

THE
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY



JANUARY, 1937

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

EDITOR.

W. KAYE LAMB.

ADVISORY BOARD.

JOHN GOODFELLOW, *Princeton.*

F. W. HOWAY, *New Westminster.*

T. A. RICKARD, *Victoria.*

W. N. SAGE, *Vancouver.*

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.

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VOLUME I.

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*“Any country worthy of a future
should be interested in its past.”*

EARLY SHIPPING IN BURRARD INLET 1863-1870.

Last year many eyes were turned to Vancouver's magnificent harbour, and it may therefore be of interest to sketch the economic development of the port—the roots from which its present importance has sprung—and its steady and gradual growth in the years between 1863 and 1870.

The very first land access to Burrard Inlet, as Vancouver Harbour was then called, was a trail built in 1859 from New Westminster to Port Moody, at the head of the inlet, by the Royal Engineers, then located in that city. This was a purely military move, for the purpose of affording an outlet in the rear of their camp and a second means of approach. When Admiral Baynes was in Burrard Inlet on H.M.S. *Plumper*, in October, 1859, he bethought himself to pay a friendly visit to Colonel Moody, the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers. Writing of the occasion, he speaks of Port Moody as "a fine harbour from which there is a trail cut to New Westminster, the future capital of British Columbia." He then proceeds: "A trail is a rough path cut through the woods, the distance about six miles which I had nearly accomplished when a horse sent by Col. Moody met me. I was not too conceited to mount and save myself the last half mile. These trails are rough walking with stumps and inequalities liable to trip one up every moment; so that it is necessary to look at your steps." In 1861 the trail was transformed into a road, the North Road as it has ever since been called. There was not at that time a single white person living on the inlet.

The wealth of the sea and the forest drew attention to the commercial possibilities of the inlet. As early as April, 1863, G. Tranfield, a fish and game dealer in New Westminster, sent several men to the inlet to fish for cod to supply the markets of the mainland. John Robson, the owner and editor of the *British Columbian*, ever alert for openings for expansion, urged capitalists to canvass carefully the possibilities of this industry. In that connection he stressed the necessity for a road from New Westminster that should reach the inlet near the First Narrows. He had already pointed to the timber wealth and

directed the attention of the lumbermen of Canada and New Brunswick to the great opportunity it offered and the fine harbour on which it was situated. Burrard Inlet at that time was indeed a veritable lumberman's paradise. It had one of the finest stands of easily accessible timber in the colony; from the First Narrows to Port Moody on both sides the land was covered with the finest fir and cedar.

The first step to utilize the latent timber wealth of the inlet was taken in the winter of 1862. T. W. Graham & Company, contractors and builders, of New Westminster, had secured pre-emptions on 480 acres of timber on the north shore of the inlet at the spot later, and for many years, known as Moodyville, now a part of the City of North Vancouver. They began the construction there of a sawmill which was completed and in operation by the end of June, 1863. This mill, known as "The Pioneer Mills"—the first industrial plant of any kind on the inlet—was operated by water-power. It had two centre-discharge water-wheels, driven by a water-head of estimated 50-horse power, two circular saws, a 22-inch planing-machine, and other auxiliary equipment. Its capacity was 40,000 feet in twenty-four hours. The logs were cut on the pre-emptions adjoining and hauled by oxen to the mill. The proprietors did not seek foreign trade, but found their market in New Westminster, Nanaimo, and Victoria; the superior quality of the Burrard Inlet timber would, they thought, enable them to overcome the handicap of distance and compete with the local mills. The first cargo was shipped to New Westminster on Captain William Moore's steamer the *Flying Dutchman* in August, 1863. It consisted of 25,000 feet of 3-inch plank for the levee along the waterfront of that city.

To advertise the mill, Mr. P. Hicks, its agent in New Westminster, organized an excursion on the *Flying Dutchman* on the occasion of her visit to the mill to obtain that shipment. This was the first pleasure party to Burrard Inlet. Some of the excursionists instead of returning to New Westminster by water were taken up to Port Moody and returned overland by way of the North Road. Later in August a second excursion party arranged by the genial Colonel J. T. Scott, and consisting of 150 persons on the steamer *Governor Douglas*, visited the inlet. The attrac-

tion was not only the novelty of a water-power sawmill, but also the hope of seeing H.M.S. *Sutlej*, Admiral Kingcombe, which was said to be there for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the suitability of Burrard Inlet as a naval base and station.

Despite the excellence of its product, the competition of the mills in New Westminster, the isolated situation, and the difficulties, delays, and expense of transport were too much and too many for the little Pioneer Mills. Graham & Co. determined to abandon the venture. In December, 1863, they advertised for sale at public auction the whole undertaking with about 1,000,000 feet of logs lying in the woods of North Vancouver. On the 16th of that month John Oscar Smith, who had been a grocer in New Westminster and later an employee on Captain William Irving's steamer *Reliance*, became the owner of the Pioneer Mills. Strangely enough, Sewell P. Moody, affectionately known to all pioneers as "Sue Moody" and whose name is prominently associated with the establishment of lumbering on the inlet, was the only other bidder at the auction. After \$6,000 had been offered, Moody and Smith raised the price by \$100 bids until it reached \$8,000, at which figure it was knocked down to Smith. But Moody bided his time, perhaps believing that experience in the grocery business and on steamers on Fraser River was scarcely an apprenticeship to sawmilling.

The new owner changed the name to "The Burrard Inlet Mills." He went to work with a will. Victoria, then in the separate colony of Vancouver Island, was his principal market. All through the summer of 1864 he was steadily manufacturing and shipping lumber to Victoria, Nanaimo, and other local points. In November Smith made his first (and last) venture into the foreign export trade: the earliest export of lumber from Burrard Inlet to foreign ports. This was shipped on the barque *Ellen Lewis*, Captain Hellon. As the inlet was not then a port of entry the vessel actually entered and cleared at New Westminster. She took a cargo of 277,500 feet of lumber and 16,000 pickets, and sailed for Adelaide, Australia, on November 9, 1864. J. A. R. Homer's mill in New Westminster furnished a portion of the shipment. Naturally this pioneer ship in the export trade of the inlet was a long time in loading. The little mill did not have facilities for quick dispatch. The result was

that the *Ellen Lewis* was in Burrard Inlet from September 16 till November 9—nearly two months.

Smith did not make a success of his attempt to operate the sawmill. In December, 1864, after an effort lasting twelve months, the mortgagee took proceedings and offered the water-power mill and the 480 acres of timber for sale. It was purchased by S. P. Moody & Co., of New Westminster. Burrard Inlet now came into its own and the mill under Moody's management rose steadily in importance. But as John Oscar Smith passes off the scene we must place to his credit the honour of being the first man to dispatch a cargo of lumber from Burrard Inlet to foreign parts.

Moody altered and improved the mill, which was still operated by water-power, and in February, 1865, had the wheels turning once more. He renamed it "The Burrard Inlet Lumber Mills." He established an agency in New Westminster, as his predecessors had done, to compete for the local trade; but, knowing the excellent quality of the Burrard Inlet timber, he resolved to capture a share of world markets. His first export cargo of lumber was shipped by the barque *Glimpse* to Sydney, Australia, in May, 1865. This barque had been wrecked at Clover Point in March, 1860, but had been sold and repaired. It took Moody about six weeks to load her. As yet there was no port of entry on the inlet and the *British Columbian* records that Mr. Moody and the barque's captain, Seth Hall, walked over to New Westminster by the Hastings or Douglas Road, which had just been completed. His second vessel was the ship *Envoy*, which arrived in May, 1865, and loaded 300,000 feet of lumber for Adelaide, Australia. Moody was not, however, overlooking the local trade. In June, 1865, he sent to New Westminster a number of "sticks" 70 feet long and 20 inches square, without a knot in them. These were to be used in the erection of the bell-tower of Holy Trinity Church, to support the chime of bells donated by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. His third export cargo was sent to Mexico in the ship *Metropolis*, Captain Howard, which reached his mill on June 29. She got quicker dispatch than her predecessors, being loaded and ready to sail on 29th July. In the meantime the importance and possibilities of the inlet had been recognized in the appointment of a deputy collector of customs to enable vessels

to enter and clear more easily. The *Metropolis* had brought freight for New Westminster—the beginning of return cargoes for Burrard Inlet. Moody's fourth vessel was the British barque *Kent*, which had brought from Glasgow, Scotland, the machinery for the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company's mill—commonly called Stamp's mill. The *Kent* arrived in Burrard Inlet on December 20, 1865; and after discharging the machinery at Stamp's mill, which was then a-building, was towed across to Moody's mill, where she loaded lumber for Mexico.

Early in January, 1866, the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Princess Royal*, so prominent in the story of Vancouver Island, came to Burrard Inlet with cargo. After transferring her lading to the steamer *Enterprise* she returned to Victoria. In April she cleared from Victoria laden with spars, but they appear to have been obtained at Port Madison, in the Territory of Washington.

During 1866 Moody's export business expanded. The quality of Burrard Inlet lumber was becoming known, though slowly. In August the American ship *John Jay* and the British barque *Jeddo* arrived, both to load lumber for Australia. The captain of the *Jeddo* was loud in his praise of the lumber, which he declared was the best on the coast. The Burrard Inlet spars, he said, were immensely superior to those he had purchased in England, not only in dimensions but also in quality. And as for Burrard Inlet itself: "This is without exception," said he, "one of the finest harbours I ever saw." Moody's water-power mill had so improved that both vessels were loaded in less than a month. The ship *Mackay* and the barque *Brazilla* followed in October. The latter loaded 400,000 feet of lumber for Callao, Peru. Her captain, S. MacLean, informed Moody that the shipping men of San Francisco claimed that the navigation to Burrard Inlet was dangerous; he urged that an energetic effort be made to overcome this mistaken opinion. The fifth and last ship for 1866 was the *Evelyn Wood*, which sailed on 28th December with a cargo of lumber for Shanghai, China.

In 1867 Moody's mill showed a small improvement in export trade. The record for his first year—1865—was four vessels; for 1866, five vessels; for 1867, seven vessels. Some details follow.

In February the Hawaiian barque *Lono* took a cargo of lumber for Honolulu. This vessel was in the regular trade between "the islands" and the North-west Coast. The British ship *Parisian*, Captain Ross, which had reached Victoria, April 18, with passengers and freight from New Zealand, came to Moody's about a week later to load a return cargo of lumber for Otago. The third vessel for 1867 was the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Princess Royal*, which arrived early in June to load 400,000 feet of lumber for Valparaiso, Chili. Cargo was supplied to her at the rate of 30,000 feet a day, and by 29th June she was ready for sea, laden with lumber "superior to any yet exported," said the *British Columbian*. To overcome the feeling in San Francisco that the navigation to Burrard Inlet was dangerous, Moody in June visited that city. His mission was successful; on the 22nd of that month he telegraphed therefrom ordering 1,400,000 feet to be cut immediately for two ships he had chartered, and which would shortly arrive. It was not, however, until 22nd August that the British ship *Anna Dorothea* arrived in ballast from China, to load 600,000 feet for Melbourne, Australia; on 21st September the other chartered vessel, the French brig *Josephine Marie*, Captain Bertin, was towed in to load, presumably about 800,000 feet, one-half of which was to be tongued-and-grooved flooring, for Iquique, Chili. Her lading was completed and she was towed to sea on 24th October. On 30th October another French ship, the *Nantaise et Creole*, arrived in ballast from San Francisco for a cargo of lumber for Iquique. She was completely loaded and towed out on 27th November, less than a month after her arrival. Plainly the water-power mill was improving its facilities for cutting and loading cargoes. Moody's seventh and last vessel in 1867 was the *Marmeluke*, which tied up at the mill on 30th November to load lumber for Mexico.

CAPTAIN STAMP AND STAMP'S MILL.

As Stamp's mill only began to operate in 1867 the story of his activities on Burrard Inlet will now be told. Though commonly called "Stamp's mill," it was owned by the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, of which Captain Stamp was manager. In deference to usage it will be referred to as Stamp's mill. It was the first sawmill on the

southern shore of Burrard Inlet, and occupied the site now known as the Hastings mill.

Captain Edward Stamp had been in the commission and importing business in Victoria from 1858; in 1859 he began to export spars, principally from Puget Sound; in 1860 he built for Scottish owners a large sawmill at Alberni; owing to disputes he, in 1862, retired from its management. But two years later his interest in the timber of British Columbia revived, and in June, 1864, he sent a party of men to Port Neville to cut spars. It was rumoured that he would build a mill at that northern spot. However, by April, 1865, he had incorporated the B.C. and V.I. Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, in England, with a capital of £100,000. The Port Neville scheme was abandoned, and it was announced that Stamp's company would locate on Burrard Inlet. The site selected for the mill was a prominent point on its southern shore. In July, 1865, Stamp commenced the construction of the mill buildings and of a steamer to be used in the business. Moody had managed to get along without a steamer; his ships either came in under sail or were towed by one of the Victoria tug-boats. The machinery for the mill and the steamer was ordered in Glasgow, Scotland. One of those curious errors so frequently found in our history identifies the machinery in Stamp's mill on Burrard Inlet with that of the mill at Alberni, alleging that it was merely transferred from the one mill to the other. Perhaps this error originated in the fact that Stamp began to build on Burrard Inlet in 1865, the very year in which the Alberni mill was closed.

Pending the commencement of lumber manufacture, Stamp chartered vessels to carry cargoes of spars from the inlet. His first spar ship was the *Aquila*, a British bottom of 1,400 tons, Captain Sayward, which dropped anchor at his mill, August 17, 1865. The spars, 251 in all, were cut by Jeremiah Rogers at "Jericho" on English Bay, near Kitsilano; of them the *British Columbian* said: "This may be considered the first shipment of spars from here, but from what we have heard respecting the quality of those taken out, it is not likely to be the last." The remainder of the *Aquila's* cargo was an assortment of British Columbian products; it consisted of 138,705 feet of fir lumber supplied by Moody's mill on the opposite side of the inlet, 435

hides, 57 bales of wool, 12 boxes of coal—surely “carrying coals to Newcastle”—one barrel of salt salmon, and three barrels of cranberries. With this miscellaneous cargo the *Aquila* cleared for Cork, Ireland, on November 4, 1865. Stamp's second spar ship, the *Egeria*, Captain Evans, was towed in on 17th October. She took 257 spars, valued at \$59,000, and 100,000 feet of lumber supplied by Moody's mill, and sailed for Glasgow late in January, 1866.

In the meantime the mill buildings were being pressed to completion, and the British barque *Kent* had arrived from Glasgow with the machinery. Unfortunately one box had been left behind; some of the missing parts arrived in November, 1866, and the remainder in April, 1867; the result was that Stamp's mill did not begin to cut lumber until the following June. These blunders resulted in a lawsuit in which Stamp's company succeeded in obtaining damages for the loss they had sustained. The machinery for his steamer, the *Isabel*, was brought out from Scotland in May, 1866. This steamer, the first owned by any sawmill on the mainland, was built in Victoria at a cost of \$50,000, and launched on July 25, 1866. She was a side-wheel vessel, 146 feet long, 24 feet beam, and 9 feet hold; commanded successively, while owned by Stamp's mill company, by Captains Chambers, Pamphlet, and Devereux. It may be added that, after the failure of Stamp's company, she was for many years a passenger-steamer and tow-boat in our waters and on Puget Sound; in 1894 she was dismantled and used as a barge.

During 1866, so far as available records show, Stamp loaded no spar ships. But on May 14, 1867, the British ship *Astarte*, 1,574 tons, Captain Dodd, consigned to the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company—Stamp's company—reached New Westminster, 164 days from Aden. The *Isabel* towed her around to the inlet, where Stamp loaded her with a cargo of spars for the French Government. Every one claims that these spars were probably the best ever shipped from any part of the world. Captain Dodd, speaking at a public banquet in New Westminster, eulogized them and complimented Jeremiah Rogers, the cutter, and Stamp, the shipper, upon their fine quality. It may here be interjected, parenthetically, that Rogers, who was a New Brunswicker, had been logging for Captain Stamp at

Alberni for some years. The *Astarte* appears to be the largest trading-vessel which up to that time had passed through the First Narrows. She was loaded and ready for sea by 30th July. Following her came in June, 1867, the ship *Eunice Nicholas*, of 1,100 tons, to load a cargo of spars for England—Stamp's fourth spar ship.

By this time Stamp had at long last completed his (or, rather, his company's) mill and was offering cargoes of spars and sawn lumber. Thus, in June, 1867, two mills were in operation on Burrard Inlet: Moody's water-power mill on the north shore and Stamp's steam-sawmill on the south shore. Jeremiah Rogers' camp at "Jericho" was producing "some magnificent logs" for Stamp's mill; and a number of smaller camps were getting out logs on the inlet.

In June, 1867, arrived Stamp's first lumber ship, the *Siam*. She was to take 600,000 or 700,000 feet for Australia. Stamp began cutting her cargo on 18th June, and on 25th July the *Isabel* towed her out to sea, fully loaded. For a pioneer cargo of that size this appears quick dispatch. Then came the British ship *Australind*, which the *Isabel* towed in to the mill about 20th August to load lumber. On 11th September arrived the American barque *General Cobb*, Captain A. F. Spear, from San Francisco—Stamp's third lumber vessel; and on the 14th the large ship *Nation's Hope*, Captain Blix, from San Francisco, was towed in by the *Isabel*, to load for Java a cargo of spars consigned to the Dutch Government. The spars were all ready, having been cut and hewn by Jeremiah Rogers in the preceding year. Her arrival made a record of four deep-water vessels in Burrard Inlet at the same time: *Australind*, *General Cobb*, and *Nation's Hope* at Stamp's mill, and *Anna Dorothea* at Moody's. It took Stamp over a month to load the *Nation's Hope* with 932 spars, valued at \$150,000. She cleared for Batavia on 25th October, and on the following day the *Isabel* towed her to sea. The ship *Day Dawn* was Stamp's next lumber-export vessel. She arrived from San Francisco on 16th September. Burrard Inlet had become such a lively port that on 23rd October Governor Seymour roused himself sufficiently from his lethargy to pay a visit on the Government yacht, the *Leviathan*, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Trutch, Charles Good, Clerk of the Legislative Council, and D. C.

Maunsell, the Governor's private secretary. Stamp's last ship for 1867 was the *Trebolgan*, 1,200 tons, in ballast from China, to load lumber, spars, and shingles for the Chinese market. Her advent was hailed as a direct result of the fine lumber cargo that Moody's mill had shipped on the *Evelyn Wood* to Shanghai in December, 1866. It gave basis for the conviction that the darkest days were over, that Burrard Inlet lumber had won its place in the markets of the world, and that a great demand for it must soon arise.

MOODY'S AND STAMP'S LUMBER EXPORTS IN 1868.

The incomplete returns culled from the newspapers of 1868 show eighteen vessels loading at Moody's mill. Early in January the British barque *Mercara*, 300 tons, an iron vessel—believed to be the first iron ship to enter Burrard Inlet—arrived from England to load lumber for Valparaiso. Then followed, in quick succession, the Hawaiian barque *Rosalia*, Captain Juan Endeiza, which loaded 150,000 feet for China, but never reached the Orient, as she was totally wrecked on Discovery Island; the American brig *Orient*, Captain Lennan, taking a cargo for San Francisco, which, despite high tariff, was one of the principal markets; the American ship *Simoda*, Captain S. F. Crowell, loading for China. The *Rosalia* was the first loss in the lumber ships from the inlet. She was in tow of the *Isabel* and all went well until near San Juan Island. There a gale was blowing and the *Rosalia's* hawser parted or was cut. At any rate, she drifted astern, ultimately stranded on Discovery Island, and was soon a total loss. Her wreck was sold for \$430. In March the inlet made another record in deep-sea shipping: three vessels at Moody's and four at Stamp's. In April the American barque *Zephyr*, Captain Trask, loaded a cargo for San Francisco, but went ashore at Point Roberts on her way to sea; she apparently was successfully floated. May, too, was a busy month at Moody's: the American ship *Samoset*, Captain Greenlief, loading for San Francisco; the British barque *Eastham*—the second iron vessel—Captain Wiseman, for Callao; and Swedish brig *Sidon*, Captain Albert Morik, for Foo Choo, China. These three vessels took in all 1,200,000 feet of lumber. In that month another record was established: ten ships loaded on the inlet. The

American barque *Nestor*, Captain Bearse, and the British barque *Chelsea*, Captain William J. Looe, arrived in June; the former to load for San Francisco and the latter for Australia. The *Chelsea* is described as a "very fine ship of 1,000 tons"; she took 650,000 feet of lumber. Her captain had nice things to say of Burrard Inlet. The ship's expenses did not amount to one-third of what they were at Puget Sound in the preceding year, "and, further, the crews here (at Moody's mill) are free from the temptations of the grog-shop and no idlers are allowed about the place." In September the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Princess Royal* returned on her third visit to the inlet, and in two days was completely loaded with lumber for Valparaiso. The next month saw two ships at Moody's: the *Industry* and the *Spirit of the Age*, both loading lumber for South America. The latter ship was delayed in sailing owing to fog, and even after she was out of the Narrows she grounded off San Juan Island, but was got off without damage. In November the ships *Guayaquil* and *Topgallant* were loading; both were bound for Callao. The last vessels of the year were the *Leonide* and the *Knowsley*, both for Callao—the latter taking 430,000 feet. It will be observed that South America was becoming an important and increasing market for Burrard Inlet lumber. This list does not include the cargoes of coasting vessels to Victoria, Nanaimo, and New Westminster. It is manifestly not complete, for the *British Columbian* states that between January, 1867, and June 17, 1868, Moody had loaded thirty-three vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 8,169 tons, with cargoes amounting to 5,832,000 feet and 800,000 shingles—the latter, of course, hand-made. The list that has been given above, which includes all that are named in the newspapers, shows only seventeen in the same period.

Under the pressure of this expanding business, Moody, in June, 1868, began the construction of a second mill—a large steam-mill—about 300 yards west of the water-power mill. The new building was 200 feet long, with saws, planing-machine, lath-splitting machine, and a lathe capable of turning shafts and cylinders of ample dimensions for mill and steamboat trade. It was completed in September, and Moody claimed to be able to produce 100,000 feet of lumber a day. The wharves of the two mills were connected, giving ample dockage for a dozen ships. With this

expansion Moodyville became a considerable village. Its sunny southern-sloping hillside was covered with neat, though small, dwellings; on the water-front, a few shops.

Turning now to the operations of Stamp's mill in 1868 the same improvement is found. In 1867 he had loaded eight vessels with spars and sawn lumber, but in 1868 the number increased to fifteen at least, even according to the incomplete notices in the newspapers. His loadings, as so given, were as follows: The first was the schooner *Superior*, so named from having been built on that lake. She took 200,000 feet of lumber for Callao. Next came the British ship *Dorchester* and the American brig *Levi Stevens* to load for Australia. The *Levi Stevens* is described as "a really beautiful brig" and said to be "the handsomest vessel that ever entered our harbour." In March, 1868, arrived the American brig *Commodore*, Captain Robertson, to load for Australia; the British barque *Marmora* for China; and the British brig *Robert Cowan* for the Hawaiian Islands. The American barque *Oakland*, Captain Batchelder, loaded in May, for an unusual destination—Tongas Island, in Southern Alaska. Perhaps the lumber was for the first United States military post in that recently acquired territory. In May also came two American barques, the *Gem of the Ocean*, Captain Mitchell, to load 450,000 feet for Valparaiso, and the *Vidette*, Captain Frank W. Gatter, to load 650,000 feet. While the *Vidette* was being towed out about 11th July she ran aground near the First Narrows; after 50,000 feet had been lightered she floated and was towed off. The beautiful British barque *Monita*, Captain W. H. Turpin, was at Stamp's mill in May loading lumber, when she caught fire. By good fortune just at that time the *Isabel* was approaching with the French ship *Deux Frères*, Captain l'Otelier, in tow, to load lumber. The *Isabel* at once put lines on the burning barque and took her to the beach eastward of the mill, where she was scuttled. The remainder of the story of the *Monita's* experiences is an interesting page in the history of Burrard Inlet, but this is not the place to tell it. In May, too, the wharf at Stamp's mill broke down with the loss of 300,000 feet of lumber that was carried away by the tide. Stamp's next vessel was the ship *Nazarene*, which arrived from China to load lumber, but her destination is not given. In December, 1868, four vessels were loading lumber

at Stamp's mill: the barque *Prince Victor*, Captain Jones, for Peru; the schooner *Mary Belle*, Captain Roberts, 320,000 feet, for San Francisco; the schooner *Frederick Townsend*, loading 250,000 feet for San Francisco; and the barque *Maria J. Smith*, taking 450,000 feet for Sydney, Australia. The latter vessel never reached her intended destination. She was towed to sea in February, 1869, and some time later was wrecked near Barkley Sound. In the following November the ship and cargo were sold at auction in Victoria for \$1,500. Then the *Maria J. Smith* seems to have taken it into her mind to resume her wanderings. Drifting away from Barkley Sound she became a derelict, even a "lost derelict," but in March, 1870, she turned up at Bella Bella and Mr. Morris Moss, finding her, made her fast to the shore. The last news of the ill-fated barque came a week later—the sea was pounding her to pieces against the rocky side of Milbanke Sound.

Between January 1, 1867, and June 17, 1868, Stamp's mill, according to the *British Columbian*, had loaded fourteen vessels, representing 6,675 tons, with 4,101,000 feet of lumber, 100,000 shingles, and 2,000 spars. The probability, however, is that the newspaper list is incomplete. Further research might enable the presentation of the full-size picture, but my purpose is merely to give some impression of the manufacturing and commercial life on Burrard Inlet two decades before William Evans brought the first transcontinental train to Coal Harbour. By 1868 Burrard Inlet was a very busy place. Moody's two mills and Stamp's mill were running steadily. On both sides of the harbour were to be seen many evidences of improvement. There were three incipient towns: Moodyville, Brighton, later Hastings (at the "end of the road" from New Westminster), and Stamp's mill, later colloquially called "Gastown." The two latter are now a part of the City of Vancouver. In addition, there were six logging camps taking out spars and logs, and some smaller establishments specializing in ship's knees and hand-made shingles. These camps, with Stamp's mill and Moody's mills, furnished employment for some 300 men. Amongst the loggers of the sixties the name of Jeremiah ("Jerry") Rogers occupies the foremost position.

Let us continue the story through the year 1869. The trade on Burrard Inlet has now become so great that it seems wise to place its details in tabular form, showing vessels, cargoes, ports of destination, and other available information, and to make special mention only of those vessels that for some reason call for individual attention. (See Tables 1 and 2.)

In 1869, according to the items in the newspapers, Moody loaded about twenty-four ships; and Stamp's mill about twenty-one. On 2nd January, 1869, Captain Stamp retired from the management of the so-called Stamp's mill. He was then succeeded by Captain James A. Raymur. The mill continued to be known as "Stamp's mill." Then followed a series of lawsuits between Captain Stamp and the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company, which in August, 1869, were settled by a judgment for \$14,000.

But in the interval the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company had gone into liquidation in England. The mill, with its land claims and all its equipment and property, including the steamer *Isabel*, was offered for sale at auction, and finally, after many delays and adjournments, sold February 23, 1870, to J. C. Nicholson, representing Dickson, DeWolf and Co., of San Francisco, for \$20,000—the merest fraction of its value. The newspaper notices refer to it in the early part of 1869 as "Stamp's mill," but later they use the name "B. C. and V. I. mill." In August, 1870, the name of the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company was changed to that of the Hastings Saw Mill Company, and about the same time came the end of the litigation between Stamp and the company when he obtained a judgment for \$150 damages for use of the Lot No. 181 for water transit. As early as October 20, 1869, the "end of the road" was being called Hastings and the hotel there "Hasting's hotel."

Of the twenty-four vessels loaded by Moody's mills in 1869, the British barque *Vigil*, Captain Prince Gilpin, took 361,133 feet to Callao. She sailed in April and reached her destination in July. Her port charges on Burrard Inlet were about \$44 and pilotage dues \$7 a foot, showing that she was piloted from Royal Roads and drew more than 10 feet. She was the third iron vessel to enter the inlet. The *Byzantium*, which loaded in June for

TABLE 1.—MOODY'S MILLS, 1869.

Name.	Rig.	Captain.	Arrival.	Departure.	Destination.	Remarks.
Golden Age	Ship	Thomas	Feb. 17	April 30	London	Spar-ship.
Regent	Ship		Mar. 24 (Victoria)	May 15	San Francisco	
Vigil	Barque		Mar. 27		San Francisco	
Adele	Barquentine		Mar. 27 (loading)	April 9	San Francisco	
Amoor			May 13		San Francisco	Regular packet to Hawaiian Islands.
B. A. Mar	Ship	Lowell	April 24	June 5	Callao	
Alice M. Nimott				June 1		
				(Victoria)		
Byzantium	Brig	Calhoun	May 27	June 19	Honolulu	Had been wrecked on Figgard Island and bought by Moody and Co.
B. Aymer	Ship			June 7	San Francisco	
Golden Horn	Ship		June 8 (loading)	June 23 (?)	San Francisco	
Delaware	Barque	Hornsby	June 29	July 26	San Francisco	
Nuevez Martinez						Did not take a tow and waited six days for wind.
Maria	Barque	Duncan or Horn	Aug. 13 (Victoria)	Aug. 3	Valparaiso	
Windward	Barque	Barret	Aug. 7 (Victoria)	Sept. 14	Shanghai	
B. U. M. S.	Barque	Wilson	Aug. 29 (Victoria)	Sept. 25	Lambayaque	
Cape Horn	Barque	Matren	Aug. 18 (Victoria)		Valparaiso	Owned by Moody and Co. Delayed owing to difficulty in getting a crew. Though under contract to load at Stamp's was loaded by Moody's. She sailed in.
Ava	Barque	Abbott	Aug. 31	Oct. 3		
Delaware	Barque		Oct. 10	Oct. 23	San Francisco	
Ruby	Barque	Hornsby	Oct. 21 (loading)	Nov. 13	Australia	
Maud Ellen	Barque		Nov. 21			Came in without a tow.
Alarm	Sloop					
Adele	Barquentine		Nov. 10	Dec. 17	Sydney	
Coquette	Brig		Nov. 26		Coquimbo	
Delaware	Barque	Hornsby	Dec. 31 (awaiting cargo)		San Francisco	

TABLE 2.—STAMP'S MILL, 1869.
(British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber, and Sawmill Company.)

Name.	Rig.	Captain.	Arrival.	Departure.	Destination.
Corsica	Ship	Hanson	Feb. 3	Feb. 26	San Francisco.
Mary	Barque		Mar. 18 (Victoria)	Mar. 30	San Francisco.
Marie	Barque		Mar. 24 (Victoria)	April 20	Australia.
Favorite	Schooner	MacKay	Mar. 26		Mexico.
Saga	Barque		April 19	May 27 (Victoria)	Shanghai.
Gem of the Ocean	Barque	Mitchell	June 1		San Francisco.
Macedon	Ship	Summerfield	April 27 (?)	May 29	Shanghai.
Ann Mary or Mary Ann	Barque	McPun	May 1	June 6 (Victoria)	Sydney.
Lota	Barque		May 17 (?)		South America.
Ely Whitney	Barque	Pearce	June 11 (?)	July 13 (Victoria)	Melbourne.
Delia Carlton	Barque		July 14 (Victoria)		
Penang	Ship		July 14 (Victoria)	Aug. 23	Sydney.
Princess Royal	H.B. Co.'s barque	Anderson	July 22	Aug. 26	
Gem of the Ocean	Barque	Mitchell	July 24		
Altmark	Barque			Aug. 3 (Victoria)	San Francisco.
Martha Ridout	Ship	Dixon	Aug. 18 (Victoria)	Oct. 2	Peru.
Edouard	North German barque	Lolist	Sept. 2 (Victoria)	Oct. 7	Australia.
Gem of the Ocean	Barque	Bowling	Sept. 29	Oct. 20	Shanghai.
Mary Ellen	Barque			Nov. 21	San Francisco.
Nation's Hope	Ship	Blix	Dec. 17 (?)		

Hawaii, had been on the coast for a couple of years and was in the regular trade between the coast and the Hawaiian Islands. The American barque *Delaware*, which loaded in July for San Francisco, had also been in the northern trade for some years. On December 31, 1868, returning from Sitka, she ran ashore on Fisgard Island. In March, 1869, the wreck was bought for a few dollars by Moody and Co., who decided to repair her at Esquimalt. The repairs were completed in June and from that time she was in the regular lumber trade to San Francisco. The British ship *Golden Age* took a cargo of spars for London from Moody's in April. This appears to have been Moody's first spar ship. The difficulties of Stamp's mill show in connection with the barque *Mary Ellen*, or *Maud Ellen*. This vessel was under contract to load at that mill, but when she arrived—November 21—it was still closed down, owing to the financial troubles; in consequence her cargo was supplied by Moody's mill. Quite a number of the ships sailed into and out of the First Narrows; for example, barque *Ava*, October 6; barque *Gem of the Ocean*, October 23; barquentine *Adele*, November 11; barque *Mary Ellen*, November 21.

The *Ruby* was towed from Moody's after long delay in securing a crew, but went ashore and after some of her cargo was removed, floated and reached Esquimalt for examination and repairs. The American ship *Martha Rideout*, which sailed from Stamp's mill in October, carried "one of the finest cargoes of lumber ever sent from these waters, some of the 'sticks' being 101 feet long 24" x 24"."

Governor Musgrave, who had only reached Victoria on 23rd August, 1869, visited New Westminster on 8th September and the following day, accompanied by his suite, drove to Hastings; thence on the Government yacht *Leviathan* they went to the British Columbia and Vancouver Island mills. Captain Raymur, the manager, showed them over the plant. After a visit to "Gastown" the party re-embarked on the *Leviathan* for English Bay, where Mr. Jeremiah Rogers took them through his logging camp and its workings. Thence the party proceeded to Moody's mills and, after examining the undertaking, returned to Hastings and on to New Westminster. The operations of both Stamp's (or Hastings) and Moody's mills were much hampered in the

latter part of the year owing to an accident to the steamer *Isabel*. In October this fine steamer, during a dense fog, ran ashore about 500 yards south of Nine-pin Rock (the early name of what is now called Siwash Rock). She lay head on to the beach, in a dangerous position, resting upon a rock amidships. She was, however, got off without serious damage, and in a month or so was as active as ever in the work on the inlet.

From an analysis of the destination of these cargoes it would appear that Australia, San Francisco, and South America were the largest customers—taking in themselves fully 80 per cent. of the number of vessels and presumably about the same percentage of export lumber. Mexico, China, England, and the Hawaiian Islands are represented, but only in a small way. Unfortunately, in some instances the destination is not shown nor can it now be ascertained; and still more unfortunately no records are presently available to indicate the quantities or values of the lumber exported. Indeed, the record of the vessels is most meagre, depending almost entirely upon the newspapers. Nevertheless, making every allowance for such deficiencies, the incomplete record of Burrard Inlet from 1864 to 1870 is really remarkable: 1864, 1 vessel; 1865, 6; 1866, 5; 1867, 15; 1868, 33; 1869, 45.

The fight for recognition of Burrard Inlet lumber had been made and won—Graham and Smith and Stamp had played their parts and passed off the stage, leaving to Moody's and the Hastings mill the proud duty of carrying the trade of Burrard Inlet to still greater heights. This in outline is the story of pioneer export lumbering days on Vancouver Harbour.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

GILBERT MALCOLM SPROAT.

Gilbert Malcolm Sproat was born at Brighthouse Farm, on the Solway Firth, in the County of Kircudbright, in Southern Scotland, on April 19, 1834. His father, Alexander S. Sproat, was a farmer with a large family and but little money. His education was obtained at the Borgue Grammar School and at Haddon Hall in Dumfries. In 1855 he was an occasional student in commercial law at King's College, London. The records of the Colonial Office show that he was trained for the Indian Civil Service, which is indicative of his excellent mental equipment, the quality of which was exhibited in many and diverse public services during a long and useful career.

He was diverted from going to India by an opportunity to come to Vancouver Island in 1860 in the employ of Anderson and Company. This London firm of ship-owners and ship-brokers took the advice of Captain Edward Stamp, their agent at Victoria, to establish a sawmill on Vancouver Island. The intention was to export ship-spars and other forms of timber, which at that time promised to be a profitable trade, because the blockade of the Southern American States during the Civil War had put a stop to the shipment of pitch-pine timber from that part of the United States. The company in England sent Sproat with the men and equipment necessary for the enterprise. These arrived at Victoria in April of 1860 on board two armed vessels, the *Woodpecker* and *Meg Merrilies*.

In a letter from the Duke of Newcastle introducing Sproat to Governor Douglas, he is described as of the firm of James Thomson & Co., of 6 Billiter Square. This letter of introduction was obtained for him at the instance of S. Laing, a relative. In the course of time, with successive changes in the membership of the firm, Thomson & Co. became Anderson, Thomson & Co., and later Anderson, Anderson & Co.

Stamp had already selected a site for the sawmill at Alberni, which is at the head of the Alberni Canal where the Somass River delivers the overflow of Sproat Lake. This lake was named after the subject of this sketch by the explorer Dr. Robert Brown in 1864. His association with the region is further commemorated by the Sproat River, which links Sproat Lake and the

Somass River, and by Sproat Bay, on the coast of Tzartus Island, in Barkley Sound.

Soon after Sproat's arrival, he and Captain Stamp obtained grants of land on the Alberni Canal and Barkley Sound from the Colonial Government, through the Governor, James Douglas. Their purpose was not only to erect a sawmill, but also to establish a fishing settlement at Alberni. The sawmill started to work in August of 1861, at which time also the first shipment of cured fish was made to Callao, in Peru. The shipments of lumber reached the amount of 1,000,000 board-feet in the year 1863. Unfortunately, as the start of the enterprise was favoured by the American Civil War, so also it was brought to an end when that war ceased in 1865.

When Stamp resigned in 1862, Sproat succeeded him as local manager for Anderson and Company. The same year, on December 23rd, he married Catherine Anne Wigham.¹ In addition to managing the affairs of the company at Alberni, Sproat established an importing, commission, and insurance business in Victoria. His employees in early days included R. P. Rithet, who later acquired the business, and from it sprang the well-known corporation that still bears Rithet's name. Sproat took a lively interest in community affairs, and the *Victoria Colonist* recalled in later years his "connection between 1860 and 1866 with various public matters, such as the enrolment and organization of the first regiment of volunteers formed in this country; the vindication, in connection therewith, of the social rights of our colored citizens; the winter evening lectures, in which . . . the Mechanics' Institute had its origin, and with other similar matters."

Soon after Sproat arrived in the colony, Governor Douglas offered him a seat in the Legislative Council, but he declined the appointment, on the ground that he had resolved to keep aloof from local politics. He did consent, however, to succeed Stamp in 1863 as Justice of the Peace and Magistrate, and in what in practice amounted to an unofficial Government Agency for the

(1) Three children were born of this marriage—one daughter, Agnes Mary, and two sons, Alexander and Gilbert Hector. Hector served as an engineer on the B.C. coast and Arrow Lake steamers, and was superintendent engineer of the White Pass & Yukon Co. at the time of his sudden death in 1906. Alexander resides at Kleecoot, Sproat Lake.

west coast district. Moreover, his resolve to keep clear of politics was due chiefly to a conviction that much more could be accomplished by working behind the scenes. In Crown Colony days, ultimate decisions rested with the Colonial Office; that meant, in England. "The Colonial Office," in Sproat's own words, "did not care two straws for any *popular movements* here: the battle was in London." When he returned to England, in 1865, Sproat therefore set about organizing a "London Committee for watching the affairs of British Columbia," the composition and activities of which deserve some attention. The members included Donald Fraser, who had been Pacific Coast correspondent of the *London Times* for some years, and A. T. Dallas. "Mr. Fraser," Sproat recalled long after, "linked us with the press; Mr. Dallas was a power in the Hudson's Bay Company, which, in view of its Rupert Land and North West claims, (blocking Canada's extension) the heads of the Colonial Office—even at that early date—wished to be well with." The committee could also count upon the support of the Navy, and in particular of Captain G. H. Richards, "one of the best friends the Pacific Seaboard ever had."

Sproat and his associates made a vigorous effort to modify the terms upon which it was proposed to unite the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, but plans were too far advanced to make modification possible. Many years after, Sproat was still of the opinion that if the committee had been organized earlier it could have won its point, in which case the mainland would have been "joined politically to the Island with its comparatively free institutions, instead of the unwise reverse course that was followed."

The London Committee survived this defeat, and took part in the successful campaign to secure the transfer of the capital of the united colonies, which at first was at New Westminster, to Victoria. In passing, it may be noted that Sproat was keenly interested in a second controversy which grew out of the union of the colonies—the question as to whether Victoria had or had not lost the status of a "free port," which it had enjoyed since 1846. As late as 1908 Sproat considered it "an interesting question whether this Victoria free port [which included Esquimalt] has ever been abrogated by lawful authority." He contended that no specific action had been taken to annul it. "Had the

free port, according to the conception of the Home government, been conserved," in Sproat's opinion, "it would have been the means of creating a large city—a commercial and money centre, radiating energy throughout the whole colony, and subsequent province—a city, probably, only second to San Francisco on the Pacific seaboard."

Sproat's committee evidently devoted its attention to wider issues, for he himself described it as "a fighting organization, and—true it is, though strange—a nucleus of general colonial opinion, in London, for half a dozen years. . . ." It took a lively interest in the San Juan boundary dispute, and Sproat wrote a number of letters to the *London Times* on the question in 1870–71. When so doing he was assisted by Captain Richards, Hydrographer of the Navy, who had surveyed a large part of the area in dispute, yet had never been consulted by the British Government.

In 1871 British Columbia joined the Dominion, and Sproat paid a visit to the new province. Shortly after his return to London he became British Columbia's first Agent-General—a post that it is clear was of his own creation, and that he declares was, at the start, at any rate, only another name for the chairmanship of the London Committee, which he had held since 1865. The Government only proposed to designate him Emigration Agent; but Sproat, having a wider conception of his functions, assumed the title Agent-General on his own responsibility, and his action in so doing was later endorsed. He proved to be an energetic and able representative, and engaged frequently in newspaper correspondence for the purpose of advertising British Columbia and defending the good fame of the Province. His services were highly appreciated and elicited praise in the official reports of delegates sent to England on railway and dock matters. Though unwilling to confine his activities to emigration, he did his utmost to attract suitable settlers, and in 1873 published a useful handbook for emigrants, which remains one of the most valuable early accounts of the Province.

While resident in London, Sproat was acquiring a reputation in another field, that of anthropology. My own interest in his career was aroused by finding two papers by him in the

*Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London.*² He was not a Fellow, but it was the custom occasionally to accept papers from scientific observers that were outside the society. His contributions described the culture and character of the Indians on the west coast of Vancouver Island, more particularly the parts with which Sproat was familiar, near Nootka and Alberni. The first paper, read before the Society on July 10, 1866,³ described the Aht tribes; that is to say, a number of tribes whose names ended in that affix, which means "house." He refers to the fact that he had spent five years among them "as a magistrate, and a proprietor of the settlement at Alberni," and that he had "sufficiently gained the confidence of the Indians to obtain from them a knowledge of their religious opinions and practices."

The part of Sproat's paper that arrested my attention was his reference to the extremely primitive culture of these Indians. Culture I shall define as a reasoned way of living; in this context it does not mean refinement, but a characteristic mode of existence. Sproat recognized the fact that the Indians used bone and wood, not stone, and, of course, not metal. They represented a primordial culture earlier even than the Stone Age.

Signs of deterioration were already observable among the Indians. The blight of what we call "civilization" was beginning to destroy them. "Twenty years ago," Sproat says, "when few trading vessels visited the coast, the Ahts probably were restricted to a diet of fish, wild berries, and roots; but they now use also for food flour, potatoes, rice, and molasses. This change of food, from what I saw of its effect on the tribes with whom I lived, has proved to be very injurious to their health. Geese, ducks, and deer are also used as food, but are not so well liked as fish, and are seldom kept in stock. . . . Water is the only drink of the natives." This last remark is significant, for it is notorious that soon afterward the sale of rum to the Indians not only made them unruly but also undermined their health, which was further affected by new foods, as Sproat says, and also by the wearing of unnecessary clothing.

He describes their implements, which were made not of stone or of metal, but of wood, bone, and shell. After referring to

(2) The Society was absorbed by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871.

(3) *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, V. (1867), 243.

their canoes, made out of tree-trunks, he says: "The axe used formerly in felling the largest tree, which they did without the use of fire, was made of elk horn [wapiti], and was shaped like a chisel. The natives held it as we use the chisel, and struck the handle with a stone not unlike a dumb-bell, and weighing about two pounds." It will be noted that a stone was used as a hammer; they used other stones, or pebbles, to crack nuts and grind tubers, but these stones were not artifacts; that is to say, they were not shaped artificially but used in their natural state so that they are no evidence of a Stone Age.

Sproat proceeds: "The other instruments used in canoe making were the gimlet and hand-adze, both of which, indeed, are now generally used. The hand-adze was a large mussel-shell strapped firmly to a wooden handle. In working with the hand-adze the back of the workman's hand was turned downward, and the blow struck lightly inwards towards the workman's body, whose thumb was pressed into a hollow in the handle made to receive it. The gimlet, made of bird's bone, and having a wooden handle, was not used like ours; the shaft was placed between the workman's open hands brought close together, and moved briskly backwards and forwards, as on hearing good news." In passing, I may remark that the adze was probably the earliest hafted tool made by man; a contrary idea might be inferred from the fact that the navigators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries spoke often of savages that used "hatchets." This was an error; the "hatchet" was an adze. It was used like a hoe, with a movement toward the operator. Many of the adzes of the Indians on this coast are known as D adzes because they have that shape.

Sproat notes further that "the Indians on the Aht coast, if asked as to the implements they possessed before they learnt the use of iron always produce old bone instruments and weapons for every purpose. Their own canoes and other work is sufficient proof of what these bone-workers can do with soft suitable wood to work upon."

The following year, in 1867, Sproat contributed his second paper, entitled "On the Probability of a Bone Age,"⁴ in which he develops the idea that was incipient the year before. "Though

(4) *Op. cit.*, VI. (1868), 253.

probably there never was a time in which either bone, or stone, or iron, was universally and exclusively used, yet, I think, a 'bone age,' in some parts of the world, and perhaps over a great part of it, must naturally have preceded an age of stone. Savages can get bones everywhere—bones, too, of diverse sizes and shapes facilitating their manufacture—but they cannot obtain flint or obsidian in all places. . . . As long as he [the savage] could get bones, and they answered his purposes, he would not be likely to use instruments of stone. From a careful observation of the arts among these savages, I am tolerably certain that no other materials than bone and shell were required by them for making their tools and weapons down to the time when iron was brought amongst them—say, within the last one hundred and fifty years." That means since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

"They used bone and shell tools," Sproat continues, "and bone fishing and hunting instruments, long after they had a knowledge of iron—as lately indeed as a few years ago—and at the present time the mussel-shell adze used in canoe-making is preferred, even by the young men, to one of any other material, and to the best English and American chisels. So in felling large cedar trees, and in other heavy work, until I took among the people the admirable woodman's axe used in America, they found their bone chisels more useful than any small handled instrument of stone or iron, as the bone tool had the requisite toughness, bluntness, and penetrating power for such work, and indeed generally for working cedar wood for their special purposes." Here he touches upon one of the factors that determined the use of bone and shell—namely, the soft wood, cedar, that was available to them.

Sproat was well aware that the Indians had had a few copper implements when first visited by Cook, in 1778, and was right in assuming that they possessed them at a still earlier date. For copper was used long before that, the metal being obtained by intertribal trade from South-eastern Alaska, where it is found at the surface of the ground in a free state. They also had a little iron, which came to them in driftwood, the wreckage of ships. Sproat was convinced that the ground-stone chisels possessed by the Ahts were neither made nor used by them.

"Those found among them by Cook and other travellers," he says, "were probably obtained by the Ahts in trade, or as curiosities from the Indians inhabiting the coast of the mainland further north, who originally or anciently themselves perhaps a 'bone-using' people, had been forced by the comparative scarcity of cedar in their district to make stone instruments for cutting harder trees."

This paper by Sproat is, in my opinion, a most valuable contribution to anthropology. Apparently it has been overlooked, and for that reason I have not hesitated to quote freely. Incidentally, before I read Sproat's papers, my own studies had already led me to a similar conclusion regarding the use of wood, bone, and shell before stone.

As a sequel to these two papers, Sproat published his book, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, in 1868. A review of it appeared in *The Anthropological Review* in October, but the reviewer failed to note the outstanding feature of the volume—namely, the description of the use of wood and bone, not stone, by the Indians. He remarks correctly, however, that "it is really refreshing to meet with a book sensibly and modestly written, and dealing with the tact of a close observer, with facts, to the entire exclusion of grandiose theory." After seventy years it remains the best available description of Indian life and character on Vancouver Island.

In 1876, by which time he had returned once more to British Columbia, Sproat was appointed a member of the Indian Land Commission, a position for which he was well qualified, both by knowledge and experience. The Commission, in his own words, consisted of "a Provincial representative, A. McKinley, and a Dominion representative, A. C. Anderson, ex-H.B. Co. Chief Traders, both well acquainted with the country and the Indian tribes. I was Joint Commissioner representing both governments and the Secretary of State for the Colonies." In the spring of 1878 Sproat became sole commissioner, and so remained until his retirement in 1880. The dispossession of the natives by the invading white men made the delimitation of reserves essential, and Sproat endeavoured to adjust matters so as to cause the least suffering and irritation. The work took him to most of the inhabited parts of the Province, including Vancouver

Island and the districts of New Westminster, Lytton, Nicola, Kamloops, and Okanagan. Unfortunately, he could do no more than inspect and assign lands. Accurate surveys did not follow in all cases, with the result that trouble recurred at a later date.

In 1883 Sproat paid his first visit to the Kootenay region, with which he was to be associated for many years. It was then practically an unknown land, accessible only by pack-train, and, to use Sproat's own picturesque phrase, had not "reached the humble level of a bull-team country." He went thither, accompanied by his friend, A. S. Farwell, as a special agent of the Government, to report upon the Ainsworth and Baillie-Grohman land and railway schemes. Two years later he became Stipendiary Magistrate at Farwell [Revelstoke], in Canadian Pacific construction days, and in 1886 became Gold Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Lands and Works as well. His duties took him all over the country, and in time he became known as "the Judge" and "the Father of the Kootenay." He was much respected, and I am told that he was kind and affable, as well as tall and dignified in his bearing. His son, Alexander, now living at Sproat Lake, remarked to me: "Certainly he was kind and affable; his wants were few; he gave away a lot of money to friends who needed it. Only the recipients knew of it. He was known widely as Judge Sproat; and I think he must have studied law, because he had many arguments over questions of law with younger men, and he generally had the best of it. Many came to him for advice, and he was always willing to help."

Sproat left the Government service in 1889, but remained in the Kootenay for the next nine years. He and his friend Farwell were interested in real estate, and both as a private individual and as an official he played a part in the early history of many towns in the district. He is generally regarded as the founder of Revelstoke, Sandon, New Denver, and Nelson. On this last point there has been considerable controversy; but it seems clear that if Sproat did not actually found Nelson, he at least placed the first reserve upon the townsite, in 1883; conducted the first auction sale of lots, in 1888; and named the principal streets of the city. As in the Alberni region, Sproat's association with the Kootenay country is commemorated in several place-names. There is a town of Sproat on the Columbia River,

near Sidmouth; and Mount Sproat towers to a height of over 8,000 feet not far from Arrowhead. Sproat Landing has vanished from the official gazetteer, but Sproat's own account of its momentary existence is worth preserving, especially as it illustrates the lively sense of humour characteristic of the man.

" . . . I have never been able to discover," he wrote in 1897, " what or where Sproat's Landing was. . . . All that I know about the matter is that, according to my diary, on the 23rd of October, 1888, I saw from my canoe a towel attached to a pole on the Columbia river bank somewhere about the mouth of the Kootenay river. The object attracted one who had not enjoyed a good wash for several months. On landing I found also on the pole, an yeast powder can containing a letter addressed to me from Kootenay lake. The incident and perhaps my pranks with the towel, amused the Indian crew, and they, I suppose, spoke and continued to speak of the place where 'Mr. Sproat landed.' I was a notable personage among the Indians in those days. Such is history. Men from the far east, on being introduced to me now, often say, ' Judge Sproat! yes, of Sproat's Landing. I've heard of you.' Whereat I grin. It might surprise a grave easterner if on such a salutation, I pulled out a handkerchief in lieu of a towel, and repeated the scene on the river bank with a whoop and a leap."

In 1898 Sproat became a resident of Victoria. He wrote several historical sketches and biographies, some of which are now in the Archives. His intention was to write a book on *The Rise of British Dominion in the North Pacific*, and while preparing his material he consulted with the Provincial Librarian, first Edward Gosnell and then Ethelbert Scholefield. He assisted in collecting documents of historic value for the Archives. In 1910 he and Scholefield discussed the project of a joint writing of a history of Vancouver Island, but his poor health and the Librarian's official position proved obstacles to this useful work. He had, however, made a good start, and after his death Samuel Matson, owner of the *Victoria Colonist*, offered Alexander Sproat the sum of \$1,000 for as much as his father had written. The manuscript unfortunately was found to be in an illegible state, as it had been put away in a wooden chest and mice had eaten so much of the paper as to spoil it for all practical purposes.

It is most regrettable that Sproat failed to complete his book, for in some respects his knowledge of the early history of the Province was unique. Moreover, he had unusual literary ability, and had published a number of books and pamphlets, of which the *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* has already been mentioned.

The others included a translation of some of Horace's odes into English verse, an essay *On the Poetry of Sir Walter Scott*, and a large work upon *The Education of the Rural Poor in England*. Each was well received at the time of publication. In 1875 a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on *British Opium Policy in India and China* was won by Sproat; he was first out of seventy-five competitors, and it was remarked as a singular fact that the award should go to a place so remote as Victoria, on the distant island of Vancouver. He wrote frequent letters to the newspapers, and from 1875 to 1877 turned journalist in earnest, acting as local correspondent for the *London Times*. He also wrote many editorials for the *Victoria Times* and political speeches for William Templeman, Federal Senator and a member of Laurier's Cabinet. Alexander Sproat is my informant; he recalls that he himself "had the job of copying them in long hand." Theodore Davie, when planning to start a paper in opposition to the *Colonist*, asked Sproat to be managing director, but he declined.

His views upon history, as expressed in a letter written to Mr. Scholefield in July, 1910, are of interest: "No history can be really impartial," he wrote, "though the writers may be honest; the student or reader has to compare the different accounts; that necessity arises from the limitations of human nature. It being difficult to get men to study the past at all, the historian tries to make the retrospect attractive, which, sometimes, tends to mislead both the writer and the reader. Difficult is it, in these circumstances, to secure really good work, but experience has shown one thing, namely, speaking of history proper, as distinguished from chronicle, that, with all its faults, individualism is the paramount quality: we have to compare what individuals write, notwithstanding the disqualifications attaching naturally to the best of them. We have to take human nature as it is. History compiled, say by a committee, as a rule cannot be attractive or instructive." This is true. History is the distillation of rumour. It is subjective in treatment. That is why we receive such diversity of interpretation of facts from historians. Moreover, it is difficult, much more difficult than is generally supposed, to ascertain the facts. As Greville says in his celebrated memoirs, "there is no *absolute* truth in history;

mankind arrives at probable results and conclusions in the best way it can, and by collecting and comparing evidence it settles down its ideas and its belief to a certain chain and course of events which it accepts as certain, and deals with as if it were, because it must settle somewhere and on something, and because a tolerable *prima facie* and probable case is presented. But one sees how the actors in and spectators of the same events differ in narrating and describing them; how continually complete contradictions are discovered to facts the most generally believed; there is no preserving the mind from a state of scepticism, nor is it possible to read or hear anything with entire satisfaction and faith." Greville makes these remarks apropos of the irreconcilable statements made to him regarding the events that precipitated the French Revolution of 1848. He had the versions of Louis Philippe himself and of Guizot, not only his minister but later a celebrated historian. They contradicted each other flatly, and honestly, in describing the words and actions of the French King at the critical moment when the National Guard demanded reform. "Thus occur historical perplexities," Greville observes, "and the errors and untruths which crowd all history."

During later years, Sproat's life was clouded and saddened by a separation from his wife, who remained in England. In his old age he lived on Menzies Street, Victoria, in a house opposite that of Captain John Irving and next to the James Bay Methodist Church. Unhappy, and invalided by heart-trouble, he was taken to St. Joseph's Hospital, but soon moved to the home of Miss Brenda Peers, the granddaughter of James Murray Yale, once Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company. There he died on June 4, 1913, at the age of 79.

Glancing back upon his long career, one hopes that something will survive by which his many years of useful service will be remembered. Carefully edited, his surviving notes and sketches might prove of perpetual interest to future historians. Meanwhile anthropologists will turn again and again to his *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*. All else failing, it will keep alive the memory of one of British Columbia's most worthy and distinguished pioneers, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat.

LETTERS TO MARTHA.

The life of a man is not his public life, which is always alloyed with some necessary diplomacy and which is sometimes only a mask; it is made up of a thousand touches, a multitude of lights and shadows, most of which are invisible behind the austere presentment of statecraft. . . . We want to know how a master man talked, and, if possible, what he thought; what was his standpoint with regard to the grave issues of life; what he was in his hours of ease, what he enjoyed, how he unbent; in a word, what he was without his wig and bag and sword, in his dressing-gown and slippers, with a friend, a novel, or a pipe.

LORD ROSEBERRY,
Preface to Life of Chatham.

Martha Douglas, youngest child of Sir James and Lady Douglas, was born in old Fort Victoria on June 8, 1854. She seems to have been Douglas's favourite daughter; and we may surmise that circumstances, as well as her own attractive and vivacious personality, contributed to this end. For Martha was only 10 years old when Douglas retired from public life, and in the quiet years which followed, he naturally had more time to devote to her than he had been able to spend with her elder sisters. A rare confidence and friendship developed between them; and it was with a heavy heart that Douglas came to the conclusion that they must part for a time. When Martha was 18, it was arranged that she should go to England to complete her education; and on August 13, 1872, she sailed from Victoria for San Francisco, bound for New York and London.¹

The steamer was scarcely out of Victoria Harbour before Douglas was seated at his desk, writing the first of what proved to be a long series of letters to his beloved Martha. Preserved and treasured by her for half a century, some seventy of these letters have now been deposited by her daughters in the Provincial Archives. Although, as one would expect, they deal

(1) In March, 1878, Martha Douglas married Dennis Reginald Harris, a native of Winchester, England, and son of William Charles Harris, C.B., Chief Constable of Hampshire and Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, London. The couple lived to celebrate their fifty-fourth wedding anniversary in 1932. Mr. Harris died on November 2nd of that year, and Mrs. Harris passed away only a few months later, on January 31st, 1933, in her seventy-ninth year.

mostly with family affairs, they contain many passages of historical interest, which throw light upon Douglas's opinions and activities after his retirement. More important still, they abound in intimate paragraphs which give us glimpses of the inner nature of the man himself. We are all familiar with the cold and formal personality of the Douglas known to history. We can admire his strength of character, strong convictions, and strict sense of duty. We can understand readily enough the circumstances which made him aloof and solitary—the long, difficult years of personal authority and responsibility, during which it became second nature to appear stern and unbending; but to gain any sense of intimacy with Douglas is another matter. Even when he put pen to paper he remained remote and formal; and, though we have letters and documents by the hundred from his hand, we know remarkably little about Douglas the man, as distinct from Douglas the Chief Factor and Governor. It is because these letters to his daughter disclose, at long last, something of the warm and sensitive nature of the man behind the official mask that so much interest attaches to them.

Martha's departure plunged the Douglas household into grief from which it never fully recovered until she was home again. "There is in truth," Sir James wrote, ten days after she had left Victoria, "a void in the house, where you were born and have been cherished for so many long years. Accustomed to your society, everything about the house, recalls your image, so vividly, at times, that I almost fancy I see you popping in upon me." Time and again he wrote in similar vein; for Douglas was getting old, and had come to depend upon Martha for many things. Often his remarks were prompted by some incident which reminded him afresh that she was no longer there to do some small service for him. "I wish you were here to read them over to me," he wrote in the autumn of 1873, when some one loaned him two novels, "as there is no one here reads half so well, or with a spark of your taste and intelligence."² "I sadly miss your pretty tasteful bouquets," he noted a month later, "and hope you will soon appoint a deputy to attend to these duties in your absence."³ "I have placed a large beautiful

(2) September 15, 1873.

(3) October 6, 1873.

apple on the toilet table in your bed room of the early strawberry variety," he wrote upon a third occasion. "It makes me fancy you are here; though a mere delusion, it alleviates the pain of absence."⁴

Sorely tried as he was by her absence, Douglas was nevertheless happy to be able to give Martha an opportunity to enjoy the riches Europe had to offer. A letter written to Mr. J. W. Bushby, of London,⁵ who was making arrangements for her schooling in England, gives us an idea of what he hoped she would gain overseas. "Martha is 18 years of age," his letter reads in part, "and so far as literature goes, is fairly educated. She plays well, sings, has a taste for drawing, is well read, writes a good hand, and a nice letter. What should now engage her attention is elocution and English Composition, the French language, which she has studied for several years, larger and broader views of life, and that expansion of mind, which may be called the education of the eye, and cannot be acquired out here. She is also fond of music and drawing, and may improve in both arts."⁶ All this would take time, as Douglas was well aware. "I never meant that you should be away for less than two years," he remarked to Martha in June of 1873. "It will take that time to get rid of the cobwebs of colonial training, and give you a proper finish."⁷

Though homesick at first, Martha was soon happily settled in England. It was even proposed that she should spend a third year abroad, and to this Douglas made no objection. "I do not mind the cost," he wrote, "provided it be for your good."⁸ A little later Martha suggested that she should spend a term in Paris. Douglas at first made no demur, but a few weeks later abruptly vetoed the plan, as if he had just awakened to the enormity of the proposal. "There is one strong objection however, which I cannot overcome," he explained to Martha; "that is the dread of French morals and sentiment, which I believe

(4) September 18, 1873.

(5) Father of the Hon. Arthur T. Bushby, successively postmaster, registrar, and county court judge in British Columbia, who had married Martha's sister, Agnes Douglas.

(6) August 10, 1872.

(7) June 11, 1873.

(8) February 9, 1874.

to be so different from our own. It may be bigotry on my part, their moral sentiments may be as pure as our own, but still the impression, remains unchanged in my mind."⁹ As he expressed it when he returned to the subject a little later, he felt "a reluctance to my lamb being committed to the care of Wolves."¹⁰

Douglas asked only two things of Martha—that she should take advantage of her opportunities, and that she should write frequently to those at home. Suggestions and instructions, together with words of criticism or commendation, are scattered throughout his letters. He was anxious that even her sight-seeing should be systematized; and one passage on this point in an early letter is worth quoting. "I hope you will make a point of seeing Broadway, the great street of New York," he wrote on August 24, 1872. "Inspect it closely, so as to be capable of talking about, and giving an opinion of its architecture, and general appearance. The Americans are proud of it—and the first question asked of any person, who has been to New York, generally is—What do you think of Broadway. Follow the same plan, with respect to every other celebrated place you may see. Regent Street is for example the boast and pride of London, the Rue dé Rivoli of Paris, Princes Street of Edinburgh and so on with other places. Find out which is the admired thoroughfare or object, and then inspect it closely."¹¹

Himself a most systematic and meticulous correspondent, Douglas expected Martha to be the same. His own letters were usually in diary form; and over long periods scarcely a day passed without the addition of a paragraph or a page, as events or leisure dictated. A new letter was commenced as soon as one was mailed. Indeed, upon one occasion at least, Douglas seems to have gone straight to his desk the moment he returned from the post-office. To him, a letter was a matter of consequence; and he urges Martha repeatedly to practise and improve her composition. "Writing is a most important part of education," he wrote upon one occasion. "I wish you to devote a great deal of time and care to its attainment." He did not hesitate

(9) March 19, 1874.

(10) April 24, 1874.

(11) August 24, 1872.

to give her a lesson in style, as two sentences later in the same letter prove. "I enclose a part of your last letter, pruned of redundancies, as a study. Observe how it is improved by the process."¹² Penmanship was as important as composition. "Your letters are less carefully written, than I could wish," Douglas noted early in 1873; "the style is not bad, tho' there are many inaccuracies. The writing is rapidly degenerating into a sprawling hand, looking for all the world, as if the letters were trying to run away from each other."¹³ Though sharp in reproof, Douglas was equally generous in praise when Martha's letters came up to expectations. "How neatly your letter is written," he remarked a month later, "with no blots and no omissions, this is as letters should be. Pray always write so."¹⁴

Many of the passages dealing with style and diction are both amusing and revealing. Martha commenced some of her first letters, "Dear Parents"—a form of address which annoyed Douglas profoundly, and which he declared "means nobody." "When you write to Mamma," he continued, "write and speak to her, as you know how, and when you write to Papa, write and speak to him, as if he was before you; and then you will write well, and entirely to my taste."¹⁵ Upon another occasion he was distressed to find Martha using slang expressions. "Above all things," he cautioned her, "avoid 'slang' phrases, such as 'chaff,' &c. . . . A lady never uses slang phrases, which are essentially vulgar and to me unbearable."¹⁶ The offending word has, of course, long since won admission to colloquial English and the Oxford Dictionary.

Letter after letter reveals that what Douglas craved was news, and yet more news, of his beloved Martha. "There is nothing to reply to, in your letter," he complained upon one occasion; "tell me all about yourself, your studies, your pursuits, your thoughts, state of mind; in short a complete full length portrait of my daughter."¹⁷ His longing for news caused Martha

(12) March 3, 1874.

(13) February 9, 1873.

(14) March 10, 1873.

(15) December 10, 1872.

(16) October 10, 1873.

(17) September 22, 1873.

to invade his dreams. "I was dreaming of you the other night," he tells her. "You came running into the house and with open arms towards Papa, exclaiming 'O! Papa I am so sorry.' More I did not hear. I suppose you were sorry for not writing oftener?"¹⁸ Martha's letters, as this query would imply, were for a time few and far between. Four long months after her departure Douglas noted sadly that his "Foreign Correspondent," as he called her, had favoured him with only two letters. Later it became apparent that the postal service, and not Martha, had been most at fault; but in the interval Douglas had felt the matter keenly.

Political paragraphs of considerable interest appear in some of the letters. The earliest of these concern the collapse of the first government formed after British Columbia joined the Dominion, which was headed by J. F. McCreight, whom Martha knew well. "Party spirit as usual runs high," Douglas wrote in December, 1872, "and a fearful crash of the Ministry is expected when the meeting of Parliament takes place next week. I tremble for poor McCreight and Co-adjutors. They will surely go to the wall, unless they shew a bold front, and make a good fight."¹⁹ But McCreight, who was not a politician and was weary of politics, made no determined stand, and accepted defeat by a single vote. "I know you will sympathize with your friend McCreight," Douglas wrote to Martha; "so do I, and sincerely wish they had made a better fight with the opposition instead of going to the wall at once." Three days later he reported the personnel of the new government. "New Ministry formed. De Cosmos Premier, Walkem Attorney General, Dr. Ash Provincial Secretary, Robt. Beaven Comr. of Lands and Works. A bright constellation is it not?"²⁰

No one who recalls the long and bitter battles which had taken place between Amor De Cosmos and Governor Douglas will be surprised by this last remark; but they may well find the sequel unexpected. For in spite of his opinion of De Cosmos, Douglas proved sufficiently broad and generous to commend the policy of his old opponent. "The Legislative Assembly was

(18) November 26, 1872.

(19) December 10, 1872.

(20) December 24, 1872.

prorogued the other day," he reported to Martha the following February, "and people begin to breathe freely again. . . . On the whole there is no reason to complain of the legislation of this year, less so, I fancy, than if McCreight had been in power."²¹ "The new Ministry," he added later, "are not so bad after all: they have made a bold attempt to be frugal, and have past some really good measures."²²

The first entry regarding Dominion politics refers to the general election of 1872. "Elections for the House of Commons are approaching — great excitement. Bunster, Beaven and Wallace all in the field. They are most amiable, promise to get every thing imaginable for the electors."²³ Most of the succeeding references are linked in some way with the Canadian Pacific Railway, in which Douglas was keenly interested. For those eager to see construction commenced, 1873 was a year filled with contrasting emotions. To begin with, all seemed to be well. "It is announced in this days [*sic*] telegrams from Ontario," Douglas wrote on January 31st, "that all arrangements have been completed for the construction of [the] Canada Pacific Railway; so that we are all in the highest spirits and looking forward with confidence to the rise of dear Victoria, and the replenishing of her well drained coffers."²⁴ As late as May 6th, no reason to expect delay had yet developed. "Ground is to be broken on the 1st July next, when the terminus will be fixed," Douglas informed Martha. "Every one is hoping that Esquimalt will be the point, where you know we have large interests; and I am selfish enough to wish the station to be on my ground."²⁵ In due course the happy announcement was made that Esquimalt, as anticipated, would be the terminus, and construction actually commenced. "The first sod of the Pacific Canadian Railway was turned on Saturday [July 19th], by M. Smith, in a quiet way, without any public demonstration," Douglas reported. "The terminus is at the Admiral's House, Maple Bay, Esquimalt, the

(21) February 24, 1873.

(22) March 10, 1873.

(23) August 17, 1872.

(24) January 31, 1873.

(25) May 6, 1873.

line running from thence, towards the Indian village near or opposite Craigflower.”²⁶

It was at this point that the blow fell, and the hopes of the railway advocates were shattered. It quickly became evident that the turning of the first sod had been a mere formality, and that the preliminary surveys which must be completed before the line could be located definitely would take several seasons to complete. On top of these practical difficulties came the Pacific scandal, simmering since April, and in full eruption by October. Douglas believed, rightly enough, that the hope of rapid progress with the railway was wrapped up with the life of the Macdonald government, of which he was a staunch supporter. “We are now in hourly expectation of hearing how Sir John McDonalds [*sic*] Ministry are faring at Ottawa, if the want of confidence vote is carried against them by the Grits,” he wrote the day Macdonald resigned; “Sir John will have to resign, and there will be no end of trouble and delay, about the construction of the Railway. The Grits, as the opposition faction is termed are a low set, and nothing good is to be expected from them.”²⁷

Two glimpses of the turbulent election which followed, early in 1874, are found in the letters. Both concern Amor De Cosmos, who was at the time both Premier of the Province and a member of the House of Commons. “There is a prodigious excitement just now, in the Colony, respecting the conduct of the Cabinet,” Douglas reported to Martha. “It is suspected De Cosmos, is betraying the Country—compromising its best interests, and bartering the Railway for a money payment from the Dominion Government. This has excited all classes against him, as you will see by the two Papers—the Colonist of today and yesterday, which details the particulars of these stirring events.”²⁸ “The elections are over,” he added on February 20th. “De Cosmos and Roscoe are returned for the Commons. It was a hard fight for De Cosmos but he stood bravely to his colors and won the prize. Politics are still rampant here; the great questions of

(26) July 21, 1873.

(27) November 5, 1873.

(28) February 10, 1874.

the day are closely debated, with reference to the future well being of the Colony. I hope that good will be the result."²⁹

Comments upon many topics show the keen attention with which Douglas, though long in retirement, followed events in British Columbia. Reports of the discovery of new mineral wealth seem to have been of special interest to him, and he kept Martha informed of the progress of the gold-rush to Cassiar. In November, 1873, he recorded an event of some interest in the maritime history of the Province. "A ship has just sailed with a full cargo, of Vancouver Island produce, the first direct shipment of the kind to England, except the H. B. Co. ships," he wrote to Martha. "This is a subject of gratulation to the whole Colony. The good ship was followed from the wharf, by loud cheers from the spectators."³⁰ The vessel in question was the English barque *Charlotte Clarke*, which cleared from Victoria on November 21st, bound for London. Special interest attaches to his reaction to the San Juan arbitration decision, in view of the determined stand he had taken in the early stages of the controversy. "We have just heard, that the San Juan question has been decided against England, and we have lost the Island," he wrote to Martha. "I cannot help thinking that our case has not been fully or clearly represented, to the Emperor of Germany, or he could not have arrived at so unjust a decision which is utterly at variance with the rights of the relative parties. Well there is no help for it now, we have lost the stakes, and must just take it easy."³¹ When the time came for the actual evacuation of San Juan by the British troops, however, Douglas could no longer take the matter philosophically. "The Island of San Juan is gone at last," he noted. "I cannot trust myself to speak about it and will be silent."³²

Interesting as these comments upon public affairs may be, the peculiar value of the letters to Martha lies in their revelation of personal characteristics of Douglas which were never permitted to appear in his official correspondence, voluminous though it was. We learn, for example, that Douglas was keenly sensitive

(29) February 20, 1874.

(30) November 23, 1873.

(31) October 26, 1872.

(32) December 12, 1872.

to his natural surroundings. The first blossom in spring and the last in autumn drew his attention and comment. "The Daisies are coming into flower; saw the first today," is a typical entry.³³ "I could still make you a bouquet from the flowers in the garden still in bloom, if you were within reach," he wrote to Martha one November.³⁴ Riding or driving through the country was a daily source of pleasure to him. "The enjoyment was perfect, pure, unalloyed happiness," he concluded a description of one such expedition.³⁵ In October, 1873, he attended the consecration of the church at Metchosin, and after the service wandered to the edge of the cliffs near by. "Metchosen looked its best," he wrote to Martha, "the beautiful slopes, the richly tinted foliage, the bright clear sky, the warm sunshine, the glassy smooth sea, and the grand mountains in the distance, formed a combination of indescribable beauty. I felt an exhilaration of mind, which led me to wander away through the woods towards the 'white cliffs' bordering the sea, from whence I contemplated its placid waters with delight."³⁶

It will be recalled that Martha sailed from Victoria on August 13th, and that Douglas commenced the first of his letters to her the same day. Two days later he added a sentence which revives the old uncertainty about the date of his birth. "My birthday," it reads, "kept it quiet to avoid fuss."³⁷ An entry in an early personal account-book states that he was born on June 5, 1803; and as the note is in Douglas's own handwriting it has naturally been taken as authoritative. Evidence of equal strength, though later date, now supports the claim of August 15th as his birth date.³⁸ Whichever date is correct, Douglas celebrated his sixty-ninth birthday in 1872, a fact which causes one to read with surprise an entry dated October 2nd: "Had a good jumping on the verandah with the skipping rope for exercise."³⁹ It is

(33) February 12, 1873.

(34) November 24, 1873.

(35) September 23, 1873.

(36) October 24, 1873.

(37) August 15, 1872.

(38) Upon this point see W. N. Sage; *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, pp. 14, 363.

(39) October 2, 1872.

scarcely necessary to add that his health appears to have been excellent. He comments upon the fact from time to time, and an occasional touch of gout is his only recorded ailment. For this we find him planning an unusual cure in the early spring of 1873. "I am also going largely into Raspberry Culture," he reported to Martha, "which has the reputation of being a most wholesome fruit, especially recommended in cases of Gout; so I shall make it a rule to make a very free use of them."⁴⁰

It is refreshing to find that the letters contain clear evidence that Douglas possessed a sense of humour. Upon one occasion, for example, he regaled Martha with the following account of Lady Douglas, most loving of mothers, who, it seems, was never completely happy unless she fancied herself slightly indisposed. "Mamma is in excellent health," Douglas wrote, "though she will not think so, Up every morning at 6 o'clock she bustles about till breakfast time. The chickens now fill her mind with anxious care, and we all look grave and appear to sympathize, if mishaps occur. To laugh, would be a serious offence."⁴¹ Another incident suggests that Douglas did not take himself as seriously as many would have us suppose. "Ellen attends the Nuns school," he wrote with reference to a child whom Martha knew; "she is very quick and is the most restless child I ever saw. It is impossible to keep her quiet for ten minutes together even in my stern presence."⁴²

A third passage illustrates the same point, and at the same time recalls a critical moment in Douglas's early career. The reference is to a copy of the *Victoria Standard* which was forwarded with the letter. "In another column," Douglas wrote, "you will find a letter from the 'Ottawa Free Press,' do read it, and see how it treats me, they wish to make of me, who am as you know a quiet old gentleman enough, a sort of Dare devil, fearing nothing. True I seized the Indian, a noted murderer, as stated, and secured him after a desperate struggle, but I did not shoot him with my *own* hands; he was afterwards executed for his crimes. It was a desperate adventure, which nothing but

(40) March 5, 1873.

(41) April 17, 1874.

(42) November 17, 1873.

a high sense of duty could have induced me to undertake.”⁴³ It is noteworthy that this is one of only two references to his fur-trading days to be found in the entire series of seventy letters. The second, which is dated May 30, 1873, indicates that Douglas felt keenly the passing of old Hudson's Bay officers with whom he had worked years before. “My old friend Dr. Barclay died lately at Oregon City,” he remarks. “The enclosed clipping relates his history. Truly the world is becoming a desert.”⁴⁴

Douglas had long toyed with the idea of going to England and escorting Martha home, and the project was discussed in his letters from time to time. When Martha was planning a third year abroad, the plan was seemingly abandoned, only to be suddenly revived and carried swiftly into execution when it was decided finally that she should return home instead. The last of the letters to Martha is dated May 27, 1874; but a diary kept by Sir James enables us to complete the story. Leaving Victoria on June 25th, Douglas travelled to San Francisco by steamer, and thence overland to New York, where he took ship for England. He arrived at Southampton on July 21st, and three days later was at Lowestoft, where, to his infinite joy, he “found Martha well.” A brief month was spent visiting friends and relatives in England and Scotland, and on August 27th Sir James and Martha sailed from Liverpool. On September 6th they reached Quebec, and on the 21st arrived in San Francisco. Five days later Douglas recorded the conclusion of the journey in his diary. “Arrived Victoria at 4 A.M. found all well.”

All was, indeed, well. Martha was home again.

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W. KAYE LAMB.

(43) February 25, 1873. This passage is of historical importance, for it is the only known comment by Douglas himself upon a clash with the Indians which took place at Fort St. James on August 6, 1828. His conduct upon that occasion has been censured by most writers, and it may have been the cause of his transfer to Fort Vancouver. What actually happened still remains obscure and controversial. For details and discussion see Morice: *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Chapter IX. (“An Episode and its Consequences”); and Sage: *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, 45-48.

(44) June 3, 1873.

PETER SKENE OGDEN'S NOTES ON WESTERN CALEDONIA.

The following memorandum from the pen of Peter Skene Ogden comes from a collection of the Ogden family papers which have been in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia for many years. The document, which has never been printed previously, throws light on the fur trade in New Caledonia in the 1830's and 1840's.

Peter Skene Ogden was one of the great figures in the Canadian fur trade. He was born in Quebec City in 1794, the son of Judge Isaac Ogden and Sarah Hanson Ogden. Isaac Ogden was a United Empire Loyalist who was appointed Judge of Admiralty of Quebec in 1788 and in 1794 one of the Puisne Judges of the District of Montreal. Judge Ogden had probably intended that his son should follow him in his profession, but Peter Skene Ogden was a rover by nature and could not endure the trammels of civilization. He entered the service of the North West Company as a clerk in 1811, and according to Mr. T. C. Elliott¹ probably spent the next seven years at Isle à la Crosse in what is now North-western Saskatchewan. In 1818 he came to the Columbia River and two years later became a partner or *bourgeois* of the North West Company.

Ogden was not one of those fortunate Nor-Westers who secured a commission in 1821 at the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, but three years later he obtained his parchment as chief trader. In 1822 he went to Lower Canada and thence to England, and on his return in 1823 accompanied the express from York Factory to the Columbia. He wintered at Spokane House with John Work,² and in November, 1824, after the arrival of Governor Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin on the Columbia, proceeded to the Snake country, where he conducted successful expeditions until 1829.³ In the early fall of 1829 he left

(1) T. C. Elliott: "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1910), 229-278—the most complete study of Ogden which has yet appeared.

(2) Cf. "John Work's First Journal 1823-24." MS. in the Archives of British Columbia.

(3) The journals of these expeditions have been edited by T. C. Elliott in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vols. X. and XI. (1909 and 1910).

Fort Nez Percés and visited California, returning in the summer of 1830. But, as Mr. Elliott points out, the name California was then applied to all the regions belonging to Mexico south of the 42nd parallel.

Ogden was sent north to the Nass River in 1831 to construct a post for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was successful in that mission, although he encountered keen opposition from the American traders on the coast. In 1834 he attempted to found a post on the Stikine River, but failed, since this was on Russian territory and he was unable to bluff his way past the Russian-American Company's officials.

In 1835 Peter Skene Ogden received the coveted commission of chief factor and was sent to take charge of New Caledonia. After seven years' term of office he was prepared to give over this task to his successor. It was at this time that, in all probability, he penned the memorandum on Western Caledonia. Ogden went on leave in 1844 and the next year returned west of the mountains to the Columbia, where he became one of the Board of Management for the Columbia Department. When news of the Whitman massacre arrived in 1857 Ogden set out to rescue the survivors. Such was the esteem in which he was held by the Indians that he was completely successful and ransomed the captives. In December, 1851, he left Fort Vancouver to visit Montreal and returned to the Columbia in 1853. His death occurred in 1854 and he was buried at Oregon City.

The "Notes on Western Caledonia" are probably a rough draft. In places the meaning is obscure and throughout the punctuation is difficult. As few emendations as possible have been made in the text, and the spelling of the original has been retained throughout. In a few places a word or so has been added to make sense. The document is valuable because it gives details on the trade in that "Siberia of the fur-traders," New Caledonia. Life was hard in that district and Ogden does not minimize its difficulties. Throughout the document, however, the generosity and kindness of Peter Skene Ogden is evident. He was a keen and experienced fur-trader but he was never lacking in humanitarian feelings.

W. N. SAGE.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

NOTES ON WESTERN CALEDONIA.

As I am now on the eve of taking my departure from this district¹ I trust my successor² will not consider it presumptuous in me to offer a few remarks but having found those left by Mr. C. F. Dease³ useful being a stranger in this quarter and as the Gentleman who may be appointed to succeed me may be similarly situated I consider it my duty to follow the example leaving it optional with himself to make [what] use of them he may think proper as it is far from my wish to dictate to him or any other man living God forbid.

Having now been stationed seven⁴ years in this District I cannot say much in favour of the Carriers⁵ a brutish, ignorant,

(1) Peter Skene Ogden had been appointed to take charge of the New Caledonia district in 1835. Cf. E. H. Oliver (editor), *The Canadian North-West; its early development and legislative records* (Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9), Ottawa, 1914-15, II., 710, 720; and T. C. Elliott: "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1910), 255.

(2) Ogden's successor was Donald Manson. Cf. Morice, Rev. A. G.: *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1904, 237. "On the 15th of June, 1844, Donald Manson, who had crossed the Rocky Mountains with Connolly in the fall of 1825, was assigned to the command of New Caledonia."

(3) Ogden's predecessor, Chief Factor Peter Warren Dease (1788-1863), a former Nor-Wester, became a chief trader in 1821 at the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies. He received his commission as chief factor in 1828 and in 1831 was sent to take charge of the New Caledonia district. Cf. Wallace, W. S.: *Documents relating to the North West Company* (The Champlain Society, XXVI.), Toronto, 1934, 436.

(4) This statement would go to prove that this memorandum was written in 1842, when Ogden was contemplating taking his furlough in 1843. The Minutes of Council, 1842, record that Ogden was granted furlough, but the Minutes for 1843 state that he did not avail himself of the privilege. The Minutes continue:—

"62. That C. F. Ogden having expressed a desire to obtain leave of absence or an exchange of Furlough next year, it is resolved that the same be afforded him, but this cannot be assured him beyond the ensuing year."

(*The Canadian North-West*, II., 836, 852, 862.) Elliott prints a testimonial presented to Ogden on behalf of the gentlemen of New Caledonia upon the occasion of his departure from the district. It is dated April 28, 1844, and

superstitious beggarly sett of beings, lavish of promises and should it so happen have no feast to make for departed relatives take precious good care like all rascals to loose sight off. The debt system⁶ was introduced in to this District many years since and it is the opinion of some it would not be good policy to do away with it at present as independent of other considerations the evil has taken too deep root, this could be overcome but again it is said it acts as a hold on them from the great temptations of low prices which the Coast traders⁷ who now are annually in the habit of resorting to the frontiers of the District in quest of Furs, it may have this effect on some altho I have my doubts, still with many at this [place] in debt of occasionally clandestinely trading their furs. My predecessor led me to expect that it would be absolutely necessary to lower the tariff on account of the Coast traders and if I did not [I] would find the Indians troublesome, they attacked me as a matter of course on my arrival but on my giving them free permission to go provided they paid their debts they have been since silent on the subject and should they commence again adopt the same plan as if they are so inclined you can scarcely prevent them. The Fall is the usual season for giving debt but you

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will find it to your interest to delay doing this as long as you possibly can for no sooner do they secure the goods altho they

Elliott states that Ogden "crossed the Rocky Mountains under a year's leave of absence" in the spring of that year. Cf. Elliott, *op. cit.*, 259-260.

(5) The Carriers who inhabited the Stuart Lake region were a branch of the Western Denes and belonged to the Athapascan language group. They owed their name to the barbarous custom of forcing the widow to pick out the charred bones of her late husband from his funeral pyre and to carry them in a leather wallet or satchel upon her back. Shortly before Ogden's arrival in New Caledonia burial was substituted for cremation and the poor widows were no longer forced to be nearly scorched to death at the funeral pyre. Cf. John McLean: *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, London, 1849, I., 254-57.

(6) Ogden's remarks here are enlightening. It was a stock charge against the fur-traders that they kept the Indians perpetually in debt so that they would continue to trade at the forts. The lending system, referred to on page 2, *infra*, was another evil of the fur trade.

(7) American competition was still severely felt, although the Hudson's Bay Company was building up a coasting trade. The well-known S.S. *Beaver* had arrived in 1836 and was employed on the coast.

will promise you to return to their hunting grounds not one in ten will absent himself from his Village and in winter in lieu of employing themselves trapping will lounge and idle their time in gambling feasting and sleeping, their usual season for hunting is in the Fall and Spring and so long as you can keep them hunting in the Fall your returns will encrease and you will also find it to your interest to persuade them to make their feasts in the month of June which does not interfere with their hunts altho in some cases you may succeed still you will find it rather a difficult task, however it is from the object to be gain'd by it worth a trial. When I first assumed charge of this District I found the gratuities given to the Indians very great in the article of Leather⁸ particularly so, the latter and nearly all I have abolished and no diminution in our returns has resulted from it and our expenditure decreased, it now remains with you to lessen them and in doing so gradually you will rest assured find no bad effects resulting from it. The lending system I have entirely abolished it was customary formerly to loan Guns, Axes, Tranches,⁹ Moose Skins and Traps to the Indians to such an extent that no one on reflection would view it in any other light than an abuse, the Carriers scarcely ever returned an article loan'd them but always have some plausible excuse ready when called on, in Traps alone from the lending system having so long prevailed as it is only three years since I abolished it,¹⁰ are now most abundantly supplied as regards this place and the same has been adopted all over the District and the returns have not diminished and our Indent on the last article has been decreased one half, they are now sold to the Natives at 4 skins each formerly they were valued at 6 but this was merely nominal as not ten out of 100 were ever sold. Salmon are bartered at the rate of 90 for one Beaver and are paid for in the most valuable goods¹¹ the Carriers know too well their own interest to

(8) Leather seems to have been scarce in New Caledonia. The Hudson's Bay obtained its supply from east of the Rocky Mountains, a sure sign that there was no local supply available.

(9) Some sort of edged tool.

(10) Ogden had done well in abolishing this pernicious system in four years.

(11) The beaver-skin was the standard of value in the fur trade. The Made Beaver or M.B. became after 1837 the accepted standard. Its cash

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take any other, formerly at this place 60
 were equal to a skin as an inducement to them to track more
 and to save transportation in the winter with dogs no doubt
 then a good plan but as the cause no longer exists as the intro-
 duction of Carts in the Babine Portage¹² and Boats have removed
 it consequently the facility of transport being so great and finding
 we can obtain our supplies independant of them, they now
 willingly when [they have] any to dispose off part with them
 at 90 per made Beaver, at Frasers Lake, the West end of this
 Lake and the Babine Posts the tariff is the same, a difference
 in a tariff when the Natives are constantly in the habit of meeting
 causes discontent and this also was another cause of my altering
 it here, these in regard to Traps and Salmon are the only
 changes I have made in the Indian tariff, or have authorized to
 be made in the District. In Waccan¹³ the linguist you will find
 most useful in settling with the Indians none more capable than
 himself moreover [?] from his long experience in this quarter
 now forty years better acquainted with all good, bad and indif-
 ferent Indians I shall now make no further remarks in regard
 to the Carriers, as from the Linguist the Journal and Indian
 debt book you can obtain any information you may require. On
 your arrival here in the Fall no time should be lost in despatching
 the different Outfits to the out Posts, there is so little dependance
 to be placed on the Men when without a Gent[leman] in fact
 now I have generally requested the Gent[lemen] in charge of
 Posts should it not cause any derangement in their affairs to be
 here from the 12th to 15th Septr—about the usual period of the

value was not fixed but varied from 25 to 50 cents. Cf. Innis: *The Fur Trade in Canada*, New Haven, 1930, 323-24. Even though the Carriers seem to have been astute traders the price of salmon can hardly be said to have been very high.

(12) Babine Portage, from Babine Lake to Stuart Lake.

(13) Waccan was Jean Baptiste Boucher, interpreter at Fort St. James. Father Morice tells us that he was a French-Cree half-breed who came to Stuart Lake with Simon Fraser in 1806. He was "the Company's gendarme and chief executioner in New Caledonia; he was the official avenger of the killed, the policeman who was dispatched to the villages in order to stir up the natives and send them hunting, or to put a stop to the endless gambling parties, which prevented them exerting themselves on behalf of the white traders." Morice, *op. cit.*, 249.

arrival of the Brigade.¹⁴ Seven men and one Gent[leman] are the number required to proceed to Dunvegan¹⁵ to procure our supplies of Leather, when no other at your disposal then in that case the Gent[leman] in charge of McLeods Lake must accompany the leather party three men at the same time with one of the two stationed at McLeods Lake are required to proceed to Finlays Forks to collect the Furs of the Indians in that quarter and settle with them for the winter the Horses after transporting the McLeods Lake Outfit across should be again sent back loaded with Salmon and on their return will transport across the Furs as less transport in winter by far less expense and waste incurred as we have always a supply of Leather on hand for one year in advance the supply for following year is left en depot at McLeods Lake and transported across with Horses in June, every exertion must be made before the navigation closes to secure a stock of Salmon not less than 30M are required to meet all demands, from the Babine two thirds of this quantity is supplied two men and four Horses with carts transport it across the Portage and from thence three men in the Salmon

(14) All commissioned officers and clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company were referred to as "Gentlemen," the lower ranks as "Men." The New Caledonia brigade left Fort St. James in the spring, usually late in April or early in May, and proceeded in boats to Fort Alexandria on Fraser River. There a horse brigade was formed which followed a well-defined trail to Kamloops and thence by way of the Okanagan Valley to Fort Okanagan at the confluence of the Okanagan and the Columbia. At this post the goods from New Caledonia were loaded on the boats of the Fort Colville brigade and conveyed to Fort Vancouver. Early in July the brigades for the interior left the depot, and, as the text indicates, the New Caledonia brigade arrived back at Fort St. James about the middle of September. Cf. Sage, W. N.: *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, 37-42; Brown, William C.: "Old Fort Okanagan and the Okanagan Trail," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XV., 1-38; and Buckland, F. M.: "The Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail," in the *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1935, 11-22.

(15) Before 1831 leather and other similar supplies for New Caledonia had been brought from the Saskatchewan district by way of Edmonton, Fort Assiniboine on the Athabaska River, and the Yellowhead or Leather Pass. After that date the Peace River route via Dunvegan and Finlay Forks was preferred. From the passage which follows it is evident that Fort McLeod on McLeod's Lake was becoming the depot for leather in New Caledonia. Innis, *op. cit.*, 307, deals with this leather trade.

Boat in two trips land it here, but when Salmon are abundant in this Lake¹⁶ secure them without delay and afterwards send the Boat to the Portage some years Salmon fail at the Babines not often but in this Lake frequently so whenever you can procure a supply loose not sight off it and Instructions should be forwarded in the Fall to Frasers Lake to trade not less than twenty thousand as a reserve in case of accidents. Salmon with care keep well for two or three years altho not so palatable as those of the present still as last year when a general failure takes place we are glad to have them, when one years staff of life is secured for the year your mind is relieved from a heavy load of anxiety.¹⁷

Regarding our farming operations I have done all in my power with the slender means at my disposal to encourage them and I would strongly advise you to follow the example, two years following from the scarcity of Salmon that prevailed over the District we had convincing proofs of the benefit arising from farming, at Ft. George ten men were solely supported on grain and at Alexandria even more in proportion, independant of these advantages which are not of minor importance.¹⁸ I have within the last year reduced our demand on Colville twenty five bags of flour less in itself again no small object when we take into consideration the long transport with Horses and so long as we do not encrease by augmenting the present number of Servants which are fully sufficient for the dutys of the District nor prove injurious to the returns which

(16) I.e., Stuart Lake. "Here" of course refers to Fort St. James.

(17) Salmon was literally "the staff of life" in New Caledonia. Father Morice, *op. cit.*, 174, tells us that "dried salmon and cold water" were the chief diet of the company's servants. Thomas Dears, a clerk in New Caledonia, writing to Edward Ermatinger from Fraser Lake on March 5, 1831, complains: "Many a night I go to bed hungry and craving something better than this horrid dried Salmon we are obliged to live upon." *Ermatinger Papers*, Public Archives of Canada, 288. (Transcript in the University of British Columbia Library.)

(18) Daniel Williams Harmon, of the North West Company, on May 22, 1811, planted potatoes and "sowed barley, turnips &c," the first ever sowed on the west side of the Rockies in what is now British Columbia. Harmon, D. W.: *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, Andover, 1820, 202.

ought never to be lost sight of as on them depends our *Salary* and as the latter encreases so do our hopes in like proportion of soon returning to our *homes*. The Servants were formerly allowed three moose skins per man for their winter supply forming a total of upwards 160 Skins and were in the habit of trading and wasting more than half of it with the Natives, the plan I adopted to stop this waste and also most injurious to the trade was in allowing them one pr. of shoes for fifteen days by adopting [such a plan] you will find it not only a saving of more than a hundred skins per annum but also a gain on the trade. In renewing the Servants contracts I have had so far little or no trouble towards the Spring of the year tobacco is a scarce article amongst them and I have always made it a rule on condition of renewing their Contracts to assist them also a few supplies, and in lieu of Liquor¹⁹ now only known by name which was formerly given allow them 1 lb gratuity and if no better description of men than these emported from Canada of late years the refuse of brothels and Gaols you will find it to your interest to secure this. You have, two Orkneymen fishermen and a Blacksmith most particularly the latter not only on account of our Boats but also Farms and Mills is much required in the District, but if your request on the Gov[ernor] & Councile be not more attended to than mine has been for last years you will find it not only useless to apply but also not subject yourself to be slighted. The Servants of this District have almost from the first year the Country was established been represented as most worthless dishonest disolute sett of beings having been now some years with them with few exceptions they are by no means so bad as represented and when we seriously take into consideration the hard duty imposed on them food of an indifferent quality and no variety, temptations great it is not surprising that they should occasionally deviate from the right path and under all these cir-

(19) This is an interesting proof that the use of liquor was being discouraged by the company. On the question of the use of liquor in the fur trade a long controversy has been waged by historians. *Standing Rules and Regulations*, XIII., issued at Norway House on June 23, 1836, contain the statement "that the use of spirituous Liquors be gradually discontinued in the few Districts in which it is yet indispensable" (*The Canadian North-West*, II., 754). New Caledonia was evidently not in this latter class.

cumstances some allowance ought to be made for them. Relative to the

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transport of Outfit from Okanagan to Alexandria should Greguin re engage will relieve you from considerable anxiety and trouble but should he not the fittest person to succeed him is C Chartier having been employed with Horses for the last four years and having accompanied the Brigade is well acquainted with the *routine*. The Servants attached to the brigade receive their usual allowance of Flour at Okanagan in the following proportions married men 100 lbs each bachelors 50. Servants inland married or single 25 lbs each charged to their accounts. Interpreters 50 lbs each, 25 lb only chargeable the remainder with 15 lb Sugar are given to each of the latter as gratuity²⁰ Old Waccan the Interpreter (J. Be. Boucher) is an exception to the last his allowance being $\frac{1}{2}$ Keg Sugar gratuity and $\frac{1}{2}$ Keg on account with 1 Bag Flour gratuity and messes at the table.²¹ A boat from Frasers Lake instructions being left to that effect in the Spring comes down to meet the Brigade at Alexandria on or about the 15th August in charge of the Gent[leman] superintending at Frasers Lake, the crew consists of 6 men Canadians & Indians the latter engaged for the trip at the rate of 20 Skins each at Alexandria, then the Outfits for the latter place, Ft. George Frasers Lake are made up and at Chin Lac Forks²² the Frasers Lake boat separates from the Brigade and proceeds to the latter place with its Outfit, five men and an Indian is the crew of each boat and cargo from 50 to 56 pieces, there are only two places in the river that more than usual precautions are necessary the Grant & Stony Island Rapids, old Bem acts in capacity of

(20) These allowances of flour are important as showing that an attempt was being made to vary the dried-salmon and cold-water diet. Probably this was due to the salmon shortage referred to above, but one feels that Ogden's generosity may also have had something to do with it. The men of the brigade get more liberal allowances than those who remain "inland" at the posts. Interpreters were always ranked as superior to ordinary company's servants.

(21) I.e., the gentlemen's table. Old Waccan was a privileged personage.

(22) Chin Lac Forks, also known as Chinlac, was the old name for the confluence of the Stuart and the Nechako Rivers.

Guide an apology having no authority²³ it is therefore necessary [for] you [to] keep your *eyes open* on all occasions.

Should the superintendence of Thompsons River be attached as it is this year or not to Caledonia²⁴ I would strongly recommend to you that both Brigades come in together as it not only adds to our respectability amongst the Natives who collect in numbers at the Forks²⁵ but also a greater security for the property, particularly the T[hompson] River party when coming in alone and a preventative from insult and quarrels. The Provisions required from Colvile for the latter place can as was done last season be transported across land by the Man who remains in charge of the horses at Okanagan without incurring any extra expense whatever and should there be any pieces for Colvile can be transported across land at the same time thereby doing away with the services of the T[hompson] River men going up with the craft in the Summer. I generally take my departure from this place the 22d April so as to join the T[hompson] R[iver] brigade about the 12th May and this early starting has enabled me on my arrival at Okanagan to send the Men to assist in bringing down the Boats from Colvile which plan I consider for all interested you should adopt as with strong crews are less liable to accidents in that most dangerous part of the river and with our weak bowmen for the safety of life and property too many precautions cannot be taken. I would now beg leave to call your attention to the propriety of abandoning the Chilcotin Post but as this cannot be carried into effect without the approbation of the Gov[ernor] & Council I shall merely state my opinion of the propriety of the measure. When first established the Coast traders were not then in the habit of coming within two days journey of the Fort and was then most valuable for its returns but within the last two years from the above cause it has been the reverse not paying its expences and still less trouble and anxiety it causes the returns not averaging 100 Beaver

(23) The meaning of this passage is far from clear.

(24) Thompson's River, better known as Fort Kamloops, was in some years reckoned in with the New Caledonia posts and in others with the posts belonging to the Columbia district.

(25) Evidently the forks of the North and South Thompson at Kamloops is here meant.

per annum and the very few small furs collected are of a most inferior quallity it is said by retaining the Post it acts as a check on the Indians of Alexandria from assisting to trade with the Coast traders in this I cannot coincide as I am fully of opinion from as little intercourse existing and enmity between the two Septs and one skin would be lost and by sending twice a year in that direction on trading excursions would answer any purpose of the present Post and cause a saving of the services of a Gent[leman] and three Servants and transportation of Provisions to that quarter.

PETER SKEEN OGDEN.²⁶

(26) Ogden's spelling of his second name was by no means uniform.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Those well qualified to judge have upon many occasions emphasized the value of the great store of books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics which are preserved in the Provincial Archives. White men first landed upon what is now the coast of British Columbia only a little more than 150 years ago; and the tremendous transition from savagery to modern civilization, which has taken place in that comparatively short period, is recorded and illustrated, in a remarkable way, by the Archives collection. Research students, and others able to visit the Archives in person, have long been aware of this; but the department has lacked any means of making its resources known to a wider circle. It is hoped that the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* will go far to make good this deficiency. Important manuscripts, hitherto unpublished, will appear regularly in its pages; and it is hoped that the prospect of publication in permanent form, which the *Quarterly* is able to offer, will encourage the writing of worth-while articles upon many aspects of British Columbia's history.

It may be well to add that the *Quarterly* aims to supplement, but in no sense to rival, the *Canadian Historical Review*. A periodical which deals with the history of the entire Dominion cannot possibly concern itself with subjects, however interesting, which are primarily of regional concern; and it is to the latter that the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* will devote a large proportion of its space.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The co-operation of the British Columbia Historical Association has made the publication of the *Quarterly* possible, and its appearance promises to be a landmark in the society's history. The Association was organized in October, 1922, and published its *First Report and Proceedings* in 1924. The *Fourth Report and Proceedings*, the last in the series to appear, was issued in 1929. The Association, like most organizations, had a difficult time during the worst of the depression, but has been very active during the last two or three years. A series of evening meetings is held each season in the Provincial Archives, and these are supplemented in the summer by a field-day, usually held in August. In 1935, members of the society spent the field-day at Sooke, visiting the old Grant and Muir estates, and various other historic spots in the vicinity. In 1936, the members visited the former estate of Chief Trader James Murray Yale, now owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. J. A. Grant, and "Cloverdale," built in 1859 by the late Dr. W. F. Tolmie, and now the home of his son, the Hon. S. F. Tolmie, M.P., former Premier of British Columbia.

Though much interest was taken in these activities, the Association has been conscious of two serious limitations. In the first place, it has been unable to publish its report and proceedings since 1929. In the second place, since no provision was made in its constitution for branches, force of geographical circumstances confined the membership almost entirely to

the City of Victoria and surrounding districts. Both these difficulties have now been overcome. All members of the Association will receive the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, which is the Association's official organ, and the annual membership fee of \$2 includes a subscription to the magazine. Outstanding papers read before the society will appear in the *Quarterly* from time to time, the article in this issue entitled "Gilbert Malcolm Sproat," by Dr. T. A. Rickard, being the first of the series. The geographical difficulty has been overcome by the adoption of revised by-laws, which authorize the formation of branch societies. Five or more members in good standing may petition the Council for authority to form a local section in any part of the Province, and these local sections enjoy full autonomy, so far as the management of their local affairs is concerned. Section No. 1, in Victoria, ranks as the senior section of the Association, as it is virtually the successor of the old society. Section No. 2, in Vancouver, has already reported a membership of 130, with 150 members as its immediate objective.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Though the Historical Association aims to have sections throughout the Province, it recognizes that the local historical society has a distinct place and function in the scheme of things. Many persons are willing to join a local society, which uses its funds exclusively for local projects, who do not care to subscribe to a magazine or organization which is Province-wide in character. To this there can be no objection, particularly if the local society shows its good-will toward the central association by paying an affiliation fee, as most of the local societies have already done, or expressed their intention of doing. It is also to be hoped that at least a few of the members of every local society will be sufficiently interested to join the British Columbia Historical Association individually, in order to assist the latter to attain the Province-wide membership which is its objective.

The Cowichan Historical Society is the only local society on Vancouver Island. One of its members, Mr. John Evans, who has spent a lifetime in Cowichan, recently compiled a most valuable manuscript history of the district for the Provincial Archives, and has also deposited there the first two instalments of his reminiscences. Mr. Kenneth Duncan, of Duncan, is president of the society.

The Okanagan Historical Society, organized in 1925, recently published its *Sixth Report*, which is reviewed at length on another page. The publication of a well-printed volume of over 300 pages is a notable achievement on the part of a regional society; and only one familiar with the difficulties which beset the local historian can appreciate fully the patience and labour which it represents. Readers will be interested to learn that the report is already out of print. Mr. Leonard Norris, of Vernon, president of the society, deserves a large share of the credit, both for the appearance of the report and for the fact that it has been a success financially. A short *Seventh Report* is to be published in the spring.

The Penticton Historical Society was organized in 1935, and held an exhibition of Indian curios and historical relics in July of that year. As in

several of the local societies, some of the members are particularly interested in the Indians of the region and their history. Others are gathering records and pictures regarding the careers of outstanding pioneers.

The North Kootenay Pioneers' Association, with headquarters at Revelstoke, was organized in October, 1933. It features an annual public event, and to date the series has been an outstanding success, both financially and otherwise. In 1935 a monster barbecue, lasting two days, was held in Revelstoke Park. In 1936 a Pioneer Trail celebration was arranged. The motion picture based upon Alan Sullivan's novel of Canadian Pacific construction-days, *The Great Divide*, was being made at the time, and the co-operation of the Gaumont-British Corporation's staff and players made possible many unique features and effects. The membership of the association is now 112, and it is planning to set to work seriously to gather historical documents, relics, and data. It is interesting to note that each year the Association confers a life-membership upon an outstanding and deserving pioneer of the community. Dr. W. H. Sutherland, M.L.A., is honorary president; Mr. C. B. Hume, president; and Mr. David Orr, secretary.

The Thompson Valley District Historical and Museum Association was organized in Kamloops in the fall of 1936. Mr. J. J. Morse is president, and the association is looking forward to a busy year. Kamloops will observe its 125th anniversary in 1937, and an elaborate programme of celebrations, which are to commence on Coronation Day, May 12, and last until the Fall Fair, is being arranged. A committee of the Historical and Museum Association is to co-operate with the official celebrations committee in planning the various events. Mr. David Power, who has a remarkable knowledge of the history of the region, recently located an old building which originally formed part of old Fort Kamloops. He has had the building carefully dismantled and placed in storage, and it is hoped that its re-erection in Riverside Park will be a feature of the 125th anniversary programme.

The Similkameen Historical Association was organized in Princeton on April 27, 1932, when the following officers were elected: Honorary president, Mrs. S. L. Allison; president, Mr. S. R. Gibson; vice-president, Mr. A. E. Howse; secretary, Rev. J. C. Goodfellow. These same officers have since been annually re-elected. A constitution was adopted in May, 1932, which listed the following objectives: to stimulate interest in local history; to promote the preservation and marking of historic sites, relics, etc.; to secure, preserve, and make available records of the early history of the valley, photographs, and life-sketches of pioneers. The area to be covered was defined as "west of Penticton, east of Hope, south of Merritt and Nicola, and north of the International Boundary." Quarterly and annual meetings have been held regularly, many relics and records have been gathered, and papers on local history read. The meetings have been fully reported in the *Princeton Star*. In 1933 *The Geology of Princeton District* (4 pp.), by Miss Jessie Ewart, B.A., was printed for distribution. The annual meetings have coincided with the birthday of Mrs. Allison, the honorary president, who was the first white woman to settle in the Similkameen Valley. They have taken the form of an Old-timers' Banquet, at which the average attendance has

been 150. The guest speaker at the first banquet was the late Mr. John Hosie, then Provincial Librarian and Archivist. At the fifth annual gathering, held last August, His Honour Judge Howay gave a masterly address on the "Historic Sites and Monuments of British Columbia."

The Fraser Canyon Historical Association was organized at a meeting held at Yale on May 24, 1935, at which Dr. W. N. Sage was the principal speaker. Its members are scattered throughout the district from Popcum to as far north at Lytton. Regular meetings have been held, and the members are gathering documents and data relating to the district. Their most ambitious project is a photographic survey, the aim of which is to obtain photographs of all buildings and other evidence of human activity in the area, with the idea of using these photographs as the nuclei around which local history can be built up. The progress of the experiment will be watched with interest. Over one hundred pictures have already been secured, and many more are known to be available. Mr. T. L. Thacker, of Hope, is president of the association, and Rev. Heber H. K. Greene, of Agassiz, secretary.

A number of other local societies, or sections of the British Columbia Historical Association, are in immediate prospect. It is hoped that one of these will be at Lillooet, where the *Bridge River-Lillooet News*, edited by Mrs. M. L. Murray, published a 24-page special historical number of unusual interest on October 29. Mrs. Murray and her staff made use of records preserved at Lillooet, Kamloops, and Victoria, and in addition drew upon the memories of pioneers of the district. The recollections of Alphonse Hautier, son of Louis Hautier, a pioneer of 1858, are of special value.

No local societies or sections have yet been organized either in the Cariboo or Southern Kootenay. Both are vast regions, rich in historical associations; and every effort will be made to see that they are represented before the end of the year.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Potlatch and Totem and the Recollections of an Indian Agent. By W. M. Halliday. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 1935. Pp. xvi., 240. \$3.75.

A "potlatch" was a meeting of a tribe or tribes at which, after much feasting and many savage ceremonies, a large amount of goods and other valuables were given to the guests by some one or more of the prominent men of the inviting tribe, upon the tacit understanding that the recipients would in due course return to the donor gifts of one hundredfold or more. If this were not done, it would reflect great discredit upon the receivers.

This book is to a great extent a study of the potlatch. Mr. Halliday has for thirty-eight years been an Indian Agent in the northern part of Vancouver Island. As such, he has had the opportunity, vouchsafed to few in an equal degree, to observe at close range the life of the Indian, his customs and his ideas. There has been much controversy on this question of the potlatch between anthropologists and the officials of the Indian Department at Ottawa. The former regret the ban placed upon it by the Government, claiming that it is an old custom of the race, picturesque, and in many ways beneficial. The latter, admitting its picturesqueness, nevertheless think it necessary, in the interest of the Indian himself, to forbid it being in any way carried on, as being a relic of barbarism, imposing heavy burdens on the people and being accompanied by many vicious practices.

Instead of describing the potlatch in the usual way, Mr. Halliday has endeavoured to make it clearer to his readers by placing it before them in fictional form. He describes the invitation to the guests, their arrival, the ceremonies which take place, the dances, and the distribution of gifts. A great part appears in the first person, especially the speeches. From addresses supposed to be made by members of the tribe who have been educated in the Government schools, we get Mr. Halliday's personal views. He agrees with the Department that the custom is one which should not be encouraged, both on account of the circumstances which surround it and the load of debt which it imposes on the individual Indians.

The latter part of the book is devoted to his personal recollections generally. It covers many other matters relating to the Indians, their ancient customs, arts, and crafts; their morals, creeds, and superstitions. Those who believe that the Indians have been corrupted by the advent of the white men should read this book. Some time, it is to be hoped, the *Fort Langley Journal*, 1927-1880, a copy of which is in the Provincial Archives, will be published, possibly in this *Quarterly*; and, if so, it will fully corroborate Mr. Halliday's views on the subject.

He shows the progress that has been made by the Indians in modern days, and pays a compliment to such men as Dr. R. W. Large and Dr. George H. Darby, who have laboured among them as medical missionaries; the Columbia Coast Mission, under Rev. John Antle in modern days, and Mr. William Duncan in the past. It is worthy of note that the latter, in dealing with the

Indians of the Skeena, was as strong an opponent of the potlatch as Mr. Halliday.

The book is in an attractive form and is a worthy addition to the literature of the North-west Coast. It is to be regretted that one serious error appears on page 225, where Sir Wilfred Grenfell is referred to as Dr. Richard Grenfell.

ROBIE L. REID.

The Honourable Company: A History of the Hudson's Bay Company. By Douglas MacKay. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1936. Pp. xii., 396. \$3.75.

No one can read a chapter of this book without realizing that Mr. Douglas MacKay, the popular editor of the Hudson's Bay Company's magazine, *The Beaver*, has essayed what is plainly a labour of love. The work falls into two clean-cut sections: the history itself and the appendices. The history is plainly intended for the general reader and, especially, for the Company's employees. It is written in easy and graphic style, though now and again one detects a slight straining for effect. To attempt within the straight-jacket of 318 pages to tell coherently, completely, and correctly the story of The Great Chartered Company—a story of more than two centuries and a half in time, of a domain, imperial in extent, and of empire-building in reality—is to attempt the impossible. George Bryce in 1900 required 479 pages; Beckles Wilson in the same year required 646 pages; and Miss Agnes Laut in 1908 required 824 pages; and not one of their efforts was satisfactory. Mr. MacKay has treated his subject topically; his nineteen headings touch the high spots and tell a thrilling story of romantic reality; yet these nineteen topics are a series of pictures rather than one coherent whole. Some of the chapters, notably that in which, under the title of "The Little Emperor," he gives a sketch of Sir George Simpson, are fine pastels; and no one connected with the Company can rise from the perusal of that chapter or the subsequent one on "Some Commissioned Gentlemen" without a deepened feeling of pride in the association.

The author has left gaps of considerable magnitude: The period between 1749 and 1815, which has been neglected by previous writers, has again not been adequately dealt with; the story told is rather the advance of the enemy—the Nor'westers—than the Company's own moves of offence or defence. The work of the Company on the Pacific Coast is left untold; as is its alleged attempt to colonize Vancouver Island. The interval between 1857 and 1869 is untouched so far as the work on the ground is concerned. The last four chapters are biography rather than history; and that on "Smith and the Insurrection," interesting as it is, might well have been omitted for one germane to the Company's story.

Our author takes a little flight of imagination when he speaks of young George Simpson, fresh from London, administering "final blows" to old and trained Nor'westers. His references to the struggle between the companies are scarcely fair at any time to the Nor'westers. If they were carrying on at a loss, so were their opponents: from 1809 to 1815 the Hudson's Bay

Company paid no dividend; and it seems contradictory to speak of the North West Company as an "empty shell" (p. 163), and yet to admit that but for Williams they would have driven their opponents out of the trade—a surprising result from an "empty shell." Nor can it be said (p. 177) that the Athabaska country was "the very storm centre of the fur-trade battle and the last stronghold of the enemy," when the upper waters of the Peace, the Athabaska, and the North Saskatchewan and all the region west of the Rockies had not even felt the footprint of a Hudson's Bay trader, save for the hasty trip of Howse in 1810. The author's outspoken admiration of Sir George Simpson leads him to a view of Dr. John McLoughlin which will not be accepted by the many who believe that the disagreement long antedated the arrival of the first covered wagon.

The seemingly dry appendices will greatly interest the intensive student. The rota of governors and deputy governors, the fluctuations in the prices of the Company's stocks, and the dividends paid during the whole period from 1670 to 1936 give the first complete and reliable information on these important economic matters.

A number of omissions and doubtful statements are noted: though New Caledonia existed from 1805, it is not included in the list on p. 159 until after 1825; having Fort McLeod in mind, the remark that Fort St. James is "the oldest permanent settlement in British Columbia" may require reconsideration; the claim that the Hudson's Bay Company built, in 1799, Jasper or Rocky Mountain House (p. 130) is novel; it is believed by this reviewer that William Wales accompanied Captain Cook only on the second voyage, and not on *two* voyages as stated on p. 98; John McLoughlin came to the Columbia River not in 1823 (p. 232) but in 1824; his son was murdered not by Indians (p. 233) but by his own men; Douglas's proclamations in the gold-rush of 1858 were not made "as an officer of the Company" but as the nearest representative of the Crown (p. 235); and on the same page the date 1867 has inadvertently been written for 1871.

Notwithstanding these defects and doubtful statements, the volume is, beyond all question, the most complete, accurate, and readable attempt at a history of The Honourable Company that has, as yet, appeared.

F. W. HOWAY.

Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society. Vancouver, William Wrigley Printing Company. 1936. Pp. 309. \$2.

The Okanagan Historical Society, under the able presidency of Mr. Leonard Norris, has added one more to its valuable series of reports. Miss Margaret Ormsby, M.A., has edited the volume with the assistance of Mr. J. C. Agnew, Mr. C. E. Pope, and Mrs. Judith N. Pope.

The society was organized in Vernon in 1925 as the Okanagan Historical and Natural History Society, but its name was later changed to the Okanagan Historical Society. Its object has been to record the history of the Okanagan Valley, although it has never ceased to be interested in the history of the Province as a whole. The present Report shows how the society is accomplishing its purpose. It is a storehouse of information.

The articles presented are on a variety of subjects, historical, biographical, and scientific. Perhaps the most valuable are the old-timers' narratives. Mr. B. F. Young in his "Early Days in British Columbia" dates back to 1865, when Abraham Lincoln was shot. At that time he was serving in a volunteer regiment in Philadelphia and he with others of his corps mounted guard over the martyred president's body when it was lying in state there. Times were hard in the United States after the war and in 1870 Mr. Young started for California. From San Francisco he came north to British Columbia and after many adventures became a stage-driver on the Cariboo Road. In 1866 he hauled the *Mary Victoria Greenhow*, "the first steamboat on Okanagan Lake from Lansdowne to the head of Okanagan Lake for Captain Shorts."

Mr. Leon Lequime has written a brief but valuable account of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Eli Lequime, who walked in to Rock Creek in 1860 over the Hope Trail. Mr. David Lloyd-Jones in his "Over the Hope Trail" records his adventures on that historic route in 1880. Mr. Robert Lambly in his "Early Days at Enderby" tells how he walked in to the Okanagan Valley over the Hope Trail in the summer of 1876 and in the same year pre-empted what is now the site of the City of Enderby. Mrs. Crestenza Kruger writes a fascinating article on "Early Days at Osoyoos" tracing the history of that settlement from 1861. Her reminiscences of General William Tecumseh Sherman, who was in charge of the United States fort at Oroville in 1883, are extremely interesting. Mr. R. D. Kerr tells of "Early Days in Priest's Valley," where he arrived in November, 1885. "Society in Priest's Valley in those days," he records, "was raw, rude and democratic. The men usually wore long-legged boots with pant legs stuffed into the tops of them, and chewed tobacco, but they were a fine lot of fellows for all that."

Mr. Leonard Norris has contributed a series of historical articles on various subjects connected with the early development of the Province. Perhaps his most interesting is on "Robson and Begbie," in which he gives reasons for doubting whether the pioneer judge is quite entitled to the halo with which tradition has surrounded his memory. Mr. F. M. Buckland's "The Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail" is useful, as is also his note on "Kelowna, Its Name." Mrs. William Brent also gives valuable information on the origin of this historic place-name. Dr. Arthur T. Lang has contributed several brief articles on scientific subjects. The "Okanagan Arc" is dealt with in papers by Mr. Leonard Norris and Mr. J. C. Agnew. "The Camels in British Columbia," by W. T. Hayhurst, sheds new light on that most interesting but rather obscure subject.

A word should be added regarding the poems which are placed at the beginning and end of the Report. They breathe the spirit of the frontier and portray those characters of the cattle-range, the cowboy and the tender-foot. Most old-timers will agree that

"On the range
There's magic in the tinkle of a bell."

W. N. SAGE.

Two of the papers published in the new *Report of the Canadian Historical Association* (University of Toronto Press, 132 pp., \$1), are of particular interest to British Columbians. The first of these is "An Unsolved Problem of Canadian History," by F. G. Roe. The title refers "to the somewhat sudden and highly spectacular change in the route of the first Canadian railway to the Pacific Ocean, from the previously adopted survey through Battleford, Edmonton, and the Yellowhead Pass; to the existing route of the Canadian Pacific through Calgary and Kicking-Horse Pass, some two hundred miles further south." After a careful examination of the various explanations which have been advanced, Mr. Roe reaches the conclusion that the rerouting was due to a desire to avoid crossing the privately owned lands and townsites which were scattered along the line as previously located. "The plain truth is," in Mr. Roe's opinion, "that railways west of the Mississippi, whether in the United States or in Canada, have never been very favourable toward the idea of increasing the value of other folks' townsite properties. They have much preferred to own and develop their own."

The second paper is "Some Aspects of the *Komagata Maru* Affair, 1914," by Eric W. Morse. It is much the best account which has appeared, even though attention is directed chiefly to "the way in which the affair was handled in Vancouver, more particularly as regards the cause of the vessel's eight weeks' delay in harbour and the final negotiations that made its departure possible." The paper is part of a forthcoming study of *The Immigration and Status of British East Indians in Canada*, in which Mr. Morse will deal with the broader aspects of the *Komagata Maru* crisis. In passing, it may be noted that Mr. Morse considers that the charge of German complicity is groundless; and publication of the evidence on this and other points will be awaited with interest.

Major Nevill A. D. Armstrong, author of *Yukon Yesterdays* (London, John Long, 287 pp., 18 shillings), is well known in British Columbia, as he lived for some years at Shawnigan Lake. His book makes exciting reading, and consists, as the sub-title indicates, of "Personal memories of the famous Klondike Gold Rush, first-hand accounts of lucky strikes, stories of Dawson in the wild 'Nineties, together with adventures in mining, exploring and big game hunting in the unknown sub-Arctic." Though frankly popular in appeal, the book contains much of interest to serious readers. Some of the descriptions of mining conditions and methods are noteworthy, especially as they are based upon the writer's diaries, and in some instances give details absent from other accounts. Armstrong knew George Carmack well, and his version of the story of how Carmack and his Indian wife made the original discovery which revealed the riches of the Klondike is an interesting contribution to an old controversy. The last third of the book is devoted to a prospecting expedition which spent sixteen months on Russel Creek, a remote tributary of the McMillan River, in 1905-06. The hardships and dangers encountered, as well as the character of the country itself, are vividly described. The party consisted of Major Armstrong, a friend, and their wives. One or two errors should be corrected in future editions. The

Princess Sophia, for instance, was lost in 1918, not 1917. A remarkable series of over fifty illustrations adds much to the value of the volume.

Pay Dirt; a Panorama of American Gold-Rushes, by Glenn Chesney Quiett (New York, Appleton-Century, xxv., 506 pp., \$4.50), relates the story of the search for gold on this continent from the time of Marshall's discovery in California in January, 1848, to a date as recent as August, 1936, when news of a rich strike came from Nevada. It is a story crammed with colourful characters and dramatic incidents, and to these Mr. Quiett has added an immense and orderly array of facts and dates, which give the book considerable value as a work of ready reference. Some twenty pages are devoted to a sketch of the Fraser River and Cariboo rushes, and fifty pages to the rush to the Klondike. Possibly the most interesting chapter to Canadians will be the last, which describes recent gold-mining activities in north-eastern and central Canada, with special reference to the career of Jack Hammell. It is a subject about which the general public, in the West at least, seems to know little. On the other hand, Mr. Quiett seems unaware of the extensive revival of gold-mining, in the Cariboo and elsewhere, which has taken place in British Columbia during the last five or six years. *Pay Dirt* is illustrated with nearly one hundred well-selected photographs, maps, and reproductions of old prints and drawings. A critical bibliography indicates the chief sources upon which the author has drawn, chapter by chapter. It is surprising to find neither *British Columbia*, by Howay and Scholefield, nor *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, by W. N. Sage, included in the note referring to Chapter VIII. On both page 196 and page 486, the date of publication of Waddington's *Fraser Mines Vindicated* is given as 1861 instead of 1858.

The Alaskan Melodrama, by J. A. Hellenthal (New York, Liveright, xiii., 312 pp., \$3), gives a relatively short yet comprehensive account of the history and resources of Alaska. The first half of the book consists of an interesting description of the country, the natives, early exploration, and the period of Russian rule. The latter half covers the period from the American occupation in 1867 until the present day, and deals with this recent history largely in terms of the development of natural resources. It is highly critical, both of the Alaskan government—which the author describes as “the worst possible under the American flag”—and of the attitude of Congress. Alaska and British Columbia are not only neighbours, but have many resources in common; and Mr. Hellenthal's discussion of the proper policy to pursue in exploiting them, and in particular his attack upon the policy of conservation, will prove of interest and profit to British Columbians.

Interesting details of missionary life and work in Old Oregon are given in the *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee*, by Theressa Gay (Portland, Metropolitan Press, 224 pp., \$2.50), which has just been published. Miss Gay has had access to a large store of hitherto unpublished letters and records, and these enable her to give a fairly complete account of Mrs. Lee's early

life and brief career in Oregon. Anna Maria Pittman was born in New York in 1803. It is interesting to learn that her father was proprietor of the ropewalk which supplied ropes for the rigging of the ships owned by John Jacob Astor, founder of the Pacific Fur Company. In 1836 she was selected as a teacher for the Oregon Mission by the Board of the Methodist Missionary Society; and presently it became apparent that they regarded her as the prospective bride of the Rev. Jason Lee as well. She sailed from Boston in July, and after wintering at Honolulu finally reached Fort Vancouver in May, 1837. There she met Jason Lee, and the couple were married two months later. The marriage was a happy one, and all went well until March, 1838, when Jason Lee left for the East, in an effort to secure further support for the Oregon Mission. Three months later Mrs. Lee gave birth to a son, and died a few days later, on June, 1838, at the early age of 35. Miss Gay has supplemented her biography with an appendix of a hundred pages in which she reprints a selection of the letters of Mrs. Lee, together with a few by her husband. The book is well produced, and is complete with illustrations, index, and bibliography. Professor H. E. Bolton contributes a foreword.

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