coal-mine operations in place of Boyd Gilmour, who was tired of the country and returned to Scotland upon the expiry of his contract of three years with the company. It was fortunate for Vancouver Island and British Columbia that Gilmour's nephew elected to stay here, for he was Robert Dunsmuir, who in later years made such a contribution to the development of coal-mining and who constructed the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway.

Nanaimo of to-day really dates its historical happenings from the arrival of the *Princess Royal.* Proud, indeed, are families who can claim descent from the fine, sturdy stock that came at that time, and with justice, for they were worthy men and women.

Life in the wilds was new to them, and particularly to the women and children, but they endured it cheerfully.

Describing his own arrival in 1857, the late Mark Bate, in an address to the British Columbia Historical Association, at the Pioneers' Reunion, on May 9, 1924, gave a picture of the still earlier days, when the *Princess Royal* contingent arrived:—

> They told me how roughly the houses were constructed, of the dreary look outside, and cramped space inside; how the chinks between the logs and poles, through which the wind would blow with a shriek of triumph, were plastered up with clay or stuffed with moss; of the interior equipage of benches, boards and bunk-like bedsteads; of the Dutch ovens for baking and cooking; of the drugget rush mats and rugs made in part of dogs' hair by Indians, used for floor covering.

(30) Douglas to McKay, October 27, 1852.

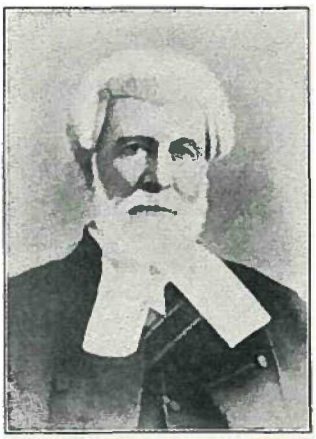
But, he explained, the poverty of material things was not duplicated in the wealth and warmth of the welcome that they gave to the stranger, or the open-handed hospitality with which they greeted him.

The coming of the *Princess Royal* marked the commencement of what may be called the second phase of Nanaimo's history. The community had been firmly established; the mines were well along to becoming famous as continuous producers for the next three-quarters of a century.

Nanaimo had been founded.

B. A. McKELVIE.

VICTORIA, B.C.



John Foster McCreight.

First Premier of the Province of British Columbia.

Amor De Cosmos.

Who succeeded McCreight as Premier in December, 1872.

AMOR DE COSMOS, JOURNALIST AND POLITICIAN.*

The second premier of the Province of British Columbia was Amor De Cosmos, that most colourful figure in our early political history. Born as William Alexander Smith in Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1825, he changed his name by Act of the California Legislature in 1854. His death occurred at Victoria, B.C., in 1897. He never married and his new name died with him.

De Cosmos was a journalist by profession and a politician by temperament. He arrived in Victoria during the hectic days of the gold-rush to Fraser River and on December 11, 1858, issued the first number of the *British Colonist*. He did not approve of the policies of Governor Douglas, whose actions, he claimed, were shrouded in a "wily diplomacy."[1] To him Douglas "was not equal to the occasion." Douglas, on his part, did not greatly approve of De Cosmos. This was natural enough, since temperamentally they were poles apart. The Nova Scotian wished to play the rôle of reformer, inspired perhaps by the precepts and example of Joseph Howe.[2] He became an active opponent of what he termed the Family-Company-Compact, but at first made little headway. Later he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island and supported the Union of 1866. He championed the cause of Confederation and took a prominent part in the memorable debate in the Legislative Coun-

* Based on a paper presented to Section II. of the Royal Society of Canada in May, 1942, at Toronto. As originally written the paper gave more space to De Cosmos's early life and less to his premiership.

(1) *British Colonist*, Vol. I., No. 1, December 11, 1858.

(2) The political relationship of Joseph Howe to Amor De Cosmos has never been fully investigated. In her valuable M.A. thesis on *Amor De Cosmos, A British Columbia Reformer*, accepted by the University of British Columbia in 1931, Margaret Ross (Mrs. William Robbins), having discussed the problem in some detail, draws the following conclusion: "It is difficult to prove by direct reference of De Cosmos that he consciously realized the influence of Howe though in many of his editorials one recognizes marked resemblances between the ideas and language of both." At the time of De Cosmos's death in 1897 the Victoria papers stated that during his early life in Nova Scotia he chose Joseph Howe for his political mentor.

cil of British Columbia in March, 1870. Governor Musgrave did not select him, however, as one of the delegates sent to Ottawa to arrange the terms of Union. De Cosmos sat in the first Legislative Assembly of British Columbia and was also elected to the House of Commons in Ottawa. In 1872 he succeeded John Foster McCreight as premier of British Columbia, but less than two years later, when dual representation was abolished, he preferred Ottawa to Victoria and resigned the premiership. He continued to represent British Columbia at Ottawa until his defeat in the election of 1882. His later years were spent in retirement at Victoria.

In the Archives of British Columbia may be found a brief account of the early life of Amor De Cosmos. It was written by his elder brother, Charles McKeivers Smith, and from it the late Beaumont Boggs, of Victoria, seems to have derived much of the information regarding De Cosmos's early life for his paper "What I remember of Hon. Amor De Cosmos," delivered before the British Columbia Historical Association at its meeting on May 3, 1929.[3] Since so little is known about De Cosmos before his arrival in British Columbia it is well to quote this valuable primary source in full:—

Hon. Amor De Cosmos was born in Windsor Hants County Nova Scotia on the 20th of August 1825. His education began in a private school and from it he passed into the Windsor Academy and during the time he was there made rapid progress in his studies until he was about 14 years of age, when his parents moved to Halifax and took him with them. Shortly after his arrival in that city secured a clerkship in the old and well known wholesale and retail grocery and liquor house of William and Charles Whitham, in whose employ he remained for some ten or eleven years. During that time he attended the grammar school of John S. Thompson, father of the late premier of the Dominion and was also a member of the Dalhousie College Debating Club in which nearly all the political matters of the colony were debated, which doubtless was of great service to him in after years.

When the California gold excitement was at its height in 1851 he like many other men being anxious to better his condition decided to seek his fortune in the Eldorado of the west. On leaving his home at Halifax went to New York and from there crossed the continent to St. Louis on the Missouri River, at that time on the very outskirts of civil[iz]ation. There he joined a party who were leaving for California, but on account of indian troubles and other obstructions on the way were obliged to remain at Salt

(3) For the text of this address *see Fourth Report and Proceedings of the British Columbia Historical Association*, Victoria, 1929, pp. 54–58.

Lake for the winter as they were too late to cross the Sierra Nevada mountains. In the spring of 1853 the party continued their journey on to California, and after some four or five days of slow traveling along the trail, he decided to go on alone, as he had a good horse and could travel much faster than the party he was with. Having provided himself with plenty of food and amunition for his rifle and pistol, he left the train and by fast traveling soon reached the Humbolt Valley and followed the river down until he came to the crossing then following the trail until he came to where it branched off into Northern California. When he reached that point he and his horse were suffering terribly from drinking alkali water, as he was not able to find any other, however he pushed on as rapidly as possible and soon found fresh water which revived him and his [horse] and in a few days he arrived in Placerville Eldorado County in June 1853. Three weeks later the train came there, having his Camera and Daguerreotype stock in it which he brought across the plains. He at once set up his Camera and commenced to take views of mining claims with the owners on them, he being the first in that business it proved a very profitable speculation much better than mining. His sucess in taking views of mining claims induced him to continue the business through all the mining camps in the country from the Yuba River in the north to Jacksonville on the Tuolumne River south near the Mexican boundary line which enabled him to obtain and [*sic*] excellent view of all the mines [in the] great valley and was above a splendid paying speculation as well. On his return from the southern mines [he] settled down in the town of Orville Bute County, and was engaged in mining speculations and business of other kinds up to the time of the Fraser River gold discovery, when he decided to visit Vancouver Island see the country, investigate the gold mines reports and any other matters that might interest him. In order to carry out his desire took passage on board the steamer *Brother Jonathen* and arrived in Victoria on May 16th 1858, w[h]ere he remained for several days, and being satisfied from what he had seen and heard of the country and mines returned to California settled up his business there and came back to Victoria in the latter part of June in which place he made his home up to the time of his death.[4]

Some further particulars of De Cosmos's family and early years were secured by Dr. D. C. Harvey, Archivist of Nova Scotia, in 1933. Dr. Harvey discovered that one of De Cosmos's sisters, Mrs. Peter Hudson Le Noir, was still living in Halifax. She was then in her hundredth year. Writing to Dr. R. L. Reid,

(4) The original narrative bears the stamp: "Library Legislative Assembly Nov. 3 1910 Victoria B.C." It is unsigned, but the hand-writing was identified as that of Charles McKeivers Smith by the late Beaumont Boggs, and a comparison of the writing with that of letters written by Smith in or about 1863 reveals close similarity. Charles McK. Smith died in Victoria on November 24, 1911, aged 88 years.

at whose request the search for information regarding De Cosmos had been made, Dr. Harvey reported as follows:—

I arranged an interview, and though I found her hearing very good she suffers from the usual confusing of ideas, and has a tendency to wander from her brother to her husband and her son, all of whom are dead. I found it very difficult, therefore, to get any definite information, though I went like a reporter with specific questions, and kept repeating my questions at intervals for confirmation.

It seems that the paternal grandfather was Joseph Smith who settled in Newport. I cannot find such a man getting a land grant under the Loyalists, although I found three Joseph Smiths, one of whom first settled at Shelburne. He may have drifted to Newport.

The maternal grandfather was Daniel Weems or Wemyss, apparently a Haligonian. Jesse Smith, son of Joseph, married Charlotte Weems or Wemyss, daughter of Daniel, and they had ten children, Daniel, Charles, William Alexander, Jesse, John, Charlotte, Sarah Louise, Mary Ann, Frances Sophia, and Jessie. Charlotte and William Alexander are the two who went to British Columbia finally. Jesse Smith lived first in Windsor, and then in Halifax. William Alexander went to King's Academy, where he, according to Mrs. Le Noir, was very bright. One day the teacher called his father in and said, "You better take him home; instead of me learning him he's learning me."

Mrs. Le Noir confirmed Boggs' memories that William Alexander worked in a shop in Halifax, and at the same time went to night school and took part in debating. She thought that he just took up photography, and she had no memory of his working with a professional. I quizzed her on his relationship with Howe, and she said he was a great admirer of Howe and tremendously interested in politics, and ready to fight for Howe.[5]

While in California, as has been noted, William Alexander Smith changed his name to Amor De Cosmos. The reason usually given is that he wished to avoid confusion at the post-office. Mr. A. G. Harvey, of Vancouver, B.C., has gone fully into this problem of the change of name and it is only necessary to note that Smith employed three languages to create his new and rather high-sounding appellation.[6]

In June, 1858, De Cosmos returned to Victoria and settled there. He did not at first embark upon a journalistic career and it may be hazarded that he was either "engaged in mining

(5) D. C. Harvey to R. L. Reid, May 9, 1933. Mrs. Le Noir died May 11, 1938.

(6) A. G. Harvey, "How William Alexander Smith became Amor De Cosmos," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXVI. (1935), pp. 274–279.

speculations" or was supporting himself by photography. Unfortunately, there is no evidence on this subject, except by inference from his brother's account. At this time the *Victoria Gazette* had the journalistic field to itself. The *Gazette* was founded in June, 1858, by experienced newspaper-men from California. It had sound financial backing and formed a strong link with California.

According to a statement made by De Cosmos in 1883 he started the *British Colonist* "for amusement during the winter of 1858–9." De Cosmos's rival, David W. Higgins, had claimed that De Cosmos began the *Colonist* as an opposition paper, and the doughty Amor refuted the charge as follows:—

> The statement that the Colonist was started as an opposition paper is strictly untrue. It was started for amusement during the winter of 1858–9; but circumstances afterwards changed it into an established political journal.[7]

It should, however, be remembered that De Cosmos wrote this article soon after he had retired from politics, and that his statements are not altogether borne out by a careful perusal of the early numbers of the *Colonist*. His attacks upon Governor Douglas, as has been noted, began in the first issue of the paper.[8]

At first the *Colonist* had an up-hill fight against the more popular *Gazette*. De Cosmos concentrated on local issues and politics and his opposition to Governor Douglas gave him a certain following, especially when the Governor in April, 1859, tried, unsuccessfully, to suppress the *Colonist*. The *Gazette*, as a rule, avoided discussion of Vancouver Island politics. In July, 1859, the San Juan question came to a head and anti-American feeling waxed strong in Victoria. The *Gazette* felt the effects of this change in public sentiment and in November it suspended publication. This left the field open to De Cosmos and his *Colonist*, and he and his paper may be said to have ruled the journalistic roost relatively undisturbed until D. W. Higgins

(7) *Daily Standard*, August 21, 1883. Reply by Higgins in the *Colonist*, August 22, 1883.

(8) The relations between Douglas and De Cosmos are too well known to be discussed at length. *See* W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, pp. 186, 208–211, 288–289.

(with whom De Cosmos had a lengthy feud) founded the *Chronicle* in 1862.[9]

De Cosmos remained editor and publisher of the *British Colonist* until 1863. During the intervening years he had taken a rather active part in politics. Defeated on a technicality in the elections of 1860, he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island in 1863.[10] When he was running for office in 1863 De Cosmos set forth a comprehensive platform: responsible government, the union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, the transfer of the Crown lands to the colony, free land grants to settlers, investigation into the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to the townsite of Victoria, free non-sectarian education, reciprocity with the United States, the maintenance of the free port of Victoria, increased representation in the Assembly, and new electoral districts.

It may well be questioned why De Cosmos was unable to carry out his programme of reforms. One reason was that the Family-Company-Compact was too strong, and that public feeling was apathetic. Another was that De Cosmos, in spite of his brilliance, lacked the qualities necessary for a real "tribune of the people."

Soon after De Cosmos was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island, Sir James Douglas retired from the gover-

(9) The connection of De Cosmos with the press may be summarized as follows: The Victoria *Colonist*, of which he was editor and proprietor, commenced publication on December 11, 1858. The paper remained under the control of De Cosmos until October, 1863, when he disposed of it to a syndicate composed of members of the staff. His valedictory, which appeared in the issue for October 7, 1863, states that he sold the paper because of ill-health. Nearly seven years later, on June 20, 1870, De Cosmos published the first issue of a new journal, the Victoria *Standard*. The next year he sold a half interest in the paper to T. H. Long, and in July, 1872, sold the other half to his brother, Charles McK. Smith. Smith bought out Long in 1876, and retained control until after De Cosmos had retired from public life. De Cosmos contributed frequently to the *Standard*, but always insisted that he had no part in its ownership or management after 1872. (Data supplied by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, who has devoted considerable study to the early history of printing and the press in British Columbia.)

(10) In 1860 he was defeated by Captain Gordon, whom he termed the "obstructionist candidate." De Cosmos ran in that election as "Smith called De Cosmos," but apparently one voter declared for "De Cosmos" and Gordon was declared to be elected.

norship of both colonies. Separate Governors were appointed, Arthur Edward Kennedy for Vancouver Island and Frederick Seymour for British Columbia. De Cosmos had favoured the union of the two colonies as far back as 1859 and in 1865 championed that cause at the polls.

But the Union of 1866 did not provide the hoped-for solution of the constitutional and financial difficulties of British Columbia. De Cosmos now came forward as a champion of Confederation, and in 1867 introduced into the Legislative Council of British Columbia a resolution requesting Governor Seymour "To take such steps without delay, as may be deemed by him adapted to insure the admission of British Columbia on fair and equitable terms, this Council being confident that in advising this step they are expressing the views of the Colonists generally."[11]

Governor Seymour was half-hearted in his inquiries and delayed till September 24, 1867, the sending of a dispatch in reference to his telegram of March 17 inquiring whether provision could be made in the Bill before the British Parliament for the ultimate admission of British Columbia into the Dominion of Canada. By his policy of delay Seymour shelved the question.[12] By 1868 the Legislative Council was anti-confederationist and an annexation movement had come into existence in British Columbia.

De Cosmos visited Eastern Canada in the summer of 1867, and in August spoke at the Canadian Reform Convention on the twin subjects of Confederation and reform. He advocated the entrance of the Pacific colony into the new Dominion. On his return to Victoria he was chagrined to find that the Confederation movement had been blocked by the masterly inactivity of the Governor. During the winter he kept up the struggle for Confederation by writing letters to the *British Colonist*.

By the spring of 1868 it was evident that the people of British Columbia were strongly supporting Confederation but that Governor Seymour and his officials along with a small group of

(11) *Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia 1867*, New Westminster, 1867, p. 50 (Entry for 18 March, 1867).

(12) *See* F. W. Howay, "The Attitude of Governor Seymour Towards Confederation," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Series, Vol. XIV. (1920), Section II., pp. 31–49.

annexationists opposed it. The Confederationists, however, were not idle. On January 28, 1868, a public meeting in Victoria had drawn up and adopted a lengthy memorial favouring federation with Canada. A copy of this memorial reached Ottawa in March and drew a favourable reply from the Canadian Government. Seymour still pursued his policy of delay, and a majority in the Legislative Council supported the Governor in his opposition to federation. De Cosmos, on April 24, 1868, moved, and Captain Edward Stamp seconded, an address to Queen Victoria favouring Confederation and setting out provisional terms. This motion was lost and an amendment was carried by the official majority which agreed with the general principle of union with Canada but counselled delay.[13] Seymour had apparently won the day.

De Cosmos, however, would not accept defeat. In association with John Robson, Dr. I. W. Powell, Dr. R. W. W. Carrall, J. Spencer Thompson, and others, he carried the fight to the people. A Confederation League was formed in May, 1868, in Victoria and branches were organized on the mainland. In September, 1868, the league held a convention at Yale, which passed resolutions in favour of federation and outlined terms of union. Although denounced by the anti-confederationists of Victoria, the Yale convention did its work well. It was in its way the British Columbia counterpart of the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences.

In November, 1868, an election was held for the " popular " members for Victoria in the Legislative Council. By means of a political trick the Government party and the annexationists won. All residents of Victoria, including aliens, Indians, and Chinese, were permitted to vote. De Cosmos was defeated, but it was a pyrrhic victory.

The Legislative Council on February 17, 1869, again went on record as opposing federation. The resolution was quite definite:—

(13) *Papers on the Union of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada*, p. 13. De Cosmos's address is given in full on pp. 14–15. Judge Howay's comments in " The Attitude of Governor Seymour Towards Confederation " are cogent and to the point. " Seymour was a master of evasion and a purveyor of partial and prejudiced information."

That this Council, impressed with the conviction that under existing circumstances the Confederation of this Colony with the Dominion of Canada would be undesirable, even if practicable, urge Her Majesty's Government not to take any decisive steps toward the present consummation of such Union.[14]

This resolution was the high-water mark of the anti-confederationist cause in British Columbia. Governor Seymour's sudden death in June, 1869, deprived the governmental group of their leader and in spite of their renewed activities in the autumn of that year the annexationists were unable to secure the support of more than a small fraction of the inhabitants of British Columbia.

The new Governor, Anthony Musgrave, was sent to British Columbia to secure the passing of the legislation necessary for the admission of the Pacific Coast colony. Both the British and the Canadian Governments were by now anxious to have the question decided, especially since the proposed cession of the Hudson's Bay territory was expected to remove one of the chief causes for delay. Musgrave did his work well and the Legislative Council which had hitherto opposed federation now swung round to its favour.

Late in 1869, Dr. Davie, one of the elected members of the Council for the Victoria District, died and, in spite of the opposition of the *Colonist,* now controlled by his rival, David W. Higgins, De Cosmos was triumphantly elected to fill the vacancy. He was, therefore, present to take part in the momentous debate on Confederation which occurred in March, 1870.[15] De Cosmos had long been a supporter of union with Canada and in this debate he felt himself free to criticize those officials who had formerly strongly opposed but who now were equally enthusiastic for Confederation. He congratulated the House on its noble work of nation-building, and reiterated his faith in the " grand consolidation of the British Empire in North America." That this faith was of long standing was evident from his statement

(14) *Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, 1869,* Victoria, 1869, p. 43.

(15) The *Government Gazette Extraordinary* of March, 1870, published the full text of this *Debate on the Subject of Confederation with Canada.* The 1912 reprint is, however, now almost as rare as the original. Citations are from the 1912 reprint.

that " From the time he first mastered the institutes of physical and political geography he could see Vancouver Island on the Pacific from his home on the Atlantic." He added the following significant passage:—

> Sir, my political course has been unlike that of most others in this Colony. Allow me to illustrate my meaning by the use of another old adage. My course has been that of 'beating the bush whilst others caught the bird.' My allegiance has been to principle, and the only reward I have asked or sought has been to see sound political principles in operation. Therefore, Sir, I say again that I congratulate you and this Honourable House on the noble work on which we are all engaged.[16]

In concluding his speech De Cosmos stated that he favoured Confederation " provided that the financial terms are right in amount and if the other terms will contribute to the advancement and protection of our industry."[17]

In the later stages of the Confederation debate, John Robson and De Cosmos fought for the inclusion of responsible government in the Terms of Union, but Governor Musgrave and the officials were not ready to accept the proposal. Robson moved

> That a humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor recommending that a Constitution based on the principle of Responsible Government, as existing in the Province of Ontario, may be conferred upon this Colony, coincident with its admission into the Dominion of Canada.[18]

De Cosmos declared in favour of " representative institutions and Responsible Government, irrespective of Confederation " and threatened if responsible government were not included to leave the Council and go to his constituents.

When Governor Musgrave selected the three delegates to be sent to Ottawa from British Columbia to arrange the final Terms of Union he did not include Amor De Cosmos. John Robson was asked to go to Ottawa but refused on account of his newspaper-work. He was then editing the Victoria *British Colonist.* De Cosmos had now re-entered the newspaper field as editor and proprietor of the Victoria *Daily Standard.* Although Robson and De Cosmos were both supporters of Confederation and of responsible government they were by no means friends. Their editorial combats in the Victoria press were no mere shadow-

(16) *Debate on the subject of Confederation with Canada,* Victoria, 1912, p. 31.

(17) *Ibid.,* p. 38.

(18) *Ibid.,* p. 103.

fights. It was a war to the knife between two able and ambitious men.

To Lieutenant-Governor Joseph William Trutch, who succeeded Musgrave, fell the task of choosing the first Provincial ministry of British Columbia. Trutch had been formerly Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the colonial administration and was, therefore, well acquainted with the political situation in the new Province. He chose John Foster McCreight as first Premier of the Province. Neither Amor De Cosmos nor John Robson was included in McCreight's cabinet. In a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald, dated Victoria, B.C., November 21, 1871, Trutch thus comments: "The Newspapers however are rampant because no office has been provided for either of the editors," but adds: "As for the Newspapers if the Govt. want the support of either of them I dare say they can obtain it."[19]

De Cosmos was elected as a member for Victoria District in the first Legislative Assembly of British Columbia. He was also elected as Member of Parliament for Victoria in the first Federal election held after British Columbia became a Province of the Dominion of Canada. At that time dual representation was allowed. It was later to be abolished.

Lieutenant-Governor Trutch was of opinion that the people of British Columbia had "now got the best cabinet that can be formed out of the present House,"[20] but De Cosmos did not agree with him. As early as November, 1871, De Cosmos had exhorted the Liberals of the Province

> To rally round their old leaders—the men who have year after year fought their battles and have in no instance deserted the popular cause. To take any other course is to convict themselves of Treason to manhood, Treason to the Liberal party, that year by year for fourteen years have urged Responsible Government, Union of the Provinces, and Confederation with the Dominion. It is no Treason, no public wrong to ignore the nominees of Governor Trutch.[21]

John Robson and D. W. Higgins, who had been on the whole opposed to McCreight, began in January, 1872, to veer round

(19) Trutch Correspondence, 1871–1879, I., pp. 100–101, in *Macdonald Papers*, Public Archives of Canada.

(20) Trutch to Sir John A. Macdonald, February 20, 1872, in *Macdonald Papers*, Trutch Correspondence, I., 144.

(21) *Daily Standard*, November 21, 1871.

towards the administration. De Cosmos lost no time in attacking the *Colonist* " as chief trumpeter to sound the praises of the Legal Trio who have thoughtfully divided between them the only three Cabinet offices of emolument which Gov. Trutch at present has it in his power to bestow."[22]

The *Colonist* was not slow in answering De Cosmos's challenge. In a long editorial entitled " Party Government and Patriotic Journalism," it upheld the McCreight administration and attacked De Cosmos as " utterly devoid of political principle and consistency." The following extract is illuminating:

To put the whole issue between our local contemporary and ourselves in the plainest light the editor of the former has conceived the idea that he ought to have been selected as the first Premier of the Pacific Province under the new dispensation; and that he has turned upon us, and abuses us and misrepresents us in his usual happy style, because we will not assist in placing him in that position,—accusing us as is his custom, of all sorts of interested motives, he alone being the pattern of unselfish devotion! Although the reasons which have led this journal to take the position of an independent supporter or opposer, as the case may be, of the present Ministry, have already been stated, let us put the case as curtly as possible. It is extremely questionable whether the country would be better satisfied to see Mr. De Cosmos occupying the position of Premier. But, even assuming that it would have preferred him, to make the change *now* would be virtually to postpone all legislation till next winter, and we feel *certain* that the country is not prepared to accept the change at such a price.[23]

De Cosmos lost no time in taking up the *Colonist's* challenge. He claimed that the McCreight ministry were " nominees of the Crown,—almost self-elected,—not the choice of the majority,—not the leaders of the majority,—not appointed after the consent of the majority had been obtained,—and besides were not the men who had been battling for the rights and advancement of the people in any one particular."[24] In another editorial he denounced McCreight and his fellow ministers as having " not one solitary, legitimate claim on the country."

They never spent an hour's toil, never a dollar of their money,—never opposed the enemies of Union, Confederation, Representative Institutions, or Responsible Government. But when the battle was over, the victory won, and the spoil to be divided then they came forward as the purest patriots,

(22) *Ibid.*, January 5, 1872.
(23) *Daily British Colonist*, January 7, 1872.
(24) *Daily Standard*, January 11, 1872.

to greedily devour what better, more honorable, and much more patriotic men produced by years of toilsome labor in behalf of their country.[25]

The *Colonist* retorted with an attack on De Cosmos as the head of the *Meites*. It also pointed out that by seeking and obtaining a seat in the Federal house, when he was already sitting in the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, De Cosmos was thereby depriving the Pacific Province of its full representation at Ottawa. In a spirited editorial on January 26, Robson poured the vials of his wrath on De Cosmos as follows:—

There is one among us who for many years past has been talking patriotism and vaunting self-denial and love of country—the great ME of British Columbian Politics, the great promoter (in his own estimation and for his own ends) of Confederation, one who should be a great warrior for the Dominion. ' Where is he? Of course at Ottawa, or on his way there. Not he! The soldiers, the quiet, modest unprofessing, are all wending their way to the battlefield, or are about to do so; but he, the great De Cosmos, the Falstaff of the Pacific, is waiting here for more *sack!*[26]

When at length De Cosmos did leave for Ottawa in February, 1872, the *Colonist* speeded the departing legislator with a satirical attack entitled " Exit, Humbug ":—

He turns his back upon the Local Legislature ere yet it has been a week in session and before a single public measure has come up! Nay, he runs away at the very moment the tariff question is on the notice-paper—the very question upon which he gained his election and fooled the farmers.[27]

In contrast to the above rather lurid passage may be cited the following statement which appeared in the *Daily Standard* on February 17, 1872, setting forth De Cosmos's reasons for leaving for Ottawa:—

As very important matters will come before the Dominion Parliament in which this province has a deep interest, it was of great moment that Mr. De Cosmos should be early at his post, to make himself thoroughly acquainted with all their details, and thereby be the better prepared to discharge the high and responsible duties devolving upon him.

At Ottawa the last session of the First Parliament of Canada was duly opened on April 11, 1872. Eight new members took their seats, of whom six were from British Columbia. In the record Amor De Cosmos is listed as coming from British Columbia, but the other five as sitting for specific ridings in the new

(25) *Ibid.*, January 16, 1872.
(26) *British Colonist*, January 26, 1872.
(27) *Ibid.*, February 23, 1872.

Province.[28] De Cosmos delivered his maiden speech on April 19, in the debate on the Hon. Joseph Howe's motion that a sum of $45,000 be paid annually for five years to defray the expenses of the Geological Survey of Canada. He praised the work already done in British Columbia, and called attention to the policy adopted in California and Oregon " where men of the highest attainments were engaged in what was termed economic geology, the results being most beneficial, and hoped that in any directions or instructions given to the gentlemen who might be chosen in Canada, they should be asked to attend particularly to that branch."[29] It is probably rather typical of De Cosmos that as early as 1872 he should have already grasped the importance of economic geology.

De Cosmos spoke again three days later in a debate on the protection of agricultural interests. He stated that " the feeling of British Columbia was a unit in favor of the protection of agricultural industry."[30] The fact that British Columbia had accepted the Canadian tariff should not be interpreted to mean that the Pacific Province " was not in favor of protection on agricultural interests." " The farmers of British Columbia," he added, " were comparatively poor and the country rugged and they could not compete with America without protection."

On May 1, 1872, De Cosmos spoke in support of a motion by T. Oliver, M.P. for Oxford North, Ontario, asking for " the correspondence relating to fees charged by American officials on goods and produce passing through the United States in bond."[31] He pointed out that " the question was one in which British Columbia was specially interested, as they imported largely from Great Britain via San Francisco and Panama." He also stated that " the pack trade along the frontier was at times compelled to cross the border, when they had to crave indulgence and assis-

(28) *Parliamentary Debates, Dominion of Canada, Fourth Session,* 34 Victoria, 1872, Ottawa, Robertson, Roger & Co., 1872, col. 5. (According to the Table of Durations and Sessions of the Dominion Parliament in the *Canada Year Book,* this was actually the fifth session and it lasted from April 11 to June 14, 1872.)

(29) *Parliamentary Debates, 1872,* col. 82.

(30) *Ibid.,* col. 129.

(31) *Ibid.,* col. 259.

tance from the Custom House officers, often causing great expense."[32]

In the debates on the Canadian Pacific Railway which took place on May 7 and May 28, 1872, Amor De Cosmos spoke on behalf of Esquimalt and not a port on Burrard Inlet as the terminus of the proposed line. He stated that one of the British Columbian delegates to Ottawa on his return had maintained "that the Pacific Ocean, referred to in the Terms of Union, meant the Pacific above and west of Vancouver's Island."[33] He was strongly opposed by Crowell Wilson, M.P. for East Middlesex, Ontario, who championed the Burrard Inlet route. Hon. H. H. Langevin stated that "the intention of the Government was to go to Esquimalt; but of course if it was impracticable they could not go, and should the railway be carried to Burrard's Inlet, a ferry will be established and a line will be carried to Esquimalt as part of the railway."[34] De Cosmos expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the explanation made.

In the long debate on the Treaty of Washington, the so-called Treaty Bill, which lasted from May 8 to May 16, 1872, Amor De Cosmos took no part, but his colleagues Wallace and Thompson spoke briefly in support of the Government. Wallace stated that the Treaty "gave a free market for the fish and oil, the trade in which was now carried on at a loss" and claimed that "the ratification of the Treaty would open up the maritime trade and produce the most beneficial results."[35] J. S. Thompson, M.P. for Cariboo, on May 16 "thought too much time had already been wasted in discussing the Treaty," but was of opinion that "the Treaty was not all they could expect, but he thought it would be madness to reject it."[36] The second reading of the Bill was passed on May 16 by a vote of 121 to 55. De Cosmos and the other British Columbia members voted for the Government and with the majority.

On June 3, 1872, occurred a sharp debate on the subject of the salaries of Judges and Stipendiary Magistrates in Quebec,

(32) *Ibid.*
(33) *Ibid.*, May 28, 1872, col. 876.
(34) *Ibid.*, col. 879.
(35) *Ibid.*, May 13, 1872, col. 526.
(36) *Ibid.*, col. 642.

Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and British Columbia. Hon. Edward Blake objected to the appointment of six Stipendiary Magistrates for 10,000 people in British Columbia, and especially to their payment by the Dominion Government. Sir John A. Macdonald explained that the Stipendiary Magistrates had been appointed by the British Government and that they performed the functions of County Court Judges. De Cosmos added that these Stipendiary Magistrates acted as Gold Commissioners, ordinary Magistrates, and also as Justices of the Peace, " and that there was a very general feeling throughout the country against non professional men acting as County Court Judges."[37] Macdonald, questioned by Blake, replied that when the Gold Commissioners acted as County Court Judges they were paid by the Dominion. This was in accordance with the Terms of Union, whereby " all these gentlemen must be employed or pensioned at two-thirds salary."[38] David Mills, M.P. for Bothwell, Ontario, objected to " Six Stipendiary Magistrates and three Superior Court Judges to a population of 10,000." Sir John pointed out that the " salaries were the same as before the Union, and were fixed by the Imperial Government." The population, he claimed, " was nearer 60,000 than 10,000."[39] Replying to a charge that since Nova Scotia had no County Courts, their extension to British Columbia had come too soon, De Cosmos stated " that for a long time British Columbia had had County Courts, and the large space of territory and scattered population necessitated the appointment of six stipendiary magistrates."[40] After further debate the resolution passed.

The vexed problem of dual representation occupied much of the attention of the Canadian Parliament during this session. J. Costigan, M.P. (Victoria Co., New Brunswick) on April 23, 1872, introduced a " Bill to compel Members of the Local Parliament when dual representation is not allowed to resign their seats before becoming Members of this House."[41] On May 27 Costigan moved the second reading of the Bill, and F. Geoffrion, M.P. (Vercheres, Quebec) moved in amendment that the Bill

(37) *Ibid.*, June 3, 1872, col. 940.
(38) *Ibid.*
(39) *Ibid.*, col. 941.
(40) *Ibid.*
(41) *Ibid.*, col. 114.

" be read that day three months."[42] In the division which followed Geoffrion's amendment was lost, 65 to 39. De Cosmos voted with the minority. Sir John A. Macdonald did not vote, but when questioned answered much to the amusement of the House that " he had paired with Sir George Cartier," who, incidentally, had voted against the amendment.[43] A lengthy debate on this question took place on June 3, and a wordy battle ensued between Edward Blake, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George Cartier, Alexander MacKenzie, and others as to whether or not Ontario members were affected by the proposed Bill. On division the Bill passed its third reading by a vote of 70 to 36, but Edward Blake reiterated a former statement " that the bill just passed would not prevent Members of the House of Commons from sitting in the Local Legislatures."[44]

De Cosmos, apparently, took no part in the debate and since the final division list is not recorded in the Parliamentary Debates, it is not certain how he voted. It may, however, be inferred that he opposed Costigan's Bill. The Legislature of British Columbia had not yet passed legislation barring its local members from sitting in the House of Commons, but as we have seen, the issue was by no means dead.

The First Parliament of Canada was prorogued on June 14, 1872, and general elections were held during the summer. De Cosmos was re-elected with a reduced majority for Victoria, B.C. He returned from Ottawa in August in time to take part in the election campaign, but spent part of his time campaigning for Hon. Francis Hincks in the Nanaimo riding. Feeling against dual representation was strong in Victoria, and that may account for the reduction in De Cosmos's majority.

The McCreight administration in the meantime had weathered the gales of its first legislative session and all was now fairly quiet on the provincial political front. None the less a storm was brewing. John Robson had withdrawn his allegiance from McCreight and had gone over to the opposition.[45] The

(42) *Ibid.*, col. 808.

(43) *Ibid.*, col. 809.

(44) *Ibid.*, col. 965.

(45) The reasons for Robson's action are discussed in W. N. Sage, " John Foster McCreight, The First Premier of British Columbia," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, XXXIV. (1940), Section II., pp. 179–182.

Legislature was summoned for October 11, 1872, but the date was later changed to December 17. McCreight's government had remained in office not so much on account of its strength but because the opposition had been unwilling to force the issue. But by December, 1872, it was evident that a trial of strength was fast approaching.

The second session of the First Legislature of the Province of British Columbia was duly opened on December 17, 1872. Lieutenant-Governor Joseph W. Trutch in the Speech from the Throne flung down the gauntlet to the opposition in the following paragraph:—

> I congratulate you on the fact, that far from the prognostications of the failure of Responsible Government in this Province, which were indulged in at the time of the Union, having been verified, the administration of public affairs has been in the main satisfactory to the people in general.[46]

The next day two supporters of the McCreight administration, Messrs. Simeon Duck and Barnston, moved in reply to the Address from the Throne a resolution which contained an expression of pleasure that the Lieutenant-Governor had made the above statement regarding the success of responsible government. The opposition was not slow in taking up the challenge. On December 19, Thomas Basil Humphreys moved and Arthur Bunster seconded a substitute motion:—

> Whilst entertaining the fullest confidence in that form of administration known as Responsible Government, still we believe that the administration of public affairs has not been satisfactory to the people in general.[47]

The amendment was carried by one vote, 11 to 10. Two members of the House were absent, Mara and Semlin. If they had been present and had supported McCreight the Government might have been sustained. McCreight resigned on December 20, and Trutch called upon Amor De Cosmos to form an administration.

In this connection it is interesting to quote the following comment by R. E. Gosnell taken from his article on Amor De Cosmos:—[48]

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(46) B.C. Legislature, *Journal*, Vol. II., 1872–3 (Victoria, B.C. 1872), p. 1.

(47) *Ibid.*, p. 8.

(48) "Prime Ministers of B.C. 2. Amor de Cosmos," in *Vancouver Daily Province*, February 15, 1921.

The man who succeeded him [McCreight] was [as] unlike him in temperament, in mental calibre, in moral outlook, in training and accomplishments as any man could very well be. McCreight was direct in action and frankly outspoken. Amor De Cosmos was indirect in action and canny of speech when it came to revealing his true mind. If language was ever given to a man to conceal his thoughts it was certainly given to De Cosmos. If McCreight were challenged or provoked to a fight he would fight—fight after the fashion of an Irish gentleman—but fight to a finish. De Cosmos would suffer physical punishment from an opponent without hitting back, but he would lash out with tongue and pen. His predecessor would impulsively forget and forgive; he never. McCreight was bred in an atmosphere of the public schools of the Old Country and Inns of Court. De Cosmos was educated largely in the School of Hard Knocks. Going early to California and to the Western States and afterward to British Columbia, mingling in a society that was not always too polite about words or actions, he acquired that spirit of worldliness and shrewdness that qualified him for the rough and tumble of politics. McCreight was painfully conscientious and scrupulous. De Cosmos had none of such scrupulosities and his political policies were dictated by considerations which were unmoral if need be.

De Cosmos became Premier and President of the Council with George A. Walkem as Attorney-General, Robert Beaven as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, John Ash as Provincial Secretary, and W. J. Armstrong, Minister without portfolio. In February, 1873, Armstrong became Minister of Finance and Agriculture. Walkem had been a member of the McCreight ministry and criticism arose because he had accepted office under De Cosmos. But McCreight generously stated that Walkem had entered the new ministry with his approval. The De Cosmos government, in spite of the new premier's protests while in opposition, in the main carried out its predecessor's programme. One notable omission from the cabinet was John Robson. But Robson was no friend of De Cosmos and probably had no desire nor ambition to be included in the new ministry.

The now familiar "Island *v.* Mainland" cry had once more been raised, and De Cosmos had attempted to pacify the mainland by selecting two of his ministers from that portion of the Province—Walkem from Cariboo, and Armstrong from New Westminster. But the move was unsuccessful and the new administration laid itself open to the charge of first preaching economy and retrenchment and then later adding a new portfolio.

Two issues which arose in the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia in the early months of 1873 were the tariff and dual representation. According to the Terms of Union British Columbia was allowed to retain her own tariff until the completion of the transcontinental railway, " unless the Legislature of British Columbia should sooner decide to accept the tariff and excise laws of Canada."[49] The Canada Customs Laws' Adoption Act, 1872, passed by the McCreight administration, had adopted the Canadian tariff. There was much opposition in Victoria to this Act and De Cosmos had been outspoken in his criticism. On January 6, 1873, Arthur Bunster complained in the House that the Lieutenant-Governor had solemnly promised that if he (Bunster) would withdraw his candidacy to the House of Commons and allow Sir Francis Hincks to run in his place, Trutch " would have a modified tariff measure introduced by the late Ministry " and he " regretted that the New Ministry had not foreshadowed any scheme for the Modification of the Tariff."[50] Bunster's motion to this effect was lost by a vote of 16–4.[51] Charles A. Semlin on January 10 " asked leave to introduce a Bill to render Members of the House of Commons of *Canada* ineligible as Members of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia."[52] The second reading of this Bill was carried on January 17 by a vote of 13–9; De Cosmos did not vote. The third reading was passed without debate on January 20.[53] The Bill received the Royal Assent on February 21, 1873.[54]

De Cosmos, however, did not resign his seat in Victoria but in March, 1873, left for Ottawa where he was active in his support of the claims of Esquimalt as the railway terminal. In his absence Attorney-General George A. Walkem acted as head of

(49) Terms of Union, Section 7. Printed in Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia from the earliest days to the present*, Clarke, Vancouver, 1914, II., pp. 665–666.

(50) *British Colonist*, January 7, 1873.

(51) *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia*, Session 1872–73, p. 11.

(52) *Ibid.*, p. 18.

(53) *Journals, op. cit.*, pp. 30, 33.

(54) *Ibid.*, p. 78. By 35 Victoria, c. XV. (1872), no member of Parliament could sit in a Provincial Legislature if the laws of the Province forbade it. (*Statutes of Canada* 1872, pp. 44–45.)

the administration. It was now evident that De Cosmos was beginning to lose his influence in British Columbia, but he was still able to command respect. This was shown when he was empowered to negotiate with both the Dominion and British Governments regarding the proposed graving dock at Esquimalt. The fall of the Macdonald ministry as a result of the Pacific Scandal and the rather stiff attitude of Alexander Mackenzie towards the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway impeded the negotiations at Ottawa. In London De Cosmos managed to secure a small loan.[55]

The third session of the First Parliament of the Province of British Columbia opened on December 18, 1873. De Cosmos was still Premier, but the sands in his political hour-glass were fast running out. The Speech from the Throne alluded to the difficulties over the railway clause and graving dock, but stated that the Dominion Government had " agreed to submit a measure to Parliament to carry out the proposal to advance £50,000 in lieu of the guarantee."[56] A political controversy ensued both inside and outside of the Legislature, and De Cosmos had to face strong opposition.

On February 9, 1874, De Cosmos and Bunster, both of whom had been successful in the elections of January 22 to the House of Commons, resigned their seats in the local Legislature.[57] George A. Walkem became Premier and asked the other ministers of state to remain in office. De Cosmos had now taken the irrevocable step. His political career in British Columbia was over. He had none the less to face an investigation by a Royal Commission regarding certain proceedings in connection with pre-emptions of land on Texada Island in which he was involved as well as members of his former government. The commission in its report in October, 1874, found that " while circumstances apparently suspicious attended the preëmptions on Texada Island in August 1873, yet there was not sufficient ground to believe that any member of the late [De Cosmos] or

(55) Section 12 of the Terms of Union dealt with the question of the graving dock.

(56) *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia,* Session 1873–74, pp. 1–2.

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

present [Walkem] Government, either by himself or in unlawful or dishonourable combination with any other person, had attempted to acquire the iron of Texada in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the public."[58]

De Cosmos remained a member of the House of Commons until 1882. He protested against the non-fulfilment of the railway terms. He championed the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, the so-called "island section" of the Canadian Pacific. After his return to power in 1878 on the defeat of the Mackenzie administration, Sir John A. Macdonald seemed to favour Burrard Inlet as the terminus of the railway. The Walkem government objected, and in 1880 sent De Cosmos on a rather futile mission to London to lay the Provincial case at the foot of the throne.

In Ottawa De Cosmos also spoke strongly in favour of the expulsion and restriction of Chinese from British Columbia. Arthur Bunster supported him, but their stand that no Chinese should be employed in railway construction in British Columbia met with no support in the House of Commons.

De Cosmos's last speech in the Parliament of Canada was in favour of the right of the Dominion to negotiate her own trade treaties:—

> I am one of those who believe that this country should have the right to negotiate its commercial treaties. I go a step farther, I believe this country should have the right to negotiate every treaty. The tendency of this resolution is, as the right hon. the First Minister pointed out, in the direction of independence. I see no reason why the people of Canada should not look forward to Canada becoming a sovereign and independent State. The right hon. gentleman stated that he was born a British subject and hoped to die one. Sir I was born a British colonist, but do not wish to die a tadpole British colonist. I do not wish to die without having all the rights, privileges and immunities of the citizen of a nation.[59]

In the general election of 1882 Amor De Cosmos was defeated. His speech of April 21 had not endeared him to the Imperialists of Victoria. He became known ironically as the

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(58) Howay and Scholefield, *op. cit.*, II., p. 337. *See* "Papers relating to the appointment and proceedings of the Royal Commission for instituting enquiries into the acquisition of Texada Island" (38 Vict. 1874) in *Sessional Papers of British Columbia*, 1875, pp. 181–246.

(59) *Debates, Canadian House of Commons, 1882*, Ottawa, 1882, col. 1084 (April 21, 1882).

"nation-maker." After his defeat De Cosmos retired from politics and lived quietly in Victoria, making his home with his brother, Charles McK. Smith, editor of the *Daily Standard*. As he grew older his eccentricities increased, and before his death his mind seems to have been somewhat affected. He died on July 4, 1897.[60]

Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, who knew De Cosmos well, has thus described the young political journalist as he first remembered him:—

I first met him in 1860—a tallish, handsome man, pale complexion, dark hair combed back, regular features, set off by a sufficient, shapely nose, addicted to a frock-coat, top hat and big-handled stick hung on the forearm, and not used in locomotion—relic, perhaps, of a western editor's equipment —such was the man to the eye. He was wide minded, yet methodical, laborious, and a master of details. A great reader, chiefly but not exclusively, in the line of history and politics; he made no parade in general conversation of what he knew, only by some incidental allusion would you become aware of his familiarity with the writings of Shakespeare and Scott. Few ascribed to him humor, but, in reality he had a pretty good, though perhaps rather limited, sense of it. . . .

From a certain reticence, interrogative habit, and occasional irregularities of thought and aim, I should judge that Mr. De Cosmos was, largely, a self-educated man; indeed, he was educating himself all the time with good results, for he was observant, with an active principle of growth in his nature. As a public speaker he was confident and clear but did not stir the audience; the share of humor which he possessed did not appear in his speeches, nor has his newspaper writing much literary grace, notwithstanding his own appreciation of good literature. . . .

From after talk with Mr. De Cosmos, when our intimacy permitted candor, I am inclined to think his was the case of an impulsive man in search of a career, on a larger field than the Pacific seaboard colonies then presented, which career he strove to prosecute by ways that entailed, on the

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(60) The inscription on De Cosmos's tombstone in Ross Bay Cemetery, Victoria, reads as follows:—

IN MEMORY OF THE
HON. AMOR De COSMOS
WHO DIED AT VICTORIA B.C.
JULY 4th 1897, AGED 72 YEARS
LESS 1 MONTH AND 16 DAYS
A NATIVE OF WINDSOR
HANTS COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

A FAITHFUL SERVANT OF THE
PEOPLE, NOW AT REST.

public, certain present sacrifices and risks. It appeared to me that he had from the first mapped for himself a policy and career, which he advocated and followed with persistence, in the firm belief that, ultimately, the public would benefit as much as he, personally, would or might benefit. The East and West were to be one politically, and he hailing from the West was to be a political figure in the East. Like Sir James Douglas, whom he constantly assailed, and like Mr. Alfred Waddington, with whom he found it easier to act, Mr. De Cosmos was in relation to the eastern colonies, what might be termed a Pacific seaboard 'Confederationist,' though Confederation was not yet a practical question either in the East or the West. Already, too, in conception he was a Canadian 'Nationalist,' favoring, nevertheless, a connection of some sort with the Empire. The nature of the connection, he thought, could not be worked out without the prerequisite of Canada's independence; hence his after nickname of 'nation maker.'[61]

Sproat was of opinion that "the best of Mr. De Cosmos . . . was not on the surface." He was "more impulsive than wary" and was unable "to establish an equilibrium between his impulses and the control which they needed." This lack of self-control militated against his political success and probably also against his powers as a journalist. He was rather too aloof, too much a "mystery man," possibly just a bit introverted, to become a great "tribune of the people." None the less as premier he "approved himself as an unpretentious, most laborious, just and business-like official."[62]

Such was Amor De Cosmos, a figure of note in the history of British Columbia. In his early days he championed reform and fought Douglas and the Family-Company-Compact. Later he strove for responsible government and for Confederation. Sproat considered that the most notable portion of his political career was after the Union of British Columbia with Canada. Unfortunately, his idiosyncracies and mannerisms, and possibly too his political inconsistencies, militated against his success. He was a British North American and as such he represented in Victoria a Canadian rather than an English point of view. At Ottawa he was a Canadian from the Pacific Coast. Taken all in all, Amor De Cosmos was a notable figure who deserves more recognition than he has heretofore received.

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(61) "Amor De Cosmos, a singular figure in B.C. Politics," Victoria *Daily Times*, January 19, 1906.

(62) *Ibid.*

THE APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR BLANSHARD.*

Much of interest has been added in recent years to our knowledge of the old Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. In part this has been the result of a careful re-examination of records long preserved in the Provincial Archives. Other details have come from new acquisitions in the manuscript collection, and in particular from papers that belonged originally to James Douglas or John Sebastian Helmcken. Finally, the courtesy of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company has made it possible, for the first time, to lay under tribute the immense store of documents in the archives of the Company. Although further searching for and through old records must still be done before a definitive account of the Colony can be written, many aspects of its history have now been fairly thoroughly explored. Amongst them is the official career of the first Governor, Richard Blanshard. Ridicule has been heaped upon his brief and uncomfortable tenure of office, and it is usual to assume that Blanshard himself was insignificant. But even if this were true, the fact remains that the reading of his commission marked the commencement of formal British rule in Western America—a circumstance which makes his arrival an event of constitutional and historical importance.

The establishment of a British colony on the Pacific Coast was a direct result of the Oregon Boundary settlement of June, 1846. The Hudson's Bay Company, which had seen American settlers overrun Oregon, feared that they might likewise pour into the country north of 49° unless some counter settlement were started by the British. In September, 1846, Sir John Pelly, Governor of the Company, made a preliminary inquiry regarding the advisability of the Company acting as the colonizing agency. The reaction thereto of Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, was significant.

* The first of a series of three or four short articles that will describe in detail Blanshard's life and career. The second article will appear in an early issue.

This is a very difficult and important quest[io]n. Looking to the encroaching spirit of the U.S. I think it is of importance to strengthen the B[ritis]h hold upon the territory now assigned to us by treaty by encouraging the settlement upon it of B[ri]t[is]h subjects; & I am also of opin[io]n that such settlement c[oul]d only be advantageously effected under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Co. wh[ich]. I am therefore disposed to encourage.[1]

From the outset it thus became apparent that the Government, fully aware of the necessity for colonization, was favourably disposed towards the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus encouraged, the Company in March, 1847, informed Grey that it was " ready to receive a grant of all the territories belonging to the Crown which are situated to the north and west of Rupert's Land."[2] This sweeping proposal was quite impracticable, owing to the state of political opinion, which, in spite of the attitude of the Colonial Secretary, was none too friendly to the Hudson's Bay Company. It was therefore whittled down in subsequent correspondence, and by March, 1848, the Company expressed its willingness to have the grant " limited to the territory north of 49°, bounded on the east by the Rocky Mountains, or even to Vancouver's Island alone."[3] Grey was of the opinion that " in the first instance " it should in fact be limited to the Island, and discussions regarding terms and conditions commenced upon that assumption.[4]

Negotiations did not proceed this far without arousing opposition. Some opposed any grant to the Company on principle. Others had rival schemes of settlement to offer. Of the latter, the most vocal was one James Edward Fitzgerald, who in June, 1847, submitted to the Colonial Office a detailed colonization plan to be carried out by a joint-stock company. Later Fitzgerald's interest shifted to the coal deposits on Vancouver Island, and he discussed with Pelly the possibility of forming a company to work the mines, on terms agreeable to the Hudson's Bay Company. According to Fitzgerald, Pelly actually offered him a grant of the mines, terms to be arranged. In the late spring of 1848,

(1) *Minute* on Pelly to Grey, September 7, 1846; original in Public Record Office, London (hereafter cited as P.R.O.).

(2) Pelly to Grey, March 5, 1847, in *Correspondence . . . relative to the Colonization of Vancouver's Island,* London, 1848, p. 9.

(3) Pelly to Grey, March 4, 1848. *Ibid.,* p. 11.

(4) Hawes to Pelly, March 13, 1848. *Ibid.,* p. 13.

however, word reached London that Sir George Simpson, senior official of the Company in North America, had already entered into an arrangement by which the Company itself would work the mines and supply coal for the steamers of the new Pacific Mail Steamship Company.[5] Infuriated by this news, Fitzgerald launched a vigorous attack upon the Hudson's Bay Company and all its works, declaring roundly that the Company was seeking the grant in order to prevent rather than to encourage the founding of a strong colony. In 1849 he embodied his criticisms in a book entitled *An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with Reference to the Grant of Vancouver's Island.*[6]

As this title implies, the Company meantime had received the grant of the Island. Most of the details had been settled by September, 1848, and the formal grant itself was made by Proclamation in January, 1849. Vancouver Island was handed over to the Hudson's Bay Company, upon condition that a settlement was established there. Even at this late date it is difficult to see what other course the Colonial Office could have pursued, assuming that the Government itself was not prepared to sponsor the colony. The year 1848 was a year of unrest and revolution. The financial world was much upset. Even Fitzgerald himself admitted it would be most difficult to raise capital, and it seems clear that he was proposing a counter scheme which he would have been incapable of carrying into effect. It is significant that one of Pelly's letters bears a minute in Grey's handwriting stating that there was " no probability of the capital required to begin being raised unless by the Co's assistance . . ."[7] Moreover, the Hudson's Bay Company had an unrivalled first-hand knowledge of the country, for it had been trading on or around Vancouver Island for almost thirty years. Finally, the Company already possessed an exclusive right to trade with the Indians which would not expire until 1859. To extend its rights,

(5) *See* John Haskell Kemble (*ed.*), " Coal from the Northwest Coast, 1848–1850," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 123–130.

(6) *See* the letters and documents relating to Fitzgerald's proposals printed in the *Report of the Provincial Archives Department . . . 1913*, Victoria, 1914, pp. V 54–V 68.

(7) *Minute*, June 29, 1848, on Pelly to Grey, March 4, 1848. C.O. 305/1; P.R.O.

rather than to require it to share control of the Island with another authority, seemed a sensible course to pursue.

Although the sale of lands and many other public matters were to be managed by the Hudson's Bay Company, the new colony was to have its own government as well. This was to consist of a Governor, an appointed Legislative Council, and—when conditions warranted—an elected House of Assembly. But it is significant to find that Lord Grey was willing to leave the selection of the governor to the Company,[8] and that the Company in turn had chosen its candidate several months before the grant of the Island was actually made. The choice fell upon James Douglas, one of the three Chief Factors who composed the far-western Board of Management, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver. To do the Company justice, it seems clear that this appointment was not suggested by purely selfish motives. It realized that for a time at least the revenue of the colony would be extremely small, and considered that it would be wise therefore to recommend as governor some one who had an adequate income from another source. It is apparent, moveover, that the Company expected the appointment to be neither popular nor permanent.

The correspondence bearing upon the matter is interesting. "We shall have the nomination of the Governor," Pelly wrote to Simpson on September 8, 1848, "and I contemplate placing Douglas in that situation temporarily, but his allowce must be small—what should you think—[£]150 or 200 a year."[9] The same day the Governor and Committee dealt with the matter at greater length in a dispatch to the members of the Board of Management at Fort Vancouver, which then consisted of Peter Skene Ogden, John Work, and James Douglas. It will be observed that the appointment of Douglas, and his transfer to Vancouver Island, were to be associated with a partial transfer of the Com-

(8) "As the power of the Gov wd be restrained by an Ass^ly^ representg the inhabitants I can see no danger in allowing the Company to select him . . ." *Minute* by Grey, on Pelly to Grey, March 4, 1848, in C.O. 305/1; P.R.O.

(9) Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as H.B.C. Arch.), D5/22. This and all other quotations from documents in the Archives of the Company are printed by kind permission of the Governor and Committee.

pany's district administration from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria. The paragraph reads:—

> We think it necessary that a Member of the Board of Management should in future reside permanently at Fort Victoria, and it appears to us that Mr. Douglas can be better spared from Fort Vancouver than Mr. Ogden. We shall forward to Mr. Douglas a Government Commission, to act as Governor of Vancouver's Island *pro tempore*. We say pro tempore because it is not improbable that those persons, who may settle on the Island may not be content that a Gentleman, having so deep an interest in the Fur Trade, should hold the situation of Governor of a Colony, which is to be free and independent.[10]

On September 13, Pelly wrote to Grey and formally recommended Douglas for the governorship. Once again he stressed the point that he did " not propose this as a permanent appointment, but merely as a temporary expedient, until the colony can afford to pay a Governor unconnected with the Hudson's Bay Company."[11] In reply he was assured that Grey saw " no objection to the appointment of the chief factor of the Company as a temporary arrangement . . ."[12] Pelly thereupon wrote once again to Simpson, on September 29:—

> I have recommended Douglas as Governor pro tem: and I expect he will be appointed, you must therefore find means to spare him, whatever salary will be given him will be from the Colony, the Fur trade will not have to pay it.[13]

The dispatch to Fort Vancouver reached its destination early in 1849. Douglas's reaction to the news of his pending appointment was anything but favourable. The slight implied in the remark that he could be " better spared from Fort Vancouver " than Ogden evidently stung him to the quick, and in March he poured out his resentment in a private letter to Simpson:—

> Pray what does the appointment of " Governor of Vancouver's Island pro tempore " imply, does it mean that I am to be thrown aside like a cast off garment, when the heat and toil of the day is over? if so, I am not ambitious of such honours, nor do I think them a proper reward for thirty

(10) H.B.C. Arch., A 6/27.

(11) *Copies and Extracts of Despatches and other Papers relating to Vancouver's Island*, London, 1849, p. 18. A minute by Merivale on the original letter (C.O. 305/1 in P.R.O.) dated September 15, 1848, states that the governor's commission was then already in draft.

(12) Hawes to Pelly, September 27, 1848. *Ibid.*

(13) H.B.C. Arch., D 5/22.

years of incessant toil, borne without a murmur, and with a devotion of body and mind deserving of a better fate.[14]

Precisely what happened thereafter is not clear, as a number of papers relating to the matter have not been found. Apparently Simpson himself had written to Douglas on January 29, 1849, mentioning that a salary of £300 per annum would be attached to the post of governor,[15] and a statement made some years later implies that Douglas was actually appointed Governor *pro tem.* on May 12.[16] In any event, Peter Skene Ogden remarked, in a letter to Simpson written from Fort Vancouver in June, that " On 17th May the new Governor pro tem for Victoria took his departure."[17] Travelling by easy stages and attending to various Company matters by the way, Douglas did not reach Vancouver Island until the first days of June.

Meanwhile opposition to the grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company had increased sharply in England. It culminated in a speech delivered in the Commons on June 19, 1849, by the Earl of Lincoln (later Duke of Newcastle) which lasted four and a half hours. At the end of that time the House was counted out, but there was no denying that the attack had been both able and effective. In such a hostile atmosphere the Company realized that to appoint Douglas would simply be to add fuel to the flames, and it decided to look elsewhere for a governor.[18] Contrary to the general view, this decision was not a result of Lincoln's speech, for the minutes of the Governor and Committee show that it was on June 13, six days before the debate, that it was " Resolved that Richard Blanshard Esq. be recommended to Earl Grey Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to be appointed Govr of Vancouver Island."[19] Moreover, the Colonial Secretary had already held his

(14) *Ibid.*, D 5/24.

(15) *See ibid.*, A 6/29; Archibald Barclay to Simpson, October 29, 1852.

(16) *See ibid.*, A 6/30; Barclay to Douglas, February 3, 1854.

(17) *Ibid.*, D 5/23; Ogden to Simpson, June 18, 1849.

(18) " It was proposed to appoint you Governor pro tempore, of the Island, but you will see by the Public Press, from the jealousy of some parties, and the interested motives of others, how next to impossible it would have been to give you the situation." Pelly to Douglas, August 4, 1849. (Original in Provincial Archives.)

(19) H.B.C. Arch., A 1/66.

first interview with the prospective Governor, for Pelly, writing to Grey on June 15, makes reference to an interview held the previous Thursday at which he had introduced Blanshard, whom the Committee of the Company were going to recommend for the position of Governor of Vancouver Island.[20] The recommendation was accepted, and Blanshard received his commission on July 16, 1849.

It is evident that the Company regretted the substitution of Blanshard for Douglas, but there is little to suggest that it was either angry or resentful. As we have seen, it was expected that a demand would arise for a governor unconnected with the fur trade. All that happened was that this demand appeared much sooner than was anticipated.

This view of the matter is borne out by the letters which passed between various officers of the Company at the time. In September, 1849, for example, Pelly wrote in a private letter to Simpson as follows:—

> With respect to the appointment of Mr. Blanshard to the Governorship of Vancouver's Island, it was with my entire concurrence, indeed recommendation. It wrests from those adverse to the Company the charge of making the Colony subservient to their views alone, and retaining in their hands the power of tyranizing over the settlers, which the ill disposed are too ready to charge them with.[21]

In December, Eden Colville, falling at that early date into the error of ascribing the change to Lincoln, had this to say:—

> I suppose the effect of Lincoln's motion was the appointment of Gov. Blanshard in the room of Mr. Douglas, which I am very sorry for, as I think that from his experience in the country, and the interest he took in the colony he would have conducted the affairs thereof fully as well as a perfect stranger. Be that as it may I suppose there was no alternative left to you but to appoint a person unconnected with the Company & we must try to make the best of it.[22]

Douglas was notified promptly of the change in plans by Archibald Barclay, Secretary to the Governor and Committee, to whom he replied with typical frankness:—

> Having accepted the appointment of Governor of Vancouvers Island only in obedience to the wishes of the Governor and Committee, without any desire, on my part, to possess that responsible office, I shall in obedience to the same

(20) Pelly to Grey, June 15, 1849. *Ibid.*, A 8/4.
(21) Pelly to Simpson, September 7, 1849 (private). *Ibid.*, D 5/26.
(22) Eden Colville to Simpson, December 7, 1849. *Ibid.*

authority and with even greater alacrity, resign my office to Governor Blanshard on his arrival. In making these remarks I, of course, understand that the new appointment emanated entirely from the Crown, and that their Honours, have not withdrawn from me, any part of the confidence, with which I have been hitherto so much honored.[23]

Any doubt he may have felt in this regard must have vanished when he received a second letter from Barclay informing him that he had been " appointed Agent to the Company for all matters relating to the territory of Vancouver's Island . . ." For Barclay took pains to point out that the duties of the governor would be " confined to the administration of the civil government of the colony and to military affairs;"[24] and it was obvious that the Company expected the office of Agent to be an influential one.

At this point two questions naturally come to mind: Who was Richard Blanshard, and why was he appointed Governor?

Relatively little is known about his early life. Blanshard was born on October 19, 1817, the son of Thomas Henry Blanshard, a well-to-do London merchant.[25] He matriculated at Christ Church on October 22, 1835, received the degree of B.A. at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1840, and that of M.A. in 1844. Meanwhile, in 1839, he had been admitted as a student of Lincoln's Inn, and he was called to the bar on November 22, 1844, at the age of 27.[26]

Contrary to the usual story,[27] there is no evidence that Blanshard had held any previous appointments under the Colonial Office. This belief appears to be based upon a misinterpretation of his replies to two questions put to him by J. A. Roebuck in 1857, in the course of the well-known parliamentary investigation into the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. The official record reads as follows:—

(23) Douglas to Barclay, December 10, 1849. *Ibid.*, A 11/51.

(24) Barclay to Douglas, August 3, 1849. Provincial Archives.

(25) *Lymington and South Hants Chronicle*, June 14, 1894.

(26) From notes in the Provincial Archives based upon Joseph Foster, *Men-at-the-Bar; Alumni Oxonienses*, the admission register of Lincoln's Inn, and other sources.

(27) For example, *see* E. O. S. Scholefield, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, I., p. 512.

What previous knowledge had you of colonisation or colonial government?—I had been in one or two of the West India islands; I had been in British Honduras, and I had been in India.

And upon the ground of the experience which you there gained, you thought that you could make a good Governor of Vancouver's Island?—I saw no reason to believe the contrary.[28]

It will be noted that Blanshard claimed no more than that he had *been in* the colonies mentioned, and there is no indication that he visited them other than as an ordinary traveller. The records of the Colonial Office offer no clues whatever as to the reasons for his selection—no letter of application, no testimonials of any sort, are to be found. The entire absence of any material makes it impossible to accept the suggestion that he had had previous experience in the colonial service, for had such been the case it is reasonable to assume that some mention of it would have been made by the Colonial Office officials. Curiously enough the records of the Hudson's Bay Company throw no further light on the reasons for the Company's selection of him as Governor. In contemporary references he is referred to almost invariably simply as a barrister. When writing to Douglas, Archibald Barclay characterized him still more vaguely as "a gentleman of great intelligence and respectability . . . "[29]

One change of importance was made with respect to the governorship between the time Douglas's name was put forward and Blanshard was appointed. Pelly, writing to Simpson, had proposed a small allowance to the holder of the office and had suggested £150 or £200 a year.[30] It was understood that this would be paid out of the moneys received from the sale of lands. Later, however, it was decided that the Governor should receive no salary until such time as the expense could be met by taxation and royalities on coal. Basing his conclusions very largely upon this fact, the historian Bancroft explained Blanshard's appointment in the following terms:—

If they [the officials of the Company] could not have Douglas, if some noodle was required for a figure-head—for they knew that no very able or sensible man would assume the office under the circumstances—they could easily, even under the cloak of courteous consideration, make it so uncom-

(28) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company . . .* London, 1857, p. 289.

(29) Barclay to Douglas, August 3, 1849. Provincial Archives.

(30) H.B.C. Arch., D 5/22.

fortable for him that he would not long remain. So, when the name of Richard Blanshard was suggested by Earl Grey, never having heard ill of him, never having heard of him at all, Sir John Pelly offered no objection. The friends of his lordship's friends knew him, and that was sufficient.[31]

Bancroft's account is amusing, and it is important because it is the accepted version. But it would appear to be contrary to the facts. To begin with, Pelly told Simpson quite definitely that Blanshard had been appointed upon his recommendation.[32] To end with, Blanshard explained his acceptance of the office quite candidly to the Select Committee in 1857. He expected that funds to pay a salary would soon be available, that in the meantime he would receive a thousand acres of land, and that this first appointment, though a modest one, might lead on to a career in the Colonial service. The two questions and answers in the evidence which bear upon the matter read:—

Do you mean that you accepted the governorship of this colony, with the understanding that you were to get nothing whatever for your services in that respect?—Nothing at the first beginning. I was certainly led to believe that colonial settlers would flock out there; that all facilities would be given to them; and that of course as the colony increased a civil list would be formed; that the land sales and the royalties on the coal would produce a considerable colonial revenue.

And those expectations, with the grant of 1,000 acres of land, to be selected by yourself, were your inducements for going to the colony?—Just so, and moreover I also hoped that my services would be considered by Her Majesty's Government afterwards.[33]

So it came about that Richard Blanshard, a well educated and travelled young barrister of 31, became the first Governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island.[34]

(31) H. H. Bancroft, *History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, p. 265.

(32) H.B.C. Arch., D 5/26; Pelly to Simpson, September 7, 1849 (private).

(33) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 288.

(34) Copies of most of the important records relative to Blanshard's appointment are in the Provincial Archives. The "Warrant to prepare Letters Patent under the Great Seal for appointing Richard Blanshard, Esq., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Vancouver and its Dependencies" is dated July 9, 1849. His Commission and Instructions are both dated July 16. The Letters Patent appointing him Vice-Admiral are dated September 24, but the Warrant to use the Public Seal of the new colony was not issued until June 28, 1850.

Blanshard was scheduled to leave England in September, 1849, in the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's regular West Indian mail steamer,[35] presumably the *Avon,* which left Southampton on the 17th, with seventy passengers and a full cargo.[36] The Admiralty had agreed to instruct Read-Admiral Hornby, Commander-in-Chief on the Pacific Station, to arrange if possible to have a ship at Panama to convey Blanshard to Vancouver Island.[37] But means of communication were slow and uncertain, and there was no vessel there when Blanshard arrived on November 28. After waiting a month, Blanshard reported briefly to the Colonial Office and wrote to Rear-Admiral Hornby.[38] Eventually he was picked up by H.M.S. *Driver,* Captain Charles R. Johnson, a small steam sloop of 1,056 tons. By that time Blanshard must have been very weary indeed, for the *Driver* did not reach Victoria, Vancouver Island, until March, 1850.

An extract copied many years ago from the Fort Victoria Journal records Blanshard's arrival as follows:—

Saturday, March 9, 1850.

. . . At noon a boat having an English flag flying entered the harbor and anchored at Ogden point, which proved to be H.M.S. Sloop (steam) *Driver* Capt. Johnson. Governor Blanshard of this Island was on board and will take up residence here.[39]

Blanshard himself states that he arrived on March 10; but both he and the fort journal agree that he landed and read his commission on Monday, March 11.[40]

The ceremony was made as formal and impressive as the rudeness of the surroundings would permit. Blanshard landed under a salute of seventeen guns from the *Driver,* which was answered from the bastion of Fort Victoria. The officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, Captain Johnson, and all the British residents assembled, and in their presence Blanshard read his commission, thereby bringing into being the

(35) W. A. B. Hamilton to B. Hawes, August 9, 1849. C.O. 305, v. 2, pp. 131–2; transcript in Provincial Archives.

(36) *The Times,* London, September 18, 1849.

(37) W. A. B. Hamilton to B. Hawes, August 9, 1849. C.O. 305, v. 2, pp. 131–2; transcript in Provincial Archives.

(38) Blanshard to Grey, December 26, 1849. Provincial Archives.

(39) Notes in the possession of W. Kaye Lamb.

(40) Blanshard to Grey, April 8, 1850.

Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. The scene was a wintry one, for Blanshard recalled in later years that there was about a foot of snow on the ground.[41]

Chief Factor James Douglas was, of course, amongst those present. The contrast between the Factor and the Governor must have been striking. In March, 1850, Douglas was 46 years of age, and had spent more than thirty years in the fur trade. Only Peter Skene Ogden could rival him in prestige and experience in all the West. He had been nine months at Fort Victoria, and in his methodical way had made himself familiar with every detail of the affairs of Vancouver Island. Blanshard, by contrast, was only 32, and by comparison a babe in arms in the wilderness. Yet Douglas's first impressions of the Governor were kindly and not unfavourable. On March 18 he wrote to his old friend A. C. Anderson.

> Mr. Blanshard has neither Secretary nor Troops, being accompanied by a single body servant. I have not had time to become acquainted, but I may say that his quiet gentlemanly manner, is prepossessing.
>
> He has not yet entered upon his Executive duties, further than reading his commission to the assembled states of the Colony.[42]

Two days later Douglas penned a parallel impression in a private letter to Sir George Simpson:—

> I am pleased with Mr. Blanshard the Governor, his quiet gentlemanly manner is prepossessing. We received him on landing with a salute of 17 Guns; he is rather startled by the wild aspect of the country, but will get used to it in time.[43]

Circumstances now brought Blanshard under the gaze of another interested observer. The *Driver* happened to arrive at a moment when Fort Victoria and the infant colony were badly in need of a shipment of cattle and sheep from Nisqually. Captain Johnson, in Douglas's words, " tendered his services for our relief " in a " handsome manner . . . beyond all praise," and undertook to transport the animals in the *Driver*.[44] Blanshard accompanied the ship. At this time Dr. William Fraser Tolmie was still in charge of the Nisqually farms, and on March 25 he

(41) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 294.

(42) Douglas to Anderson, March 18, 1850. Provincial Archives.

(43) H.B.C. Arch., D 5/27; Douglas to Simpson, March 20, 1850.

(44) Douglas to Tolmie, March 13, 1850; *see also* Douglas to Tolmie, March 17, 1850. Provincial Archives.

included a lively thumb-nail sketch of Blanshard in a letter to Simpson:—

> Mr. Blanshard the Governor of Vancouver's Island came passage in the *Driver* and spent three days here. He is a tall, thin person, with a pale intellectual countenance—is a great smoker, a great sportsman, a protectionist in politics and a latitudinarian in religious matters. His manner is quiet, and rather abstracted, and tho' free from hauteur, or pomposity, he does not converse much.[45]

On March 24, 1850, the Hudson's Bay annual supply ship *Norman Morison* arrived at Esquimalt from England. Amongst those on board was a 25-year-old surgeon, John Sebastian Helmcken, who was expected to act as Blanshard's secretary. In his reminiscences Helmcken recalls guiltily the somewhat cavalier fashion in which he first treated the Governor:—

> One night while I was in bed and asleep, the Capt. woke me, and said Govr. Blanshard has come on board from HMS *Driver* to see you. Well I suppose I grumbled, and the governor sent word not to bother, as there would be plenty opportunities later. I did not see him. The fact is I should have got up with alacrity, but I supposed I was tired or lazy.[46]

Later Helmcken, by this time much worried by his discourtesy, called on Blanshard in company with Dr. Benson, surgeon at Fort Victoria. The Governor bore no grudge, and years later Helmcken wrote this account of the visit:—

> We found Governor Blanshard smoking a very thick pipe with a very long stem. He was a comparatively young man, of medium height, with aquiline, aristocratic features, set off by a large, military moustache. He had arrived only a few days previously, and had been riding. He said, "Benson, you told me all the trails led to the fort, but you did not tell me they all led away from it. Now, I got off the trail, to wander about, and I lost it; but I found another, and it led away from the fort. I should not have been here now had I not turned my horse's head and tail—as it is, I have lost my dinner." He was a very intelligent and affable man. We left him with his pipe-stem still in his mouth.[47]

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(45) H.B.C. Arch., D 5/27; Tolmie to Simpson, March 25, 1850 (private). The *Driver* arrived at Nisqually on the morning of March 19. Blanshard dined at the fort that evening, and on the 20th rode over to Steilacoom and visited the officers of the American garrison there. On the 21st he went on a shooting excursion. The *Driver* sailed for Victoria on the afternoon of the 22nd, carrying 85 cattle and about 800 sheep. *See* Victor J. Farrar (*ed.*), "The Nisqually Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1920), pp. 146–7.

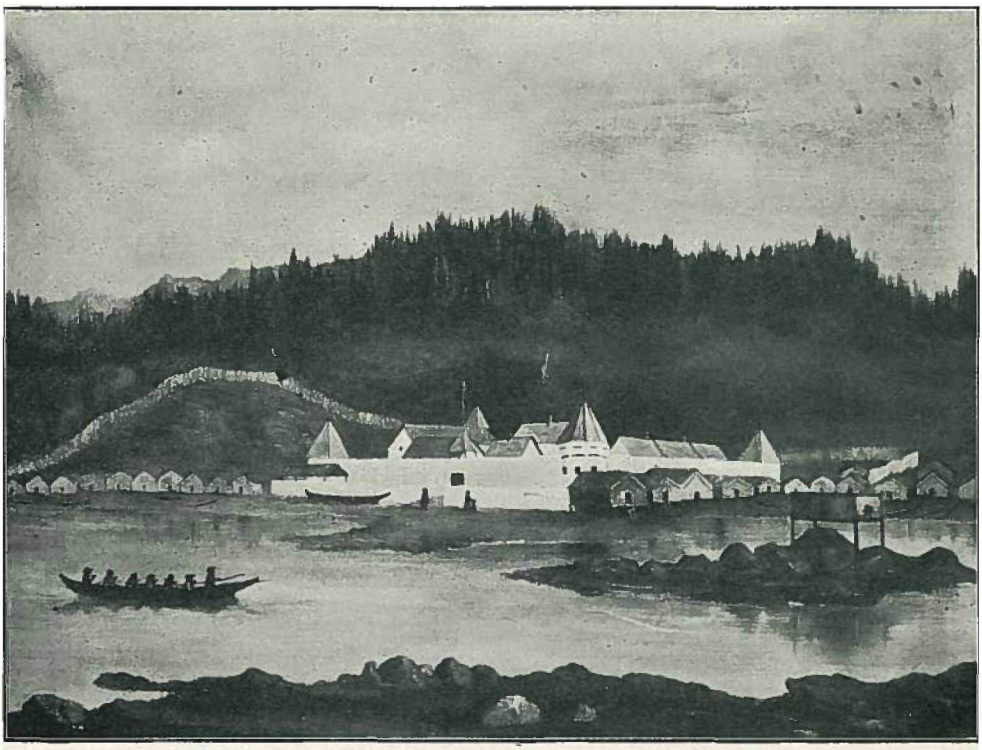
(46) Helmcken's *Reminiscences*, II., p. 89. MS., in Provincial Archives.

(47) Victoria *Colonist*, Christmas number, 1887.

Not long after this visit Dr. Helmcken was ordered to Fort Rupert, at the northern end of Vancouver Island, where the Hudson's Bay Company had established a post in 1849, and was seeking to develop the near-by coal deposits. Due to this transfer he never acted as the Governor's secretary. The letters which passed between them are cordial in tone, and Blanshard always spoke well of Helmcken; but the latter remarks in his memoirs that "Blanshard and I never became friends—he evidently did not care for me."

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE.



An early view of Fort Simpson. From the original painting in the Provincial Archives.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, 1835:

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

EDITED BY HENRY DRUMMOND DEE.

PART II.

[*At Fort Simpson.*]

Friday, March 13. Thick drizzling rain all day with little or no wind. Since I left here,[53] the square of the dwelling house has been put up, and the rafters, but the most of the latter were blown down with the storm two nights ago. They are unable to go on with the building at present for want of Nails, as there are none but what the blacksmith makes and, and [*sic*] he has been sick and unable to work ever since I left. Indeed several more of the men have been ill, all winter always between the ⅓ & ¼ of the whole number have been on the sick list. The Sawyers are employed sawing boards for the roof of the dwelling house, and altho there are but a small part of the boards wanted yet cut, yet the saw will soon have to be stopped as there are no files to sharpen it with.

Saturday, March 14. Stormy with very heavy rain in the night which continued till towards noon when the wind fell and the weather cleared up. Had what furs were traded at Kygarny[54] landed, also about 5 bushels of potatoes for seed. The ones I left when I was here last, were inadvertently exposed to the frost and all spoiled. Several of the Indians went off to Nass during the day. An Indian arrived from that place in the evening, and reports that the little fish have not yet arrived, and that not many Indians are yet assembled. It is our object to proceed to Nass, as soon as the wind will admit.

Sunday, March 15. Heavy rain, little or no wind all day. Dr. Kennedy[55] was taken very ill during the day yesterday, and continues so. From the number of sick Fort Simpson appears to be an unhealthy place. The remainder of the Indians went off to Nass today.

Monday, March 16. Stormy in the night, Squally with rain and hail during the day. Thick weather. The weather was deemed unfavourable for the vessel to sail for Nass, tho' had we got into the straits the wind was favorable to run up. We are in hopes that we will get off tomorrow.

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(53) An Admiralty plan of Fort Simpson, dated 1853 (No. 2426; copy in Provincial Archives), shows the fort in some detail.

(54) Kaigani Harbour, Alaska. *See supra*, p. 140, n. 30.

(55) Surgeon and clerk at Fort Simpson. *See supra*, p. 137, n. 19.

[*Voyage to the Nass River.*]

Tuesday, March 17. Frost in the night, raw cold weather during the day. Got under weigh with a favourable wind for Nass,[56] about 8 Oclock A.M., and proceeded up the straits, but towards noon the wind died away when we were able to make but little progress, and in the evening the tide being against us we are losing ground, tho we are within sight of the Old Fort[57] and within a short distance of the anchoring place at the little river[58] a short distance below it. Saw several canoes proceeding up the straits along shore, one of them came along side and informed us that the little fish[59] have not yet arrived; nor are the Indians assembled, but few of those from the fort have yet reached this place.

Wednesday, March 18. Bleak cold frosty weather. The steep mountains with which we are surrounded are covered with snow. The wind freshened a little with the flood tide in the night when we got worked up, tho' it was very dark, to abreast of the little river where we anchored about 2 Oclock in the morning, in sight of and a few miles below the old fort. A gun was fired to apprise the Indians above that we are here. Several canoes passed up during the day, and some of those from above came aboard, but traded only a few Martens. They were examining the goods and enquiring the prices, which does not appear to please them. We keep to the same tariff as at the fort.

Thursday, March 19. Fine dry frosty weather. The Indians from the fort were passing up with their canoes all day. The three chiefs and several of their people came aboard to beg for liquor. Several of the Indians from above also came aboard and after hanging on a long time about the price traded 34 Beaver, 53 Martens, 1 Marten Robe,[60] 2 Bears. They appear little disposed to trade, they complain about the price, a blanket & head of Tobacco per Beaver, which I look upon as high enough, and it is probable that even were we to pay higher, that they would hold up their skins in hopes of

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(56) The *Lama* was bound for the Nass River to trade with the Indians which gathered there at this season for the oolachan fishing.

(57) The "Old Fort" (i.e., the original Fort Simpson; *see supra*, p. 137, n. 23), was about 20 miles up the Nass Estuary, near a large Indian village called Ewen Nass. The post is described by Dr. W. F. Tolmie in his *Diary*, entry for June 15, 1834: "Ft. Simpson is situated on a projecting rocky point, on the eastern shore of the channel,—exposed to all the fury of the NE. gales so prevalent in winter the buildings are placed in the centre of a flat of about 2 or 3 acres in extent, which [is] elevated about 40 feet above highwater mark & presents a breastwork of bold rocks to the sea. . . . Several lodges of the Nasse tribe are scattered around the Fort. An excellent path leads from the landing place to the Fort Gate. Within everything is nicely arranged—court macadamized pathways of cedar logs formed & over the central one extending from the inner gate to the hall door a broad awning is spread—houses whitewashed outside—Dwelling house covered with cedar shingles which form a neat roof—wainscoated within."

(58) Not identified. Several streams flow into the Nass Estuary at this point.

(59) Oolachans.

(60) A skin robe or cape which was thrown over the shoulders in cool weather. Blankets were substituted later for these robes.

getting more from the Americans whom they expect to arrive soon. Some Crabs of a large size and a few small halibut[61] were traded.

Friday, March 20. Thick weather; snow, sleet, & hail all day. There was a good depth of snow on the deck in the morning. Bad as the weather was, some Indians came off and traded 8 Beaver, 21 Martens, 1 Marten Robe, 1 Bear Skin & a few Mink & Rats.

Saturday, March 21. Very unpleasant weather, hail, sleet, & rain, with squalls of wind all day. Notwithstanding the bad weather some Indians came off but did not trade any thing. They had a few small furs but would not take the price offered for them.

Sunday, March 22. Fair in the morning, but stormy with a fall of snow and sleet towards evening. Several Indians came off and traded 8 Beaver and a few small furs. The Indians were out after Srauw[62] a small fish but without success, tho' there is no doubt they have arrived, a sure sign of which is the number of gulls which are hovering over the water. The water was also rather rough.

Monday, March 23. Stormy in the night, sleet & drizling [*sic*] rain during the [day], squally in the evening. Several more of the Indians came off but traded very little, their principal object appears to be begging. The Shrau[63] are arrived at last, the Indians took some today, a part of which they brought us.

Tuesday, March 24. Cloudy mild fair weather. Several Indians came off and traded as much small fish as is required for the vessel, but sold only 4 beaver skins. They seem so little inclined to trade at present that we mean to go off tomorrow and cruise elsewhere & return here 1½ or 2 Months hence. The expectation of obtaining a better price should an opposition cast up, induces the Natives to hold up their furs. Late last night a party of Sabassa[64] men passed here, but did not come aboard. But we learn from them that their people have some furs.

[*Voyage from the Nass to Clemencitty.*]

Wednesday, March 25. Fine weather very little wind. Got under weigh in the morning but the wind was so light and ahead at the same time, that we made but little progress, and now late in the evening we are still a considerable distance from the mouth of the straits.

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(61) It is interesting to note that this is one of the earliest references to the now extensive halibut fisheries of the North Pacific. The Indians caught these fish by means of a wooden hook made of a forked branch, or of two pieces of wood lashed together to form an acute angle. The line was fastened to the middle of one fork, while to the other, so as to project obliquely backward, was lashed a bone point. Good specimens of these hooks, which were used mainly for halibut, are to be seen in the Provincial Museum at Victoria, B.C.

(62) This is Work's interpretation of the Haida word for the oolachan. It is rendered as "sa-ow" in W. Fraser Tolmie and George M. Dawson, *Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia*, 1884, p. 96B.

(63) Another form of the same word.

(64) Sabassa (sometimes rendered as *Sebassa*, or *Sebasses*) seems to have been a collective term applied to the Indians of Laredo and Principe channels. The tribe was often named after the chief, who was given an hereditary name. The chief Sabassa is mentioned in Tolmie's *Diary*, entry for April 3, 1835.

Thursday, March 26. Fine weather till towards evening when it began to blow from the S.E. Continued under way all night with very little wind and did not get out of the straits till the morning when we bore down to Clemencitty[65] and sent in a boat to ascertain if the Tongass Indians[66] were there and found that they were. A ship which proved to be the *Europe* [*sic*], Capt. Allen[67] was now observed bearing down from Fort Simpson and soon joined us, when we both went into Clemencitty about noon, and shortly after Capt. Allen came aboard. It appears he left the Islands[68] in February and put in here the first place, where he remained 3 days and traded a few skins, but not many. The Indians have some furs yet. We have obtained very little news from Capt. Allen. The *Dryad*[69] had not yet reached the Islands when he left. The arrival of this vessel will oblige us to raise our Tariff or we will have no chance to get a share of the furs.

Friday, March 27. Blew strong from the S.E. in the night and all day with heavy rain and sleet. Bad as the weather was, several Indians were aboard and as usual examining the goods and examining the prices & endeavouring to beat down the prices. Only 2 or 3 beaver were traded. When both vessels are here they will trade little with either in hopes that they may get [a] higher price. Capt. Allen brought over the Indians which Capt. Dominis[70] had hunting the Sea Otter. Dominis, it appears, was not very successful.

Saturday, March 28. Fair weather, but blowing fresh from the S.E. Several Indians were aboard but traded only 3 or 4 beaver for which we had to raise our price 1 gall. Ind[ian]. liquor[71] per beaver.

Sunday, March 29. Blew a storm in the night, squally from S.E. with a great deal of sleet hail & rain during the day. Some more Indians were aboard during the day & traded 4 or 5 beaver. With what few beaver they have, they are going from vessel to vessel trying where they can get most. We are anxious to get out from this place and proceed on to the Southward as little is to be made here.

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(65) *See supra*, p. 146, n. 52.

(66) A tribe of Tlingit Indians at the mouth of Portland Canal.

(67) Captain Allan, of the American brig *Europa*, which was on the coast in 1834 and 1835.

(68) The Hawaiian Islands.

(69) For a description of this brig, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, *see H.B.S. IV.*, p. 25, n. 1. The *Dryad* had been sent to Honolulu from Fort Vancouver for a cargo of salt to be used in the Columbia River salmon fisheries.

(70) Captain John Dominis had been on the coast the previous year in the 212- or 224-ton brig *Bolivar Liberator*. He had hired twenty Tongass Indians to act as hunters for him in the California sea-otter trade which, by that time, had become illegal. These natives were now being returned to their villages by Captain Allan. *See* Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade*, pp. 125, 178; and *supra*, p. 140, n. 31.

(71) Diluted rum.

Monday, March 30. Wind still S.E. blowing right into the harbour so that there is no chance of getting out. Stormy in the night, and blowing fresh with sleet and rain during the day. Traded a Sea Otter and 4 beaver.

The Indians were fighting the most of the day just round a point a little above where we are lying. It does not appear they were drinking, but probably from some old grudge, the quarrel arose from a trifling circumstance. A man had been ill treating his wife when her brother interferred [*sic*], when they immediately took to arms and the partizans on each side espoused their respective friends and kept up a brisk fire for a considerable time. One of the Chiefs, Cootanah, came along side in the evening badly wounded in the head and body with buck shot and stabs from knives. They state that 7 are killed and others wounded, but perhaps some of those said to be killed are only badly wounded. It is dreadful to see people belonging to the same tribe, and relations too, thus butchering each other for a trivial quarrel. It was the Jones's party that were opposed to Cootanah, who headed Necoot's[72] party. The Jonese's [*sic*] it appears have had the worst of it. They had a quarrel last summer, when Capt. Allan was lieing here. The Indians were drunk and upset their canoe when going ashore. Old Jones missed his sister in the scuffle & thought she was drowned, & in revenge laid hold of a man & held him under water till he drowned him, and his friends in retaliation, shot Jones in the night. These are reckoned the best Indians on the coast, and when they butcher each other in this manner what may be thought of the others?

Tuesday, March 31. Rain most of the day, Wind Southerly. Stormy during the night & forepart of the day. No chance of getting out of the harbour. By the accounts received today it appears that 9 Indians were killed dead in the affray which took place yesterday besides several wounded. Of Jones's party 6, and of Cootanas 3 were killed. The Jones's fled in the night and went to Nass. Cootana will scarcely recover of his wounds, and one of his people has received a very severe wound in the groin.

Wednesday, April 1. Rain & sleet with very cold unpleasant weather the most of the day. There being no chance of the vessel getting out of the harbour, I took a boat and five men and went to Fort Simpson where I arrived in 5¾ hours.[73] We were all drenched with wet and very cold. It was too late to return again to the vessel in the evening and I had to defer starting till tomorrow. My object in coming here was to confer with Mr. Birnie relative to the trade in consequence of the opposition casting up. Nothing material has occurred here since I last left.

[*The "Lama" seeks shelter in Kaigani Harbour.*]

Thursday, April 2. A good deal of snow fell in the night and continued stormy with snow till near noon, when the weather moderated and cleared up. At noon when the weather had moderated I started on my return to the vessel and past 3 Oclock P.M. Met her a little to the Southward of Clement-Citty in Company with the *Europa*. They had got out in the forenoon. Towards evening it began to blow fresh from the Southward, and though

(72) Not all of these chiefs can be identified. Necoots is described by W. F. Tolmie in his *Diary*, entry for June 8, 1834, as a "Kyarnie chief." Tolmie also mentions an Indian by the name of Jones at old Fort Simpson on the Nass. *Diary*, entry for September 2, 1834.

(73) The distance from Fort Simpson to Clemencitty is approximately 16 miles.

our object is to proceed to the Southward, yet from the unfavourable appearance of the weather it was deemed advisable to steer for Kygarny, where we will be able to obtain shelter. Little way could be made beating against a head wind. I brought a supply of some Kettles, Files, and Knives from the Fort.

Friday, April 3. Blew strong in the night and all day. We got into Kygarny and anchored in the upper harbour[74] which is the safest place, about Noon. The *Europa* arrived some time after and anchored in the lower harbour. Some Indians visited us but had nothing but a few fish.

Saturday, April 4. Blew a storm from the Southward in the night and greater part of the day with heavy rain and sleet. Towards evening the wind moderated. I rather regretted that we came in here yesterday, but we have now reason to congratulate ourselves that we were in, as we could have made no way, and run great risk had we been out in such a storm.

Sunday, April 5. Mild weather in the morning, blowing fresh from the S.E. afterwards, with rain towards evening. Several Indians visited us during the day from whom we obtained some fish. They had also some bear and marten skins to trade but demanded such an extravagant price that it could not be granted. From all we can learn, they have got but few skins except some California Sea Otters,[75] which they had when we were here before, and which we will not buy except at a reduced price, which they dont appear disposed to accept of.

Monday, April 6. Little wind & that variable. Fair weather till towards evening, when it again set in to rain and become thick. Several more Indians visited us but only 1 beaver and a few bear skins were traded from them. It is annoying being so long detained thus and doing nothing, it is difficult to get out of these parts, generally much more so than getting into them, particularly during those prevalent Southerly winds.

Tuesday, April 7. Stormy with very heavy rain in the night, moderate in the morning, but blowing strong from S.E. afterwards, with rain towards evening. A few more Indians were aboard today but no trade. We learn from the Natives that a vessel was seen some time ago passing to the N.E. It is conjectured it could be none else but a Russian vessel,[76] probably going up to their establishment at Stikine.[77] She was a two masted vessel. The Indians below it seems have been quarreling among themselves, and it is apprehended it may turn to serious consequences.

[*Voyage from Kaigani to Nahwitti, on Vancouver Island.*]

Wednesday, April 8. Blowing fresh with heavy rain forepart of the night. Fair weather during the day. Very little wind in the morning but a fine breeze from the Westward afterwards. Got under weigh at 10 A.M., and towed out of the harbour. The wind being light we did not get out of

(74) These harbours on the south-east coast of Dall Island are shown on Admiralty Chart No. 2431 (copy in Provincial Archives). *See also* Marcus Baker, *Geographic Dictionary of Alaska*, p. 225.

(75) Doubtless these skins were a few which the Indians, recruited for the California sea-otter hunt, had managed to keep back for themselves.

(76) Later identified, when this vessel turned out to be the American brig *Bolivar*, Capt. Dominis.

(77) On Wrangell Island, at Point Highfield. Described by Tolmie in his *Diary*, entry for June 20, 1834, as " a shapeless mass of logs or planks." *See supra*, p. 129, and p. 143, n. 43.

Kygarny till 1 P.M., when we carried on with all sail set and were off Tongass in the evening. Capt. Allen came out of Kygarny when we did, but as his vessel outsails us, he passed us and is now some distance ahead of us.

Thursday, April 9. Fine weather. Kept on our course all night and by 8 A.M. were at the North entrance of Canall de Principe[78] down which we continued to Seal harbour[79] at the S. end of it where we anchored at 8 P.M. The wind was light and baffling a considerable part of the day, which delayed us several hours. The *Europa* had hauled in towards Catsack[80] harbour in the morning when we passed her. We saw her following us on afterwards but she has not yet come up. This place, Seal harbour, is where we expected to find the Sabassa Indians but not one is to be seen. Different old villages on both sides of the Canall as we came down, where they used to resort, are all at present abandoned.[81] It is conjectured that they are on the opposite side of the island and may visit us tomorrow. We fired two guns when we anchored to apprise the Natives that we are here. We also fired at different times coming down the Canall to give them Notice of our coming.

Friday, April 10. Fine weather, little wind. Late last night two canoes of Indians came alongside, enquiring what ship. In the course of the day several natives came aboard, but had very few furs to trade. 2 beaver 6 Otters & a few Martens and Minks were obtained from them. We also got a good deal of fish & a deer from them & some geese and ducks. From these people we learn that they are scattered about in small parties, that the greater number are [on] the opposite side of the island[82] at Skidoon harbour,[83] about 30 miles distant. Some were to go off to apprise them of our arrival. The Chief Sabassas has been off some time with a party on a visit to the Fort at Millbank[84] and probably they have taken a good many of the furs they had with them. Two guns were fired to apprise the Indians of our being here. The *Europa* has not yet made her appearance. It is conjectured she has put into Land Otter harbour[85] and found a few Indians, tho' we saw none in passing.

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(78) Principe Channel, between Banks and Pitt islands. Named by Jacinto Caamaño.

(79) Not exactly identified, but judging by this entry and those for April 15, 16, and 17, Seal Harbour must have been a rock-bound bay at the southern end of Banks Island. It is mentioned in the *Fur Trade Journal* of the *Lama*, March–August 1836, entry for April 8, which was kept by Captain William Henry McNeill.

(80) Catsack or Cossack was somewhere near the entrance to Principe Channel. This place is also mentioned in the *Fur Trade Journal*, but not identified. The village was the headquarters of the chief Sabassa and his name, " Shebashes," appears in quotation marks under the entry for Cossack Harbour. It may be an oft-visited Indian village on Dolphin Island, or Port Canaveral, on McCauley Island.

(81) The only reason for abandonment was the usual seasonal one, when the Indians went from place to place for salmon and the like.

(82) Banks Island.

(83) Skidoon Harbour is specifically mentioned by Work, entry for May 14, as being on the west side of Banks Island, but no such place has been located, nor does the *B.C. Pilot* list any anchorage on that side.

(84) Fort McLoughlin.

(85) Not identified. Perhaps Port Stephens, on Pitt Island, or a Kitkatlah summer village just north of that place.

Saturday, April 11. Fine mild, overcast weather. Several more Indians visited us, but only 3 beaver 3 Otters and a few Martens were traded from them. Indeed they do not appear to have many furs, and from their clothing they appear to be poor. They are nevertheless very difficult to deal with. No appearance yet of the *Europa*, the wind was so light and variable today, that she could make but little way. The men were ashore procuring spars these two days.

Sunday, April 12. Very heavy rain in the night and during the day till towards evening when it faired up. Very little wind and that variable. Several Indians came aboard and traded 1 beaver, 5 land Otters, and a few Martens & Minks and some fish and wild fowl & a deer. There is little appearance of getting any thing more from them, nor is it likely that they have much more furs of any kind. They brought a small sized inferior sea otter but would not accept the price offered for it. There being so little prospects of getting any thing more from them, we have determined to proceed on to the Southward tomorrow should the wind be favourable. We are anxious to get to Neweetie[86] before the American vessel.[87] She has not yet made her appearance here. Perhaps she has found a few Indians at Land Otter harbour and from the state of the weather has not yet got out of it.

Monday, April 13. Overcast showry weather. Wind variable and little of it. The want of wind deterred us from sailing today. Some more Indians visited us and traded 1 beaver and 1 Otter and 10 Martens. Some Indians proposed being paid for going to Skidoon Harbour for a part of the tribe which are there, but we declined their offer as it was uncertain when they might arrive and we did not like to lose so much time as would probably be required to wait for them, and perhaps not get much from them when they would come. They are now scattered about in small parties and might take a considerable time to collect.

Tuesday, April 14. Excessive heavy rain, and thick weather all day. Blowing fresh from the S.E., stormy afterpart of the day. The unfavourable weather deterred us from sailing as was intended. Two Indian men and a woman came aboard with a sea otter and a land one recently killed. While they were aboard a gun was fired from the shore and a ball or buckshot struck the side of the vessel and recoiled off it a little above the woman's head who was sitting in the canoe. We did not see who fired the gun nor can we conjecture whether it was discharged at us or the woman. We are not aware of the least offence having been given to any of the Natives since we have been here, but they are such savage brutes that the least trifle would induce them to commit murder. Some of the men with the 1st Mate, Mr. Scarborough, were ashore near the place cutting a spar; they heard the shot but did not see any of the Natives. The Indians report that there are still a few Sea Otters to be found about here.

Wednesday, April 15. Heavy rain in the night and morning, showry thick weather most of the day. In the afternoon the wind shifted round to the S.S.W., but it was too late in the day for us to make a move as there

(86) Nahwitte (as the name is now spelled) is a few miles east of Cape Scott and near the entrance to Goletas Channel. It was erroneously identified by the editor of this journal as the spot where Fort Rupert was later built. Fort Rupert lay to the south, on Beaver Harbour. *See* H. D. Dee, "*An Irishman in the Fur Trade*," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII. (1943), p. 258.

(87) The *Europa*.

are dangerous rocks to pass, which we would have to grope our way through in the night & would be dangerous. We are in hopes of getting off tomorrow morning. Some Indians were aboard and traded a land Otter, they had a Sea Otter but demanded too high a price for it.

Thursday, April 16. Light rain in the morning very little wind all day, but fine weather, what little wind was from the Westward. Got under weigh at 7 A.M. and towed the vessel out of the harbour, but though the wind was favorable it was so light that we made but little progress and we are now in the evening not more than 8 or 10 Miles from where we started. We hauled out past the South end of Bank's Island.[88] Some Indians came aboard in the morning and traded 1 Sea Otter & 2 land otters and some Halibut.

Friday, April 17. Fine weather, some light rain in the morning. The wind continues the same as yesterday, very light. Continued under way all night and all day, but from the lightness of the wind making very little progress, seldom over 2½ Miles an hour and often only 1 Mile. In the evening we were off Cape Swaine.[89] It was past noon before we lost sight of the harbour we left yesterday.

Saturday, April 18. Hazy Low[er]ing weather. The wind more round to the Southward which enables us still to lie our course, but the wind is still so light that we make but little progress, from 1 to 4 Miles an hour. Late in the evening we were off Calvert's island,[90] the wind was shifted to the S.E. when we had to tack and stand off the land for the night. Large flocks of geese have been passing these two days to the Northward.

Sunday, April 19. Still overcast lowering weather. Very little wind and that from the Southward which was ahead of us. We kept working to windward during the night and all day. About noon passed close by the Virgin rocks[91] and in the evening were within 8 or 10 Miles of the land on the South side of Queen Charlotte's Sound[92] near Naweetie, but were not able to make the harbour, which would have been dangerous to attempt entering in the night, and had to put about and stand out from the land.

Monday, April 20. Thick weather, some light rain part of the day, with very little wind. A stiff breeze of wind with rain part of the night, which, with the cross tide made a nasty jabble[93] of a sea, which caused some of the sails to be taken in. About 8 A.M. we again made the land, but the wind was so light that we did not get into [*blank in MS.*] or Newettie harbour till 5 P.M. This harbour is situated on the South side of Queen Charlotte's Sound, North end of Vancouver's Island. Several Indians came along side, and sold us some fish. We have had a tedious long voyage from Seal har-

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(88) The *Lama* is now in Otter Passage, Nepean Sound. This channel is obstructed by rocks and rendered even more dangerous by strong tides.

(89) On the southern side of the entrance to Milbanke Sound.

(90) Calvert Island, at the left of the entrance to Fitzhugh Sound. Work was now some 125 miles south of Banks Island.

(91) A patch of rocks in the Sea Otter Group in Smith Sound, southwest of Calvert Island.

(92) Separating the northern extremity of Vancouver Island from the mainland.

(93) Work had a flair for descriptive words. "Jabble" is an obsolescent onomatopœic word meaning a confused motion of waves in a cross-sea. For further examples *see British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII. (1943), p. 232.

bour here. There was no wind worth mentioning and that little, variable and baffling. The distance is but about 140 Miles.

Tuesday April 21. Weather the same as these days past. A considerable number of the Indians came aboard and along side, but traded only 1 Small Sea Otter, 2 land Otters, 13 Martens, 26 Minks, and a few Hiaquas[94] and some fish. They say they have some Sea Otters, but they did not bring any of them aboard. As usual they passed the day enquiring about the price &c that would be given them. It is not thought that they have many furs. They appear very difficult to deal with. This is always the case when Indians are very poor and these appear to be so in their clothing and they appear wretched, notwithstanding an American vessel was here last year. They are not very numerous, there might be about 40 or 50 men about the vessel today, but perhaps this was not the whole of them. There are two other tribes at no great distance, the principal of which, the Colcauth,[95] are accustomed to have most furs. Two Indians were engaged and sent off to apprise them that we were here & to bring them. They are to be back in three days.

Wednesday, April 22. Fine weather, Wind Northerly. The most of the Indians were about the vessel during the day and traded 9 Land Otters, 61 Minks 2 Martens, & 2 beaver, and a few Heyaquas. They had two or three sea otters but would not trade them. They appear to have but few furs of any kind, and demand very high prices for them. When the American vessel arrived, they stopped trade at once. About noon the *Europa,* Capt. Allen, arrived. It appears he came to Seal harbour the next day after we left it, where unfavorable winds detained him till yesterday, when having a chance of a favourable wind, he came off and was lucky enough to get here in about 30 hours, while on account of foul light winds we were five days and four nights coming the same distance. We were unlucky, in having such unfavorable winds, had the weather permited [*sic*] of our leaving Seal harbour on the [*blank in MS.*][96] as we intended and been favourable coming, we would probably have had all the skins here collected by this time. Capt. Allen states that he got but few furs at Sabasses.[97]

Thursday, April 23. Some light rain in the Morning, fine weather afterwards. The Indians have a few land otters and three beaver with which they passed the day going from One vessel to another trying to raise the price. Nothing pleases them better than to have two vessels thus opposing each other. It is annoying in the extreme to see the advantage which the black vagabonds endeavor to make of this circumstance.

Friday, April 24. Overcast raw cold weather. Wind Northerly. The Natives passed the day going from vessel to vessel as yesterday. We traded only 3 land otters and a few Martens and Minks. Capt. Allan's blankets are much larger than ours and of a superior quality, which renders it neces-

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(94) Shell money composed of strings of dentalia (tooth-like shells) used by the Indians of the North Pacific. This word is spelled variously, *haiqua, heyaqua, hykwa, ioqua,* etc.

(95) Work's attempt at the spelling of the name Kwakiutl. In its more restricted sense this term applies to a group of closely related tribes in the Fort Rupert area, around Beaver Harbour.

(96) April 13th is probably meant.

(97) Cossack Harbour.

sary for us to give some ammunition and some other articles in addition, to make up for the difference. He has traded little more than us today.

Saturday, April 25. Weather as yesterday. The Indians going on as usual. Our trade today only 2 beaver, one of which was a fresh killed one, which shows that there are some beaver here. There is a small river falls into the head of the harbour which appears remarkably well adapted for them, but from the quantity of underwood it appears a very difficult country to travel through. The shore in most places is very rocky. The Natives bring us a sufficiency of fish, principally halibut. We got a few large trout yesterday but they are of a very inferior quality. It is a pity that we could not make some arrangement as to the scale of trade so as to prevent the Indians from playing so much upon us and bring them down in their demands, but the difference in the quality of Capt. Allan's goods from ours render such a thing difficult. Late in the evening a Canoe of Naspatte[98] men arrived with 2 Sea Otters and some land Otters but they have not yet offered them for sale. Naspatte is a harbour to the Southward.

Sunday, April 26. Wind continues Northerly. Overcast raw cold weather. The Natives as usual going from vessel to vessel trying where they can get most for the chance skin they have. The people that arrived yesterday have a couple of Sea Otters and a few land ones but have not traded them. In the evening a large Canoe arrived from the Colcauths, they [*word omitted in MS.*][99] that more of the people are on the way coming. We traded only 1 bear, 2 Otters & 3 Martens.

Monday, April 27. Wind Southerly. Rained a good deal during the day. This is the first Southerly wind we have had since we have been here. Our trade today, 6 land otters & 2 beaver. Our neighbours have far the advantage of us in the quality and variety of their goods yet it does not appear that they are doing much more than ourselves. Another canoe arrived from the Colcauths and report that more are on the way. They have probably been off scattered, fishing, which is the cause of their being so long of coming. When we sent off the Message for them it was expected they would be back in three days, formerly when sent for they used always to come in two or three days. It is a hardship to be remaining so long losing so much time here, doing little or nothing, but as this is the principal place where any thing of a trade is to be expected, we must remain and see what is to be done. We might go away and return again, but we cannot do so and leave our opponent here. Later in the season is the best time to visit these people.

Tuesday, April 28. Heavy rain most of the day. Wind Southerly. The Natives as usual going from vessel to vessel with a chance land otter skin. They are telling us that the Colcauths will be here in 5 or 6 days, but they have been telling us the same thing every day. It is probable that they either have few skins to trade, or that they are dispersed fishing, or they would be here before now. On former occasions, they always arrived in 2 or 3 days after being sent for.

Wednesday, April 29. Rain most of the day. Wind Westerly. Two Otters & a couple of beaver are the only trade of this day. As there is no prospect of the Indians which we have been so long waiting for, we would

(98) Nasparti Inlet is adjacent to Cape Cook, on the west side of Vancouver Island. Work's use of the word "southward" makes one feel that Nasparti lay farther south from Nahwitti along the east coast instead of being located on the west coast.

(99) Possibly "intimated."

make a move and go some where else at once were it not for our opponent who, if he remains, might get the Indians just after we start. He says he means to sail also the first opportunity.

Thursday, April 30. Showry squally weather in the morning, fine weather blowing fresh from the Westward afterwards. Two Otters were traded today. Our trade altogether since we have been here amounts to 8 beaver, 27 land Otters, 20 Martens 111 Mink and 1 Pup Sea Otter.

[*Voyage to the Queen Charlotte Islands.*]

Friday, May 1. Heavy rain forepart of the day. Having given up hopes of the arrival of the Colcauth Indians for whom we have been waiting so long, we got under weigh & towed out of the harbour in the morning and continued working down the sound, and have got out opposite Cape Scott by the evening. In the afternoon the wind, which is N. Westerly and right ahead, freshened up and with the strong cross current in the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound caused a nasty jabble of a sea in which the vessel pitched considerably, and occasioned a good deal of seasickness. The *Europa* got under weigh before we did and came out also, but we are now some distance ahead of her. Our object is to proceed to the Northward, call at some of the tribes which we have not yet seen and then pay another visit to Nass.

Saturday, May 2. Fair weather blowing fresh and a heavy sea on. Continued working on to the Northward but owing to the roughness of the sea and the wind still ahead we made but little progress and have got only abreast of Calvert's island. The *Europa* was not to be seen in the morning and it is conjectured she has proceeded to the Southward to Nasspatte, a place near Woody point.[100] This is a place where very few furs have ever been found, particularly since Sea Otters became scarce.

Sunday, May 3. The weather more moderate than these days past, but the wind being still ahead we made but slow progress working to windward.

Monday, May 4. Weather fine, wind still from the Northward, So that we made but little progress. In the evening we were close to the land off the S. end of Canall de Rideau.[101] Here about a score of Indians came off to us at 6 Oclock. They had some furs with them and after spending some time quibling [*sic*] about the price commenced trading and continued till after dark near 9 Oclock, when they went ashore, and we are to come in again in the morning as they have still a few more furs. These Indians are of the Inchelo [?][102] tribe.

Tuesday, May 5. Fine mild weather. Very little wind in the morning but a fresh breeze afterpart of the day. Kept off and on all night and stood into the land early in the morning, when the Indians came off and by 9 A.M. had traded the most of their furs, and a good many fish, which are a seasonable supply as our stock was out. We now stood out from the land with a

(100) Woody Point was named by Captain James Cook. It was changed to Cape Cook by Captain G. H. Richards in 1860. *See* Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 107.

(101) Laredo Sound, named by Jacinto Caamaño in 1792. Work's prolonged association with French-Canadian servants of the Hudson's Bay Company undoubtedly accounts for his Gallic twist to the word. The sound lies between Aristazabal and Price islands. The Channel of the same name, which Work calls a " Canall," lies behind the former island.

(102) Not identified.

fine breeze which raised a jabble of a sea; but the wind being still ahead we stood across to Charlotte's Island[103] and in the evening are off Cape James.[104] From these Indians we traded 29 beaver, 16 land otters, 60 Martens & 74 Minks.

Wednesday, May 6. Fine weather. Wind still the same, but so light that we make but very little progress, moreover, (probably from the long continuance of these Northerly winds,) a strong current is setting us to the Southward.

Thursday, May 7. Wind still continues the same, a thick fog part of the day. We continue working to windward, but owing to the lightness of the wind that we make very little progress. Indeed we have not gained over 20 to 30 Miles these two days. The wind died away last night and the current swept the vessel near a rock off the lower end of Isle de Stephen.[105]

Friday, May 8. Wind continues still from the Northward, foggy weather most of the day. It blew fresh most of the night and greater part of the day, and raised a pretty heavy sea. Notwithstanding that the wind is so strong that a part of the sails had to be taken in, we are able to make little progress working against the head sea. At noon we were off Seal harbour, Isle de Stephen. It is extremely irksome being thus so long baffled with contrary winds, now 8 days coming a distance that might have been done in 24 hours with a favorable breeze. Capt. McNeill, all the time he has been cruising on the coast, never experienced the like before.

Saturday, May 9. Continued squaly [*sic*] during the night & became calm in the morning, a nice breeze in the middle of the day, & calm again in the evening. In the morning the wind shifted round to the Southward and continued so till towards evening, when it fell calm and again shifted round to the westward. We made good progress while the wind continued favourable, and by the evening were well up with Skidegates harbour,[106] but the wind failing we could not get in, & will have to keep off & on during the night.

Sunday, May 10. Showry squally weather, wind baffling, occasionally blowing in squalls, and then dieing away. Wind Westerly. In the morning we were out off Skiddinas[107] harbour, East side of Q. Charlotte's Islands but as the wind was blowing right out of the harbour and not being steady there was some difficulty working in. At 10 A.M. we anchored inside of the bar in an exposed place, not being able to get up to the proper anchorage. In the course of the day a considerable number of the Skidegate Indians came off, and supplied us with some fish & a bear skin and a few Martens. There was such a jabble of a sea on, that the canoes could not lay along side & they had to go ashore. The Indians were shy to come aboard for some time till they were told they had nothing to fear. Their shyness arose, from the

(103) The Queen Charlotte Islands.

(104) Cape St. James, at the southern extremity of the Queen Charlotte group.

(105) Not identified, but if Work's sailing directions may be relied upon, this must refer to some spot off the south-east coast of Moresby Island, in the vicinity of Skincuttle Inlet, and not to Stephens Island at the southern end of Chatham Sound.

(106) Skidegate Inlet, between Graham and Moresby islands.

(107) This may refer to Skedans, on Cumshewa Inlet, a little south of Skidegate, where a large Haida village was to be found. However, from the subsequent mention of the sand-bar at the harbour entrance, it seems to refer to the main village at Skidegate, on Graham Island.

loss of the *Vancouver*[108] last year, as they are connected with the tribe who inhabit where she was lost, and who plundered her. We learn from them that 25 Canoes of that tribe and these people are off now at the fort Simpson for the purpose of making up matters, and that the Chief means to exculpate himself & his people by stating that it was not their fault, but the fault of the waves that occasioned the loss of the vessel This appears to be their way of reasoning on the subject. They have also taken some things with them to the fort. These people say they have few furs, that those who have gone to the fort have taken what furs they had with them, but that another tribe the Cawwilth,[109] which live a little farther up the Sound have got some furs.

Monday, May 11. Showry weather, some squalls. Wind variable. Moved 5 miles farther up the Sound to well sheltered good anchorage a few miles above the village. The most of the Indians visited us during the day and traded 6 or 8 bear skins and about 40 Martens & 1 land Otter, which is probably the most of what they have got. We also bought some potatoes,[110] for which we paid higher than usual for, but they are scarce now, and I much want these for seed at the fort. A few of the Cawelth men were also here, but had very little with them. They have two Sea Otters which they are to bring tomorrow. These people appear very poor; they are wretchedly clothed and apparently badly off for every thing. This formerly used to be one of the best places for Sea Otters on the coast, but now scarcely any is to be found among them. They grow a considerable quantity of potatoes they have several patches under cultivation about their villages. The Necoon[111] tribe, who who [*sic*] reside at Point Rose, 60 Miles to the Northward of this, where the *Vancouver* was wrecked, speak the same language as these people and are in some measure connected with them; yet I have not been able to observe any of the articles belonging to the vessel about them. So that it is probable they have not come in for much share of the plunder. I counted near 100 about the vessel at one time today.

Tuesday, May 12. Blew strong from the Eastward part of the day with showers. Several more of the Indians visited us and traded two small Sea Otters. It is believed they have got no more furs. All we have got is not worth coming in for, but we did not know that. What few furs they had, those that have gone to Nass (15 Canoes) have taken them with them. Should the wind be favourable we intend to leave this tomorrow.

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(108) The schooner *Vancouver*, wrecked on March 3, 1834. *See supra*, pp. 141, 143.

(109) These Haida people are referred to in George M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, p. 173B, where an estimate of Haida and Kaigani Indians, made by John Work, is given. In this publication the name is given as " Kow-welth," and indeed, Work renders it variously in this present journal. The *Handbook of American Indians* (Frederick Webb Hodge, ed.), I., p. 230, identifies these people as living in the village of Chaahl, on the north-west coast of Moresby Island. This is undoubtedly Chaatl Village on Chaatl Island, at the west entrance to Skidegate Channel.

(110) The Hudson's Bay servants at Fort Simpson and other establishments were under orders to be to the greatest possible extent self-supporting. There and at Fort McLoughlin they bought quantities of potatoes from the Indians until their own gardens were in production. When and from whom the Indians first obtained potatoes is not clear. Dawson, *Report*, p. 113B, states vaguely that they were introduced by early voyagers.

(111) Necoon, or long nose, was the name given by the Haidas to Rose Point, at the north-eastern extremity of Graham Island.

[*Voyage to the Nass River.*]

Wednesday, May 13. Fine weather, light variable winds. Got under weigh at 1 P.M., but the wind was so light that it was past 6 when we got across the bar. We are certainly very ill lucked for wind. In the forenoon there were 28 Canoes about the vessel in which I counted 157 Natives 30 to 40 of whom were women and children and about 120 Men; 15 Canoes of these people are off to Nass. Suppose they would average only 10 Men each, it would make 150.

Thursday, May 14. Fine weather. Wind still light and variable from S.W. to S.E. The wind was so light that we made very slow progress, not over 30 to 40 Miles during the 24 hours. It was first our intention to have touched at Skidoon harbour on the W. side of Bank's island but have abandoned the idea and proceed direct to Nass least [*sic*] Allan[112] be there before us.

Friday, May 15. Fine weather during the day, and a nice breeze of favourable wind afterpart of the day. Some rain in the night. We passed Isle de Zayas early in the morning and got into Nass straits past noon and proceeded to Nass where we anchored a little past 12 Oclock at night. As we got towards the anchorage it came on to blow with very heavy rain and was so dark that we could scarcely see the land and had to get to the anchorage by sounding. We have the Mortification to find the *Europa* here, she arrived this morning, and has already been busy trading with the Indians. We have been exceedingly unfortunate, in having unfavourable winds, or according to our plan we would have been here long enough ago and have had the trade all secured before this.

Saturday, May 16. Fine weather. Early in the morning the Indians began to assemble and were about both vessels and going from one to another all day. We traded 51 Beaver, 5 Land Otters, 9 Bears & a few Martens. The Americans have 3½ point Blankets, far superior to ours both in size and quality, of which the Indians are well aware. In order that we might have a chance for a share of the trade we were induced to rise our Tariff to a Blanket 3 gall. Ind[ian]. Rum, 6 head Tobacco, per Beaver large. It is high but without we do so we will have no chance to get our share of the trade. We also give 7 gall. Mixed liquor for a beaver which is a gallon more than our opponents give. The Indians glory in having in having [*sic*] opposition and know well how to take advantage of it. There are a great many Natives assembled here now from different quarters, they are encamped some distance up the river.

Sunday, May 17. Still fine weather. The Indians assembled again in the morning as usual, and kept going between us and our opponents as usual. During the day we traded 94 Beaver, 5 Otters, 28 Bears, 21 Martens. We had more customers than our opponents owing to the superior quality of our Rum and Tobacco. Capt. Allan who must have been perfectly aware of our scale of trade, came aboard and enquired what we were giving, and on being told, got in a violent passion and declared that he would do his utmost to rise the price and make us pay as high as possible for all the furs we would trade on the coast this season, that he had plenty of goods to do so (& as our deck was full of Natives busy trading) without waiting to be spoke to went over the side and proclaimed to the Indians that he would give 4 gall. Rum & 8 heads of tobacco with one of his large blankets for a beaver. The

(112) Captain Allan of the *Europa*.

Indians received this intimation with several loud hurrahs, and immediately ceased trading, and began to clear off to his vessel. It remained with us now either to lose the beaver or rise our price, the latter was preferred and we accordingly offered 5 gal. Mixed rum & 10 heads tobacco with a blanket per beaver, the result of which was that we secured, as we think, the best share of the day's trade. At this rate the furs cost high, but as our expenses are going on the same, let us get beaver or not, and as we have a good stock of goods, it is deemed best rather than let the furs fall all into the hands of our Opponents, to secure them even at a light profit. The Indians seem perfectly aware that this is not to last, for they are enquiring how long these prices are likely to continue and were promptly told by us only so long as our Opponents remained.

A large party of Necoon & Skidegate Indians, who had been here, went off on their return home this morning. These are the people that pillaged the *Vancouver* when she was wrecked last year and probably being afraid, did not come near us. In the course of the afternoon, 20 Canoes containing from 7 to 20 persons each of Cumshewas men,[113] arrived, also from Q. Charlotte's Island.

Monday, May 18. Still fine weather. The Indians still about us in great numbers, but the trade has not been so brisk as yesterday. We secured 45 Beaver 2 Otters, 19 Bears and a few Martens, and 6 Sea Otters. The Natives have got such an ample supply of liquor, that they are in no hurry.

Tuesday, May 19. Fine weather. Fewer Indians than usual about today. We traded only 12 beaver. The Natives are said to have a good many yet, but they were all busy drinking today, which was the cause of but few of them coming to trade. Capt. Allan got under weigh in the forenoon and stood down the straits, but returned and anchored again in the evening. We had prepared to follow him, for though we learn from the Natives that they have still a good many beaver, should our opponents go off, it would be better for us to leave them as they will most likely be obtained at the fort hereafter at a much cheaper rate than we can procure them now.

Wednesday, May 20. Raining most part of the day. As the Americans still remain here we have not moved either. Several Indians again visited us but traded only [*blank in MS.*] Beaver & [*blank in MS.*] Bears. They brought a considerable quantity of small fish Oil[114] here but we did not purchase any of it. Formerly the Americans used to buy a great deal of this article and sell it elsewhere on the coast for furs, but as this has been an indifferent fishing year the Oil is scarce and such high prices demanded for it that there would be no gain in buying it to sell it elsewhere. We are led to conclude that the Natives have fewer beaver remaining among them than we thought. We have therefore determined to leave this tomorrow.

[*Return to Fort Simpson.*]

Thursday, May 21. Raw cold weather, blowing fresh from the Southward which is right up the Straits.[115] Rain in the evening. At a little before 11 A.M. about high water, we weighed anchor and proceeded down

(113) From Cumshewa Inlet, on the east side of Moresby Island.

(114) Oil from the oolachans was in demand by all the coast Indians. To extract this oil the fish were allowed to putrefy partially, and were then boiled in a mass in wooden boxes with hot stones. No condiment was more pleasing to the Indian palate that oolachan grease.

(115) Nass Straits, the entrance to Portland Inlet.

the Straits but having to work against the wind. We made but slow progress, and now in the evening we are not more than 10 or 12 Miles from where we started. The American vessel got under weigh at the same time as we did, and as we were both tacking from side to side of the Straits on one occasion the two vessels came in contact, when our Martingal[116] and part of the boarding netting chains[117] were carried away, some ropes &c also gave way in the other vessel. I was below at the time this occurred. Capt. McNeill says that it was Capt. Allan's fault for, as he was on the larboard tack, according to Naval rules, it was his business to keep off. Be this as it may very serious damage might have been sustained by both vessels had they not fortunately separated as they did. It would appear that Capt. Allan did not perceive when Capt. McNeill ordered his helm alee. We have traded altogether at this place 8 Sea Otters, 205 Beaver 11 Land Otters 59 Bears 53 Martens & 3 Marten Robes. As far as we can judge Our Opponents may have procured about 240 or 250 Beaver and land Otters, and probably from his articles of trade and the price he gave, he has got rather more Marten than we have got, but he got few or no Bears. Moreover of the Number of beaver and land Otters which he got, as he gave a higher price for the land otters than we could afford, he got a greater proportion of land Otters than we have.

Friday, May 22. Rain during the night and most of the day with very little wind. The wind was so light that the current carried us back in in [*sic*] the night nearly half of the way that we came yesterday, and our progress was so Slow during the day that we are yet some distance from the Mouth of the Straits. The *Europa* being on the one side of the straits while we were on the opposite side got a little breeze of wind in the night which shoved her on a piece when she got a few miles ahead of us, and got out of the Straits in the morning but appears becalmed at some distance outside. Two Indians delivered me a note from Dr Kennedy dated yesterday, stating that a strange vessel, a brig, was seen on the 19th working up past the mouth of the straits to towards the fort,[118] but that she had put about again and stood into Clemencitty, and had fired several guns. We suppose it must be a Russian vessel.[119] Her guns were answered from the fort. Late in the evening a gun was supposed to be heard, when we answered it with two. Some days ago the Indians reported to us that they had seen a vessel but they are such notorious liars that we did not credit them.

Saturday, May 23. Fine weather. Very light wind & variable. Early in the Morning we were out of the straits and abreast of the fort, and at 4 A.M. Capt. McNeill and I landed with the furs leaving the vessel standing off and on outside so that time might not be lossed [*sic*]. A few hours after the Capt. returned on board with a supply of 3 bales of blankets & 1 Cwt. Buck Shot, and proceeded on his voyage. It was his intention to proceed through Brown's passage[120] but the wind shifted a little and he passed round by the

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(116) An ash bar fixed downward from the bow-sprit cap, by which the martingale stay supports the jib-boom.

(117) It will be remembered that the *Lama* carried protective netting, to guard against surprise attacks by the natives.

(118) Fort Simpson.

(119) Identified later by Work as being the American brig *Bolivar*.

(120) Brown's Passage, between the Tree Nob islands and South Dundas islands.

North end of Dundass' island,[121] but the wind was so light that he was not out of sight late in the evening. He is directed to proceed to Naweetie and endeavour to procure the furs that the Caucoulth men may have, (we did not see this tribe when we were last there) and then to cruise about where he can make most, but to be back here in sufficient time, to have the vessel in readiness to sail for the Columbia[122] by the 1st September. I remained ashore myself and mean to remain at the fort now. The *Europa* was seen in the morning out towards the N. end of Dundass' Island.

[*To be continued.*]

(121) As previously identified, immediately west of Fort Simpson.
(122) I.e., for Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"A MOUNTAIN MEMORIAL."

Shortly after the death of Judge F. W. Howay, in October, 1943, it was announced by Lieutenant-Colonel G. G. Aitken, British Columbia's representative on the Geographic Board of Canada, that the Board had approved the suggestion made by himself and the late A. Wells Gray, then Minister of Lands, that a prominent peak in the vicinity of Stave Lake should be named Mount Judge Howay. Some time ago it occurred to Mr. B. A. McKelvie, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, that it would be peculiarly fitting if a companion peak nearby could be named after Judge Howay's life-long friend, Dr. Robie L. Reid. This suggestion was promptly submitted to the Geographic Board by Colonel Aitken, and official approval was given early in July. A few days later Mr. D. A. McGregor, editorial writer for the *Vancouver Daily Province*, wrote the following leading article, which appeared in the *Province* for July 7, 1944:—

"A MOUNTAIN MEMORIAL.

"Fifty-one years ago, two young men began the practice of law in partnership in New Westminster. They had long been close friends. They had both taught school in the Fraser Valley. They had studied together at Dalhousie University and read law in the Nova Scotia town of Kentville. Both were soon to marry daughters of Fraser Valley pioneers.

"The two young barristers were Frederick W. Howay and Robie L. Reid. The subsequent careers of these two men are well known. Both achieved prominence in the lower mainland community. Judge Howay, after serving as alderman and school trustee of New Westminster, went to the County Court bench, devoted his leisure to the study of British Columbia history and became a national figure and one of the authorities on the early history of the Pacific Coast. He died nine months ago.

"Mr. Reid, who had also served as an alderman of New Westminster, removed to Vancouver after his partner went to the bench and has long been in practice in this city, devoting himself, meanwhile, to public service in various fields. He was one of the first governors of the University. He served for many years on the Library Board. He was the first president of the Little Theatre Association. He was [one of the] organizer[s] of the British Columbia Historical Association. He also has been interested in British Columbia's early story and his contribution to the general knowledge of B.C. history has been enormous. Happily, he is still with us, though not as active as formerly.

"After the death of Judge Howay, the Provincial Government paid a unique tribute to his memory by naming after him a mountain peak north of Stave Lake. Now, a like tribute has been paid to the work and qualities of Mr. Reid. A mountain in the same area has been named Mount Robie

Reid. Mount Robie Reid stands 6,847 feet high near the head of Alouette Lake and west of Stave Lake.

"The two peaks are visible from New Westminster, where the partners began their life-work, and though they are 10 miles apart, at that distance they appear to stand side by side. And so they will stand, a continuing memorial to the high qualities and public spirit of two of British Columbia's finest citizens."

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The last regular meeting of the year was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of Thursday, April 27. Mr. F. C. Green, Vice-Chairman, presided. The speaker was Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, who spoke on *Peter and James and John*. The reference was to the three leading figures in the history of the fur trade on the Pacific Coast: Peter Skene Ogden, James Douglas, and John McLoughlin. Dr. Lamb explained that he referred to them in this familiar fashion because he wished to speak of the men themselves and their personalities, and not merely to outline their careers and list their accomplishments. It was usually forgotten, for example, that Ogden's ancestors had come to America as long ago as 1642; that he came of a family that produced many distinguished lawyers and judges who achieved distinction in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain; and that phrases and references in his letters indicated that Peter Skene himself had studied law. No other fur-trader had a more remarkable ability to handle both his traders and the Indians, as could be demonstrated by incident after incident dating from the great days of the Snake River expeditions to the tragedy of the Whitman massacre. James Douglas, equally successful and prominent in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, had very different gifts and a curiously different career. His life was primarily that of an administrator, and he advanced in life rapidly because he was always so well qualified for any higher position that might fall vacant or be created that he was the obvious choice for the appointment. McLoughlin, very different once again, was the most complex personality of the three, and unhappily his career, remarkable and successful as it was in many respects, ended in frustration and sorrow.

The annual summer meeting took the form of a garden party held in the grounds of "Little Harbour," the residence of Dr. and Mrs. T. A. Rickard, on the afternoon of Saturday, July 15. More than eighty members and friends attended. The guest speaker was Dr. Erna Gunther, Director of the Anthropological Museum at the University of Washington, who spoke on early Indian civilization in the Victoria region. She described the daily life of the Indians, and pointed out the ingenuity with which they made use of what they had. Known chiefly as warriors, hunters, and fishermen, the Indians were also fine farmers. Dr. Gunther deplored the loss of old traditions and native customs, and expressed the hope that the historian and anthropologist, working together, might recreate a permanent picture of primitive life on this continent. Dr. Rickard spoke on the history of

Victoria Harbour, and related interesting and little known facts about historic points in the vicinity of his home.

Mr. Justice H. B. Robertson, Chairman of the Section, presided at the outdoor programme, at the conclusion of which tea was served indoors with Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Curtis Sampson presiding. Mrs. Rickard, accompanied on the piano by Mrs. George Phillips, led in community singing.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Here is Alaska. By Evelyn Stefansson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943. Pp. 154. Illus. $3.

Intelligent curiosity concerning Alaska, and, more especially, the Aleutian Islands, has been stimulated by the incidence of war. The importance of Alaska, in these later days, is due largely to its geographic position, which makes it a key point in global air communication. Moreover, in this war, it is serving as an air-base for the coming attack on the Japanese outposts.

The American Northland is an interesting region, as is proved in this book, written by Evelyn Stefansson, the wife of *the* Arctic explorer, Vilhjalmur Stefansson. To most educated people the territory has been known as a sub-Arctic country, the chief products of which were gold, fish, and furs. The treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour pushed the United States suddenly into war with Japan, and the prompt action of the Asiatic savages in bombing Dutch Harbour, followed by landings on the Kiska and Attu islands of the Aleutian chain, brought Alaska into the footlights of contemporary history. Most of us therefore should be glad to read a book that tells us much about this part of the world, about its people and its resources, about its early development and its recent progress. The book is liberally illustrated by means of photographic pictures, handsomely reproduced.

The author takes us first to the Diomede Islands, the two stepping-stones from Asia to America. The international date-line passes between these two islands, one of which, belonging to the United States, is the island of today, while the other, belonging to Russia, is that of tomorrow. On Little Diomede a picture of Abraham Lincoln hangs in the school-house; on Big Diomede the picture in the school-house is that of Karl Marx.

The width of Bering Strait appears to be variable, for various distances have been given, ranging from 30 to 100 miles. One might infer that the two continents, Asia and America, advanced to, or retreated from, each other at intervals. Two years ago I took pains to measure the width of the strait on a good map, and found it to be 42 miles. Now our author says it is 56 miles. Whereupon I went to the office of the Surveyor-General and examined several maps. The most authoritative gave the distance as a little over 54½ miles. Mrs. Stefansson therefore is right. Perhaps we might accept 55 as the nearest approximation.

Next, our author refutes many of the current untruths about Alaska. Like her gallant husband, she is eager to protest against the idea that the great Northland is not fit for human habitation. Have you read Stefansson's *Friendly Arctic?* If not, do so. The persistent myth that Alaska is never warm is exploded by Mrs. Stefansson by quoting U.S. Weather Bureau statistics, which inform us of 100° F. in the shade at Fort Yukon and 99° at Fairbanks. The summers are warm, and yet bracing, on account of the

purity of the air. In winter it seems colder at Toronto or New York than at Nome or Dutch Harbour, as I know from personal experience.

The author explains the derivation of *husky*, the name given to the Eskimo dog. We are informed that some early traders in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company were Cockney Englishmen, improvident in their use of aspirates; so they called Eskimos, Heskimos. Therefore the dogs became Heskys, for short; and that was soon corrupted further to Huskys. The crews on the whalers in the Arctic seas used the name for the Eskimos themselves. Their name is derived from the Ojibway Indian word *ashkimaq*, which means " eaters of raw flesh." The Eskimos name themselves *Innuit*, meaning people. They are *the* people, just as the Huns deem, or deemed not long ago, themselves the master race.

A typical Alaskan village, Unalakleet, is described, with a detailed account of its Eskimo inhabitants. The start and development of agriculture is an important part of the story. " The plants grow according to the amount of sun they receive rather than the number of days they are in the ground, and this is believed to account for the size and goodness of the vegetables." Each family owns about two hundred reindeer, and the children are taught in school all about them so as to make the best use of them in their daily life. Fishing is important because it provides food for the dogs. Seals and whales are hunted. " Happy by nature, Unalakleet Eskimos find pleasure in almost all their activities, whether it be gardening, hunting, visiting, or playing."

The Aleutian Islands are passed in review. The number is not known accurately; it is more than sixty and less than a hundred and fifty. How large must a rock be in order to qualify as an island? The prevalence of thick fogs is due to the fact that the icy Arctic waters wash these islands along their northern coast, while the warm Pacific current passes along their southern shores. The meeting of cold air with warm water produces the fog. The Aleuts have a considerable admixture of Russian blood, thanks to the fur-traders of other days. Since the start of the war most of these natives have been removed to the mainland.

The outlying islands, but little known, are described by the author, who, evidently, has been to them. These include the Pribilof, or Seal, Islands, whose Eskimo inhabitants have been taken to Admiralty Island for the duration. Nunivak Island, near the coast between Bristol Bay and Norton Sound, is the second largest in Bering Sea. It is the site of successful experiments in the breeding of musk-oxen and reindeer. The first are valued for their meat and their wool, both excellent. Northward is St. Lawrence Island, the largest in these parts. This also, in prehistoric days, must have been a stepping-stone in the migration of the Mongoloid people to North America. In 1900 the United States Government placed seventy Siberian reindeer on the island to provide food and clothing for the Eskimo inhabitants. Now there are 10,000 reindeer on the island, in consequence of which the Eskimos are happy and prosperous. The author reminds us that the reindeer and caribou are the same kind of animal, the difference being in their condition, the one domesticated and the other wild.

Mrs. Stefansson devotes comparatively little space to the interior of Alaska, being herself apparently more familiar with the insular and coastal parts of the territory. But as these are the parts least known, her contribution to our knowledge of this northwestern region is the more valuable. Like the books of her intrepid husband, this is another useful and interesting addition to our information concerning a part of the world that is of constantly increasing importance.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The U.S.-Canadian Northwest: A Demonstration Area for International Postwar Planning and Development. By Benjamin H. Kizer. Princeton: Princeton University Press; and Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943. Pp. xvi., 71. $1.35.

There is an old Scottish proverb which says, "Guid gear gangs into little book." There is a lot of "guid gear" in this little book, and its publication at a time when there is so much discussion concerning the potentialities of the Northwest is not only opportune but will help to temper optimism with a sense of realism. The author, Mr. Benjamin H. Kizer, Regional Chairman of the National Resources Planning Board and Chairman of the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, has given us an excellent digest of a large subject. This vast territory, comprising roughly the Northwest expanse of the North American continent and under the suzerainty of both Canada and the United States, presents a challenge to a new pioneering spirit, not the old grab-and-get predations of the gold-rush days, but the rational development of the area's varied resources on a long-range plan. It presents another challenge also, namely, that of good neighbourly co-operation between Canada and the United States in agreement on the plan and its successful prosecution. A good deal of administrative groundwork has already been done. The Joint Economic Committee of Canada and the United States decided in January, 1943, to sponsor an international study of the region; the codirectors, Dr. Charles Camsell, Deputy Minister of the Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa, and Mr. J. C. Rettie, of the National Resources Planning Board, Portland, Oregon, were given the responsibility of analysing the economic data of the region on behalf of the Joint Economic Committee. Mr. J. C. Rettie under the aegis of the National Resources Planning Board has, in co-operation with his staff, produced some excellent brochures on the industrial development of the Pacific Northwest region, and Mr. Kizer acknowledges his debt to the work of the Portland office. There is no corresponding office in British Columbia nor has there been, to my knowledge, any comparable output of analytical material. The need for co-operative research on the West Coast is a primary condition of success.

The immediate background of the problem of the Canadian-Alaskan Northwest has been, of course, the military pioneering of the present war, namely, the building of the Alaska Highway, the Canol pipe-line, the string of airfields, the improvement of port facilities, etc. The degree of perma-

nence in these developments depends not only on the overhead cost of their maintenance but fundamentally on the supporting economy. There is no suggestion that these investments should be written off as war costs, but rather that they should become the framework of a post-war economic development offering opportunities for still further investment, for settlement and growth. It is in this light that Mr. Kizer views the whole problem. He sets himself the task of reviewing what is already known about the actual resources of this great region, the timber resources and their use for both primary and secondary production, the varied mineral resources and their utility in a variety of industries, the presence of good iron ores, coal, and limestone as the basis for a Pacific Coast steel industry, the agricultural possibilities and post-war settlement, the oil resources and their accessibility. This correlation of resources with potential economic development is linked in turn with the problems of transportation, by rail, by road, by air, and by sea. Here international co-operation is essential. The basic problem is to eliminate trade restrictions which, before the war, prevented the integrated development of the area. Canadians, and especially British Columbians, have looked with a sour historical eye on the Alaskan panhandle; it has shut out a good part of the Yukon, the North West Territories and Northern British Columbia from direct access to the Pacific Coast. American coastal shipping regulations and the tariff structures of the two countries have further aggravated the situation and turned their northern political boundaries into economic hurdles. It is one thing to make economic surveys and plans for development; it is quite another to get the two governments committed to joint action which will envisage long-range planning for the development of this vast territory as an economic whole. Mr. Kizer is well aware of all these problems and presents them not only in their historical setting but as a challenge to the future co-operation of Canada and the United States. Whether the reconciliation of political sovereignties with the economic unification of the Northwest can best be handled by an International Northwest Commission or by a series of treaties suspending shipping, tariff, and other restrictions on a regional basis is a question which Mr. Kizer does not touch. One has the feeling that he is content to leave it to the goodwill of the future, but Canada's recent action in providing for the reclamation of American-built airfields on her territory suggests that political sovereignty has still to find the appropriate means for making international economic co-operation a reality.

Mr. Kizer's book is not only written in a clear, concise style but is very suitably illustrated with good reference maps of the North Pacific region. Here is the last economic frontier of our continent, comparable with the climatic conditions of Northeastern Europe, and capable with its manifold resources of sustaining a new expansion of economic activity and a growing population. It lies on the Arctic air route to Asia and Russia; it also lies astride great natural resources hardly explored as yet but giving great promise for the future. All who are interested in that future should read Mr. Kizer's little book, *The U.S.-Canadian Northwest.*

VANCOUVER, B.C. GEORGE F. DRUMMOND.

Canadian-American Relations, 1875–1911. By Charles Callan Tansill. New Haven: Yale University Press; and Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943. Pp. xviii., 507. $4.50. (The relations of Canada and the United States.)

This stout volume might well have been entitled *Four Studies in Canadian-American Relations, 1875–1911*, for it consists essentially not of a continuous narrative but of four case-studies. The topics dealt with are the North Atlantic fisheries controversy, the Alaskan boundary dispute, the fur-seal arbitration, and the movement for commercial union that culminated in the reciprocity campaign of 1911.

British Columbians will naturally be most interested in the accounts of the Alaskan boundary and the fur-seal dispute. Both are considered at great length, the two studies together occupying 250 closely printed pages. Text and footnotes alike indicate that the search for material has been unusually widespread and thorough. In particular, the personal papers of many of the men concerned have been examined with care and discrimination, and the viewpoint of almost every important individual concerned in a matter at almost every moment is carefully noted. Unfortunately this approach carries with it a penalty, and the story is told in such detail that the picture as a whole tends on many occasions to be obscured. Indeed, one might hazard the opinion that the distinctive value of the whole book will prove to be its usefulness as a guide to a vast array of source material.

Canadians will find the discussion of the Alaskan boundary in some respects surprising. Thus the basic assumption throughout is that Canada's case was a trumped-up affair, and that she never really had a leg to stand upon. One of Laurier's private messengers is quoted as having confessed to the Americans: "Sir Wilfrid knows, and all of us know, that we have no case" (p. 239). Conscientiously believing this to have been true, Dr. Tansill feels that the Canadians were unreasonable and unreliable, to say the least, and that they were led by a group of politicians whose chief concern was their own continuance in office. By contrast, the British statesmen showed every desire to be accommodating, while south of the 49th parallel all was of almost lily-white purity—at least until the appearance upon the scene of Theodore Roosevelt. This interpretation takes far too little account of the fact that the British were "reasonable" because they actually knew very little and cared less about what was at stake, and that Canadian "unreasonableness" arose mostly from the exasperating conviction that the British would handle the Canadian case not on its merits, but in the way that best suited the over-all Imperial interests. If the whole matter had suddenly been turned over to Canada, to be settled by direct negotiation with the United States, the Canadian attitude would doubtless have been very different. As it is, the whole episode is not very much to the credit of any country or any person, and in the perspective of the years it begins to look as if nothing very vital had actually been at stake.

The account of the fur-seal controversy is less open to criticism, but it is clear that the author feels that Canada fared better than she deserved upon this occasion. His concluding word is that she "had been able to drive a hard bargain," and "secured a nice diplomatic plum," presumably because

(if Russian suspicions were correct) "President Taft was willing to make these concessions in order to prepare the basis for reciprocity negotiations."

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by CHARLES F. BANFIELD, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1944.

560-844-2058

The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

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