British Columbia Historical Association

(Organized October 31st, 1922)

Affiliated with the Canadian Historical Association

First Annual Report and Proceedings

"Help us to save the things that go:
We are the gleaners after time."
—Austin Dobson

For the Year ended October 11th
1923

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OFFICERS.

Patron:
His Honour Lieutenant-Governor W. S. Nichol.

Hon. President:
The Hon. J. D. MacLean.

President:
Judge F. W. Howay.

First Vice-President:
Beaumont Boggs.

Second Vice-President:
Dr. H. E. Young.

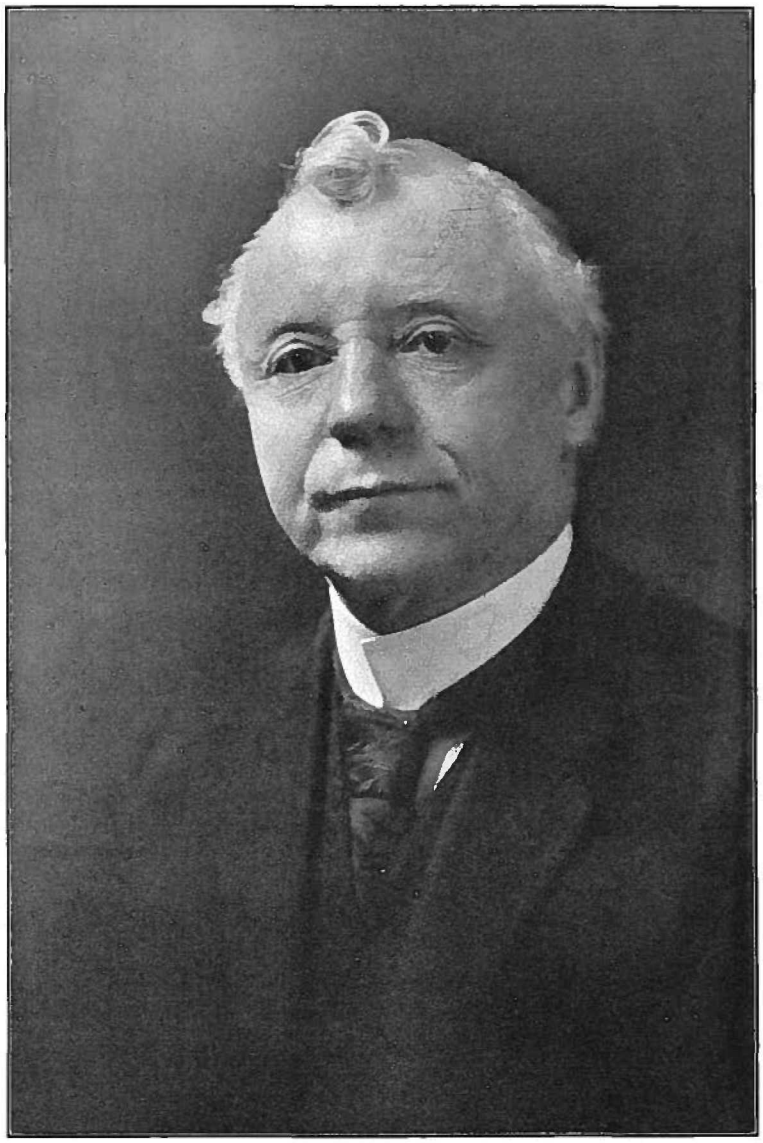
Secretary-Treasurer:
John Forsyth.

Editor:
Professor W. N. Sage, University of British Columbia.

Council:

F. M. Buckland.
Mrs. Cree.
B. G. Hamilton.
John Hosie.
Major F. V. Longstaff.
C. C. Pemberton.
R. L. Reid, K.C.
Judge Robertson.
Prof. W. N. Sage.
Dr. M. S. Wade.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary at the Provincial Library and Archives, Victoria, B.C.



JUDGE F. W. HOWAY.
President of the British Columbia Historical Association.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(1.) Name.

This society shall be known as the "British Columbia Historical Association."

(2.) Objects.

The objects of the Association shall be: To encourage historical research and public interest in history; to promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics, and other significant heirlooms of the past; and to publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.

(3.) Membership.

The Association shall consist of: *Members,* who shall be such persons as may be approved by the Council and whose annual dues shall be $2.

Honorary Members, who shall be persons specially distinguished for their attainments in history, and who shall have been elected to honorary membership.

Corresponding Members. Restricted to persons not resident in British Columbia, who shall be exempt from payment of fees.

Any organization may become a member subject to the approval of the Council and an annual payment of $5. A member organization shall be entitled to one representative.

All fees shall become due and shall be paid upon receipt of a notification from the Secretary-Treasurer or some one appointed by him. The fiscal year to begin on first day of October.

(4.) Officers.

The officers shall be a Patron, an Honorary President, a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer, and an Editor.

The Council shall consist of the officers, together with ten other members representing various districts of the Province, five of whom shall constitute a quorum.

The Council shall be elected at the annual meeting; nomination to be made from the floor, individually, and voted upon by ballot.

The duties of the officers shall be those generally attached to their respective offices, together with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

An annual allowance may be made for the work of the Secretary-Treasurer and Editor; the amount to be fixed by the Council.

(5.) Standing Committees.

There shall be such standing committees as may from time to time be created by the Association at its annual meeting. The Council shall have the power to appoint such other committees as it may think necessary.

(6.) Meetings.

The annual meeting shall be held in the Provincial Archives Department on the second Friday of October in each year, and regular quarterly meetings on the second Friday of January, April, and July.

Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum.

The officers and standing committees shall report at the annual meeting on the affairs of the Association and their statements may be published in an annual report.

The Council may include in the programme of the annual meeting such papers or addresses as in its opinion would further the aims of the Association and be of interest to the members; and it shall decide which, if any, of these papers or addresses are to be published.

Special meetings may be called by the Council whenever necessary.

(7.) Amendments.

The Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting by a two-thirds majority of the members present, provided that a written copy of the proposed amendment shall have been lodged with the Secretary-Treasurer at least one month prior to the date of such meeting, and provided that due notice of such proposed amendment be given to each member of the Association.

Roberts' Rules of Order shall apply to all meetings of the Society.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Annual Report and Proceedings.

INTRODUCTION.

By the Editor.

BRITISH COLUMBIA can claim to have a most fascinating history. Although it is not so lengthy as many others, it contains elements of romantic interest to a much greater extent than is usually realized. Two centuries after Drake and about half a century after Bering, Captain Cook landed at Nootka Sound in 1778; the North-west Pacific Coast of North America was still almost entirely unexplored. Maps are to be found in the Provincial Archives at Victoria, B.C., which show an immense inland sea stretching through the interior of British Columbia and on into the present Province of Alberta. The voyages of Cook and Vancouver, together with the explorations of the Spaniards, led to the opening-up of this hitherto little-known coast. Vancouver left his indelible mark on this region in the form of place-names, and it is to him that we owe the first accurate maps of the coast-line from California to Alaska.

The vast interior of our Province was first traversed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in his romantic "voyage" of 1792–93 from Fort Chipeweyan on Lake Athabaska to Dean Channel at the mouth of the Bella Coola River. He was the first white man to cross the Continent of North America north of the Spanish possessions, and with nine companions in a frail birch-bark canoe made his way up the Peace River to its southern source. Then after crossing the height of land he reached the Fraser River, after a truly awful journey along the Bad River. He followed the course of the Fraser until he reached the site of Alexandria, and then turned back and made his way along the Blackwater River. He then began an overland march which brought him to the Bella Coola River, by which he reached salt water at Dean Channel on July 22nd, 1793. It is to be regretted that Mackenzie's exploits have not been more heralded by historians. When we consider the magnitude of his discoveries, for in 1789 he had reached the Arctic Ocean from Lake Athabaska, having found and traversed the gigantic river which bears his name, we wonder why it is that practically every detail of a certain famous expedition of two well-known pathfinders, who were acting in a semi-official capacity and were accompanied by a military escort, should have been brought before the attention of the public, and the exploits of this Scottish-Canadian fur-trader and explorer should have been so neglected.

After Mackenzie came two other fellow-members of the North West Company, Simon Fraser and John Stuart, who founded posts in the northern interior, or New Caledonia as it was then termed, during the years 1805–7. Simon Fraser, assisted by Stuart, made his famous descent of the river which bears his name in 1808. It is a tribute to dogged British pluck that these two men ever made their way through the terrible canyons of the Fraser and reached the mouth of the river, but in awarding due credit for bravery on this hazardous journey we should not forget the French-Canadian voyageurs who accompanied their leaders and shared their dangers. Fraser discovered that the river was not the Columbia, and it was left to another Nor-Wester, David Thompson, to explore the greatest river of the west from its sources to its mouth. But Fraser and Stuart had not only blazed the way down the river which was to play such an important part in the after-history of British Columbia, but had founded in New Caledonia a rich "fur-trading empire" which centred around Fort St. James on Stuart Lake.

David Thompson, the astronomer of the North West Company, to whose journals, "Narrative" and map research students are now recognizing their great debt of

obligation, crossed the Rockies by Howse Pass in 1807, and founded Kootanae House near the headwaters of the Columbia River. Four years later, in 1811, he made his famous journey to the mouth of the Columbia. This voyage we now know was undertaken for purposes of exploration and investigation of the possibilities of trade rather than merely to forestall the Astorians in their settlement near the mouth of the river.

The Astorians, as the members of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company were commonly styled, entered into rather keen rivalry with the Nor-Westers, and in 1812, the year after the foundation of Astoria, both concerns erected posts at Kamloops. But in 1813 the Canadian company absorbed the American interests, only in its turn to merge its identity with that of its deadly rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, when the union of 1821 led to the reorganization of the great British trading company.

From 1821 to 1846, the date of the Oregon Treaty, the Hudson's Bay Company reigned supreme over the vast territory from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains and from California to Alaska. The depot was at Fort Vancouver, now Vancouver, Washington, and the ruler was, until 1845, Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor in charge of the Western Department. It was during this period that Fort Langley was founded in 1827, the first trading-post on the British Columbia coast, and the place at which the economic life of the lower mainland began. Fort Langley's salmon and potatoes helped to supply the needs of the Hudson's Bay forts in the Western Department. Even more important was the building of Fort Victoria in 1843. Around this post grew up the city which was to be the centre of the Colony of Vancouver Island, and which is now the capital of the Province of British Columbia. With the foundation of Fort Victoria, the names of two Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Factors, James Douglas, afterwards Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., and Roderick Finlayson, are for ever associated. But in 1843 it is probable that few persons connected with Fort Victoria foresaw the subsequent development of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

The Oregon Treaty of 1846 fixed the boundary between British and American territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and as a result the Hudson's Bay Company moved its depot north to Fort Victoria in 1849. In the same year the company obtained title to Vancouver Island on condition that a colony be established there. There was something just a bit incongruous in the foundation of a colony by a fur-trading company which was naturally none too anxious to see settlement anywhere in the fur country, and it is not surprising to read that the colony did not develop rapidly. A Royal Governor, Richard Blanshard, was sent out from England, but on his arrival he found little for him to do. James Douglas, the Chief Factor of Hudson's Bay Company, was in control of the situation and the excellent Blanshard was decidedly in the way. He had not even an official residence provided for him, and had to live either on shipboard or as a guest in the Hudson's Bay fort. He wrote long and numerous dispatches to the Home Government, and finally retired with his grievances to England. James Douglas became Governor of Vancouver Island, and he ruled with the aid of his Legislative Council. In 1856 a Legislative Assembly of seven members came into existence, the first of its kind west of the Great Lakes. The Speaker was Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, and the majority of the members were in some way or other connected with the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1858 a new era dawned in the history of our Province. Gold was discovered in paying quantities on the Fraser River, and the great gold-rush began. Victoria became a city of tents, and every boat from California brought in more prospectors who were endeavouring to make their way to the new El Dorado. Governor Douglas found himself confronted with a serious problem, which he sought to solve without prejudicing the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company on the mainland. The British Government soon took action and set up the Crown Colony of British Columbia on the mainland, appointing Douglas Governor of both colonies on condition that he severed all connection with the Hudson's Bay Company. Douglas did so and held both offices until his retirement. British Columbia was literally the "Gold Colony." For nearly a decade its development was determined by the success of the diggings. A ribbon of settlement was formed along the Fraser and later it extended into the

Cariboo country as well. The capital of the new colony was placed at the town named by Queen Victoria New Westminster.

The two colonies did not agree well together. The mainland objected to being ruled by a Governor who lived at Victoria. There was also difficulty regarding fiscal arrangements, especially after Douglas's Proclamation of January 18th, 1860, which made Victoria, including Esquimalt, a free port. Separate Governors were appointed when Douglas retired, but still the difficulties remained. Finally the two colonies were united in 1866, the union being inspired and carried out by the Home Government.

The United Colony had but a brief career. It was evident that it must seek to become part of a larger union, if it was ever to have any chance of success. Two courses lay open to the colonists, and advocates for each were not lacking. The first was to seek annexation to the United States of America; the other was to join the Canadian Federation. Fortunately for British North America, the latter course prevailed, and the Province of British Columbia became part of the Dominion of Canada in 1871.

Since Confederation the Pacific Province has developed steadily. The first necessity was the building of a transcontinental railway to connect British Columbia with Eastern Canada. The terms of Confederation required the construction of the railway within a period of ten years. The people of British Columbia expected to have the terms fulfilled to the letter, but they were to be bitterly disappointed. At length feeling grew so strong that a demand for separation from the Dominion took shape. Fortunately this calamity was prevented, but it took many years for British Columbians to believe that they were being absolutely fairly treated by their sister Provinces in the East. The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1886 and the link with Eastern Canada was finally forged. Since then two other transcontinental railways have been built, and Vancouver has become one of the chief ports on the Pacific Coast.

For many years after Confederation the old animosities between "mainland and island" gave colour to local politics. Party government was not formally established until 1903, when Sir Richard McBride took office at the head of a Conservative Cabinet. But this action can hardly be said to have increased the intensity of political strife. British Columbia has had a series of distinguished Prime Ministers, including Amor de Cosmos, John Robson, Alexander and Theodore Davie, and, of course, Sir Richard McBride.

British Columbia is to-day taking her part in the affairs of the Dominion. She holds a strategic position in the North Pacific and is Canada's "little window open towards the West." But in this case the West is the Orient. In British Columbia the farthest West meets the farthest East. For although she is geographically separated from the rest of the Dominion, British Columbia is intensely Canadian in feeling and is extremely loyal to the British flag.

In natural resources British Columbia is one of the richest Provinces in Canada and she is now becoming more and more the outlet for the wheat of Alberta and Western Saskatchewan.

Lumber, gold and other minerals, fruit and fish, have been for years products of supreme importance, and now the grain trade through the port of Vancouver is assuming considerable proportions.

The above brief sketch of the history of the Province, incomplete and inadequate as such a sketch must be, is offered as the chief reason for the existence of the British Columbia Historical Association. The interest which has already been shown by those who have studied this subject has been great, and there are many books which deal with the history of British Columbia. But, as is only too often the case, the people of the Province have not, as a whole, concerned themselves much with its past. There has been good reason for this. British Columbians are practical people, and they have been so immersed in the solution of present-day problems that they have had but little time to consider the previous development of the country. But now there is an ever-increasing demand that the history of British Columbia should be taught in the schools of the Province, and, as the Secretary's Report shows, steps are already being taken to meet this demand.

It is very fortunate that the Provincial Library and Archives is able to provide students of British Columbia history with adequate facilities for research. To the late Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield, Librarian and Archivist; to Dr. Henry Esson Young; to Mr. R. E. Gosnell; to His Honour Judge F. W. Howay, the President of the British Columbia Historical Association, and also to Mr. John Forsyth, the Provincial Archivist and Librarian, and to his able and industrious staff, the gratitude of the people of British Columbia is due. The University of British Columbia is also doing what it can to further research in the history of the Province, and hopes to train graduate students in this interesting and absorbing field.

In presenting this report to the members of the Association it is necessary that we should crave some indulgence. It is not so extensive as we hope that some day it will become. None the less it represents a real beginning, and if it should stimulate some interest in the study of British Columbian history it will have accomplished its purpose.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

By John Forsyth.

In reviewing the activities of the past year it may be well to make some reference to the origin of the movement to form this Association. It was found that many local societies were taking some interest in historical matters relating to the Province, but with the various activities of these bodies they could not be expected to fill the place of an historical society. Moreover, there would always be to some extent duplication of effort. To obviate this it was considered advisable to form a Provincial Association, with which all societies interested in historical work could affiliate and thus co-ordinate the work. Accordingly a public meeting was held in the Archives Department on Tuesday, October 31st, 1922, when it was decided to form a British Columbia Historical Association, which would act as an auxiliary to the Provincial Archives Department.

During the course of the year various questions were brought forward for discussion; among these were the following:—

Mr. Harlan I. Smith, on the preservation of petroglyphs near Nanaimo.

Mr. Louis C. J. Matthews, of Port Nitinat, on the preservation in some printed form of the Indian legends of British Columbia.

Mr. T. W. Cornett and Professor Sage introduced the question of assistance to graduate students in historical research-work by some Canadian organization. The suggestion was endorsed by the Association in the form of a resolution, which was forwarded to the President of the Associated Canadian Clubs. The matter was again brought before that body at their Annual Convention in Victoria by Mr. Cornett and the Convention agreed to take action

Mr. C. C. Pemberton revived the question of preserving the old farm-house at Colwood, also the erection of a monument on Gonzales Hill overlooking the Strait of Juan de Fuca to feature the course sailed by Captain Vancouver. The Victoria Chamber of Commerce kindly furnished a panoramic photograph showing the view from the site of the proposed monument. This proposal was brought before the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, but the Board ruled that the plan was too ambitious for them to undertake.

The following papers and addresses were given before the Association:—

Mr. C. C. Pemberton, on "The Cruise of the 'Warspite.'"

Mr. J. Hosie, on "Thomas Muir, the Scottish Political Reformer and Martyr," and his connection with Vancouver Island.

Mr. J. Forsyth, on "Pedro Alberni and the Spanish Garrison at Nootka."

Mr. J. Forsyth, on "The Pioneer Press of British Columbia."

A synopsis of some of these papers, along with His Honour Judge Howay's Presidential address, accompany this report.

Under the direction of Mrs. E. C. Hart, a very enjoyable field meeting was held at Witty's Lagoon on Saturday afternoon, July 7th, 1923, when opportunity was afforded for inspecting Indian mounds and other historic features.

Several standing committees were appointed to carry out the objects of the Association, and a summary of their annual reports is furnished herewith.

Marine History.

Major F. V. Longstaff reports that with a view to collecting data for the compilation of the Naval and Mercantile History of Vancouver Island and British Columbia he has had considerable correspondence with the British Admiralty and persons connected with maritime affairs on the Pacific Coast, and has also made extensive research into naval literature and shipping news as contained in the early press of Vancouver Island.

Indian History.

The Committee under the convenership of Major F. V. Longstaff is preparing an introduction to a bibliography on the Indians of British Columbia.

Local History.

The Committee under the convenership of Mr. C. C. Pemberton is undertaking the collection of data on local institutions, schools, churches, etc., the preservation of street and place names, and historic sites. The places whose history will be the subject of immediate investigation are as follows: James Bay; Laurel Point; Shoal Point; Ogden Point; Dallas Road; Beacon Hill; and Clover Point.

The Committee, in collaboration with the Archives Department, undertook the work of indexing the Victoria Gazette, the pioneer newspaper of British Columbia.

Educational.

A Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. V. L. Denton is co-operating with school-teachers in helping to disseminate reliable information on British Columbian history in the schools, and making known the resources of the Provincial Archives for this purpose. The report shows that a large number of teachers from the Victoria City schools, both private and public, have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded them to bring their history classes to the Provincial Archives. Students from the Normal and High Schools have also made good use of the original source material in their work. The teachers taking the history course under Mr. Anstey at the Victoria Summer School paid several visits to the Archives, and it is understood that the Summer School next year will have a regular course in the study of local history from the resources of the Provincial Archives.

Genealogy.

At the request of several members of the Association a Genealogical Committee was formed. This Committee, in charge of Mrs. E. C. Hart, is now laying the foundation for the systematic collection of records, journals, and reminiscences of pioneer residents. For the present their investigations will be confined to the period previous to 1873, but they will take vital statistics up to the present time. The Committee received valuable instruction from a noted genealogist, Mr. J. R. Totten, Editor of the New York Genealogical Record, who has also kindly furnished the Committee with record-books and prepared blanks, and is presenting to the Provincial Library for the use of the Committee and the general public a set of the New York Genealogical Record for 1923 and 1924.

Mr. Miller Higgs, a member of this Committee, who has done a large amount of genealogical work, has kindly donated a number of books on that subject to the Provincial Library, where they will be available to all interested.

The Secretary has kept in close communication with various societies and individuals interested in historical work. Among these may be mentioned the Art,

Historical, and Scientific Association, of Vancouver; the Canadian Historical Association; the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada; the various posts of Native Sons of British Columbia; the Natural History Society; the Vancouver Island Branch of the Canadian Authors' Association; Post No. 3, Native Daughters of British Columbia; and the Lady Douglas Chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, which, under the Regency of Mrs. McMicking, has maintained active co-operation with the Association.

Historic Sites.

Probably the most outstanding event in the history of the Association during the past year is the action which is being taken by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, upon the representations of our President, His Honour Judge Howay, on having some important sites in British Columbia marked with bronze tablets. The sites to be marked are as follows:—

(1.) *Nootka Sound.*—To commemorate its discovery and importance as an early trading centre, the international dispute which arose therefrom, and the work of Captain Vancouver.

(2.) *Fort Langley.*—To commemorate the first trading-post on the British Columbian Coast, the economic beginnings, fishing and farming, and the birthplace of the Crown Colony of British Columbia.

(3.) *Yale.*—To commemorate the Cariboo Wagon-road.

(4.) *Fort George.*—To commemorate Sir Alexander Mackenzie and the first overland voyage to the Pacific in 1793.

(5.) *Prospect Point, Vancouver Harbour.*—To commemorate the historic S.S. "Beaver," "whose story is the story of the early development of the Coast."

Although we may not have accomplished much this year, it is gratifying to know that our membership is steadily increasing. There are now fifty-three individual members and three affiliated societies. A number of individual members who have joined recently reside in distant parts of the Province and have all promised to co-operate by sending the Association reports on historical matters in their respective districts. It was hoped at some future time that the Association would be able to print its proceedings in the form of a Quarterly Journal, but until the financial condition of the Association improved it was decided to start with the publication of the Annual Report.

I am confident that the creation of the Historical Association and the keenness shown by many of its members in having historical records preserved is rendering much service to our Provincial Archives. I notice that during the past year there has been a greater interest in historical matters, and we have received several valuable diaries of pioneers, photographs, and other exhibits. I have had considerable correspondence with historical societies as well as individuals in both Canada and the United States, and have found in every quarter the possibility of co-operation and the expression of a hope that we shall soon be disseminating information through the medium of some form of publication.

THE EARLIEST PAGES OF THE HISTORY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY JUDGE F. W. HOWAY AT THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 12TH, 1923.

I wish on this occasion to trace in a general way and as interestingly as possible the earliest days of our Province, to strive to show that we had a story before the advent of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that we had a story before the days of Cariboo and its wondrous gold wealth—yes, that we had a story before the foot of Hudson's Bay trader or Nor' West trader ever trod our soil. Not only so, but also that this story of our birth and infancy is just as interesting and romantic as that of our adolescence.

I desire in this connection to stress the great influence exerted upon our story by the search for two things—the search for the North-west Passage and the search for the sea-otter.

The clouds of doubt and darkness that from the beginning of time had rested upon the western coast of North America found their last abode within the confines of the Province of British Columbia. The search for the North-west Passage lifted these clouds for an instant; the search for the sea-otter dispelled them altogether.

Long before the days of Columbus many dreamed of a navigable water communication between Europe and China; after 1493 this became a fundamental tenet of geography. With the increase of geographical knowledge the great island-studded ocean, which in the early maps occupied the space where is now the Continent of North America, gradually dwindled down into a mere strait, the Strait of Anian, or the North-west Passage, as it was commonly called. But as a strait it persisted. And the mere fact that it did not exist in any particular latitude in which the geographers had placed it was held to be no proof of its non-existence; but only proof of its non-existence in that place. In fact, it was a kind of peripatetic waterway whose location depended, as Sam Weller would have said, "upon the taste and fancy" of the geographer. Finally, the poor strait was driven clear off the map of the Atlantic Coast, but that did not dispose of it. It must exist; and if it did not reach the Atlantic Ocean, it must enter into Hudson or Baffin's Bay.

We turn now to the Pacific Ocean side. In 1579 Sir Francis Drake, the freebooter, had ravaged and pillaged the coast from Chili to Mexico. With the hold of the "Golden Hind" filled with treasure, he feared to return to England by way either of Cape Horn or of the Cape of Good Hope, lest he should be captured by the Spaniards. He determined to sail home through the North-west Passage. Of course, the effort was unsuccessful. Drake reached, in this search, perhaps 48°, certainly 43°. Ink enough to float the "Golden Hind" has been spilled in the discussions as to his extreme point.

The only spot left for this poor hunted strait, then, was north of Drake's limit; so it, like a hunted hare, found refuge for years right within our boundaries. Some of the early maps of the 1600's and 1700's show this region as vast sea; others show it as a collection of islands; others again show it as a wide strait; while others show it as containing two or even three straits. Naturally, the spot became a favourite with romancers. Bacon, that wisest and that meanest man, selected it as the location of his ideal land of Atlantis. And if you will take the trouble to follow carefully the course of the good ship "Adventure," as recorded by the voracious, if not veracious, traveller, Captain Lemuel Gulliver, you will find that his land of Brobdingnag was in this very latitude, and if you examine the map which is to be found in the early editions you will conclude that it could have been none other than our own Island of Vancouver. In this neighbourhood, also, three persons at least claimed that they had found and sailed through a North-west Passage—Maldonado, de Fonte, and de Fuca. It is not my purpose to enter into any details of these alleged voyages. Maldonado's was always regarded as a false tale; de Fonte won belief for a few years, but later he also was found to be false; but de Fuca, for some unaccountable reason, has had believers in his story up to the present day. He was a more fortunate liar than either of the others, that was all. Either the geography of our country has changed wonderfully since he sailed across and through the great barrier range of the Rocky Mountains and the vast prairies, or else the voyage was never made and is naught but the baseless fabric of a dream. And his supporters may take whichever horn of the dilemma they may think the more softly cushioned.

Aside from Drake's voyage, two nations only, until 1778, gave any attention to the coast-line of the Pacific—Spain and Russia. Vastly different reasons were operating in their respective cases. Spain's only interest was in obtaining information of the existence of harbours that might furnish refuge to the treasure-ships from the Philippines. Beyond that, she neither wished to know nor to have any other nation discover what lay hidden under the mists of the North.

The Russians were impelled by a totally different motive. Making their way from the Ural Mountains across the great steppes of Siberia, they reached the Pacific Ocean. Bering and Chirikoff's vessels, in their search for the non-existent Gamaland and in seeking the division between Asia and America, brought back hints of fur-wealth. The Promyschleniki, in their crazy, thong-woven boats, followed then the trail of the silver fox, the fur-seal, and the sea-otter from Kamschatka to the Aleutian Islands, and thence from isle to isle, until they reached the mainland of America.

Neither of these nations was much concerned with the search for the North-west Passage. In that quest, however, the English had, from the earliest times, taken a lively interest. And there is no page of the maritime history of England more replete with deeds of daring, with cool courage, and with patient perseverance than that on which is written the story of that search. It was, as you all know, one of the terms upon which the Hudson's Bay Company obtained its charter in 1670 from King Charles II. But for 200 years after the days of Drake the English made no effort to attack the problem from the Pacific Ocean side. Then in 1776 the great Captain James Cook sailed on his third and last expedition, which had as its object the discovery of this long-sought strait, for which the British Government had offered a reward of £20,000. Here, again, as in many other instances, the search for the false brought truth; the search for the false Philosopher's Stone and the Elixir of Life brought us the truths of chemistry, and the false science of astrology brought us the truths of astronomy. The false North-west Passage brought the first knowledge of our Province.

Before dealing with Captain Cook, who is regarded as the discoverer of our Province, a word must be said about a Spanish voyage which, in reality, preceded Cook, though that fact was not known for many years, and hence has no real connection with this sketch, but which, in the interest of truth, must be mentioned.

In the eighteenth century Spain still clung to her dream of world domination and to her ownership of the Pacific Ocean. Learning that the Russians had crossed into Alaska and made settlements, Spain decided, in 1774, to dispatch an expedition to take possession of the north-western coast and hem them into the hyperborean regions in which they had settled. These Spaniards, under Juan Perez, were the first of civilized persons to see any portion of our Province. They saw and skirted the western shores of Queen Charlotte Islands and also anchored near the entrance of Nootka Sound. But they did not land at either spot; though some little trading took place on the vessel's deck. The two friars religiously recorded all the events of the voyage, and noted carefully many facts concerning the natives. Their journals were conscientiously copied and transmitted to Spain, and conscientiously buried in the Archives. They were not given to the world until 1891—almost 120 years later.

Then in March, 1778, Captain James Cook arrived at Nootka. His arrival was purely accidental. He had been absent from England nearly two years and his vessels were in need of refitting. This truth forced itself upon him in a gale off Cape Flattery. He resolved to make land immediately; and that land happened to be Nootka Sound. As he approached the harbour the Indians came out in their canoes to meet him; they sang songs of welcome as they neared the vessels; they cast feathers upon the water in token of amity; their chief, probably the well-known Maquinna, delivered a lengthy but unintelligible harangue. The repairs, as frequently happens when old things are the subject, occupied much more time than had been originally anticipated. In the result, Cook remained about a month at Nootka; but in all that time he never seems to have heard anything to lead him to suspect that the Spaniards had preceded him by almost four years. This lengthy visit gave him an opportunity to learn much of their habits, customs, mode of life, tribal arrangements, and language; of all of which he has left us full and accurate descriptions.

If the ship needed repairs, so also did the clothing of his seamen, who took the opportunity to replenish their wardrobes with the only materials that the country afforded—furs. About 1,500 sea-otter skins were thus obtained at a cost of, perhaps, sixpence each. Six of the very finest, says Captain King, were purchased for a dozen

large green glass beads. When the vessels reached Kamschatka the sailors began to suspect the real value of these furs, so casually obtained. At Canton they realized it. One sailor sold his stock for $800. A few very choice specimens brought $120 each. The crew were almost on the verge of mutiny in their desire to return to the North-west Coast to make their fortunes by obtaining a cargo of these furs, so valuable and so easily acquired.

If Captain Cook, therefore, did not discover the North-west Passage, he, at any rate, discovered the maritime fur trade. It may, perhaps, not be uninteresting to recall that Captain Cook's death was directly connected with his visit to our shores. After leaving Nootka Sound he had attempted to make his way to the eastward from Bering Strait, but was driven back by the ice, and had returned to the Sandwich Islands for the winter. Incipient trouble having developed with the natives of the Sandwich Islands at Karakakooa Bay, Cook had determined to leave the spot for ever. Soon after sailing, however, he discovered in a gale that some of the work that had been done at Nootka Sound was defective. To make the necessary repairs he knew of no safe place except Karakakooa Bay. He was accordingly forced to return. He reached Karakakooa Bay on February 11th, 1779, and was killed three days later.

The British were naturally the first to enter into the maritime fur trade. At the commencement the skin of the sea-otter only was sought. To realize the immense effect of the search for the sea-otter on the geographical knowledge of our coast, we have only to remember that Captain Cook had seen but one small spot on our coast —all the remainder was totally unknown. Whether it was an unbroken line of land, or cut with enormous bays, or fringed with a great archipelago, no one knew. The first maritime trader came in 1785, and within seven years thereafter the outline of the whole coast from the Columbia River to and beyond Sitka had been spelled out and pieced together in a rough way. Vancouver, as it were, polished and adjusted the work of these maritime traders.

A word may, perhaps, be said here about the sea-otter. It stands side by side with the beaver as one of the great impelling forces in the history of Canada, and divides with the beaver the honour of inciting the geographical discovery in America.

John Jewitt, the captive of Nootka, thus describes this interesting animal: "It is nearly 5 feet in length, exclusive of the tail, which is about 12 inches and is very thick and broad where it joins the body, but gradually tapers to the end, which is tipped with white. The colour of the rest is a shining silky black, with the exception of a broad white stripe on the top of the head. Nothing can be more beautiful than one of these animals when seen swimming, especially when on the look-out for any object. At such times it raises its head quite above the surface, and the contrast between the shining black and white, together with its sharp ears and a long tuft of hair rising from the middle of its forehead, which look like three small horns, render it quite a novel and attractive object." In Jewitt's time they were quite tame, but when the Indians began to hunt them with firearms instead of the old-fashioned bows and arrows, they became much more difficult to approach.

At this time there existed two great monopolies in the Pacific Ocean—the monopoly of the South Sea Company and the monopoly of the East India Company. All of us remember from our childhood days the story of that lurid national dream of wealth—the South Sea Bubble. By virtue of the South Sea monopoly no British subject could trade west of Cape Horn except by its permission; and by virtue of the East India Company's monopoly no British subject could trade east of Cape of Good Hope without its permission. Thus, their combined effect was to close the whole Pacific Ocean to the British trader, unless he paid for the privilege. This bears very directly upon the maritime fur trade; for the sea-otter were only obtainable on the north-western coast of America, and were only saleable to advantage in the Canton market. To carry on the sea-otter traffic legally a British subject required these two licences—which must, of course, be paid for, and which frequently contained very stringent terms. Some British traders obtained both licences; some only one licence; some masqueraded under the flags of other nations—Meares operated under the Portuguese flag, Barkley

operated under the flag of Austria, Barnett under the flag of Sweden, and in all probability it will be found that Douglas operated under the flag of the United States—while some more daring, or more frugal, quietly and unostentatiously ignored their existence and took the risk of capture and confiscation.

The earliest traders found an unlimited supply of sea-otter skins, purchasable for articles of small value; and at the same time a hungry market in China. A prime skin—i.e., one that would reach from a man's chin to his feet—could then be obtained for a piece of hoop iron 5 or 6 inches long; in China it was worth then about $40. I quote the words of Dixon, one of the earliest traders, who was on our coast in 1787:—

"A scene now commenced which absolutely beggars all description, and with which we were so overjoyed that we could scarcely believe the evidence of our own senses. There were ten canoes about the ship which contained, as nearly as I could estimate, 120 persons; many of them brought most beautiful sea-otter cloaks; others, excellent skins; and, in short, none came empty-handed; and the rapidity with which they sold them was a circumstance additionally pleasing; they fairly quarreled with each other about which should sell his cloak first; and some actually threw their furs on board, if nobody was at hand to receive them; but we took particular care to let none go from the vessel unpaid. Toes were almost the only article we bartered with on this occasion, and indeed they were taken so very eagerly that there was not the least occasion to offer anything else. In less than half an hour we purchased 300 sea-otter skins of an excellent quality."

In a manuscript journal another trader, who was at the same spot a year later, gives the following picture:—

"We soon saw their village, from which they launched twenty or thirty canoes and came off in great parade, paddling off swiftly and singing a very agreeable air. Of these people were purchased to ye amount of 200 skins in a very few moments for one chisel each."

The Americans entered the trade in 1788. In the keen competition that ensued the monopolies, to which reference has been made, militated strongly against the British. From all such galling restrictions the Americans were quite free. Naturally they soon obtained the mastery. Boston was the great centre of this trade; so much so that, as you all know, in the Chinook jargon, the word "Boston" signifies an American. Boston—

> That city of culture and cod
> Where a Lowell may speak to a Cabot
> But a Cabot speaks only—to God.

The North-west Coast soon became a mere trade suburb of Boston; and so it remained until the Hudson's Bay Company entered into the struggle and secured the control of the fur trade for the British; but by that time the sea-otter had become practically extinct. To show how destructive this trade had been, it may be stated that whereas in the early years of the trade, say 1785 to 1800, it was not uncommon for a vessel in one season to obtain from 1,000 to 1,500 or 1,800 sea-otter skins, yet in 1834, when the British had at last regained the supremacy, at Fort Nisqually only one sea-otter skin was offered for sale; and even that was not purchased, inasmuch as the entry in the fort journal records that, as the price could not be agreed upon, the Clallam Indians, who had the skin, had returned to their home and taken the skin with them.

To succeed in this trade required much initiative and originality. The Indian was always very whimsical and his whimsicalities increased with the competition for his furs. The usual items of trade were bars of iron, sheets of copper, knives, axes of all kinds and shapes, chisels, pots and pans, mirrors, guns and gunpowder, blankets, clothing, blue cloth, and (we should blush to admit it) rum, besides, of course, buttons, beads, bells, trinkets of all kinds, etc. But the traders found that while iron might be in demand this year, next year it would purchase nothing; again, clothing might this month be the one thing desired, yet next month it would be quite worthless as a medium of trade. Perhaps then nothing but copper would be required; but when it

was offered the sheets might be rejected as being too thick or too thin, or for some other reason.

Naturally, the effort of the traders was to ascertain what the changeable natives wanted, or thought they wanted, and to supply it. If the trader could go further and create a demand for something that he alone could supply, he frequently reaped a rich reward for his ingenuity. One of the best examples in this regard is that of Joseph Ingraham, who, in 1791, was in command of the Boston brigantine "Hope." When he reached Queen Charlotte Islands, Ingraham found the natives fully stocked with clothing, knives, pots, and pans, etc. In his own words, he realized that he had arrived "the day after the fair." But he had come to get sea-otter skins and sea-otter skins he would get. Observing the fondness of the Indians for bracelets and necklets, he determined to create a demand for a new and fashionable article—iron collars. Accordingly he ordered his blacksmith to cut iron rods of about half an inch in diameter into suitable lengths to slip over the head and encircle the neck; three of these pieces were neatly twisted together to form a collar and were then nicely polished. The hideous ornament when completed weighed from 5 to 7 lbs.; but fashion never did count inconvenience. The new fashion took by storm the belles and beaux of Queen Charlotte Islands. Fashionable articles are proverbially expensive. This latest fad in attire cost three prime sea-otter skins. Wherever he went, Ingraham, metaphorically speaking, put the natives in irons. Articles of utility were contemned; every one must be in the fashion; every one must have his iron collar. In 1793, when Alexander Mackenzie reached Cascade Inlet, he saw amongst the natives there iron collars similar to those which Ingraham had invented. With these iron collars Ingraham succeeded in obtaining in forty-nine days more than 1,400 sea-otter skins. But when he returned in the following year stocked with iron collars and with daggers in the form for which the Indians has been asking, he found them both quite useless. The Indians would have none of them; now they wanted tablespoons—which previously they would not accept as a gift—heavy sole-leather, to make their coats of mail, and a special kind of pearl shell.

The Indian is fond of music—not Beethoven's sonatas, but of his own type. When in gala attire he delights to be like the old woman in the song, who had—

> Rings on her fingers—bells on her toes,
> And so she makes music wherever she goes.

Before the advent of the white man he adorned his ceremonial robes with bears' claws and deer's hoofs, which rattled, dull and low, as he moved. The traders met this taste, first by importing Chinese cash—the cheap Chinese copper money with a square hole in the centre; these sharpened the note, but then they were not to be depended upon to keep up a really incessant jangle, which was the great object to be reached. So the trader imported thousands and thousands of thimbles. Thimble manufacturers began to wonder how industrious the Indian women must be; but in truth the thimbles were for the men—not for sewing, but to be perforated and then to hang on the fringe of their garments.

Langsdorff, a German in the Russian service, had remarked the high esteem in which ermine-skins were held by the natives. He had observed that on a ceremonial occasion no dancer was completely and properly attired unless he had them on his head, or in his hands, or sewed to the edges of his garments. An American trader converted this taste into money. He purchased in Boston some 5,000 ermine-skins at 30 cents each, and on arriving at Queen Charlotte Islands in 1804 he exchanged them at the rate of five for a prime sea-otter skin, i.e., $1.50 for $40. Verily, this was profitably carrying coals to Newcastle.

One unscrupulous trader noticed how greatly the haiqua shell—*Dentalium indianorum*—was valued by the Coast Indians, amongst whom it fulfilled many of the functions of money—a sort of Western Wampum. He conceived the plan of having a large quantity of porcelain imitations of these shells manufactured in England. Though the false "shells" were so well executed in size, colour, form, and polish that they had a very natural appearance, yet the natives were not to be imposed upon.

The fraud was at once detected and the pretended shells treated with the contempt they deserved.

The traders came for sea-otter skins; it was their way of following Iago's injunction, "Put money in thy purse." If the Indians had the skins they bartered for them, using, as I have shown, every artifice that ingenuity could devise. But sometimes the wily savage—for, as Marchand has said, "the modern Hebrew could teach the Indians nothing in the art of bargaining"—held out for a higher price, or for some reason either could not, or would not sell. Then, it is said, and I fear with too much truth, that some of the traders simply took his skins by force and allowed him what they thought fit. Indeed, some of them, Kendrick, Ingraham, and Boit, admit using force to obtain skins, though, of course, each has a specious explanation. Unfortunately we have not the Indians' version of these affairs. Such a proceeding could never have occurred in the land trade, which was carried on year after year by the same two companies; but the maritime fur trade consisted in a mere series of disconnected and individual efforts; and as the ship or her captain might never be on the coast again, any conduct that brought present returns was pursued, with utter disregard to the effect that it might have on the future traders.

At first the trade was only carried on from May till September in each year, and then the vessels departed for the Sandwich Islands, where the winter was spent in the pleasant climate of those blessed islands. But as competition increased, the season was slowly lengthened, and quite frequently the traders spent the winter in some harbour on the coast of Vancouver Island or in the Columbia River. Increasing scarcity of furs and keener competition caused the traders at last to remain steadily at work during the whole twelve months. Here we see the same conditions producing the same effects that are found in the land trade.

In the early stage the vessels did not deign to approach the shore, but at a distance of from one mile to two or three leagues they fired a gun and hove-to to await the Indians, who paddled out to them with their furs, but here again, with the competition, a change occurred. The traders came right into the little harbours, in which the Indian villages were usually situated. No longer was he required to follow a will-o'-the-wisp miles out at sea. Finally, some of the traders introduced a custom of coming to a village, casting anchor, and staying there for weeks, so long as the crop of furs continued to be gathered.

Competition forced many actions that were not in the interests of safety. The principal change in this respect was in the method of making the barter. At the outset the natives surrounded the ship in their canoes and the traffic went on over the ship's side; no one being allowed on board but the chief or some great man. To ingratiate themselves and to secure furs, the traders felt it to be good policy to show favours by invitations to come on board the vessel; this, naturally, grew until the natives were allowed on board quite indiscriminately and until, finally, they felt that they had a vested right when trading their furs to be upon the vessel's deck. It is easy to see how this liberty gave opportunities to pilfer, and, ultimately, as "the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done," led to attempts at capture—oftentimes but too successful.

THE PIONEER PRESS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

An Address by J. Forsyth to a Joint Meeting of the B.C. Historical Association and the Vancouver Island Branch of the Canadian Authors' Association on June 5th, 1923.

The year 1843 marked the founding of Victoria, and many interesting records have been preserved in the form of individual diaries and official correspondence of those who guided affairs of the infant colony of Vancouver Island. To these we must look for information concerning the early history of this country from 1843 to 1858, as we had no local newspaper until the latter year. True, we are fortunate in still having

with us pioneers who can recall many interesting events, but just such happenings as may have been impressed on their memory. The other day I had a good example of this in conversation with one of the oldest residents, Mr. J. R. Anderson. A large-scale map of Victoria was produced, and on this map my friend pointed out in a few minutes what constituted Victoria in 1851. First of all, the Fort with its buildings. On the site of the present Arcade Block there were two buildings 25 feet long; the northern one was a bakery and the southern one Governor Blanshard's residence. Then between View and Yates a small fort was erected in 1851, and Mr. Douglas occupied it as an official residence and office. The stockade was about 50 yards square. At the junction of Douglas and Johnson Streets at the ravine there was a little cemetery.

Between the present post-office and Bastion Street were two log houses about 20 feet long, used by employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.

On the left of Fort Street, just above Douglas, were the Hudson's Bay Company's stables and barns, consisting of two buildings, one about 60 by 40 feet, the other 40 by 25 feet.

The area contained within the present Fort, Vancouver, Courtney, and Broad Streets was cultivated area.

There was a house in the vicinity of Burdette and Douglas, where a man named Gullion and his wife lived.

Dr. Kennedy lived in a house on Burnside Road, where it crosses the Colquitz.

Also on Burdette, near Vancouver Street, there was a dairy and cow-stables.

It will be noted that there were very few houses, most of the ground being occupied as farm lands. Among these was Beckley Farm in James Bay, within the area bounded by Government, Superior, Oswego Streets, and Dallas Road.

North Dairy Farm was on Quadra, at the Cedar Hill cross-roads.

Staines's Farm was on some flat ground facing Shelbourne Street.

John Tod had a farm at the Willows.

This concluded Mr. Anderson's description of Victoria in 1851, and I feel much indebted to him for these particulars, as we purpose having a plan made showing the location of these places in relation to present-day sites.

There was not much progress made in colonization until 1858, which is probably the most eventful year in the history of this country. Many things happened, all as the result of the discovery of gold in Fraser River. Victoria, hitherto but a sleepy hamlet with a population of two or three hundred, suddenly sprang into a city of thousands.

The Hudson's Bay Company had been given a grant of Vancouver Island in 1849, and this was revoked in 1858. At the same time the Hudson's Bay Company's charter of exclusive trade on the Mainland was revoked and the Crown Colony of British Columbia proclaimed.

With the stream of immigrants from California came two publishers to whom we are indebted for our first newspaper, and this brings me to the main topic of my address.

In the official correspondence and journals is carefully recorded the progress and development of these British colonies in the Pacific, but it is to early journalistic enterprise that we turn for enlightenment concerning scenes and events that are fast fading from memory, as the newspapers of these colonial days furnish many interesting particulars of the careers of men who were destined to achieve success.

To the "Victoria Gazette" belongs the honour of being the first newspaper printed on Vancouver Island. It was published within the Fort grounds by James W. Towne & Co., of California, the editors being H. C. Williston and C. Bartlett. Among those who witnessed the printing of the first issue on June 25th, 1858, were Governor Douglas and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first nine numbers, from June 25th to July 24th, 1858, two issues weekly, were printed on a large sheet, and from thence to the end of June 23rd, 1859, on a smaller sheet; each issue consisted of four pages and cost 25 cents, but latterly the price was reduced to 12½ cents.

Having no telegraphs or international news service, and mails but once a fortnight, this pioneer news-sheet forms a striking contrast to our present-day papers. Perhaps it is well that these limitations did exist, as otherwise we could not now enjoy those little paragraphs, apparently trivial, but nevertheless having such human interest, throwing fascinating side-lights on the character of the people and enabling us to appreciate the conditions existing in a new country.

In our present generation a casual visitor to the editorial department wonders how it is possible to get a readable sheet from an apparently confused mass of clippings, paste, hieroglyphic notes, and the every-day rush of a newspaper office, and few expect that the editor would have drawing-room comfort, but that the publishers of the "Victoria Gazette" did not lack humour is evidenced in the description of their editorial sanctum when they inform the public that the room is more remarkable for extent than convenience. Its walls abound in crevices through which the wind bears with an impartial equality the seeds of catarrh and bronchial afflictions to the editors, proprietors, and typographers. "Its floor is of a shaky character, and where each passer imparts a tremulousness to its surface which occasions the present writing to assume a character that Champolion, were he one of our compositors, would find it difficult to decipher." The "editor's desk" is a bundle of printing-paper skilfully poised upon a leather trunk, vibrating with each movement of the writer's hand, and compelling him to double up his person in the act of preparing "copy" in a manner more curious than graceful.

"The editor's easy chair is a Chinese trunk, whose height would be on the level with the desk but for the brilliant idea of increasing the height of the latter by the paper expedient alluded to. Two huge fireplaces adorn our sanctum, these ornaments having been built with a view to convey all the heat as well as the smoke up the chimney. We had designed supplying these fuel-eaters with a pile of lumber belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company stored in the premises, but the printers having occupied it in lieu of a table, we have been compelled to postpone indulgence in that (to us) economical expedient. The pleasant sounds of wood-sawing, nail-hammering, etc., add to the facilities of editorial labour and an occasional procession of Indians cheers and invigorates the writer by stopping and surrounding his locality of labour, and gazing upon his deeds with the expression of intelligence common to the physiognomy of the intellectual race of which they are the representatives.

"Under such circumstances our reader will see that making up an interesting sheet is but a trifling task."

The same issue, June 30th, 1858, makes mention of a pioneer Chinaman in Victoria, though a small number of citizens of the Flowery Kingdom are known to have left California in the Fraser River exodus. "From a sign which appears in our streets, however, it may be presumed that John is among us, as it bears the euphonious and suggestive legend, 'Chang Tsoo.' Doubtless ere long the familiar interrogation of 'Wantee Washee' will be added to our every-day conversational vocabulary."

(To this announcement the following foot-note appears) :—

"N.B.—Since the above was penned a batch of Celestials have landed from the Oregon and are camped in the vicinity of the sign in question. Whether their efforts will be devoted to the washing of gold or of clothing is a point yet to be ascertained, but we shall lay it before our readers at a moment as early as the grave importance of the subject demands."

At this time the gold fever was at its height, and Victoria, hitherto but a sleepy hamlet, suddenly sprang into a town of between six and seven thousand inhabitants. It was during this excitement that the "Victoria Gazette" came into existence. It was to all intents and purposes a daily paper, being printed five days of each week. Its pages are full of glowing accounts of the rich discoveries in the Fraser River region. Boats could not be built quick enough to transport the miners to this Eldorado, and we find that in "French Ravine," at the back of Johnson Street, more than a hundred boats were in course of construction. A boat to carry six or eight persons cost about $100, but many of these adventurous gold-seekers risked their lives in frail craft, with the result that a large number were drowned.

This paper underwent several changes in form of name and date of issue. As already stated, the first nine numbers, between June 25th and July 24th, 1858, were printed on a large sheet issued twice a week, and titled the "Victoria Gazette" From Vol. I., Nos. 10 to 74, July 28th to October 26th, 1858, it was known as the "Daily Victoria Gazette" (being issued five days a week), and from Vol. I., No. 75, to Vol. II., No. 75, it reverted to its old name "Victoria Gazette" and was issued three times a week between October 28th and June 23rd, 1859.

There was also a "Weekly Victoria Gazette" issued between February and November, 1859. The original publishers dropped out and Captain King started another "Victoria Gazette," which was issued three times a week between December 5th, 1859, and July 30th, 1860, and from thence to September 29th, 1860, it became a weekly under the title of the "Victoria Weekly Gazette."

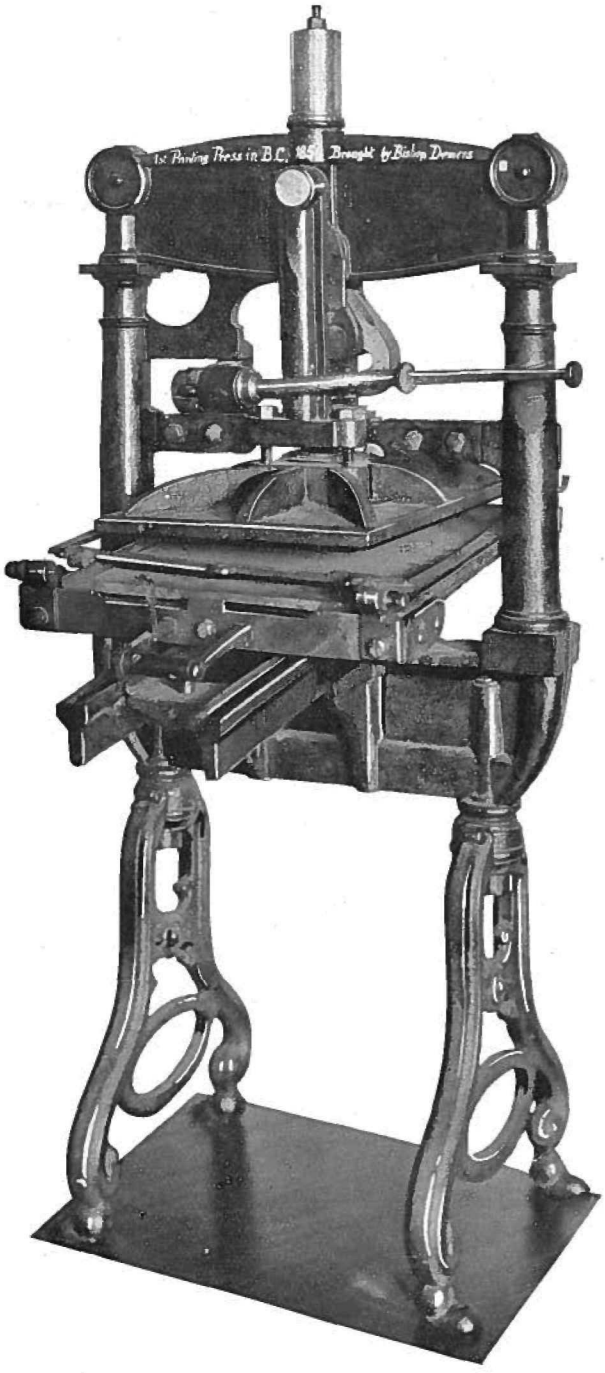
For using the same name for his paper, Captain King, a British Army officer, was sued by the former publishers of the "Victoria Gazette," and it is interesting to note that pending a settlement of the case three issues of the paper, December 12th, 14th, and 16th, appeared without a name. It is said that Attorney-General Carey put King in gaol and that Carey wrote a paper on the "Victoria Gazette." However, another party continued the paper under its original name for a time.

On July 28th, 1858, Frederick Marriott started the "Vancouver Island Gazette," and published about eight numbers. It was evidently a paying concern for Marriott, but the people ushered him out of town, as he had acquired $7,000 or $8,000 by doubtful methods.

Marriott also published Government notices in a Gazette apart from the above paper. He also printed a French paper called "Le Courier de la Nouvelle Caledonie," a political and literary journal to serve the French population in this territory. The paper was edited by W. Thornton, with Count Paul de Garro as proprietor, and several numbers were issued between September 11th and October 8th, 1858. It was printed with old-fashioned French type on a hand-press given to Bishop Demers by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of Paris. This hand-press, as shown in the photograph, is reported to have been about one hundred years old at that time, and the first in British Columbia. After doing service for "Le Courier" it was transferred to the "Island Sentinel" office at Kamloops and used for jobbing-work. Here it ended its active career, and about fifteen years ago it was presented by Dr. M. S. Wade, then proprietor of the "Sentinel," to the "Sisters" at St. Ann's Convent, Victoria, where it now forms one of a series of interesting exhibits in their museum, and where we had it photographed recently.

One interesting figure connected with the publication of "Le Courier" was Paul de Garro, a French count who had left France during the political troubles of 1851, in the reign of Napoleon III. When Bishop Demers gave up "Le Courier" the Count was at a loose end. He took a position as a waiter in a restaurant, where we are told many Victorians would go merely for having it to say that they had been waited on by a real live count. In 1861 the Count, like many others, had caught the gold fever and took passage in the steamer "Cariboo Fly" bound for the Cariboo mines. As the vessel was leaving the harbour it was blown up and among the bodies recovered was that of the Count. It may also be noted that de Garro printed and published in 1858 a pamphlet of forty-nine pages by Alfred Waddington, entitled "The Fraser Mines Vindicated, or the History of Four Months." This was supposed to be the first book published on Vancouver Island, but the editor of the "Victoria Gazette" gives priority to David Cameron's "Rules of Practice," and they also state that a group of proclamations regarding government of British Columbia preceded Waddington's pamphlet, so that this would make it third in order of publication.

It will be seen that many of the early newspapers had a short and checkered career until Amor de Cosmos started publishing the "British Colonist," a small, four-page sheet issued three days a week. The first number appeared on December 11th, 1858, and it continued until the autumn of 1863. The subscription was $5 per annum, or 25 cents per copy.



FIRST PRINTING-PRESS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

This press was brought here from France in 1856 by Bishop Demers and used by Count Paul de Garro while printing *Le Courier* at Victoria in 1858. It was subsequently used in *The Sentinel* office at Kamloops. The above photo was taken by kind permission of the Sisters of St. Ann's Academy, Victoria, to whom the press was presented about 1908 by Dr. M. S. Wade, of Kamloops.

A "Weekly British Colonist" was first issued on December 3rd, 1859. The first issue consisted chiefly of a review of Waddington's pamphlet on the Fraser mines, criticism of the Government of the Island, and discussed the question of an intercolonial railway.

Photographic reproductions of this first issue of the "British Colonist" have been circulated at various times, and one of these being of the same size as the original and having no souvenir mark, it bears a striking resemblance to the original. I have seen several of these copies, the owners of which can hardly be convinced that they are not original issues.

While the "British Colonist" was still being published another paper called "The Press" appeared. It was published daily with the exception of Saturday and Sunday, although a morning edition was issued on Sundays. The first number was issued on March 9th, 1861, and as far as we know continued until October 3rd, 1862. A semi-weekly "Press" was issued at the same time, as an advertisement to this effect appears in the daily paper.

"The Press" was published by Leonard McClure, the same person who made the longest speech on record in the Legislature of British Columbia As the identity of the person who performed this remarkable feat is sometimes questioned, some having attributed it to De Cosmos, it may be well to set down a few details as given by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, who from his long association with journalism and the Government service may be accepted as a reliable authority on the subject. He says: "About 1865 times were very hard, and the previous year a great many tax sales took place. The Legislature was in session, and the twelve months in which to redeem the land was just about expiring. Strong pressure was brought to bear on the Government, and at the last moment a Bill was brought down by message from the Governor extending the time for twelve months to give the owners a chance to pay up their delinquent taxes and get back their land. It happened that De Cosmos, among others, had been a large purchaser at tax sales, and as the Bill had to pass through all its stages by 12 o'clock noon the next day, he and a fellow-journalist, Leonard McClure, also in the House, determined to talk it out. McClure took the floor at 2 p.m. and spoke continuously for sixteen hours, when De Cosmos took up the discourse and had spoken for six hours when the hour of noon struck and the Bill was lost. It was true that when he finished he was almost inarticulate and all but exhausted, but the great strain was endured by McClure, who, as a result, contracted an illness from which he died later in California. So far from De Cosmos speaking twenty-six hours, he spoke six, and the entire time consumed between the two was twenty-two hours."

On April 27th, 1863, "The Daily Evening Express" appeared, and as far as our library files go it was published up to February 12th, 1865. The first eight numbers bore the title "Daily Evening Express," and on subsequent copies, although the title "Daily Evening Express" is retained in the body of the paper, the front title is "Evening Express," and has the royal coat-of-arms. The volumes look odd, as there was no uniformity in the size of the paper. It was published by Wallace & Allen at first on Langley Street, off Yates, and later at Moore's Hall, Yates Street.

Another paper circulating at this time was the "Victoria Daily Chronicle," published by Higgins & McMillan upstairs in Smith's fire-proof building on Government near Yates Street. The "Evening Telegraph" was issued in July, 1866. It was printed on Langley Street, and issued every morning except Saturday and Sunday, but had a Sunday morning edition. Another paper first published in Victoria in 1859 by E. H. King was the "New Westminster Times," edited by Leonard McClure.

So far I have dealt only with the Colony of Vancouver Island. I now turn to New Westminster, as the publishing centre for the Colony of British Columbia. Here the "British Columbian" was first published as a weekly in February, 1861.

Then there was a scurrilous little paper called "The Scorpion," to be published whenever it was convenient by "Josiah Slumgullion," on St. Patrick's Square, New Westminster, and containing political skits of the time. The first issue appeared on March 11th, 1864, but "The Scorpion's" wit had little appreciation from the public,

as only a few numbers were issued. To quote an "Important Notice": "'The Scorpion' will hereafter be furnished to the public at the greatly reduced rate of one bit (12½ cents) per number. This is just one-fourth the price of the "London Punch," and no person would for a moment hint that this sheet is not superior in every respect to that miserable rag."

Here and there a little joke at the expense of the Island Colony, such as "Why is the City of Victoria like an undutiful son? Ans.: Because it won't afford house-room for its Governor."

On November 2nd, 1864, G. F. Parsons published a semi-weekly called the "North Pacific Times and British Columbia Advertiser."

Of the early papers published on the Mainland there is one which stands out pre-eminent. This was the "Cariboo Sentinel," first published by George Wallace, at Barkerville, in June, 1865. The subscription was $1 per week. It was evidently intended to issue twice a week, but early issues only appeared once a week. The paper changed hands several times. Wallace was succeeded by Allan & Lambert, later Allan & Co., and in 1868 Robert Holloway was proprietor.

Another New Westminster paper was "The Examiner," a semi-weekly, first published on November 9th, 1866, by Alex. Rose and Henry Havelock, at Columbia Street. Later it was called the "British Columbia Examiner."

But the unique specimen of journalistic enterprise extant in the Province is a complete file of the "Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette," which was published in 1858 and 1859 on board the troopship "Thames City," when this vessel was voyaging from England to the newly-organized Colony of British Columbia with a detachment of the Royal Engineers under the command of Captain Luard. The paper was written by hand, and was read every Saturday night to all on board by the commanding officer. This interesting memento was presented to the Provincial Library some years ago by the late Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Wolfenden, King's Printer, who was a member of the corps.

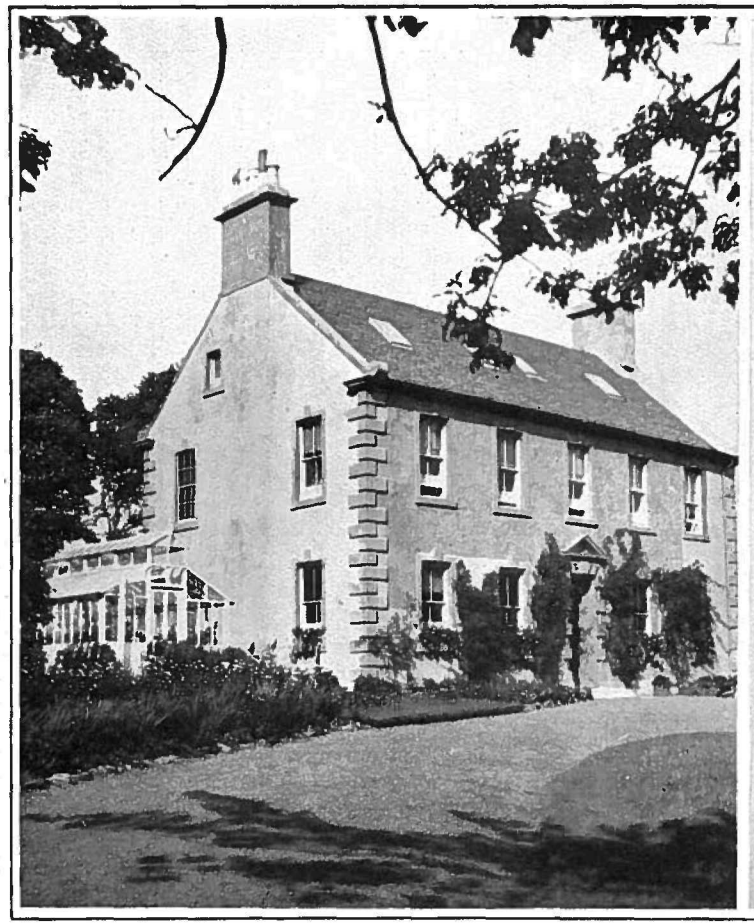
THOMAS MUIR. SCOTTISH POLITICAL MARTYR, AND HIS CONNECTION WITH VANCOUVER ISLAND.

By John Hosie.

The story of Thomas Muir is one of the most tragic in the annals of any country. The matter of Muir's connection with Vancouver Island was first brought to my attention by the late James McEwan, himself a reformer in a quiet way, who presented me with a tract entitled "The Convict and his Bible," which set forth the main facts of Muir's troubled life with much pathos and a moral. But it impressed me and made me keen to know more of this brilliant but unfortunate man.

Muir was born at Hunter's Hill, near Glasgow, on August 24th, 1765. He was the only son of James Muir, a prosperous merchant of Glasgow and proprietor of the estate of Hunter's Hill. He appears to have been a bright, intelligent, and lovable child, adored by his parents. He was sent to the grammar school of the neighbouring city, and from there he proceeded with high hopes and ambitions to the University of Glasgow. No boy ever entered that classic seat of learning more richly endowed physically and mentally, more apparently favoured of the gods. But the gods play queer tricks sometimes with those they love.

Muir was nurtured in a godly home. His parents were both deeply religious. The Holy Bible was their meat and drink, their chart and compass. They desired nothing better than that Thomas, the apple of their eye, should dedicate himself to the Church. Whatever the reason, this desire was not fulfilled, for Thomas forsook divinity for law, and made great progress in his studies. He was an omnivorous reader, and early associated himself with the more advanced schools of political thought and reform. Falling foul of the college heads for his share in some lampoon directed against them, he was summarily expelled from the University with twelve others.



Hunters Hill House, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow.
Birthplace of Thomas Muir.

Thomas Muir.
From "Mackenzie's Reminiscences of Glasgow."

He continued his law studies at the University of Edinburgh, where he took his degree and was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates on November 24th, 1787, at the age of 22. He soon acquired a lucrative practice and became an eloquent and persuasive pleader. It was frequently his pleasure to plead gratuitously for the poor and oppressed, a fact which made him beloved in certain quarters—and anything but loved in others. He was in close touch with the movement for reform that was then spreading over Britain and was keenly interested in the progress of the French Revolution. He became a member of the Society of the Friends of the People, which had for its object reform by constitutional means.

Soon he had taken the platform in the cause of reform. He found himself addressing concourses of people in various parts of the country. He made it clear that he was opposed to sedition in any shape or form. But he became a marked man. Who was this bantling that was putting silly ideas into the heads of the common people? He was arrested on a charge of sedition. The charge included harbouring the writings of Tom Paine, which at that time were proscribed. After a preliminary hearing he was liberated on bail. He immediately posted off to London and thence to France. He was well received in Paris, and dined and talked frequently with Lafayette. The revolutionaries apparently looked upon him as one of themselves, nor did they forget him, as we shall see later. By now he had been outlawed and a price set upon his head. He had committed the unpardonable crime of going to a foreign country while his trial was pending. It is clear, however, that he had no intention of evading trial, evidence the following excerpt from a letter dated Paris, February 13th, 1793:—

"I will return to Scotland without delay. To shrink from danger would be unbecoming my own character and your confidence; I dare challenge the most minute investigation of my public and private conduct. Armed with innocency, I appeal to justice, and I disdain to supplicate favours."

Unfortunately the British blockade of the French ports made his return for a while impossible. After numerous delays he reached Stranraer, Scotland, where he was immediately arrested and conveyed to Edinburgh. He chose to defend himself at the trial, rejecting the offer of his best friend in the law, Thomas Erskine (afterwards first Baron Erskine). He spoke for nearly three hours in his own defence. It was impassioned but unavailing oratory. He was a condemned man from the moment of his arrest. Lord Braxfield, indeed, would have strung him up without the bother of a trial. The hand-picked jurymen were of the same mind, and Muir received a sentence of transportation for fourteen years.

Muir's friends were dismayed, his parents heart-broken. He himself displayed magnificent fortitude. He was lodged temporarily in the Tolbooth, pending his removal to the hulks en route to Botany Bay. Influential friends immediately set about to obtain if possible a commutation of his harsh sentence. Sheridan and others pleaded for him in the House of Commons, in vain. In the Lords a solitary peer, Earl Stanhope, stood for clemency. "Talk not to me of Liberty," said this nobleman, "in Scotland there is none."

The day arrived for Muir's departure from Leith in the miserable company of felons and convicts. He was never to behold his native land again. His weeping mother embraced him for the last time, and put in his hands a little pocket Bible with the inscription, "To Thomas Muir from his afflicted parents." This Bible is alleged to have played an important part in his subsequent experiences and even to have saved his life.

On the voyage outward to Botany Bay Muir seems to have been treated with kindness and respect. There were kindred spirits on board in the persons of Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, political reformers like himself suffering for their faith. His only misdemeanour was in speaking to Palmer after having been forbidden to do so following Palmer's complicity in a frustrated mutiny.

In the convict settlement Muir proceeded to make the best of things. He was in fair health and philosophic enough to see the futility of moping. He was not without money. He established himself on a small farm a little removed from the centre of

the community, and devoted his leisure to writing. Later his house was burglariously entered and his papers and other valuables stolen.

Although reconciled to his fate. Muir was destined to remain but a short time at Botany Bay. Better for him, probably, had he remained under what, after all, was a fairly easy surveillance. But his friends had not been idle in his behalf. In France and in the United States of America great had been the indignation at the severity of his punishment. That he escaped on an American vessel, "The Otter," of Boston, is a matter of historical record. But who sent the ship to Botany Bay, and whether she came on a special mission of rescue, are questions which have yet to be decided. McKenzie's "Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland" (page 84) deliberately states that "The Otter" was sent by George Washington:—

"Captain Dawes,* the American messenger of mercy, as we may call him, sent by Washington on this errand, had soon the exquisite satisfaction of seeing and saluting Thomas Muir, and of grasping him cordially by the hand, *and of whispering into his astonished ears the message he bore to him from Washington.*"†

If true, this was an extraordinary act on the part of the First President of the United States. But can we believe it? Muir's former association with Lafayette, and the latter's friendship with Washington, might dispose us to put some credence in the tale; while in "The Trial of Thomas Muir" (Edin., 1793), Appendix, page 13, appears a letter signed J. Muir (father of Thomas), in which he states "there is many letters wrote for him (Thomas) to the first people in America. And once he were there, he'll get letters to General Washington."

It is clear that Muir had friends in the United States, but which or how many of them were responsible for "The Otter's" part in the convict's escape will probably never be known. "The Otter" was on a voyage to the North-west Coast of America. Unless she had some special reason for doing so, why should she have gone by this unheard-of route, careering over Southern Seas when she should have been heading for the Northern Pacific? Her mission to Botany Bay is more or less of a mystery, but we know that when she left she had on board Thomas Muir and several other convicts.

The facts of Muir's escape are vouched for by two independent authorities: First, Péron in his "Memoirs" (Paris, 1824), who voyaged with Muir to Nootka; and, second, Collins in his "Account of the English Colony of New South Wales" (Lond., 1798). Péron's log of the voyage is a piquant narrative. He frequently mentions Muir and confesses his respect for the latter's character and attainments. Collins records the departure of Muir as follows:—

"On the morning of the 18th (February, 1796) 'The Otter' sailed for the North-west Coast of America. In her went Mr. Thomas Muir (one of the persons sent out in 'The Surprise' for sedition) and several other convicts whose sentences of transportation had not expired. Mr. Muir conceived that in withdrawing (though clandestinely) from the country he was only asserting his freedom, and meant, if he should arrive in safety, to enjoy what he deemed to have gained of it in America, until the time should come when he might return to his own country with credit and comfort. He purposed practising at the American bar as an advocate, a point of information which he left behind him in a letter."

Somewhere in the Pacific en route Péron named one of a group of islands "Péron & Muirr."

They reached the Strait of Juan de Fuca on June 5th, 1796, and anchored at Clayoquot on June 21st. Here they bought provisions from the Spaniards and had various exciting experiences with the Indians. At Nootka they met Maquinna. Péron states that Maquinna had with him a boy of 6 of whom he seemed very fond. Péron imagined that the child was Maquinna's own son and complimented the Chief on the

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* The correct name was Dorr.

† Following the address objection was taken on this point by Professor Samuel Bemis, Whitman College, Walla Walla, and Mr. F. H. Soward, of the University of British Columbia, who were present at the meeting. They could not agree with the theory that Washington had any hand in the escape of Muir.

boy's attractiveness and comeliness. Maquinna replied that the boy was not his son, but that he belonged to him, however, and that he meant to eat him that very night for supper. Maquinna was finally persuaded to sell the child to Péron for a few measures of blue cloth.

Bartering with the Indians, two needles were given for a salmon 2 feet long, and four needles for a salmon 4 feet long. Some difficulty was experienced in escaping from the Indians at the village of Out-Cha-Chel.

"The Otter" continued north to Bucareli Bay, on the west of Prince of Wales Island. Whether Muir went with her, or remained for a space at Nootka, or was transferred to some other ship, Péron omits to say. He makes no further mention of Muir until, on October 31st, 1796, he reached Monterey going south, where he states that Muir had preceded him.

Four months had elapsed between the time of their visit to Nootka and their subsequent meeting at Monterey. What happened to Muir in the interval? Did he, as asserted by Mackenzie, make his way on foot and alone from Nootka to California, a distance of 4,000 miles, "his little pocket Bible his only friend and companion"? This I find impossible of belief. It may be that he never left "The Otter" at all, and that Péron's statement that "Muir had preceded us in Monterey" may mean that Muir was one of four men sent ashore from "The Otter" to reconnoitre the day prior to the ship's anchoring in that port. Péron also says that Muir had acquainted the Governor of his (Péron's) arrival. How could Muir have known of Péron's arrival if he had been parted from him for four months? Here is a mystery which can only be solved by a perusal of authentic documents (if any) left by Muir. One fact is substantiated by the Péron narrative: "The Otter" was not wrecked at Nootka, as stated by Mackenzie and others.

I will pass hastily over Muir's subsequent adventures. The Governor of Monterey was kind to him, but his later experiences at Havana were anything but pleasant. The Governor of Havana shipped him on a Spanish frigate bound for Cadiz. Off the coast of Spain the vessel was pursued by two British men-of-war and fired upon, capitulating after eight hour's pursuit. Muir was badly wounded during the engagement. One account states that one side of his face was completely shot away; another that his pocket Bible saved his life. Lying on deck apparently dead, he was found by a British officer, who thought he recognized in him an old college friend. And so it was; the pocket Bible completed the identification. Realizing that if Muir were carried back a prisoner to England his end would be swift, the officer placed him in a small boat in the company of a number of Spaniards, with instructions to care for the wounded man and to make for the coast of Spain, which they did in safety.

Muir remained for some time a prisoner in Spain, but was, through the good offices of the French Directory, removed to Paris, where he was received with much honour and hospitality. Everything possible was done to ease his suffering, but his wounds were serious, and he died at Chantilly on September 29th, 1798, at the age of 33.

He is commemorated on the historic Martyrs' Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh.

(NOTE.—Since the foregoing paper was read at a meeting of the British Columbia Historical Society on July 13th, 1923, an exhaustive story of the life and viscissitudes of Muir appeared in the American Historical Review for October, 1923. The authors, M. Masson and Dr. J. F. Jameson, have had access to source material in the Spanish Archives and elsewhere, and the result is a very clear and cogent narrative entitled "The Odyssey of Thomas Muir." The question as to how Muir reached Monterey from Nootka is finally settled in this article; he boarded the Spanish ship "The Sutil" at Nootka and proceeded in her to California. "The Odyssey of Thomas Muir" reveals an enormous amount of laborious research, and we commend it as the most complete and authoritative memoir of Muir yet written.)

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