

THE
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY



JANUARY, 1941



BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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VOLUME V.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME V.

ARTICLES:	PAGE.
<i>The Inside Story of the "Komagata Maru."</i> By Robie L. Reid.....	1
<i>The Oolachan Fishery.</i> By H. A. Collison.....	25
<i>Relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast, 1829-1867.</i> By Donald C. Davidson.....	33
<i>Early Flour-mills in British Columbia. Part I.</i> By Willard E. Ireland.....	89
<i>Harmony Island: A Finnish Utopian Venture in British Columbia, 1901-1905.</i> By John Ilmari Kolehmainen.....	111
<i>The Strait of Anian.</i> By T. A. Rickard.....	161
<i>The Case of the "Moneta": An Incident in the Story of Burrard Inlet.</i> By F. W. Howay.....	185
<i>Early Flour-mills in British Columbia. Part II.</i> By F. W. Laing.....	191
<i>Pioneer Surveys and Surveyors in the Fraser Valley.</i> By W. N. Draper.....	215
<i>The War Scare of 1854: The Pacific Coast and the Crimean War.</i> By Donald C. Davidson.....	243
<i>Similkameen Trails, 1846-1861.</i> By E. P. Creech.....	255
<i>History in a Changing World.</i> By Robert Livingston Schuyler.....	269
DOCUMENTS:	
<i>James Douglas and the Russian American Company, 1840.</i> By Willard E. Ireland.....	53
<i>A Further Note on the Annexation Petition of 1869.</i> By Willard E. Ireland.....	67
<i>Memoirs and Documents relating to Judge Begbie.</i> Edited with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb.....	125
I. <i>Some Recollections of Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie.</i> By A. B.	127
II. <i>Sir Matthew Begbie: Terror of Lawbreakers.</i> By A. E. Beck.....	131
III. <i>Documents relating to the effect of the Act of Union of 1866 upon Judge Begbie's status and jurisdiction</i>	134
<i>Two Narratives of the Fraser River Gold-rush.</i> I. Extracts from Friesach, <i>Ein Ausflug nach Britisch-Columbien im Jahre 1858.</i> With an introduction by Robie L. Reid.....	221
II. <i>Letter from Charles G. Major, dated Fort Hope, September 20, 1859</i>	228

DOCUMENTS—Continued.	PAGE.
<i>Sailing Directions governing the Voyage of the Vessels "Captain Cook" and "Experiment" to the Northwest Coast in the Fur Trade, A.D. 1786.</i>	
With an introduction and notes by F. W. Howay.....	285
NOTES AND COMMENTS	73, 149, 233, 297
THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF:	
Smyth: <i>Tales of the Kootenays.</i>	
By W. Kaye Lamb.....	83
<i>The Tale of the Nativity.</i>	
By Alice Ravenhill.....	84
<i>Guide to Material in the National Archives.</i>	
By Willard E. Ireland.....	86
Nichols: <i>Ranald MacDonald: Adventurer.</i>	
By W. Kaye Lamb.....	86
Howay: <i>The Journal of Captain James Colnett.</i>	
By W. N. Sage.....	155
<i>Building a State: Washington, 1889-1939.</i>	
By Madge Wolfenden.....	156
Riesenberg: <i>The Pacific Ocean.</i>	
By T. A. Rickard.....	157
Panchromatic Reproductions of Twenty Charts.	
By Willard E. Ireland.....	159
Morrell: <i>The Gold Rushes.</i>	
By T. A. Rickard.....	237
Woods: <i>History of the Agassiz-Harrison Valley.</i>	
By F. W. Howay.....	240
Lyons: <i>Francis Norbert Blanchet and the Founding of the Oregon Missions (1838-1848).</i>	
Magaret: <i>Father De Smet: Pioneer Priest of the Rockies.</i>	
By Willard E. Ireland.....	240
Gates (ed.), <i>Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington, 1854-1889.</i>	
By Ronald Todd.....	242
<i>Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-1831.</i>	
By Willard E. Ireland.....	307
Gregory and Barnes: <i>North Pacific Fisheries.</i>	
By W. T. Easterbrook.....	308
Stefansson: <i>Ultima Thule.</i>	
By T. A. Rickard.....	310
Howard and McGrath: <i>War Chief Joseph.</i>	
By Willard E. Ireland.....	311
INDEX.....	313

ERRATA.

- Page 157, line 41. For *Ceba* read *Cebu*.
Page 158, line 8. For *Marian* read *Marianne*.
Page 217, line 18. For *I. I. Cochrane* read *J. J. Cochrane*.

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

VOL. V.

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CONTENTS.

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<i>The Oolachan Fishery.</i> By H. A. Collison.....	25
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<i>A Further Note on the Annexation Petition of 1869.</i> By Willard E. Ireland.....	67
NOTES AND COMMENTS:	
Some Archives Accessions, 1938-40.....	73
Historical Markers and Monuments.....	77
British Columbia Historical Association.....	78
Graduate Historical Society.....	80
Contributors to this Issue.....	81
THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF:	
Smyth, <i>Tales of the Kootenays.</i> By W. Kaye Lamb.....	83
<i>The Tale of the Nativity.</i> By Alice Ravenhill.....	84
<i>Guide to Material in the National Archives.</i> By Willard E. Ireland.....	86
Nichols, <i>Ranald MacDonald: Adventurer.</i> By W. Kaye Lamb.....	86

THE INSIDE STORY OF THE "KOMAGATA MARU."

More than a quarter of a century has passed since the *Komagata Maru*, Captain Yamamoto, a Japanese steamship with a Japanese crew, entered the then quiet harbour of Vancouver, with some 376 passengers on board. These passengers were East Indians from the China Coast and Japan, who claimed the right to enter Canada as being British subjects. The immigration authorities refused to admit such of them as were not already domiciled in Canada, not, ostensibly, because they came from India, but because they came within the terms of certain Orders in Council, made under the provisions of the "Immigration Act" of Canada, which prohibited the entry into Canada of certain classes of immigrants. Two months were to pass and many exciting incidents occurred before the ship and her disappointed passengers returned to Asia.

It was not until 1936 that the story of the *Komagata Maru* became a part of our written history. In that year Professor Eric W. Morse, of Trinity College, Port Hope, Ontario, whose early life had been spent in India, took up the story, and presented a paper on the subject to the Ottawa meeting of the Canadian Historical Association.¹ The authorities at Ottawa had opened to him the papers relating to the subject, and, speaking generally, he made good use of them. In some way, however, he failed to find the full report made by me to W. D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration at Ottawa, dated July 27, 1914, covering the whole matter; a report which would have enabled him to avoid some serious errors and omissions in his paper. Had he seen it he doubtless would not have censured the immigration officials in Vancouver for what he terms their "poor handling" of the affair, and for the "unnecessary time"² taken in obtaining a decision of the British Columbia Court of Appeal

(1) Eric W. Morse, "Some Aspects of the Komagata Maru Affair, 1914," in *Report*, Canadian Historical Association, 1936, pp. 100-108; cited hereafter as "Morse."

(2) Morse, p. 103.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. V., No. 1.

as to the validity of section 23 of the "Immigration Act" and the Orders in Council made under the provisions of that Act. As one of those responsible for the conduct of the matter, and in justice to my associates, most of whom are now dead, I feel that it is only fair that the whole story should be made public.

The man in charge of this matter at Vancouver for the Immigration Department was Malcolm J. R. Reid (no relation to the writer). He was a hard-headed Scot and a man of ability and experience. He was firm and inflexible in carrying out his duty as he understood it, but at the same time he endeavoured to carry out that duty with as little discomfort to others as possible. The chief legal counsel for the Immigration Department was W. B. A. Ritchie, K.C., one of the ablest lawyers in Canada. He was a personal friend of Premier Borden, and for many years the two had been members of the same firm in Halifax. I was the agent of the Minister of Justice at the time, and most legal matters needing attention in Vancouver were in my charge. W. H. D. Ladner was then associated with my firm, and to him I committed the outdoor work. The lesser matters of detail were his to attend to. If he required assistance he came to me. In serious matters I conferred with Mr. Ritchie. Hon. H. H. Stevens was Member of the House of Commons for the City of Vancouver. When the *Komagata Maru* episode occurred the House was not in session, and Mr. Stevens was in the city. He gave us much assistance in the matter and, as will be seen later, it was his foresight which gave us the means of ending the trouble. Mr. Malcolm Reid took no step without consulting Mr. Ladner or myself. If, therefore, anything was done which was improper, we were the persons responsible.

Before taking up the story of the ship and her passengers, it is necessary to devote a short space to a review of East Indian immigration to this Province, and to the law of habeas corpus and its application to such immigration.

A writ of habeas corpus is an old proceeding in English law which has as its object the protection of the liberty of the subject. To obtain this writ an application is made to a Judge of a superior Court. On proper cause being shown, the Judge orders the applicant to be brought before him; the applicant or his counsel is heard, and if the applicant can show that he

is illegally detained, the writ issues and he is free. If one Judge refuses the writ, the person claiming to be illegally detained may apply to another Judge, and so on until he has been heard by every Judge on the bench. If any one Judge issues the writ he is free, even if every other Judge on the bench has given a contrary decision.

Owing to the increase in the number of Asiatics coming to Canada during the first decade of the present century, insistent and continued demands were made on the Government of the Dominion for restrictive legislation. So strong did this agitation become, especially in British Columbia, the Province particularly affected, that both in 1886 and 1907 there were riots in Vancouver resulting, especially in the latter year, in considerable injury to persons and property. Later the immigration of Chinese was regulated by a head tax, and that from Japan by the well-known "gentleman's agreement" with that country.

Immigration from India found itself in a different category. Chinese were allowed to enter Canada on payment of a head tax; Japanese, to some extent, were admitted free. But the East Indian, though a British subject, was not allowed to come in, and Orders in Council were passed to prevent his doing so, although his race was not specifically mentioned therein. No doubt he felt this to be unfair. Perhaps it was; but such was the law, and the law was made on the demand of Canadians.

As I have noted, East Indian immigration was not barred by name. This had been done in other parts of the Empire and had been the source of resentment and unrest. In an effort to avoid such trouble, the legislation which was passed in Canada carefully avoided any mention of "Hindu," "Sikh," "East Indian," or any similar appellation. It mentioned no race or nationality. This legislation took the form of Orders in Council, two of which were passed in 1910. One of these required that any applicant for admission had to have \$200 in his possession on landing in Canada; the other that all immigrants seeking entry must have come to Canada by "continuous journey and on through tickets from the country of their birth or citizenship."³ As no steamship lines were in operation between India and

(3) P.C. 920 and P.C. 926, 1910.

Canada, it is apparent that that country was in the mind of the person who drew the Order.

Evidently the Dominion Government feared that an appeal to the Courts might result in decisions which would have the effect of admitting immigrants which the Government wished to exclude. To prevent this, in 1910 a section was inserted in the "Immigration Act" which took from the Courts the right to interfere with decisions of the immigration authorities. This was the famous section 23, which reads as follows:—

23. No court, and no judge or officer thereof, shall have jurisdiction to review, quash, reverse, restrain or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, decision or order of the Minister or any Board of Inquiry, or officer in charge, had, made or given under the authority and in accordance with the provisions of this Act relating to the detention or deportation of any rejected immigrant, passenger, or other person, upon any ground whatsoever, unless such person is a Canadian citizen or has Canadian domicile.

The only remedy given by the Act to a person aggrieved was by appeal to the Minister in charge of the Department. Fortified with this section, and the above-mentioned Orders in Council, the Immigration Department felt that it was able to cope with any contingency which might arise. Evidently every one else was of the same opinion, for little or no trouble was experienced by the Department until 1913.

In that year some thirty-five East Indians, including one Narain Singh, came to Vancouver and applied for admission to Canada. The regular proceedings were taken under the "Immigration Act," and the applicants were ordered deported. They applied to Mr. Justice Murphy, of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, for a writ of habeas corpus, claiming that they were illegally detained. He refused the writ on the ground that, under section 23 of the Act, he had no jurisdiction to hear the application, and that the only remedy open to the applicants was by appeal to the Minister.

The writ having been refused, the applicants had two courses open to them if they believed that this decision was not in accordance with the law. They could apply to each of the other Justices of the Court in turn, to ascertain whether or not some one of them would take a different view, or they could appeal to the Court of Appeal from the decision of Mr. Justice Murphy.

They chose the first alternative, and made a new application to Chief Justice Hunter for a writ of habeas corpus. He did not

agree with Mr. Justice Murphy, and held that he was not barred by section 23 from hearing and deciding the matter. He also held that both the Orders in Council passed in 1910 were *ultra vires*, as not strictly complying with the language of the section of the "Immigration Act" under which they purported to be made. He granted the writ, the applicants were released, and were thereby enabled to enter Canada.⁴

It might well be asked, why did not the Crown appeal to the Court of Appeal if the legal advisers of the Government did not agree with the law as laid down by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court? The reason why the astute counsel for the applicants took the course he did and did not appeal to the Court of Appeal, as he could have done, was that at that time there was no appeal to the Court of Appeal from the decision of a Supreme Court Justice *granting* a writ of habeas corpus, although there *was* an appeal from an order refusing it. A Court will not hear a case where its action would be futile. The writ once granted, the applicant was free, and there was then no authority to rearrest him, should the Court of Appeal disagree with the decision of the Judge in the Court appealed from.

It may also be asked, why did not the Dominion Government, in enacting section 23, insert such a provision as would permit an appeal to the Court of Appeal by giving a right to rearrest where the Judge below was overruled? For the very good reason that it had no such power. Habeas corpus is a civil remedy, even if the alleged wrongful detention arises out of criminal proceedings, or other matters which are peculiarly within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament,⁵ and any legislation relating thereto must be enacted by the Legislature of the Province within which the matter arises. It was not until 1920 that a provision for rearrest was placed on the Statute books of British Columbia, and only since that date has there been an appeal where the writ is granted.

The Dominion Government found itself in an embarrassing position in immigration matters. One Judge had held its legislation valid; another with the same jurisdiction to hear and determine the case had declared that it was invalid, and had

(4) In *re* Narain Singh, 18 (1913), British Columbia Reports, 506.

(5) *R. v. Yuen Yick Jun*, 54 (1940), British Columbia Reports, 541.

released the applicants, and there was no appeal. The Orders in Council were redrawn to meet the criticism of the Chief Justice, and another Order in Council passed making it illegal for artisans or labourers, skilled or unskilled, to enter Canada at any port of entry in British Columbia.⁶

The effect of the decision in the Narain Singh case was not confined to Canada, nor to the admission of the thirty-five applicants affected by it. News that East Indians had been allowed to enter Canada soon reached India and the China Coast. Many Indian nationals had heard of the prosperity of those of their countrymen who had emigrated to British Columbia before the restrictive legislation had been passed, and they yearned to go to what seemed to them to be a land of promise.

A leader of the movement appeared in the person of one Gurdit Singh. He was a Sikh who had gone from India to Singapore, and had been in business as a contractor there and in the Malay States. He was a man of some education and considerable business experience, but he disliked the British Government of India. He worked out a scheme which seemed to him to have merit, whether it was successful or not. In the first place he would take a shipload of East Indians to British Columbia. If he were successful in obtaining entry for them into Canada—and this seemed probable in view of the decision in the Narain Singh case—he would establish a steamship line from Calcutta to Vancouver, to carry East Indians to Canada on the voyage eastward, returning to India with lumber. If he failed to obtain entrance to Canada for his passengers, he would at least have the satisfaction of seriously embarrassing the British in India. This much is clear from the written statement given by him to a newspaper reporter when he landed in Vancouver on May 23, 1914, in which he said:—

The main object of our coming is to let the British Government know how they can maintain their rule in India as the Indian Government is in danger nowadays. We can absolutely state how the British Government will last in India forever.⁷

This the reporter rightly took to mean that if Canada admitted his passengers, all would be well in India. If not, there would be trouble.

(6) P.C. 23 and P.C. 24, 1914; and P.C. 2642, 1913.

(7) *Vancouver Sun*, May 27, 1914.

Gurdit Singh did not sail from India. He was aware that there were many East Indians along the China Coast, many of them Sikhs like himself, including time-expired men from the British Army, who had some money and who were anxious to go to Canada. Now that the Courts had decided, as they thought, that East Indians could enter the country, a number of them had collected at the Gurdwara or Sikh Temple at Hong Kong, with the intention of making the voyage at the first opportunity. Gurdit Singh got in touch with them, went to Hong Kong, and there made the necessary arrangements for the journey. Advances from those who wished to go to Canada with him enabled him to charter a steamship, the *Komagata Maru*, through the good offices of one Bune, a German shipping agent. The ship was 329.2 feet in length and had a gross tonnage of 2,926 tons. She had been built in Glasgow in 1890 for German owners as the *Stubbenhuk*. Later she had been renamed *Sicilia* and was operated by the Hamburg-American Line. In 1914 she was the property of a small Japanese company, the Shinei Kishen Go Shi Kaisha.

The charter was for a period of six months at the rate of 11,000 Hong Kong dollars per month, the charterers to pay in addition all charges for coal, water, pilotage, and port charges. The first month's charges were paid in advance, and Gurdit Singh was ready for the trip to Canada.⁸

The Government of Hong Kong was quite aware of the intended invasion of Canada and did not approve of it. Its members were not as confident as Gurdit Singh that all he had to do was to go over and walk in. It was thought advisable to stop the vessel from going on the proposed voyage if possible, but it was found that this could not be done. Gurdit Singh was worried by the action of the Hong Kong Government and consulted a well-known firm of solicitors, who advised him, in writing, that he was entitled to leave Hong Kong as and when he saw fit. Gurdit Singh afterwards claimed that his solicitors had advised him that he was entitled to land his passengers in Canada, but, when obliged to produce their letter to him as proof,

(8) *Report of the Komagata Maru Committee of Inquiry*, Calcutta, 1914, I., p. 3. Cited hereafter as *Komagata Maru Report*. Gurdit Singh's financial status and dealings are dealt with at length in the report.

it was found to contain no mention whatever of anything relating to this country.

There were 165 passengers in the *Komagata Maru* when she sailed from Hong Kong. Gurdit Singh picked up another 111 persons in Shanghai, 86 in Kobe, and 14 in Yokahama, making a total of 376 passengers in all. On May 21, 1914, the travellers reached Victoria, and on the 23rd arrived in Vancouver. Word of the coming of this large contingent of East Indians reached Vancouver before the vessel herself, and there was great excitement amongst the inhabitants of the city, who were determined that they should not be allowed to enter. This opposition was not confined to the workers, but was general among all classes. Boards of trade, municipal bodies, and other organizations joined in the demand. The Press on both sides of politics agreed that these applicants should be sent back to their own land, though they vied with each other in attempting to prove that the other side had not done, or was not doing, all that should be done to send them away.

Precautions were taken at once to prevent any of the passengers from being landed surreptitiously, as it was known that the coming of the *Komagata Maru* had been encouraged by the local East Indians, who would have assisted those on board to get on shore had there been any opportunity to do so. The vessel was not allowed to dock, but was kept anchored in the stream by direction of the Harbour Master. A constant patrol was maintained about her both night and day. No one was allowed to land from her except the captain and one of his men, and Gurdit Singh and his secretary. None of the local East Indians was allowed to go on board, lest weapons should be smuggled into the hands of the passengers. This proved to be a necessary measure, as will be apparent later.

The legal advisers of the Government were under a heavy responsibility. It was their duty to see that the laws which had been placed upon the Statute books were strictly enforced and that all legal steps were taken to prevent the admission of the men knocking at our door. They were not wanted here, not only on their own account, but because they would, if admitted, be the forerunners of thousands more.

There were other dangers to be considered. The residents of Vancouver were not long-suffering or slow to anger. They were a mixed lot from all parts of the world, and were violently opposed to the admission of Asiatics, as had been shown by the anti-Asiatic riots of 1886 and 1907. The admission of the men on the *Komagata Maru* would have been the occasion for an outbreak more violent than either of the earlier troubles, for the city had grown in numbers and the opposition was stronger and more widespread.

There was another side to this responsibility. These East Indians were British subjects and were entitled to enter Canada *if the law permitted them to do so*, irrespective of the wishes of any one. The only question to be considered was a question of law. The decision of Chief Justice Hunter in the Narain Singh case was the danger point. As already explained, the opinion of one Judge granting a writ of habeas corpus, even if it were contrary to the opinions of all the other Judges on the bench, would have admitted all the men on board the ship. It was only fair to all persons concerned that this important question should be decided by the highest Court in the Province, with due right of appeal. This was the position taken by the counsel for the Immigration Department, and from it they never varied.

On May 27, as soon as possible after the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, we discussed the matter with J. Edward Bird, the counsel for the applicants on board the ship, who was under instructions from the local East Indians. Like ourselves, he was anxious to get an authoritative decision on the points at issue, and that as speedily as possible.

We suggested that this could only be done by a decision of the Court of Appeal, with a right to either party to appeal to a higher tribunal if either party wished. A test case could be made in this way. Mr. Bird was to designate one of his clients, and the one so designated was to come before a Board of Inquiry for a hearing in the usual way. If on such hearing he was ordered deported, Mr. Bird was to apply to a Judge of the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus. Mr. Bird was to allow this application to be dismissed without argument. He was then to appeal to the Court of Appeal, and we were to facilitate the appeal in every way. Thus the validity of section 23

and of the Orders in Council could be definitely settled, and no one's rights put in jeopardy, as all rights of appeal were preserved.

Mr. Bird was satisfied with our proposal, but it was necessary for him to obtain the approval of his clients before giving his formal consent. He was evidently confident that they would concur, for on May 28 he told a reporter of the course which had been agreed upon, and apparently took considerable credit to himself for having the matter arranged in this way.⁹

Mr. Bird submitted the matter to his clients for their approval, and received an indignant refusal. The minutes of the so-called *Komagata Maru* Committee, consisting mainly of the local East Indians, which afterwards came into my hands, show that on June 2 Gurdit Singh himself moved a resolution, which was duly seconded and carried, that the legal adviser should not allow any man on board to "go to such a stupid Board of Inquiry," as he phrased it, but should apply for a writ of habeas corpus at once. The course suggested by us and approved by their counsel was thus peremptorily rejected.

So the matter stood. We were more than willing, we were most anxious to have the legal question decided authoritatively and at once, there being no dispute on the facts; but, with the case of Narain Singh in our minds, we would not consent to any course which would permit of any *one* Judge giving a decision which would admit the applicants into Canada, and this without any appeal to a higher Court.

Some individuals on the *Komagata Maru* had a legal right to enter Canada. These were persons who had entered the country before the Orders in Council above mentioned had come into force, and so had acquired Canadian domicile. They claimed that their absence in Asia was only a temporary visit and that their home was in British Columbia. These cases were taken up as speedily as possible, and twenty persons proved their claims and were allowed to land.

All the applicants for admission were next examined by Dr. A. S. Monro, the Medical Officer for the Immigration Department. He found that ninety of them were suffering from disease, and these were ordered deported for this reason.

(9) Vancouver *Sun*, May 29, 1914.

Mr. Bird, acting under the instructions of the local East Indians, objected strenuously to various regulations imposed by the authorities. One objection was to the position of the vessel in the harbour. He was advised that this position had been selected by the Harbour Master, whose instructions on this point had to be accepted by every one. Another objection was to the armed patrols around the vessel. It was pointed out to him that this was necessary to prevent illegal landings by means of small boats, and for the protection of the men on board. He was reminded of the feeling existing in the city, the danger of riots, and the necessity of protecting the officers of the Immigration Service, especially Malcolm Reid and Interpreter Hopkinson, whose lives had been threatened.

The days dragged on. The Immigration Officers were kept busy. At last, wearied by the delay, the imprisonment in the vessel in the middle of the harbour, and their inability to make any progress whatever, the men on the vessel became more reasonable. Only two classes had been dealt with, the returning East Indians and those diseased, and for other than these, no orders of deportation or admission had been made. In one case, that of Wazir Singh, a hearing had been held, evidence taken, and decision reserved. In this case Mr. Bird thought he saw a chance to force the hands of the authorities, and on June 20 he made an application to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus ordering them to make a decision one way or the other. This was set down to be argued on the 22nd, but had to be adjourned owing to the fact that Mr. Reid had not been served. Evidently Mr. Bird was not sanguine of success in his application, or was still of the opinion that the course that had been discussed earlier was the proper one to be pursued in the interest of his clients, for while the application was pending he came to me and asked me to renew the old offer. I refused to do so, but suggested that *he* make the offer this time. He did so, and I accepted it after consultation with Mr. Ritchie. The terms were set out in a letter from Mr. Ladner dated June 24, and confirmed by a letter from Mr. Bird of the same date. The application for mandamus was immediately withdrawn and the decks cleared for action before the Court of Appeal.

No time was lost in perfecting the appeal. I know of no case where, in a matter of such importance, an appeal was prepared, set down, argued, and decided in such a short time. On the 28th, one of the passengers, Munshi Singh by name, was selected by Mr. Bird's clients, brought before a Board of Inquiry, evidence taken, and an order of deportation made. Mr. Bird then made an application to Mr. Justice Murphy for a writ of habeas corpus, but no evidence was given or argument made thereon. The writ was refused, and Mr. Bird appealed to the Court of Appeal. Counsel for the Immigration Department gave all assistance possible to press the matter on, with the result that although argument of counsel on both sides took two days, and decision was reserved, we were able to obtain a decision by July 6.¹⁰ Robert Cassidy, K.C., and J. Edward Bird were counsel for Munshi Singh; W. B. A. Ritchie, K.C., and W. H. D. Ladner for the Department of Immigration. All of the Judges of the Court were present at the hearing and the decision was unanimous. The Court held that section 23 was within the power of the Government of Canada to enact, and that no Court could interfere with a decision of a Board of Inquiry, unless it had acted under Orders in Council which were not in accordance with the powers given by the "Immigration Act." In this case it was held that the Orders in Council under which the Board had acted were within the powers given by the Act, and so the Court had no jurisdiction to interfere. The writ of habeas corpus was refused, and the applicants remained in the custody of the Immigration authorities.

Our object had been achieved. Section 23 had been held valid and binding on all Courts, and the Orders in Council upheld. No appeal was taken and the decision has never since been questioned. It stands to-day as a landmark in our law. Owing to it, the work of the Immigration Department has been simplified and few difficulties have arisen. Canada to-day stands master of its shores, and admits only those who comply with the requirements of its laws.

The delay in obtaining a decision on the law relating to the matter, caused solely by the obstinacy of the applicants them-

(10) In *re* Munshi Singh, 20 (1914), British Columbia Reports, 243.

selves, acting under the advice of the local East Indians, caused many complications both on board the ship and on shore. The principal ones related to the unloading of the cargo on board, the proposed loading of a new cargo for India, the payment of the charter dues on the vessel, the moneys due on the cargo on board the ship, and the supply of provisions and water for the men on board.

The charter had been assigned to one Rahim Singh, as trustee for the subscribers to a fund which had been raised to assist the proposed immigrants. He demanded permission to remove the cargo of coal from the ship, and for that purpose to place it at a wharf. This demand could not be complied with, since it would have given the passengers, or some of them, an opportunity to get on shore, no matter how carefully the ship might be guarded. The Immigration officials were ready and willing to facilitate the unloading and reloading the ship by means of lighters, but this offer was refused.

Other complications arose over the fees falling due under the terms of the charter. Gurdit Singh had no funds wherewith to pay them. Moreover, he had induced coal-owners at Moji to load the steamer with coal, which was to be paid for when the coal was sold at Vancouver. The agents of the charterers were threatening to cancel the charter and seize the ship, and the vendors of the coal were clamoring for payment. Money was raised by local East Indians and their friends in the United States to meet the moneys falling due on the charter. In all, some \$22,000 was so raised. This money was not paid over at once for this purpose, but the agents for the charterers becoming insistent, the charter was assigned to Rahim Singh, as above mentioned, and the overdue payments liquidated.

The men on board the ship got along as well as might be expected, cooped up on shipboard day after day. There was always a ray of hope until the case of Munshi Singh extinguished it. Then hope died and they became desperate. Most of them had staked all they had on the venture, and now they were to be compelled to return to the land from which they came. Even before the decision was given they had become unruly. On July 4, while the matter was before the Court, the Immigration officers had allowed five of them to come on board the Govern-

ment launch to visit with some friends from Nanaimo. The visit over, the men on the *Komagata Maru* refused to allow the gangplank to be lowered so that those on the launch could return to the ship. It took considerable time and persuasion to induce the men on board to change their minds and allow the five to come on board.

Then the food question became acute. Gurdit Singh as charterer, and Rahim Singh as assignee, were, in turn, responsible for the feeding of the passengers. Some food was provided by the local East Indians. On June 6 the Immigration authorities offered them 2 tons of flour, 200 lb. of rice, bread, and fruit; but the offer was refused unless they were also supplied with ginger, milk, 50 live sheep, 100 head of live poultry, and 200 boxes of cigarettes. Following this the passengers pretended to stage a hunger strike. This was a bluff, for at the time it was supposed to be going on they were secretly eating at night. Even gifts of food from their friends on shore were refused.

By July 9 they were really in need of food. On that day Mr. Bird went to Malcolm Reid and made a moving plea on behalf of his clients. He said they were suffering both from hunger and thirst, and begged for relief. Reid was moved by his representations, and with the interpreter, Hopkinson, Ladner, and Pratt, of Mr. Bird's firm, went on board to see for himself what the conditions really were. They confronted a hostile company. The men were both hungry and thirsty, and ready for anything. They threatened to hold Reid as a hostage until their wants were supplied; they were going to take the ship's boats and make for the shore, patrols or no patrols. The discussion became heated, and at one time promised to end in blows or worse. After a while the atmosphere cooled down, and Reid was allowed to leave on the understanding that a certain amount of food and water would be supplied, and this was done at once at the expense of the Department. By July 13 more food and water were being demanded. Reid refused the demand, as he had already given them sufficient for the present. He told them, however, that as soon as the ship was ready to leave for Asia, he would provision her for the voyage. They were not satisfied with this, and insisted that the provisions should be placed on board at once.

On July 18, C. Gardner Johnson, agent for the owners of the ship, went on board with the Immigration officers and delivered to the captain orders to sail at once. The captain said he was quite ready to go, but that the East Indians on board had taken charge of the ship. They would allow steam to be kept up in the auxiliary boiler, which ran the electric light plant and the pumps, but they would not allow any fire to be made under the main boilers, so as to move the ship, and had threatened to assault any of the crew who should attempt to do so. On their return to the shore, Johnson and the others conferred with the Japanese Consul, the captain of the ship, and Gurdit Singh, and it was agreed that no more provisions should be sent to the ship until it was ready to leave for an Asiatic port.

Formal notice was then given to the captain that he must leave at once. He was ready to do this, but was prevented, in the manner stated, by the men on board. He was practically a captive on his own ship. It was pointed out to him that under the law of Canada he was liable to a fine of \$500 for each of the passengers on board, if they were not taken beyond the 3-mile limit at once, and that if he was prevented from doing so it was his duty to call on the police for help. He was reluctant to do this, as he and his crew were in the hands of the men on board.

While these things were going on, the East Indians on board were demanding permission for representatives from their friends on shore to come on board to talk over matters with them. This was refused lest firearms should be smuggled on board. This was no idle fancy, for local East Indians had been endeavouring to purchase revolvers and bombs from local dealers; and, finding this impossible, three of their number, Hernan Singh, Bhag Singh, and Balwant Singh, members of the *Komagata Maru* Committee, had gone to the State of Washington, via Sumas, and purchased revolvers and ammunition. This action had been foreseen by the police and they were followed. As soon as they recrossed the boundary into British Columbia they were arrested, and their arms taken from them.

Then followed what has been called "The Battle of the *Komagata Maru*." Captain Yamamoto, pressed by the Immigration officers on the one hand and by the desperate East Indians

on the other, at last decided that there was nothing he could do under the circumstances but apply to the police to give him command of his ship. He made a formal application, as provided by law, and the police prepared to act, as they were duty bound to do.

Militia forces were called out as a reserve, and it was arranged that the actual attack should be made by 120 policemen and 40 special Immigration officers, led by Police Chief Malcolm McLennan and four Police Inspectors. To take possession of the ship under these circumstances was no child's play. On board there were some 300 men, many of them veteran soldiers, disappointed, deluded by their leaders, worn out by delay. No one knew what arms or weapons they possessed. It was known, however, that during their enforced detention on the ship they had amused themselves by making clubs from driftwood floating on the waters of Burrard Inlet, and there was plenty of coal, and possibly other missiles, on the ship.

Personally, I knew nothing of the attempt to gain possession of the ship until Saturday, July 18. In the afternoon of that day Mr. Ladner and I had a talk over *Komagata Maru* matters generally. During the conversation he told me that the ship was to be taken by the police that night, and outlined the plans which had been made and how they were to be carried out. I asked him if the deck of the ship to be used by the police was as high above the water as the deck of the *Komagata Maru*. He said that that was all right, for they were going out on the big sea-going tug *Sea Lion*. As I knew nothing whatever about that vessel, his answer gave me no real information. However, I knew Chief McLennan and the other officers of the police, and I took it for granted that they understood the conditions which would have to be met, and that all necessary precautions would be taken. Later, I learned that Mayor Baxter had also suggested to the police that a boat as high in the water as the *Komagata Maru* ought to be used.

The police and Immigration forces went out to take possession of the ship, the militia remaining on the wharf to await emergencies. They went in the *Sea Lion*, but her main deck was some 15 feet lower than the deck of the *Komagata Maru*, and this gave the men on board the latter a tremendous advan-

tage. Although the attacking forces acted with determination and courage, their efforts were unavailing. They were met with a fusillade of coal, bricks, and scrap-iron. The clubs made from driftwood were made use of, together with spears made of bamboo poles, with sharpened knives attached to the business ends. Many on the tug were severely injured, including Chief McLennan, and Mr. Ladner, who had gone with the police.

Under these conditions the police never had a chance. Their only possible means of attaining their objective would have been to use the rifles with which they were armed. McLennan was loath to do this, and, wounded as he was, he would not allow his men to use their guns. The upper part of the *Sea Lion* became a wreck. She was ordered back to shore and the wounded were sent to hospital for treatment. The men on the *Komagata Maru* were jubilant. They thought they had defeated the whole British Army, and rejoiced accordingly.

It may be asked why a larger vessel was not obtained for the attempt to take possession of the ship. Personally I do not know, but I am informed that, at the time, there was no larger vessel in the harbour available. It may also be that the police did not foresee that so formidable a force as that which went out on the *Sea Lion* would meet with such stubborn opposition.

Things were now in a worse state than ever. The police had attempted to take possession of the ship and had been repulsed. It was a puzzle. But there was one man among us who saw just a little farther ahead than the rest. That man was H. H. Stevens, the sitting Member in the House of Commons for Vancouver. He had taken an active interest in our troubles, and done all he could to help us. He was on the *Sea Lion* on that woeful night, but luckily escaped uninjured. He recognized the dangers which confronted us, and it was he who perceived the remedy. He remembered that the cruiser *Rainbow* was at Esquimalt, and took steps to make her available in case of need. The *Rainbow* was a second-class cruiser of the *Apollo* class, built in 1893. Her length was 300 feet, her tonnage 3,600 tons. Some years before she had been purchased from the Royal Navy, along with the larger *Niobe*, to form the nucleus of a Canadian Navy. The *Rainbow* had been sent to Esquimalt; the *Niobe* to Halifax. At the time of the *Komagata Maru* episode she was

lying at Esquimalt, out of commission. Her armament was two 6-inch guns and six 4-inch guns. Were she placed in commission, we could meet any emergency.

Mr. Stevens took the matter up with Premier Borden soon after the arrival of the East Indian invasion. Quietly steps were taken to put the *Rainbow* in condition to be used if the need arose. With all possible dispatch she was refitted and manned. It was given out to the public that she was being made ready "for police work in northern waters." By July 11, fifty men were on board, and a draft of fifty more was made from the *Niobe*. By July 20 all was ready, and on the morning of the 21st she slipped quietly into Burrard Inlet, and anchored near the *Komagata Maru*.

Mr. Bird retired from the matter after the decision in the Munshi Singh case, and A. H. MacNeill took up the interests of Rahim Singh, assignee of the *Komagata Maru* charter. Immediately after the midnight battle he submitted alternative offers of settlement to Malcolm Reid, who passed them on to me. These offers were as follows:—

We, therefore submit for your consideration the following: As the matter now stands, we think that the assignees of the charter of the K[omagata] M[aru] are entitled as of right; (1) to land the cargo now on board the steamer; (2) to load here a return cargo for the steamer; (3) place on board any local passengers who may desire to so return to India; (4) Payment of the loss they have sustained by payments necessary to extend the charter during the time the immigration department have taken to hold their board of inquiry under the Immigration Act;

Bearing those circumstances in view, and with the sincere desire of avoiding difficulty and ill-feeling, we submit the following alternative propositions for your consideration;

(1). The Government may send back all of the deported Hindus by any other steam ship, and then permit the assignees of the charter to unload the cargo and load a cargo and take on passengers for Hong Kong or India and pay the sums which the assignees have been compelled to pay for charter money while the vessel has been detained in port. (2). The Government to pay the assignees of the charter passage money from Vancouver to Calcutta for the deported Hindus at the rate of \$100 apiece and the assignees will pay for provisioning the passengers and will waive all other claims. (3). The Government to pay to the assignees of the charter the sum of \$25,000 for passage money for the deported Hindus, Vancouver to Hong Kong, and the assignees will pay for provisioning the passengers and will waive all other claims.

These far from modest claims were approved of by Mr. MacNeill himself. He said so. If it had not been for the opportune arrival of the *Rainbow* we might have been compelled to accept them.

Mr. MacNeill's letter and Rahim Singh's signed admission¹¹ show conclusively that the local East Indians were determined that the ship should not leave Vancouver until the Government had repaid to them, in one way or another, all moneys advanced by them, whether paid to keep the charter alive or otherwise. I had no instructions which would have made it possible, even if I had wished to do so, to commit the Government to make any such payments. I did the only thing I could do, and that was to forward the letter to Ottawa for instructions.

Before the letter could reach Ottawa, the whole scene changed. At the request of Premier Borden, the Hon. Martin Burrell, Minister of Agriculture in the Borden Cabinet, came to Vancouver from his home in Grand Forks, B.C., to see if some settlement could not be reached. He arrived in Vancouver on the afternoon of July 21 and immediately went into conference with Mr. MacNeill. His standing as a member of the Dominion Cabinet, and the personal representative of the Premier, vested him with an authority possessed by no other person. He absolutely refused to consider any of the alternatives proposed by Mr. MacNeill, although he ratified the offer, which had been previously made by Malcolm Reid, to provision the ship at the expense of the Government for its trip back to Asia. He also promised on behalf of the Premier that, if the ship would depart at once and peaceably, the Government would appoint an independent commissioner to go into the matter, and that any well-founded claims would be treated generously. He embodied this offer in a letter to Mr. MacNeill in the following terms:—

Vancouver, B.C., July 21/14.

A. H. MacNeill, Esq.

Dear Mr. MacNeill:

I understand from you that one of the difficulties in the way of the *Komagata Maru* at once leaving this port is that the assignees of the charter and others believe they are entitled to a repayment of the money advanced by them in good faith to the owners in the belief that they would be repaid by the value of the cargoes. As a member of the Government, I shall wire

(11) Morse, p. 105.

to the Prime Minister asking that these claims should be thoroughly looked into by an impartial Commissioner, and will urge that full and sympathetic consideration be given to those who deserve generous treatment. I must point out, however, that this is conditional on the passengers now on the *Komagata Maru* adopting a peaceable attitude, refraining from violence, and conforming to the law by giving to the captain control of his ship immediately, and agreeing to peaceably return to the port whence they came. May I add that it is necessary that a decision should be reached *at once*.

Yours truly,

M. Burrell.

(Min. of Agriculture)

The 22nd of July was a nerve-racking day. The East Indians, both in the city and on the ship, were loath to accept so little when they wanted so much. There were consultations between those in the city who had put up funds to assist the men on the *Komagata Maru*. There were consultations between the men on the ship and representatives of the East Indians in the city. We who had been in the thick of the struggle for two months wondered if there would be peace or war. People crowded windows and rooftops to see the battle between the *Rainbow* and the *Komagata Maru*. Rumours came and went. The decision was put off from hour to hour. Quietly the *Rainbow* lay near the Indian ship, ready for action, but waiting for the word. The strain on us all was terrific, until word came at last about 5 p.m. that Mr. Burrell's terms had been accepted, and that the long struggle was ended. The East Indians would return from whence they came. Mr. Burrell turned to me with a deep sigh of relief, and said, "Mr. Reid, this is the most awful day in my life. Another day like this would kill me." I replied, "Mr. Burrell, now you know something of what *we* have gone through for two long months." He said, "Mr. Reid, *now* I know."

It has been suggested that Rahim Singh and his friends did not understand the meaning of Mr. Burrell's letter above quoted, and thought it was an absolute covenant on the part of the Government to repay to them the moneys which had been advanced, and that Mr. MacNeill had to some extent misled them.¹² Those who make these suggestions do not know the business ability of Rahim Singh, nor the integrity of his legal adviser. Both would see at once that no definite promise to pay was mentioned therein.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 106.

The delay in the acceptance of Mr. Burrell's offer, both by the East Indians on shore and on the ship, shows that they understood exactly what they were getting. At least to some extent it saved their face. They, with the *Rainbow* at their side, had to take what they could get. The *Rainbow* was the argument that convinced them that they had no option in the matter, and they accepted it.

As soon as the terms offered by Mr. Burrell were accepted, the work of provisioning the ship for her voyage was commenced and carried on with all possible speed. The authorities were not niggardly in carrying out this promise. This is a list of the supplies put upon the *Komagata Maru*:—

800 sacks of flour, 600 lbs. curry powder, 5,400 lbs. pulse, 6,000 lbs. sugar, 5,000 lbs. of potatoes, 20 sacks of onions, 10 sacks of carrots, 360 lbs. Cayenne pepper, 6,000 lbs. butter, 2,000 lbs. rice, 500 lbs. salt, 7,000 lbs. Ceylon tea, 10 boxes Sunlight soap, 240 cases canned milk, 600 lbs. ginger, 500 lbs. pickles, 1,000 bottles hair oil, 200 bottles vinegar, 20 tons of wood for fuel, 1 box (case) matches, 200 lbs. tobacco, 200 quarts of molasses, toilet paper, kerosine oil, and toilet soap.¹³

So, on the morning of July 23, the *Komagata Maru* left her anchorage in Burrard Inlet and sailed for Asia with her disappointed passengers. Even then her troubles were not ended. On reaching Yokohama, Gurdit Singh received a letter from the Government of Hong Kong informing him that it was considered inadvisable that any of the passengers should be landed there, and threatening to enforce a local vagrancy ordinance against any who might attempt to do so. Evidently a report of their activities in Vancouver had become public property. This was a blow to many who had come from that colony, and wished to return to the scene of their former employment.

Gurdit Singh then told the British Consul at Yokohama that the ship and its people would be willing to go to India if more provisions were supplied. This request was refused, and ship moved on to Kobe. Here some fifteen of the passengers disembarked. Gurdit Singh then attempted to get provisions from the British Consul-General, and even accompanied his demands with threatening demonstrations. In despair, the Consul wired to the British Ambassador in Tokio, informing him of the condition of the unhappy passengers. The Ambassador in reply

(13) *Komagata Maru Report*, pp. 10-11.

instructed him to communicate with the Government of India, which in turn authorized an expenditure of 19,000 yen to assist them to return to their native land.¹⁴

On September 3 the *Komagata Maru* finally sailed from Kobe. The ship reached Singapore on the 26th, but none of the passengers was allowed to leave the vessel there. War with Germany had commenced, and it was considered advisable that they should be compelled to return not merely to India, but to the districts from which they had originally come. Accordingly the ship was directed to go to Calcutta, and to land the men on board at Budge Budge, 14 miles south of the city, where special trains would be in readiness to take them to the Punjab. This was done, but, on landing there, most of them refused to board a train or to leave Calcutta. A clash with the police followed in which twenty-six people were killed, including Superintendent Eastwood of the Calcutta Police, and Mr. Lomax, a District Superintendent of the Eastern Bengal State Railway. Evidently firearms had been obtained in Japan, for Lomax was shot and others wounded in the mêlée by American .38 revolvers. After the fight over two hundred of the men from the ship were arrested, but some escaped to outlying districts and caused disturbances in many parts of India for a considerable time.¹⁵

In British Columbia, only one thing remained to be done. A promise had been made by Mr. Burrell on behalf of Premier Borden, and this was duly carried out. Mr. H. C. Clogstoun, of Duncan, B.C., a retired Indian official of long experience, was appointed as Commissioner to hear and determine the matters referred to in Mr. Burrell's letter to Mr. MacNeill. He took evidence from all parties interested, and his conclusion was that the East Indians, who had paid out moneys on behalf of the *Komagata Maru* and its passengers, had no equitable or other grounds for asking repayment by the Dominion Government, as most of them had been actuated by dishonest and seditious motives.

The allegation that the immigration authorities mishandled the affair seems to me improper and unjust. Looking back from the vantage-ground of years, I cannot see what we did that was

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 14 *et seq.*; also Appendix IV.

wrong, nor where we could have done better. We had nothing to do with making the law; our duty was to enforce it. This we did. We had a difficult task before us, and I feel that we did our best to perform it without fear or favour.

I am quite ready to give the Hon. Martin Burrell all credit for the work he did in the last days of the trouble, but it must always be remembered that the presence of the *Rainbow* and her shotted guns was the decisive argument that made his work successful, and that her presence was due to the foresight and resource of the Hon. H. H. Stevens.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

THE OOLACHAN FISHERY.

Fishery Bay, or, to give it its Indian name, *Tsim-golth-l'angsin*, is on tidal waters and about 14 miles from the mouth of the Nass River. It is one of the oldest and most remarkable fisheries in the world.

Nass and Nassgah or Nisgah, the names respectively by which this famous river and its people are known to-day, did not originate with the Indian tribes on the river. They are not Nisgah terms at all, but were given by an alien people—the Tlingit, of south-eastern Alaska. How this came about is thus described by my father in his book, *In the Wake of the War Canoe*:—

The early navigators, both Vancouver and Meares, anchored near to the Tongas, an encampment of the Tlingit Indians of south-eastern Alaska. From this point they despatched boats up the Nass Straits, . . . and on proceeding some distance up the river from its mouth they found themselves among the sand-bars formed by the river, from which point they returned without reaching the lower villages situated about twenty miles from the mouth. They were then compelled to accept the information [regarding place names] given them by these Tlingit Indians by which the tribes on the river, as also the river itself, became known.¹

To the Tlingits the river was of importance principally because of its oolachan fishery, and accordingly they had named it the Nass, or “food depot.”

The history of this little fish is an epic in itself.

It is not as big as a herring, but much richer, hence the name of “candle-fish,” by which it is sometimes known. When dried, the Indians in olden days used it as a torch, and in their lodges, in mid-winter, when honoured guests arrived, after a long cold journey on the ice, dried oolachans were thrown on the fire to cheer and warm the fresh arrivals. In early days Indians came great distances to procure a supply of these fish, and especially the grease extracted from them. Many of their dishes required a lubricant to help the food down, and grease was eaten with dried salmon, dried halibut, with chopped-up seaweed, and dried berries. I have also seen them take the grease in large quantities neat.

(1) W. H. Collison, *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, Toronto, n.d., p. 65.
British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. V., No. 1.

Oolachan grease was, indeed, one of the necessities of life to the Indians over a vast area of the Northwest Coast and the adjacent interior. To secure a supply, as I have said, they frequently travelled long distances, and it was an article of barter between tribe and tribe.

The famous Grease Trail, from the Upper Nass to the Skeena, derives its name from the traffic in oolachan grease. I followed this famous trail more than thirty years ago, in a journey to Meziadin Lake. We picked it up at the head of canoe navigation on the Nass, and followed it for 20 miles to the junction of the Cranberry River with the Nass. Here we crossed the Cranberry on an ancient Indian bridge, and branched off on an old hunting-trail along the Nass to Meziadin, leaving the Grease Trail, which took a north-easterly direction to Kitwancool Lake, and thence to its terminus on the Upper Skeena. This trail has a long and interesting history, for over it Indians from the far interior have travelled for centuries. I only regret that I did not take more careful stock of this historic highway. At the same time, I have a very clear recollection of it. It was narrow, like most trails, but had this distinction, that it was deeply furrowed from frequent use by many people in the long ago.

Now that the native races of British Columbia are more and more adopting the white man's food and manner of life, there is no longer the necessity of harvesting the oolachan on the same gigantic scale as in primitive times. It is only the older people that keep this ancient fishery going, and they are nearly all gone. The old Grease Trail is still there, but it is rapidly becoming obliterated, and will one of these days completely disappear.

There are several of these trails in British Columbia and Alaska, the best-known of which are those up the Stikine River and along the Bella Coola Valley. The latter was the route followed by the celebrated explorer, Alexander Mackenzie, on his famous journey to the Pacific Coast in 1793. But these were not specifically grease trails, although they served the purpose: they were, strictly speaking, trade routes linking the Coast with the abundant resources of the Interior. As far as I know, the trail on the Upper Nass is the only one to which the term can be properly applied. It is *the* Grease Trail.

By the Grease Trail, Indians came overland from points on the Upper Skeena and far beyond. They came, when the snow was still deep, travelling on snow-shoes and hauling their belongings on sleighs. When they reached the Nass they could still travel on the ice, a distance of nearly 50 miles, to the fishery. In the event of the ice leaving the river before they were ready to return, there were always canoes to be hired for a consideration. But, as a rule, they left the grease in their fishing-lodges and returned as they had come (that is over the Grease Trail) with very little to hamper their movements. Then later on in the season they came in their canoes down the Skeena and up the coast to the Nass and loaded the grease into their larger canoes. Some of these could carry with comparative safety 4,000 pounds—about eighty cases; and as several families would club together in the use of one large canoe there would be plenty of man-power. The tribes that came from the Upper Skeena, through inter-marriage and speaking practically the same language, were generally on good terms with the Nisgahs, and were allowed by them to have a permanent encampment of their own near the fishery. Here, in lodges, these visiting tribes could leave their fishing-gear and other equipment without the risk of its being stolen or tampered with. It was certain of the Coast tribes, particularly the Haidas from the Queen Charlotte Islands, with whom the Nisgahs were so constantly at loggerheads, whose intrusion upon this valuable fishery was so often bitterly resented and resisted. The Indians from the Interior brought furs with which to pay the tribes, resident on the river, for the right to fish and also for the use of their nets, equipment, and for shelter during the season. These furs were principally marmot and rabbit skins, generally sewn together to form rugs for bed-covers or robes. Not infrequently, when furs were scarce, they handed over their children in barter for food. These were in turn handed over by the Nisgahs to the Haidas, as part-payment for the marvellous cedar canoes, of which the Haidas were master builders.

In addition to the tribes from the Interior, large contingents came to Fishery Bay from the Coast, and even from the Queen Charlotte Islands, 100 miles distant. These last made a quick trip, towards the end of the season, bringing with them plentiful

supplies of dried sea-foods, which they exchanged for dried oolachans and grease.

Many a bitter fight took place in bygone days, especially when visiting tribes were not on friendly terms with the Nisgahs, in whose territory the fishing-grounds were situated. There is nothing remarkable about the fishing-ground itself. Five or six miles above the fishery is the highest reach of the salt-water tide. In common with most rivers, constantly shifting shoals (sand-bars) abound. A fair-sized river, coming in from the east, the Ichginik, joins the Nass at this point. And this is about all that is outwardly noticeable in the surroundings. Quite frequently, the ice is still on the river when the fish arrive. From immemorial times they have been arriving with unfailing regularity in these tidal waters. The Indians look for them on or about March 17. Before the advent of the white man, with his foods, this little fish, coming as it does between seasons, when the winter supplies have been exhausted and before the arrival of the early salmon, and when the bear is still asleep in his den, was the salvation of these native races. Even a delay in the arrival of the fish worked incredible hardships, particularly among the old people.

The excitement in the old days consequent upon the arrival of the oolachan, when fighting among the tribes was common, must have been intense. Even under normal conditions this unpretentious fishing village, deserted for most of the year, almost overnight presents a scene of extraordinary and ever-varying interest.

Descendants of those tribes, who were continually at each other's throat, to-day meet as friends. The old feuds are forgotten. The several weeks during which fishing operations are in progress are not all work. The monotony of life is relieved by feasting and entertainment, in which these people excel. It is a season of mutual helpfulness. They come and go. There has been co-operation, enough and more than enough has been obtained to meet all needs. It is a miniature of what the world should and could be to-day. There is plenty for all. The one thing needed is mutual helpfulness and co-operation. Here, at this ancient fishery, there is no needless waste. The Indians

catch enough for their own requirements and a little more which they can barter for other foods.

The quantity of the run of fish has varied; there have been peak years when the abundance of the oolachan baffled description, and years when it has not been so plentiful; but it has never, to my knowledge, completely failed. My father, who invariably spent some time at Fishery Bay during the run, saw the Indians land thousands of tons in a single season, and he was able to demonstrate, to his own satisfaction and that of the natives, that at least an equal amount was consumed by the sea-gulls.² And if the sea-gulls made away with such a quantity, what shall we say of the seals, with their greater capacity and opportunity, being in the same element. Seals follow the oolachan right up to their spawning-ground. I have even seen seals at Aiyansh, 60 miles from the mouth of the river, breasting the swiftest of currents with apparent ease, when the salmon run was in full swing. In the above estimate of the abundance of the oolachan no mention has been made of diving birds, or of the sea-lions, porpoises, and fin-back whales who take an incredible toll of the fish before they reach the shallow water.

Methods of harvesting the little fish, in earliest times, were not nearly so effective as in recent times when the Indians acquired the use of the net, and could catch all and more than they required in a comparatively short time, and with the minimum of effort. When 5 to 10 tons of fish were necessary to supply the requirements of each household, it can readily be imagined how tedious and onerous was the old method of obtaining the fish. Ankidah is the name of a village that used to stand on the lower end of an island in mid-stream, 3 miles above the oolachan fishery. The name takes us back a long way in time, for it has reference to a very primitive method of catching the oolachan. This was done with a long stick, of which one end for 2 feet or more was fitted with wooden spikes, well sharpened. Armed with such an instrument as this the Indian fisherman sat in his small canoe, or dugout, and used the stick in much the same manner as a paddle. Passing through a shoal of fish he generally succeeded in impaling a number at every stroke and turning them into his canoe. This spiked stick is known as the "kidah," and

(2) Collison, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

its general use by the Indian of this encampment during the oolachan fishing gained for it the name "Ankidah," or the place where the "kidah" is used. How the native fisherman managed when the river was frozen over is not stated.

As a matter of fact the ice, with the introduction of the net, so far from being a hindrance, was a real advantage. It enabled them by means of poles, driven through holes in the ice into the bed of the river, to keep the net in position, and also provided a safe and roomy platform for handling and transporting the catch.

Fishing in open water was attended with no small risk. The currents are strong and the Nass is notorious for its down-stream winds at this season of the year. Besides, there were the ice floes to be guarded against. There was always the difficulty of handling heavy gear in a small craft, like a canoe or skiff, already low in the water with the weight of fish. It was remarkable that with all these handicaps to contend with there were so few accidents.

During the day, men and women and even children were kept fully occupied conveying the fish to the shore in sleighs, drawn by dogs, where they were stored in wooden bins. Formerly the fish, already in an advanced state of putrefaction, were boiled in large wooden boxes into which stones, heated in large fires, had been thrown. The process was repeated until the grease floated freely upon the surface, when it was skimmed off into chests made of cedar.

With the coming of the whites, empty 5-gallon petroleum cans were in great demand for this purpose. They were easily handled, and there was no leakage, and therefore nothing like the smell which the old grease-soaked boxes had. The process of extracting the grease has been greatly simplified by the modern use of large vats with sheet-iron bottoms.

It has been a fortunate thing for the Indian and for the oolachan that no commercial use for it has been discovered. It cannot be preserved in cans, like other kinds of fish. The result of this has been that there has been no appreciable diminution in the supply. The fish arrive with unfailing regularity about the same time every year; and if the Indian of to-day has not the same need for it as his forefathers had, there are still the birds

and the sea mammals who will see to it that the balance of nature is maintained.

The oolachan does not come unheralded, as is the case with other fish that spawn in these waters. The arrival of the silvery horde is accompanied by the unwonted appearance, in these narrow and confined channels, of marine monsters that are never seen there at any other time.

Fin-back whales, sea-lions, porpoises, and seals appear—not to mention myriads of salt-water fowl and sea-gulls. The surface of the waters at this season is literally black with sea birds, and overhead there is a never-ending stream of sea-gulls. Sea-lions in their eagerness to overtake and gorge themselves on these tempting morsels, forget for the moment their usual caution, pursue them into narrow and shallow channels between the sand-bars, where they run aground, and then there follows a tremendous commotion. The Indians leave them severely alone, even when thus temporarily trapped, as they are vicious and powerful creatures.

The sea-gulls, a wonderful and beautiful sight, in a steady stream, sometimes widening out to half a mile, fly up-river early in the day, and even when darkness has descended upon the scene, their screams can be heard as they wing their flight back to the security of the open sea.

The question has repeatedly been discussed by Indians and others, how any of the fish survive to reach the spawning-grounds when their enemies are so numerous. The explanation is, it is supposed, that the shoals are not formed in the open ocean, but rather in the mouths of the rivers, to which the fish make their way as the season approaches. Here they appear to swim around for a day or two till the shoal is formed, when they move onward to the spawning-grounds.

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RELATIONS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY WITH THE RUSSIAN AMERICAN COMPANY ON THE NORTHWEST COAST, 1829-1867.

The story of the relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Russian American Company in what is now southeastern Alaska and northern British Columbia offers an interesting instance of co-operation between the fur-trading enterprises of two nations. The concerns, by an agreement reached in 1839, resolved difficulties encountered in the exploitation of one of the last great areas to be opened by the European fur trade. The pattern of the alliance was ten years in evolving, but, when accepted, proved to be sound economically until Russia withdrew from America.¹

By 1829, when first overtures were made by the British, reorganization of the Columbia Department of the Hudson's Bay Company had been going on for several years under the direction of the man who might be called the greatest business-man of the fur trade, George Simpson. The Russian American Company, on the other hand, was in a more static position, representing the principles of bureaucracy more than it did those of business.

The fur trade everywhere was faced with the problem of adapting organization to geographic setting. The fur empire of the Russians was always maritime in nature; it had been found that key points on the island and mainland shores gave control of sources of fur. The main difficulties of the Russian company were the result of its remoteness from food, goods, and markets. The early history of the company was therefore inextricably bound up with its experiments and dreams of a self-sufficient economy. The Hawaiian Islands and California were investigated as sources of supply, and the company soon came to depend

(1) This paper is a general account. The only reference known to the writer which takes more than incidental note of the topic is Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, London, 1939; see parts of Chapters VIII. and IX.

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upon the voyages of its own or leased vessels to both places. Fort Ross, in California, was founded in 1812 as an agricultural colony. The situation also forced a reluctant dependence on the "Boston man," or independent American trader; a good percentage of the manufactured goods and foodstuffs needed in Russian America reached their destination in American bottoms. The American skipper was, however, a competitor, and was not bound by the need to preserve friendly relations with the Indians. As early as 1808 Russia began to make complaints to the United States about unscrupulous competition and the traffic in arms, ammunition, and liquor.

At its inception, the trade of the North Pacific and its eastern rim was based essentially upon the maritime approach. The maritime trade, however, was basically predatory and plundering in character. Indeed it was little more than a race to obtain all the sea-otter possible before that animal became scarce. The overland trade, on the other hand, could be developed upon a sound basis, providing the necessary "life-lines" were established. John Jacob Astor realized that a firm economy depended upon a unified scheme for maritime and landward enterprise on the Northwest Coast, and upon regular communication around Cape Horn, but his experiment in the Columbia River drainage-basin was short-lived. The British representatives west of the Rocky Mountains prior to 1821 were the fur-men of the North West Company. It had been beyond their powers to grasp firmly a geographical advantage defined by Thomas Hart Benton in 1818: "There is but one port, and that the mouth of the Columbia—but one river, and that the Columbia itself . . ." ² While they had sent several supply-ships to the mouth of the Columbia River, they were forced to rely mainly upon transportation lines consisting of waterways and portages which led far eastward to depots on the Great Lakes. The resulting remoteness, combined with a loose administrative structure, resulted in poor returns from the Columbia and Fraser River drainage-basins; indeed, abandonment of the western regions had been considered by the Nor' Westers, who were preoccupied with the expensive conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company in more easterly regions.

(2) T. H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View* . . . , New York, 1854, I., p. 110.

When the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company united in 1821, the situation changed. Unity brought strength and the keen analytical powers of George Simpson into the fur-trading scene west of the Rocky Mountains. Simpson laid the basis for expansion into the Russian spheres of influence in America, from the south by sea and from the east by the waterway-portage systems leading from the Mackenzie River.³ As a result of Simpson's visit to the Pacific Coast in 1824-1825, the Columbia Department was established as a separate unit, to be supplied by sea as well as directed from London. The possibilities of trade with California, Russian America, and the Sandwich Islands were investigated and included as parts of Simpson's plans for reorganization, consolidation, and expansion. Another phase was provisioning. In his journal Simpson commented:—

It has been said that Farming is no branch of the Fur Trade but I consider that every pursuit tending to lighten the Expence of the Trade is a branch thereof.⁴

Accordingly the headquarters of the company in Old Oregon was moved from Fort George (Astoria) to Fort Vancouver, where there was land suitable for agriculture, a post was to be founded in the fertile lower valley of the Fraser River, and other agricultural centres were to be established.

By 1829 the part of the plan relating to expansion northward along the Coast had firm foundations in the Columbia Department. The sending of an emissary to Sitka, or New Archangel, to propose friendly relations between the two companies was justified. It was to take ten years to convince the Russians of the wisdom of co-operation, but the agreement of 1839 finally incorporated the ideas advanced by Simpson in his first letter to the manager of the Russian American Company.

Simpson introduced the subject by mentioning plans for expansion:—

Up to the present time our attention on this side of the continent has been directed to matters relating to the interior lands, but now we have in view

(3) The plans for expansion by the Liard River approach to the headwaters of the Stikine and Porcupine Rivers, and through the Peel River gateway to the Yukon River were part of a programme which developed in the 1830's.

(4) Frederick Merk, ed., *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 50 and *passim*.

the extension of our commerce to the coast and the establishment of a house near the northern frontier. This will greatly increase the opportunities for communication between us and, I hope, will consolidate the friendly relations which we have so long wished for.⁵

He went on to expound sound bases for consolidation of friendly relations. An ever-present threat to profits and peace of mind were the American ships trading with the natives of the Coast. Simpson suggested that amicable understanding would result in the two monopolies being in a better position to combat this competition.

The treaty of February 4/16, 1825, which defined the boundary between Russian and British North America, had forbidden the sale of arms, ammunition, and liquor to the Indians. Tentatively, Simpson indicated that measures in this respect would render relations with the natives less dangerous than previously. While it was not mentioned specifically in the letter, he was undoubtedly aware that this trade could not be terminated while American ships continued to visit the Coast. The Hudson's Bay Company had no desire to trade in arms and liquor, and the Russian American Company protested against the traffic on the part of Americans from 1808 to 1840.

Simpson made two definite suggestions. He had observed two of the fundamental difficulties encountered by the Russians: transportation and food supplies. That Russian America had no regular or direct communication with Russia and Europe, he wrote, had come to his attention. Since the British in the transmontane west were supplied annually by one or two ships coming direct from England, it was suggested that it would be of mutual advantage to have these ships transport an additional 50 to 100 tons of British manufactured goods, for delivery to Sitka, at a "small profit." Secondly, he offered to supply the Russians with 4,000 to 5,000 bushels of grain and 8,000 to 10,000 hams and salted meats each year. This was obviously designed to find a market for the production of the newly established farming-

(5) Simpson to Manager of the Russian American Company, Fort Vancouver, March 20, 1829, *Alaska Boundary Tribunal, Case of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1903, *Appendix*, p. 259; cited hereafter as *Case of the United States, Appendix*. Also issued as *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal* (U.S. Cong., Cong. 58, Sess. 2, S.E. 162), Washington, 1903-04, vol. II.

posts. The British company was prepared to inaugurate this trade in 1830.

A copy of this letter was sent directly from Hudson's Bay House in London to the headquarters of the Russian American Company in St. Petersburg. A covering letter placed more emphasis upon the material damage suffered by both companies as a result of American trading activities.⁶ The immediate results of Simpson's letter were slight. The Russian company promised to enforce the terms of the 1825 treaty forbidding the traffic in arms, ammunition, and liquor, and suggested that the British company issue similarly strict orders.

It was to take a series of international and intercompany incidents to convince the Russians of the mutual advantages which would result from co-operation along the lines suggested by George Simpson. At the time it was natural that the Russians should regard the British proposals with distrust. There had previously been no direct relationships between the monopolies, and the part played by the Hudson's Bay Company in the diplomacy which resulted in the treaty of 1825 had been an important one. That treaty had established a boundary which was some hundreds of miles away from British fur-trade posts, and which was therefore decidedly to the advantage of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The incidents arose from the free recourse to harbours between Lynn Canal and 54° 40' which was permitted to ships of both the United States and Great Britain, under the terms of the Russian-American treaty of April 5/17, 1824, and the Russo-British treaty of February 4/16, 1825,⁷ for ten-year periods. The presence of American ships was thus assured, and the British plans for northward expansion were no secret. In the 1825 treaty, as well, the British were guaranteed the right of navigation of rivers flowing through the *lisière*, or present Alaska "Panhandle," in perpetuity. In 1832 Governor Wrangell of the Russian American Company wrote home that he thought the hope that American ships would cease to frequent the coasts

(6) Hudson's Bay Company to Russian American Company, London, December 16, 1829, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 260-261.

(7) Article IV. of the former and Article VII. of the latter, for ten years in each case.

north of $54^{\circ} 40'$ when the free trading right expired in 1834 was an illusory one.⁸ He was contemplating measures designed to check the British as well as the American traders.

On the very day that the ten-year period of the Russo-American treaty came to a close two "Yankee skippers," Snow and Allen, were served notice to keep out of the waters north of $54^{\circ} 40'$. They refused to heed the warning and continued in their trading.⁹ This incident served to reawaken the antagonistic viewpoints of the two countries on rights to trade. The United States again began to press the principle of commercial equality, and claimed not to have admitted in the convention of 1824 any exclusive Russian rights north of $54^{\circ} 40'$, except at points occupied by Russia. With equal sincerity, Russia felt that she had made a material concession in granting free trade north of that boundary, and only for a period of ten years.

The local authorities in Russian America took active steps to repel American traders, while the Snow-Allen protest filtered through the different bureaucratic agencies in St. Petersburg, and emerged eventually as a suggestion that the United States take the most suitable steps to inform American shipping that all rights to trade in Russian American waters had been terminated.¹⁰ Washington countered with a request for renewal of the free trading privilege, but found the Russian Ambassador unprepared to answer,¹¹ while the American Minister to Russia discovered that the request was faced by the definite opposition of the Russian American Company, an attitude which was apparently supported by the Russian Vice-Chancellor, Count Nesselrode.¹²

(8) Wrangell to Directors, New Archangel, May 6 (o.s.), 1832, *Alaska Boundary Tribunal, Counter Case of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1903, *Appendix*, p. 2; cited hereafter as *Counter Case of the United States, Appendix*. Also issued as *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal* (U.S. Cong., Cong. 58, Sess. 2, S.E. 162), Washington, 1903-04, vol. IV.

(9) Report of the Board of Directors of the Russian American Company, November 27 (o.s.), 1834, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, p. 232.

(10) Baron Krudener to Asbury Dickins, Acting Secretary of State, Washington, May 19/31, 1835, *ibid.*, p. 236.

(11) Forsyth to Krudener, Washington, June 24, 1835; Krudener to Forsyth, June 29/July 11, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 235-236.

(12) Forsyth to William Wilkins, Washington, July 30, 1835; Wilkins to Forsyth, September 7, December 11, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 239-241; 244-246.

After a delay, negotiations were resumed in 1837. Meanwhile, the American brig *Loriot* was driven out of Russian waters by an armed Russian vessel, and the purpose of her voyage defeated. For this the American government presented a claim for damages. Russia refused either to pay the claim or to consider renewal of the free trade agreement.¹³

While this action was being taken by Russia, the relationship with Great Britain was also under a strain. In April, 1832, the schooner *Cadboro*, one of the vessels purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company for its coasting trade, arrived at New Archangel. On board was Peter Skene Ogden, in charge of British operations on the coast north of the Columbia. Ogden had a series of discussions with Baron Wrangell, in which common problems were discussed. Ogden's method of meeting American competition aroused the admiration of the Russian; this was to follow the American ships and immediately to offer two or three times the Americans' prices. Ogden admitted that he was virtually forced to use some liquor in trading with the Indians. However, he stated that trade in arms and ammunition was not a policy of his company, despite reports to the contrary received at New Archangel from American captains.

The offer to supply the Russians with food and merchandise was repeated. Wrangell phrased his refusal in terms which indicated that such an agreement would be possible only if the Hudson's Bay Company could definitely undertake to relieve the Russian American Company from all dependence on the ships of other powers. His attitude was diplomatic and open to suggestion, but Wrangell still hoped to solve the problems of his company within its own structure.¹⁴

In dispatches reporting Ogden's visit, Wrangell weighed the implications of the British plans. Ogden had mentioned the

(13) The first printing of correspondence relating to this phase of Russian-American relations was contained in U.S. Cong., Cong. 25, Sess. 3, S.E. 1, and Cong. 50, Sess. 2, S.E. 106. Almost without exception, material printed in the proceedings of the boundary tribunal is faithful to the text of less accessible and earlier printed sources. B. P. Thomas, *Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867*, Baltimore, 1930, is a general treatment of its subject, based upon papers in the State Department at Washington.

(14) Wrangell to Board of Directors of the Russian American Company, New Archangel, May 6 (o.s.), 1832, *Counter Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 1-2.

desire to establish a British post beyond the Russo-British boundary on the Stikine River. Already the Russians had noticed that the Hudson's Bay post founded in 1831 near the mouth of the Nass River on Observatory Inlet had won many Indians.¹⁵ At this post the British were receiving furs which formerly would have gone to New Archangel. The results which would follow the establishment of a British post inland and behind Russian territory were a further source of concern to Wrangell.¹⁶

A struggle was clearly impending between the two chartered monopolies for the control of the fur trade of southeastern Russian America and adjacent parts of British North America. In the spring of 1834 both companies were making aggressive preparations to that end. The British, in planning their post on the Stikine, were employing a device old in the annals of the competitive North American fur trade; they anticipated that the fort would divert to their hands furs which previously had reached Russian ship-trading expeditions through Indian middlemen. Depletion of fur-supply to the east of the Rocky Mountains provided one incentive for finding new sources of fur. By 1833 the *Minutes of Council* of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land were showing the concern of that policy-forming body over the situation in the east. By 1841 and 1842 a definite conservation policy had been adopted for that section of the British fur empire.¹⁷ Accordingly, it was increasingly desirable to expand northward from the Columbia River, and to send prospecting expeditions from the Mackenzie River into the unexplored far northwest.

Early in May, 1834, Governor Wrangell, anticipating British movements, ordered the establishment of Redoubt St. Dionysius on an island opposite the mouth of the Stikine River. He reported that he would use this and other means to prevent the British from ascending the river to found a post.¹⁸ The Russians in

(15) Fort Simpson, moved in 1834 to the tip of the Tsimpsean Peninsula.

(16) Wrangell to Board of Directors, May 6 (o.s.), 1832, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 264-265.

(17) E. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Canadian North West*, Ottawa, 1915, II., pp. 704, 831, 850.

(18) The post was near the present city of Wrangell, Alaska. Wrangell to Directors, April 28 (o.s.), 1834, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 265-267.

America later used the treaty of 1825 to justify the establishment of this post as a barrier to the British. Since the treaty forbade the ships of one power from having recourse to points occupied by the other without permission, it was argued that the British in seeking access to the Stikine River would necessarily pass Redoubt St. Dionysius, and accordingly violate the terms of the treaty.¹⁹

In 1833 the Hudson's Bay Company had made a provisional survey and had sent a boat 15 miles up the Stikine River.²⁰ In the following year a fully equipped expedition was sent in the brig *Dryad* to establish the Stikine post. June 18, 1834, was a crucial date in the relationships of the two companies. On that day the *Dryad* came into Stikine Sound and anchored off Redoubt St. Dionysius. Ogden, in charge of the party, was promptly handed a blanket proclamation signed by Governor Wrangell. This expressed the hope that the British would avoid clashes with two Russian ships stationed north of 54° 40' by refraining from trading activities. In actual fact the proclamation was in error when it claimed that the British had no rights to trade in Russian waters; the American rights had expired, but the clause in the Russo-British treaty of 1825 had still almost a year to run.

Twice that day Ogden was visited by Russian officials. Despite language difficulties he firmly stated that he intended to proceed up the Stikine River.²¹ The following day Ogden went ashore to confer. There the Russians drew attention to their mailed fist, the brig *Chichagoff* of 14 guns and 84 men, and indicated that force would be used to prevent the founding of the British fort in the interior. At least, that was Ogden's understanding, although the Spanish of a Russian interpreter, as translated into English by the Surgeon Tolmie, may have given the original intention a few twists of meaning.

(19) Deputy Governor Etolin to Ogden, New Archangel, June 14/26, 1834, *ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

(20) Draft declaration of Captain Alexander Duncan, London, November 17, 1836, in Otto Klotz, copyist, *Certain Correspondence of the Foreign Office and the Hudson's Bay Company*, Ottawa, Department of the Interior, 1899, part V., pp. 17-20.

(21) The greater part of Ogden's account, with accompanying documents, is printed in *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 267-270.

After eleven days the Hudson's Bay Company expedition withdrew. Many years later a member of the *Dryad* party wrote: "The Russians bluffed us off,"²² which summarizes what seems to have happened. A contributing factor to the British retreat was the unveiled hostility of the Stikine Indians. The attitude of these middlemen was as threatening as that of the Russians was discouraging. Yet the *Dryad* affair was far from fruitless. It resulted in the definite agreement of 1839.

The primary problem precipitated at Redoubt St. Dionysius in 1834 was that of control of the fur trade of a roughly rectangular region of about 100,000 square miles, which extended in a northwesterly direction from the Skeena River to the Yukon River, bounded to the west by mountain ranges along the coast, and to the east by the "Stonies," or Rocky Mountains. To fur-traders, control of a region did not necessarily mean actual occupation. As long as pelts from an area continued to be brought to trading-posts, the fur-traders' concept of control was satisfied. When there was no rivalry, this satisfaction was more easily attained than when there was competition to increase the importance of holding strategic points in the geographic setting.

The number of furs from the "Stikine trough" which had previously crossed the mountains to the Mackenzie or even Fraser River systems had undoubtedly been insignificant. The more accessible market for the Indians was that of the Russians, but the British plan was obviously to share in the trade of the region, as demonstrated by a two-fold advance, from the sea and from the Liard and Peace Rivers. The latter would entail dependence upon the expensive transportation routes by waterways and portages to eastern depots. The approach from the seaward side was less expensive and more logical, and the British company felt that the Russo-British treaty of 1825 had left open the western doorway.

Baron Wrangell reported that Ogden visited him in September, 1834, at which time the whole situation was discussed. Wrangell maintained that the treaty of 1825 gave the Russians the legal right to prevent the British from ascending the Stikine River. He also sensed, or more probably had learned from the

(22) G. B. Roberts, *Recollections*, MS., Bancroft Library, 1878, p. 9. (Transcript in Archives of B.C.)

Stikine Indians, that the claim made by Ogden that the British had established a projected post on the Stikine headwaters was false.²³ It was not until 1835 that the possibilities of an overland journey from the Fraser River to the Stikine headwaters were mentioned in the *Minutes of Council*, which recommended that a post be founded there in the season 1837-1838, if possible.²⁴

By July, 1838, Robert Campbell had founded a fort west of the Stikine Mountains on Dease Lake. It had been decided to abandon Fort Halkett, on the Liard, in favour of this more westerly location. After the post on Dease Lake was established, Campbell set forth to carry out his instructions to explore. One prior expedition from Fort Halkett under John McLeod, in 1834, had actually reached the headwaters of the Stikine River, without realizing the significance of the discovery. Campbell went farther, and, on July 23, 1838, came in touch with a Russian-Indian middleman, the Stikine chief "Shakes," at the "splendid rendezvous" on the Stikine River where the Coast Indians customarily held their annual trading session with the Indians of the Interior.²⁵ On that day the British sphere of influence in the inland trade touched for the first time upon that of the Russians. The landward approach on Russian America was thus carried on at the same time as action was being taken on the problems raised at Redoubt St. Dionysius.

Four years elapsed before the *Dryad* affair was settled. Ogden returned from the Northwest coast to Fort Vancouver in December, 1834, and made his report. By March of the next year the head officers of the Columbia Department had investigated the matter, and had written to Hudson's Bay House in London tabulating expenses and losses incurred as a result of the check to their plans for the Stikine post. Aside from an estimated loss of £22,000 arising from both expenses and estimated profits, the Chief Factor, McLoughlin, stated that it was impossible to estimate the further damages caused by the blow to British prestige in Indian eyes, and by the loss of the beaver

(23) Wrangell to Board of Directors of the Russian American Company, April 30 (o.s.), 1835, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 274-278.

(24) Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 711-712.

(25) *Journal of Robert Campbell, 1808-1851* (typescript of original manuscript in the Public Archives, Ottawa), Bancroft Library, pp. 37-43. (Transcripts in Archives of B.C.)

from the British territory to the east of the *lisière*, or coastal strip.²⁶ The Hudson's Bay Company complained immediately to the Foreign Office of violations of the free river navigation and ten-year free trade clauses of the treaty of 1825. They forwarded their claim for indemnity, and requested protection in the future from similar incidents.²⁷

Lord Durham, British Minister to Russia, received copies of the correspondence with Hudson's Bay House, and was ordered to lay the claim of the British company before Count Nesselrode. In reply to the contention that the establishment of a British post beyond the frontier on the Stikine River would harm Russian trade, the draft instructions to Durham denied that Interior furs could be considered a Russian monopoly: "The Treaty recognizes no such monstrous principle."²⁸

By the time Durham made his protest to Nesselrode,²⁹ the latter had already been made acquainted with the repulse of the *Dryad*, and had been petitioned by the Russian American Company to take measures to prevent the navigation of rivers and streams in Russian territory by foreigners.³⁰ Almost immediately Nesselrode admitted to Durham that the Russian American Company had been in the wrong to interpret the sixth article of the 1825 treaty as giving it the right to prevent British access to the hinterland. This frank admission, however, had a pertinent reservation attached to it. Had the Russian American Company actually threatened to use force in restraint of a British expedition? Count Nesselrode took refuge for several years behind this question.³¹

(26) John McLoughlin to Governor, etc., of the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Vancouver, March 17, 1835, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 272-273.

(27) J. H. Pelly to Viscount Palmerston, London, October 24, 1835, Klotz, *op. cit.*, part V., p. 12.

(28) Foreign Office, Draft Instructions, William Lord Durham (No. 12), November 13, 1835, *ibid.*, part V., pp. 3-4.

(29) Durham to Nesselrode, November 29/December 11, 1835, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 285-287.

(30) Directors of Russian American Company to Minister of Finance, November 14 (o.s.), 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 282-285.

(31) Nesselrode to Durham, December 21, 1835/January 2, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 287-289.

Although the *Dryad* affair thus became a diplomatic shuttlecock, and was batted back and forth by Count Nesselrode and British ambassadors until December, 1838, its accompanying problems were ultimately settled by the formula used in making the treaty of 1825—mutual expediency, rather than strict legal right. Meanwhile the British on the Coast were facing a Russian blockade. In 1836, 1837, and 1838, the Russians had a ship in southern boundary waters "watching their lines that they might not be encroached upon."³²

Finally, on December 9/21, 1838, Nesselrode apparently tired of the game. In a note to the Minister of Finance he stated that the English insistence on an indemnity had increased rather than decreased during negotiation. He saw that the British were putting aside such "secondary questions" as whether or not there had been a threat of violence, and were basing their claims on the fact that Russian authorities had issued an order prohibiting Ogden from ascending the Stikine River. This was acknowledged as being contrary to the intentions of the 1825 treaty. Accordingly, he suggested that the Russian American Company enter into friendly relations with the Hudson's Bay Company in order to make the settlement for which the British were pressing with such unusual urgency.³³

Perhaps with official knowledge, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company had already been corresponding along such lines, and had sounded out their respective desires. It had already appeared that deliverance from the unpleasant situation would come through a lease to the British company of the mainland strip to the north and south of the Stikine River.³⁴ As a means to overcome the intercompany rivalry in the region, a lease of the "Panhandle" was logical. The Russian company would be compensated for the loss of the trade of the region; the Hudson's Bay Company would take over the system which relied upon middlemen to secure the furs from

(32) *Fort Simpson Journal*, MS., Bancroft Library, p. 1; words quoted from Hudson's Bay Company, *Journal, 1838* (Fort Simpson), p. 4, in Klotz, *op. cit.*, part V., p. 31.

(33) Nesselrode to Kankreen, St. Petersburg, December 9 (o.s.), 1838, *Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 307-308.

(34) Report of the Board of Directors of the Russian American Company, December 20 (o.s.), 1838, *ibid.*, pp. 309-311.

inland regions, and would be spared the expense of maintaining posts in British territory beyond the boundary.

Nesselrode approved the idea of a lease. It would be of advantage in terminating friction and rivalry. Especially would it be desirable as

it would enable us to avoid all further explanations with the Government of the United States as to its ceaseless demands, disadvantageous to our interests, for the renewal of Article IV of the Treaty of 1824, which granted to American ships the right of free navigation for ten years in all the seas and straits, adjacent to our dominions on the northwestern coast of America.³⁵ With this statement Nesselrode washed his hands of relationships with the British, and left the control of this part of Imperial foreign policy to the Russian American Company.

In the first week of February, 1839, Governor George Simpson and Baron Ferdinand Wrangell met at Hamburg, "communicated to each other their respective full powers found in good and true form," and in behalf of the two companies negotiated an agreement which ended all cause for further clashes by providing a sound economic foundation for planned friendly relationships.

The indemnity for the *Dryad* incident was the starting-point for the discussions. A few months previously Simpson had stated that a compromise on the Stikine affair was necessary before any agreement could be negotiated. If the Hudson's Bay Company leased the coastal strip, a remission of the rent for three years would be expected as compensation for losses incurred in 1834.³⁶ This was not included in the provisions of the "treaty" as signed, and was probably relinquished in favour of other advantageous terms.³⁷ The nine articles of the agreement resolved the problems in a manner satisfactory to both parties, carried into effect the Simpson proposals of 1829, and drew the lines along which the two monopolies exploited the region for twenty-seven years.

The first article concerned the lease of the mainland of Russian America to the south and east of a line drawn from Cape Spencer to Mount Fairweather. The exclusive use of this strip

(35) Nesselrode to Kankreen, January 4/16, 1839, *ibid.*, p. 312.

(36) Simpson to Wrangell, November 27, 1838, Klotz, *op. cit.*, part V., p. 33.

(37) The agreement is printed in full in Oliver, *op. cit.*, II., pp. 791-797.

was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company for commercial purposes for an annual rent of 2,000 seasoned western land-otter skins, to be delivered at New Archangel. This was equivalent to approximately £2,300. The arrangement for a rental of otter-skins avoided complicated financial transactions in drafts, simplified the marketing problems of the Hudson's Bay Company, and provided the Russian American Company with a type of fur through the sale of which they could add to their profits in the Chinese and Russian trade. Redoubt St. Dionysius was also transferred to the British, while co-operation was promised should ships of other nations attempt to trade north of 54° 40'. The life of the lease and of the agreement was to be ten years.

The marketing of furs was further simplified by Article III. The Russian American Company agreed to purchase up to 2,000 western land-otter at 23/- a piece, and 3,000 of the better-grade eastern land-otter at 32/- each. Thus, an annual business of over £7,000 in land-otter was anticipated. The agreement was also a partial fulfilment of Simpson's plan for a market for the production of the Columbia River farms, which were to be established under the ægis of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.³⁸ Each year the British company contracted to sell to the other monopoly wheat, wheat-flour, peas, barley, salt beef, butter, and hams to the value of over £5,000. With this assurance of an adequate food-supply, the Russian American Company could plan on withdrawing from California, and selling Fort Ross.

Another article related to transportation of goods from manufacturing areas. Unless the Russian American Company

(38) The organization of this company was discussed by a committee of the Hudson's Bay Company on February 27, 1839, at Hudson's Bay House, London, England. cf. L. A. Wrinch "The Formation of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXIV. (1933), pp. 3-8. The relationship between the organization of this company and the Russian American Company agreement is brought out in a dispatch to Chief Factor John McLoughlin, in which he was informed that the farms were to be established "in order to maintain your people, to relieve the Hudson's Bay Company of a contract for Agricultural Produce which they have entered into with the Russian American Company, and to make provision for settlers that will be sent out from England as soon as you can conveniently receive them." Directors of Puget's Sound Agricultural Company to John McLoughlin, Esq., March 16, 1839, MS., Archives of B.C.

was sending out its own supply-ships, any manufactured goods of the type formerly secured from the United States were to be shipped from England in Hudson's Bay Company bottoms, and delivered at Sitka at a freight rate of £13 per ton.

Provisions for peaceful evacuation, should Great Britain and Russia go to war, were contained in the seventh and eighth articles. These articles were never put into effect, for when the Crimean War broke out northwestern America, at the request of the two companies, was declared neutral territory.

The treaty made no direct reference to the exclusion of foreign vessels from the Northwest Coast. But implicit in the terms was the idea that a common front was being effected in opposition to United States vessels. This subject was more definitely dealt within a supplementary exchange of notes between the two companies on the day the conference was closed. Wrangell stated that his company would neither encourage the visits of foreign ships nor purchase from them any goods except in case of extreme emergency; in return for this assurance Simpson agreed that any accidental visit of an American ship to a Russian American port would not be taken as a reason for withholding the rental for the leased territory.³⁹

The lease proved profitable to both parties and was renewed five times while Russia was becoming aware of the weakness of her American empire, while settlers were coming to Old Oregon, and seekers followed the lure of gold to California and British Columbia. Once the original lease was concluded British and Russian Governments forgot far northwestern America, and control was left in the hands of the officials of the two fur companies.

As early as 1840 the effect of the transfer to the British was noticeable in Sitka. During that summer, very few canoes of the mainland Kolosh Indians, who had previously come to New Archangel in large numbers, visited the Russian capital to dispose of their furs.⁴⁰ By 1842, the two monopolies had virtually succeeded in securing to themselves control of the trade along

(39) Oliver, *op. cit.*, II., pp. 796-797.

(40) Governor Etolin to James Douglas, November 12/24, 1840, *Counter Case of the United States, Appendix*, p. 10.

the coast. The trade in liquor and firearms disappeared with the competitive struggle.⁴¹

Soon after the Hudson's Bay Company took over Fort St. Dionysius, two additional posts were erected, one on Taku Inlet and the other on Milbanke Sound. In 1843, however, either taking a page from Russian experience or profiting by his own, Simpson resolved to close the two new posts and to depend on the annual trading expeditions of the steamer *Beaver*, or of other vessels, from posts in key positions.⁴²

The agreement of 1839 functioned efficiently for over twenty-five years. The Russian American Company considered it advantageous, because it allowed them to forget the threat of American competition, avoided occasions for hostile collisions with the Hudson's Bay Company, and solved some of its major problems of provisioning, supplies, and marketing.⁴³ To the Columbia Department of the Hudson's Bay Company it brought a profit of between eight and ten thousand dollars annually.⁴⁴

In 1850, the lease and trading arrangements were continued to 1859, at which date the charter of the British company was to expire. Even before this renewal there were indications of a transition in the condition of the Pacific Northwest, for, by 1846, population pressure had impelled the settlement of the Oregon boundary question. Before the end of the second period the situation had been still further altered, for gold had been discovered in British Columbia, and whaling had reached a peak.⁴⁵ Moreover, settlers had peopled Vancouver Island, and Russia had acquired again the fertile Amur valley.⁴⁶

(41) Roderick Finlayson, *History of Vancouver Island and the Northwest Coast*, MS., Bancroft Library, pp. 12, 20. (Transcripts in Archives of B.C.)

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

(43) P. Tikmenef, *Istoricheskoe obozrenie . . .*, St. Petersburg, 1861, I., pp. 269-270.

(44) Evidence of Dugald Mactavish, Montreal, 1866, in *British and American Joint Commission for the settlement of claims . . . Hudson's Bay Company*, Montreal, 1868, I., p. 208; and see *ibid.*, II., p. 54.

(45) About 300 ships each year between 1840 and 1845; see U.S. Cong., Cong. 40, Sess. 2, H.E. 177 (1867), p. 85.

(46) R. J. Kerner, "Russian Expansion to America," in *Bibliographical Society of America, Papers*, XXV. (1931), pp. 111-129. The writer is indebted to Professor Kerner for stimulus and help received in this subject in his seminar at the University of California.

In asking for renewal in 1850 the directors of the Russian American Company had stressed, to the Minister of Finance, the need for continuance of friendly relationships in order to avoid incidents which might lead to war. During the Crimean War the influence wielded by the monopolies was illustrated by the way in which they effectively removed the Eastern Pacific from the theatre of naval activity, through an arrangement which made the territories of both companies neutral. This was approved by the foreign offices of Russia and Great Britain. Despite worries in British Columbia,⁴⁷ this allowed northwestern America to forget that such a thing as war existed.

By 1859 gold and agriculture had given birth to two British colonies on the British coast. The fur trade was less important than previously in British Columbia, and the leased territory to the north was proportionally more important to the Hudson's Bay Company. Again in that year the agreement was renewed, although a Russian arrangement to supply a San Francisco firm with ice, coal, timber, and salt fish necessitated the restriction of Hudson's Bay Company exploitation of these items within the leased territory.⁴⁸

The agreement was given two years of extended life in 1861. The following year saw a new force entering the economic scene north of Portland Canal. The discovery of gold on the headwaters of the Stikine River led to a minor rush of miners, and suggested to the Russian company the difficulties which might follow the discovery of any appreciable amount of gold. This was a new and additional reason for renewal in 1863, as the Russian American Company did not feel capable of handling a rush of miners.⁴⁹

Twice more, while the destiny of the Russian American Company was hanging in the balance, the companies' charter of co-operation was extended briefly. However, the letter of the Hudson's Bay Company of January 25, 1867, asking for a definite lease for three years, fell before eyes which knew that the period of co-operation between the two companies was over. For Alaska

(47) This point will be dealt with in a subsequent note on "British Columbia and the Crimean War" which is in the course of preparation by the author.

(48) *Counter Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 22-25.

(49) *Ibid.*, pp. 26-32.

had been sold to the United States of America, and the minutes of the governing board of the Hudson's Bay Company briefly recorded on May 21, 1867, that the occupation of the "Stikine country" by that company was to end ten days later.⁵⁰

The agreement of 1839 was a significant episode in the history of far northwestern America. It was less dramatic than other events which took their places in the history of the Pacific rim during its lifetime, but it effectively withdrew the region from any pressures of international rivalries. Its influence on history was preventive, or negative; for example it allowed the territorial agreement which has endured as the Alaska-Canada boundary to mature into an accepted unchallenged fact. But the fundamental importance of the 1839 agreement was positive in that it provided for sound economic practices in carrying on the fur trade in its remotest outposts.

DONALD C. DAVIDSON.

HUNTINGTON LIBRARY,
SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA.

(50) Enclosed in Clifford Sifton to J. W. Foster, June 15, 1903, *Alaska Boundary Tribunal, Proceedings*, V., part 3, p. 37.

JAMES DOUGLAS AND THE RUSSIAN AMERICAN COMPANY, 1840.

The agreement of 1839 entered into by the Russian American and Hudson's Bay Companies, which is the subject of an interesting article in this issue,¹ involved a considerable readjustment of the working arrangements of both companies. This was particularly true of the Hudson's Bay Company, as is evidenced by the *Minutes* of the Council held at the Red River Settlement in June, 1839, at which time the terms of the agreement became known to the wintering partners.

With reference to an agreement entered into with the Russian American Company under date the 6th Feby. 1839, it is Resolved

65. That either the ship to arrive at the Columbia next year from England or the Ship *Vancouver* accompanied by the *Beaver* Steam Vessel proceed with C[hief]. T[rader]. Douglas, Mr. Wm. Glen Rae, Mr. John McLoughlin Junr. & Mr. Roderick Finlayson with a complement of 20 labouring servants and a sufficient Outfit of Goods and Provisions to take possession of the Russian American Company's Establishment at the entrance of the River Stikine where Mr. Rae is to be left in charge assisted by the other Clerks before mentioned.

66. That immediately after the Post at Stikine be taken possession of Mr. C[hief]. T[rader]. Douglas shall proceed to the River Tacou about 100 miles north of Stikine and select an eligible situation for establishing a Post there and afterwards return to Fort McLoughlin for the purpose of removing that Establishment and reforming it on the banks of the Tacou River 12 marine leagues inland if possible under the command of Mr. John Kennedy, assisted by C. Walker, Clerk, and Charles Forrest, Postmaster, with a complement of 30 laboring Servants.²

In fulfilment of these orders an expedition left Fort Vancouver *en route* to the north on April 22, 1840, in charge of Chief Trader James Douglas.³ The correspondence which is herewith published for the first time tells of his activity in arranging the details between the two companies, for it must be remembered

(1) *Vide supra*, pp. 33-51.

(2) E. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Canadian North-West*, Ottawa, 1915, II., p. 785.

(3) The *original diary* of this trip to the Northwest Coast is preserved in the Archives of British Columbia and may at some future date be published in this *Quarterly*.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. V., No. 1.

that the final negotiations which resulted in the original agreement had been conducted in Hamburg, Germany.

The first letter, dated July 13, 1840, at Fort Taku, and addressed to John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, is in the nature of a general report. It is, perhaps, interesting to note that a good deal of the information contained therein was paraphrased in a much longer general report to McLoughlin, written by Douglas while on board the *Beaver*, October 1, 1840, on the eve of his arrival back on the *Columbia*.⁴ The second, third, and fourth letters, addressed the same day (July 13, 1840), to John Work, then in charge of Fort Simpson, Captain Alexander Duncan of the Hudson's Bay Company ship *Vancouver*, and John Antonowitch Koopreanoff, Governor of the Russian American colony at Sitka, are interesting as revealing the business methods of the Hudson's Bay Company, particularly in the handling of bills of exchange. The fifth and final letter of this series addressed to A. E. Etholine, Captain of the Imperial Fleet, Knight and Governor of the Russian Colonies in America, although written at a slightly later date (August 24, 1840), gives additional information regarding the trade between the two companies and is printed herewith as the reply it evoked from Governor Etholine has long been in print.⁵

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

(4) Douglas to McLoughlin, On Board the "Beaver" Steam Vessel, October 1, 1840, O. Klotz (ed.), *Certain Correspondence of the Foreign Office and of the Hudson's Bay Company*, Ottawa, 1899, part ii., pp. 43-52.

(5) A. Etholine to Mr. John [sic] Douglas, November 12, 1840, *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal* (U.S. Cong., Cong. 58, Sess. 2, S.E. 162), Washington, 1903-04, Vol. IV., part ii., *Appendix to the Counter Case of the United States*, pp. 9-12.

I.

Fort Tako⁶ 13th July 1840

To

John McLoughlin Esquire⁷

As stated in the letter I had the honour of addressing you while at Fort Langley, we moved from that place in the Steam Vessel⁸ on the morning of the 5th May, and arrived successively on the 11th & 14th following at Forts McLoughlin⁹ and Simpson;¹⁰ the business of these Posts was going on with the customary order and regularity, trade being in a flourishing state and the natives well disposed, tho' as usual holding back their furs and clamouring for higher prices with a boldness and importunity peculiar to these rude and powerful tribes.

The state of trade and general resources of these Posts are so well known as to render further remark superfluous. I will therefore dismiss the subject here without notice; in relation, however, to the trade of Johnston's Straits and Vancouver's Island, I am persuaded that it cannot be managed so cheaply or to so much advantage, by our coasting vessels as through a permanent establishment formed in a position conveniently situated for the resort of the natives; the outlay in this object will not exceed £500, which after the first year would be largely repaid by an annual saving, in the present expenses of management, more than equal to that Amount, while a ready market will excite the industry of the natives generally and moreover serve as a point of attraction to the more distant tribes who inhabit the continental canals and the West coast of Vancouver's Island with whom our intercourse has been hitherto limited to casual meetings of very rare occurrence.

But admitting even that these advantages are not attainable by the proposed means, provision must be made in one shape or other, for the security of this, the decidedly most valuable section of the British coast as the Steam vessel cannot adequately protect it, and at the same time perform the new routine of duties imposed upon her by our recent

(6) This letter was written while this post was actually being constructed. It was named Fort Durham, after the then Governor-General of Canada, but was more popularly known as Fort Taku. It was located about 25 miles below the present site of the town of Juneau. When the decision was reached to establish a depot on Vancouver Island (Fort Victoria) the abandonment of this post as well as Fort McLoughlin was ordered by the Council in 1842 (*see* Oliver, *op. cit.*, II., p. 846), which decision was carried into effect in 1843.

(7) Chief Factor in charge of the Columbia Department, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver, 1825-1845.

(8) The historic *Beaver*, the first steam-vessel to operate in the North Pacific. Built in 1835, she arrived on the Coast in the following year.

(9) Established on Milbanke Sound, near the site of Bella Bella, in 1833; abandoned in 1843.

(10) Established, in 1831, near the mouth of the Nass River, this post was moved, in 1834, to the present site of the town of Port Simpson, at the northern end of the Tsimpsean Peninsula.

connection with the Russian Fur Company and the growing business of the territories, they have ceded to us, so that the question of a new establishment viewed by this light assumes the important bearing of a necessary measure that cannot be safely deferred. The place best adapted for this purpose is Shushady or Neweety a commodious harbour at the north end of Vancouver's Island, accessible to shipping at all seasons, and almost directly in the centre of the native population, as a circle with a radius of 90 miles from that point encloses all the tribes between the south entrance of Johnston's Straits and Fort McLoughlin; the latter Post may perhaps in time be dispensed with entirely, but on this subject experience will be the most certain guide; at all events while in possession of this additional post at Neweety, Fort Simpson at the opposite extreme of the British territory, with Fort McLoughlin in the centre the trade of the coast will, without any extraneous aid whatever, be as completely protected against every probable contingency as circumstances will ever permit.¹¹

To return to the order of narrative suspended at Fort Simpson, we proceeded on the 19th May, from that place and arrived, in two days, at Stekine.¹²

The Officer in charge having no orders to surrender the Post into our hands,¹³ I pushed on to Sitka,¹⁴ through a line of inland canals in company with the Russian Steam Vessel¹⁵ (which by the bye is no match in speed for the Beaver) and arrived there on the 25th. I waited

(11) The plan here suggested by Douglas was carried out in part in 1849 with the establishment of Fort Rupert, at the north end of Vancouver Island. While this post was built with the protection of the near-by coal deposits particularly in mind, a considerable fur trade was carried on there for some years.

(12) This post had been established by the Russians in 1832 as Redoubt St. Dionysius. It was located on Point Highfield at the mouth of the Stikine River, near the present site of the town of Wrangell. Upon its occupation by the Hudson's Bay Company it was renamed Fort Stikine, although it is also referred to as Fort Highfield. Its abandonment was ordered for 1844 by the Council in 1842 (see Oliver, *op. cit.*, II, p. 846), but this plan was evidently not carried out, for it continues to appear as a post in the *Minutes of Council* for 1846 (see MS., Archives of B.C.). This is borne out by the *Fur Trade Returns, Columbia District and New Caledonia*, a record kept by James Douglas and preserved in the Archives of B.C. Under Fort Stikine returns are recorded for the years 1840 to 1843, none appear for 1844, but again recur for the years 1845 to 1848, at which date presumably the post was abandoned.

(13) This corrects the story as told by Bancroft, who tells of the Russians immediately turning the post over to Douglas. Cf., H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, San Francisco, 1884, II., p. 646.

(14) Old Sitka, or, as it was frequently called, New Archangel, was established in 1799 by the Russians under Alexander Andreievich Baranof, and called Redoubt St. Archangel Michael. The colony was destroyed by the natives in 1802 but re-established at a slightly different site in 1804. It was the headquarters for the Russian American Fur Company on the Northwest Coast. C. L. Andrews, *The Story of Alaska*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1938, chaps. 8, 10, and 11.

(15) Probably the steamer *Nicolai I.*

on his excellency Captain Koopreanoff the Governor,¹⁶ and we fell to business immediately, directing attention in the first place, to the grand question, upon which he appeared keen and tenacious, of the equitable division of trade, to the two Companies according to the provisions of the agreement, and the ways and means of keeping this without prejudice to the other's rights, most important objects to both parties, but of difficult attainment when there exists so general an intercourse between the inhabitants of these Islands and the continental shores. The Governor, on this head, proposed that there should be a mutual appointment of Agents, to reside at the respective Forts; but this plan appeared to me, in many respects, so unpleasant, and objectionable, that I opposed it, and suggested as a more effective and liberal expedient, that the character of the Parties should stand in pledge of their conduct, and in accordance with this view the 4th article of the deed (No 1) which I transmit herewith,¹⁷ binding both the Parties to restore furs received from Indians of the other part, was framed and adopted. We next proceeded to settle the boundaries of trade and you will perceive by the 2d article of the same document that the terms obtained are liberal: we finally determined on introducing an equal Tariff over the whole coast whenever it can be done with safety; the other points brought under discussion being of minor importance, I beg to refer you to the said document for information. From the Russian authorities I received the most polite attentions, and I must in justice to them observe that they appear anxious to cultivate our friendship and will not fail, I firmly believe, in rendering us full justice; our proceedings will I hope be equally marked by the same honourable spirit; a breach of faith on either side will banish confidence and may prove, in its consequences, unfavourable to both.

In obedience to your instructions I proposed that we should use Bodega as a Port of entrance for the shipment of cattle from California to which they cheerfully assented, and offer every facility in their power, provided we obtain the sanction of that Government, otherwise it will be impossible for us to succeed in our object.¹⁸ They can at

(16) Ivan Antonovich Kupreanoff was Chief Manager of the Russian American Fur Company (usually styled "governor") from October 29, 1835, until May 25, 1840, at which time he was succeeded by Etholine. As is to be expected, there are many variants of the spelling of Russian names.

(17) Unfortunately, no copy of this document is to be found. In the letter-book in which this letter is written there is a "List of documents for Fort Vancouver," the first of which was "Articles explanatory of the agreement with the Russians."

(18) Bodega, the original California outpost established by the Russian American Fur Company in 1812, was situated near the present site of the city of San Francisco. It was later enlarged by the establishment of near-by Fort Ross, and efforts were made to supply the food deficiencies of Russian America from this region, despite the fact that Mexican law forbade foreigners to trade in California. Even the Hudson's Bay Company looked to California as a source of supply for the produce necessary to meet the demands arising from the recently negotiated agreement with the Russian company, particularly in wheat and cattle. In this connection in the winter

present enter into no arrangement about the purchase of sugar having a stock on hand equal to four years consumption, besides an unfinished contract for a further supply; but should they want any hereafter they will deal with us.

I could make no desirable arrangement for the manufacture of their flour, as they have a mill at Sitka that answers their purpose of grinding rough flour, in which state it is issued to their servants. They cannot receive wheat in California, as it is probable they will abandon Bodega.¹⁹ I forward No 2 the copy of a note left with the Governor of Sitka,²⁰ containing our settlement respecting the extent of supplies for this and next year, some points of which you will I trust find satisfactory.

As soon as our business at Sitka was closed we returned to Stekine, took possession of it on the 1st of June and the following evening reached Fort Simpson; the next day the *Vancouver*²¹ arrived from the Columbia, and after landing the Outfits of the Southern Posts, we proceeded thence, on the 10th with the Steam Vessel and *Vancouver* in tow and anchored, amidst masses of floating ice, near the mouth of the Taco, on the 17th June; the same day I started with an armed Party, to examine the River, a purpose that we effected to the distance of 35 miles, and returned to the vessels late on the 20th. This journey was not productive of any very satisfactory information, the Taco disembogues into a Gulf in Stephen's passage, of which point Salisbury Latitude 58. 16N. W. Lon. 133. 56 forms the northern Point of entrance; it may be classed in magnitude with the Wallamette,²² discharging a probably greater volume of water, much less concentrated at its entrance, where the channel is 1½ Miles Broad, and for three quarters of a mile so shallow, at the reflux of the tide, as to be impassable by any larger craft than canoes, which then drag through the

of 1840-41 Douglas was sent south to California on a mission which resulted in the establishment of Yerba Buena. The original *diary* of this trip is preserved in the Archives of B.C.; see also Herman Leader (ed.), "A Voyage from the Columbia to California in 1840," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII. (1929), pp. 97-115, which publishes much of the diary, but, unfortunately, based upon an imperfect transcript.

(19) The Russian American Fur Company withdrew from California with the sale of Fort Ross to J. A. Sutter in 1841. See Clarence John DuFour, "The Russian Withdrawal from California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XII. (1933), pp. 240-276. The Hudson's Bay Company abandoned their post at Yerba Buena in 1846.

(20) No copy of this document is to be found, although it is also mentioned in the "List of documents for Fort Vancouver," *v. supra*, fnt. 12.

(21) This teak-built bark of 400 tons was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company principally on the annual trip from England to the Columbia and first arrived on the Coast in 1838. In 1845 it became the first vessel to enter Victoria harbour direct from England. It was wrecked off the mouth of the Columbia River in 1848. In 1840 it was commanded by Captain Alexander Duncan. See Lewis and Dryden, *Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, Portland, 1895, pp. 15-18.

(22) The river which joins the Columbia from the southward in the neighbourhood of Fort Vancouver.

mud; there is however, a rise at ordinary tides, of 12 feet, when a small vessel may easily enter and, in my opinion, proceed 10 miles upwards with safety; the current afterwards is very strong, and broken by Rocky shoals, so that this Point may be considered the limit of ship navigation, for if any continuous channel of sufficient depth exists beyond, it must be exceedingly intricate and dangerous. As far as I went the River is free of Rapids, and tho' we found the ascent arduous in the Ship's Boats, I yet consider it well adapted for the discription [*sic*] of craft generally used in country transport; but the natives of Taco who are in the habit of visiting the interior, inform that it ceases to be navigable, 76 miles higher up where they meet the interior Indians, who, in consequence, always travel towards that point by land.

Had circumstances been otherwise favourable, I would have formed the establishment on the ten mile point in preference to any other place, from its being the probable limit of ship navigation, and therefore in strict conformity with your instructions; but we discovered thereat, as well as for many miles above, and in every part of the River below, an invincible obstacle in the extreme poverty of timber suitable for buildings or fuel, as there is in fact no wood in that part of the valley except, Willows, Alders, Poplars scarcely larger, and a very few dwarf Pines. One or two most serious objections of another kind moreover exist; the winters are so very severe that the River and the head of the Gulf leading to it, are frozen [*sic*] over, or so much obstructed by floating ice as to cut off all access from the sea, so that if the Fort were there, not only would the major part of the Taco tribe who always winter on the coast, be prevented from visiting it, during a great part of the year, but the exceedingly more valuable trade of the District between Taco and cross sound [*sic*], would be also completely beyond reach. These combined evils, having compelled us to abandon all thoughts of the River, we next made a fruitless search over every part of the Gulf, and when almost despairing [*sic*] of success, a friendly Indian conducted us to the spot we now occupy, situated 30 miles south of the Tako; it possesses a safe harbour of easy access, abundance of good timber, together with the most important advantage of being directly in the high way of trade and at a convenient distance for the Natives of Chilcat and Cross Sound; while should it be desirable hereafter we can push into the interior with as much facility from this Point as if the establishment had been at the entrance of Taco.

We commenced operations, here on the 24th of June, and have now a Bastion and a Building of 30 feet finished, another Bastion in a state of forwardness, nearly half the stockade on the ground and two sides of the trench dug: the season has been hitherto so excessively wet and inclement that the sun is rarely seen, yet I am happy to report that our sick list numbers only four men, the others being all in sound health.

There has not been time to do much in the way of trade as our arrival is not generally known to the distant communities; six canoes

however came in from Tako a few days ago with nearly 200 skins, only part of which is yet traded, as these Indians are the most greedy troublesome dealers I have any where seen. They first insisted on getting two large Blankets for a Beaver, and would not part with a skin under these terms for several days, so that I began to fear they might, as they several times threatened, leave us in disgust, and dispose of them for slaves, a species of property so highly prized in the tribe, that it constitutes their measure of wealth and rank;²³ they are now more amenable to reason, and sell their skins most grudgingly at a Blkt. each.

Before returning to Vancouver I propose visiting all the harbours on our coast from this place to Cape Spencer, for the purpose of seeing the natives, and obtaining every possible information respecting the extent and value of the trade, subjects on which we are by no means conversant.

I am in hopes the *Cadboro*²⁴ will not be detained longer here, than is necessary to land her cargo.

I lately received a letter from Mr Rae²⁵ at Stikine reporting the welfare of that establishment. There had been considerable agitation and discontent among the natives in consequence of our prices not greatly exceeding the Tariff of our predecessors, this feeling has however worn off and they now appear better disposed, having traded in the last days of June upwards of 200 Beavers. Mr Rae forwarded your letter to Mr Campbell²⁶ by a Stekine chief.

I am sorry to state that reports are generally current here among the natives, that want of food had compelled Campbell to abandon his Fort, which was subsequently plundered by the natives; I am at a loss what to think of these reports; they may not be strictly correct, but

(23) On the general topic of slavery amongst the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, see Elsie F. Dennis, "Indian Slavery in Pacific Northwest," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXI. (1930), pp. 69-81, 181-195, 285-296.

(24) This small schooner was purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company for the coastal trade, and arrived on the Coast in 1827. In 1840 she was commanded by Captain James Scarborough. The *Cadboro* was sold by the Company in 1860 and wrecked in 1862.

(25) William Glen Rae was born in the Orkney Islands and came to the Columbia in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1837. He served at Forts Colville, Okanagan, Walla Walla, and Vancouver, and in 1840 accompanied Douglas north, at which time he was put in charge of Fort Stikine along with John McLoughlin, Jr. In 1841 he was removed from this post and sent to open the California post at Yerba Buena, where he remained until his death in January, 1845. He was a son-in-law of Dr. John McLoughlin.

(26) A native of Scotland, born February 21, 1808, who entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1830 at Red River Settlement and subsequently, in 1834, was assigned to the Mackenzie River District. He was an intrepid explorer. In 1839 he pushed into the hinterland of the Stikine country and established a post on Dease Lake. He died May 9, 1894. See George Bryce, "Sketch of the Life and Discoveries of Robert Campbell," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, no. 52, April, 1898, *passim*.

I cannot banish the conviction from my mind, that some serious misfortune has lent a semblance of truth to these painful rumours.²⁷

In reference to the two setts [*sic*] of exchange to be drawn by the Russian Company in our favour, I have instructed Captain Duncan to leave the thirds of each, at Sitka under cover to Jno. Work Esquire or Mr W. G. Rae, the two firsts Mr. Work will transmit to you by the *Vancouver*, and the two seconds I will bring with me in the Steam Vessel.²⁸

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 11th May, and shall attend to your wishes respecting the duties required from the Steam Vessel and *Cadboro*, as well as the other points suggested. You will of course further inform by the latter vessel if you wish her to touch at Langley on her return to the Columbia.

The *Vancouver* having landed our goods will leave us to morrow for Sitka. I have instructed Captⁿ Duncan to receive payment on delivery of the cargo for the amount of freight, and grain due. The *Vancouver* will proceed direct from Sitka to Fort Simpson, take in the Fort McLoughlin Outfit there, which she will leave in passing on her route to the Columbia.

With the other papers I forward the Invoice and Bill Lading of the furs traded here.

I remain

my dear Sir

yours very truly

(sig^d)

James Douglas

II.

Fort Tako 13th July 1840

John Work Esquire²⁹

My dear Sir

I have directed Captain Duncan to deliver you, the first and second of two setts [*sic*] of Exchange one for £594.19.10, Sterling and the other for £832.13.10½, drawn in our favour by the Governor of Sitka, the first of each sett you will transmit by the earliest opportunity to John McLoughlin Esquire the two seconds you may keep until my arrival at Fort Simpson.

(27) As it transpired, this rumour was absolutely correct. Campbell, after suffering extreme privation, was forced to abandon the Dease Lake post on May 8, 1839, and it was subsequently destroyed by the Indians. Undeterred, Campbell was back in the area in 1840, when he ascended the north branch of the Liard River, and in the following year established posts at Fort Frances and at Pelly Banks. See *The Beaver*, outfit 261, no. 4 (March, 1931), pp. 175-6.

(28) *Vide infra*, letters II. and III.

(29) John Work (1791-1861), one of the best-known of the Hudson's Bay officers, entered the Company's service in 1814. He was placed in charge of Fort Simpson in 1837, and remained there until his retirement in 1849.

The *Vancouver* is placed at your disposal to be employed as pointed out in my letter to you of the 8th June last, I have only to add thereto that she must be engaged in no service that will protract her arrival in the Columbia beyond the 25th of September, the date appointed for her return.

The steam vessel having had her stern badly bruized [*sic*] by the *Vancouver*, will require from on [*sic*] arrival 16 seasoned Boards of 1½ in thick, 18 feet long, 10 in Broad, and 12 one inch Boards, 12 feet long 6 or 12 in Broad, to take with her to Fort Nisqually where she will find oak to complete her refitment.

I am

My Dear Sir

yours very truly

(sig^d)

James Douglas

III.

Fort Tako 13th July 1840.

My dear Sir³⁰

You will proceed from this place direct to Sitka, and deliver the cargo on board the *Vancouver* as per Bill of Lading to the order of the Governor of that place from whom you will receive a sett [*sic*] of Exchange in Triplicate for £594.19.10, Sterling the Amount due for freight, and another sett of Exchange in Triplicate for £832.13.10½, Sterling in payment of the wheat the price being 5/4½ per Bushel. These Bills must be drawn in Sterling money and not in Dollars or Roubles which do not suit us.

Now you will enclose the 3^d Bill of each sett of Exchange in a stout well sealed Envelope [*sic*], addressed to Jno. Work Esquire Fort Simpson or Mr. W. G. Rae Stekine, which you will leave with the Governor and request him to forward it only by a safe conveyance, the remaining Bills of each sett you will please deliver into the hands of Mr Work, on your arrival at Fort Simpson. As soon [as] your Sitka

(30) This was addressed to Captain Alexander Duncan, of the schooner *Vancouver*. It was in the *Vancouver* that Peter Skene Ogden made his preliminary survey of the Stikine River, in 1833. *Vide supra*, p. 41. The following lively description of Captain Duncan was written by Thomas Farnham, who travelled to Honolulu in the *Vancouver* in 1840: "The Captain was an old British tar, with a heart full of generosity for his friends, and a fist full of bones for his enemies. A glass of cheer with a messmate, and a rope's end for a disobedient sailor, were with him impromptu productions, for which he had capacity and judgment; a hearty, five foot nine inch, burly, stout-chested Englishman, whom it was always pleasant to see and hear." Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Californias*, New York, 1844, p. 8.

cargo is discharged you will from thence run direct to Fort Simpson and receive Mr. Work's instructions for your further proceedings.

I am

Dear Sir

yours very truly

(sig^d)

James Douglas

To/

Captⁿ Duncan

IV.

Fort Tako 13th July 1840.

To His Excellency John Antonowitch Koopreanoff, Governor of the Russian American Colonies, Post Captain in His Imperial Majesty's Navy, &c &c &c

Dear Sir

I beg to introduce to your kind attention Captain Duncan of our Barque *Vancouver*; He will deliver the cargo consigned to you, as per Bills Lading accompanying and receive payment for the same. Have the goodness to draw two setts [sic] of Exchange in Triplicate, one sett to the Amount of freight due, say £594.19.10 Sterling and the other, for the wheat which will be about £832.13.10½, Sterling, if the quantity invoiced be found correct. These Bills we wish to have drawn in Sterling money.

I am sorry that we could not dispatch the *Vancouver* sooner from this place, I trust the delay will have put you to no inconvenience. I think Captain Etoline told me that if we did not come to an arrangement about the purchase of Bodega, that you would want no Beef next year, will you have the goodness to inform me by return of the vessel if my impression be correct.

The Indians here are very keen traders, we have been under the necessity of paying the Stekine price for the very few furs yet bought. A canoe arrived yesterday from Hood's Bay with furs, if we cannot send them off, we will purchase them for you. We are determined to reduce the prices as soon as we get more settled, at present we must yield to circumstances.

Kind remembrance to Captain Etoline and Lady.

With best wishes

I have the Honor to Remain

Your Excellency's

most obedient and very

humble Servant

(sig^d)

James Douglas

V.

Fort Tako 24th August 1840

To/

A. Etholeny Esq^{re}³¹
 Post Captain in H. I. M. Navy,
 Chevalier, Governor of the Russian
 American Colonies

Dear Sir

Your communication of 25th July, I received on the 15th Inst,³² from Captain Lindenberg³³ in Barlow's Cove, where I fell in with your Steam Vessel, as I was proceeding on a trading visit to the Natives of Cross Sound.

(31) Adolf Karlovich Etholine was the Chief Manager of the Russian American Fur Company, May 25, 1840, to July 9, 1845. He had been many years in the company's service, arriving on the scene as early as 1817. He eventually rose to the rank of assistant manager under Baron Ferdinand P. von Wrangell, who was in charge from June 1, 1830, until October 29, 1835. Douglas, it is to be noted, was in communication with the officials of the Russian company just at the time of the replacement of Kupreanoff by Etholine.

(32) No copy of this document is to be found.

(33) Lindenberg was an experienced pilot in the service of the Russian company. In 1838 he undertook a survey of the Stikine River, and the following year surveyed the Chilcat River. In 1840 he was at Sitka at the time of Douglas's arrival there, and evidently was in charge of the Russian steamer *Nicolai I.* The following extract from his instructions, issued by Etholine, July 23, 1840, is pertinent: "Upon having finished trading in the Icy Strait the steamer must sail along around the northern point of Admiralty Island (or Khuznoo Island) to the English settlement near the mouth of the river Taku (this settlement according to Mr. Duncan, Captain of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessel Vancouver, is situated in latitude 58° 6'); but as this route between the above mentioned Admiralty Island and the continent is very narrow and but little known, I recommend you to find a convenient anchoring place in Barlowe Cove, which is at the extreme northern point of Hoolznoo Island and there sound the narrows of the channel as far as Stephen Strait, and then only shall you sail with your steamer to that strait. At Taku you will deliver to Mr. Douglas, Chief of the English settlement the herewith enclosed letter from me to him, the map of our survey of the Stikine River mouth, and order to have delivered to him 59 pairs of boots sent him from here on the steamer (which according to accounts we are to pay them for blankets brought on the Brig Chichagoff) as well as the 54 boards left here from Vancouver for delivery and which are loaded on board the steamer. Deliver also to Mr. Douglas the furs sent on with you from the Novo Archangelsk office, bought by us from the Chilcat Kolosh who were recently here, in exchange of which take from the English as many skins of river beavers or otters and in general all the furs they have had time to trade from the Kolosh inhabiting the islands situated within our possessions during their stay at Stikine and Taku. For greater convenience and clearness in the accounts, I found it necessary to propose to Mr. Douglas to proceed with the trade between the English and us by the piece, i.e. fur for fur of equal quality, the remaining quantity to be put down on the accounts between us, which I communicate to you for your guidance as well as that, according to an agreement made by Mr. Douglas and myself, all skins of sea otters without exception, bought by the English from the

The consignment of Boots, correct as per Invoice, and the plank you had the goodness to forward, were landed at this place; but Captain Lindenberg did not deliver the furs or the Chart of Stikine River; he may however have left them in passing at Stikine.

Mr McLoughlin's letter recently transmitted, by your Steam Vessel, together with the enclosed extract of a letter from Baron Wrangell,³⁴ will inform you of arrangements, for which you are possibly not prepared. In such circumstances, you must be aware that I cannot, at this moment, reply definitely to your requests in reference to the contract butter, and fur remittances, as Mr McLoughlin may have been induced by the tenor of the Barons [*sic*] communication, entirely to remodel his plans; I am however confident that he will submit to the most serious inconvenience, rather than cause you any disappointment.

I feel obliged by your attention in offering to procure for us, a further supply of Finland Boots; we will however require no more of them, so you need not order any for us.

On the subject of our respective boundaries of trade,³⁵ I have instructed the gentlemen in charge of our establishments at Stekine and Tako to act strictly in conformity with the letter and spirit of the agreement; that is to hold for your sole benefit, all the land furs brought from Sitka, Hootesynoo, Kake, Hanega, Kuyou, Chatsinnay & Kygarney which will be restored to you, at their original cost in goods; while all the Sea Otter or Castor de Mer including all we may purchase from the Continental Tribes which we also promised to restore, will be paid for by a full equivalent in Beaver; or as it is more clearly expressed in the 1st Article of our recent agreement, you will give us "the number of Beaver skins which the goods given in exchange for the said Sea Otters would purchase at Indian prices." On the other hand I have informed these gentlemen that our rights of trade extend to all other places not here referred to, around Stekine, and also to Samdan, Aaque, Tako, Chilcat, Kucknaoo, together with the other continental villages between the last mentioned place and Cape Spencer.

The trade of this place is most unproductive; it so far falls short of 350 land skins. Two days ago we traded 3 Sea Otters, the first seen here, from the Natives of Chilcat, which will be sent to you, together with a few land furs, bought from your Indians. In my visit to Cross

Kolosh of these regions, will be delivered to us for the price they were purchased." Governor of the Colonies A. E. Etholine to Commander of Steamer *Nicolai I.*, Volunteer Pilot Lindenberg, July 23, 1840, *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal* (U.S. Cong. Cong. 58, Sess. 2, S.E. 162.), Washington, 1903-04, Vol. IV., part ii., *Appendix to the Counter Case of the United States*, pp. 84-85.

(34) Neither of these two documents is available for publication. Wrangell, after his retirement from the Governorship of the Russian American colonies, in 1835, eventually returned to Russia, where he became a Rear Admiral in the service of the Emperor of Russia. In February, 1839, he met Simpson at Hamburg to sign the agreement.

(35) Roughly speaking the continental possessions were left to the Hudson's Bay Company, while the islands remained in the Russian's sphere.

Sound I did not purchase a single skin of any discription [*sic*], the Indians said they had sold all their Sea Otter and land fur to your Steam Vessel, a fact which if substantiated in a single instance would justify the stoppage of the rent, as you have no claim whatever to any discription of fur, whether land or sea peltries held by the continental Tribes, the whole being unreservedly secured by treaty to us. In relation to this circumstance, permit me to observe, that it does not in the least diminish the confidence I repose in the integrity of your purposes: I know too well that the fatal zeal of subordinate Agents often induces false views of those interests they seek to promote, and obscures their perceptions of the infinitely more lofty principles which direct the conduct of honourable men.

I approve of the plan you propose for settling the fur account and have directed our gentlemen to transmit regular statements of all furs brought from your territory, while you will remit accounts of our furs, in your hands, and the Balance only will be transferred.

I have further only to assure you of the high consideration with which I remain

Your Excellency's
most obedient &c
very Humble Servt

(sig^d)

James Douglas

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE ANNEXATION PETITION OF 1869.*

Several additional points of interest in connection with the annexation petition of 1869 suggest the desirability of adding a further note about a document which, in reality, represented the crystallization of a long-existent feeling on the part of at least a portion of the inhabitants of British Columbia, in general, and of Victoria, in particular.

The detailed analysis of the status of the signatories of the petition led to the distinct impression that annexationist sentiment drew its main support from the non-British elements in the population. This impression is substantiated by the opinion of Dr. J. S. Helmcken—a figure of considerable importance in the early political history of the Province. In his *Reminiscences*, written in 1892, several references are made to the annexation question. It is not always clear whether the reference is to this particular petition or its predecessor of 1867, but the information given is none the less valuable. Moreover, the personal attitude of the writer is made perfectly apparent, and the extracts reproduced herewith are an adequate refutation of the groundless charge of his having been annexationist in sympathy. Somewhere about this time—I do not remember the year—some Americans privately got up an agitation and tried to persuade the British settlers to petition the President of the United States to use his assistance to have the island annexed to the United States. Of course the same arguments and persuasions were used then as since, that it would be for the immediate and permanent benefit of the island, and that all would become rich. They pointed out too the fact that H M Govt cared but little about the colonies and was willing to let them go, they being at this time of free trade agitation [?] and success [?], an incumbrance, an expense of defence, and liable to lead the mother country to war or in case of war the cost of defending them. These doctrines were at this time in the ascendant among the free traders—who considered that the colonies would stick to England, until they became independent like the United States.

* For the original article, see *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 267-287.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. V., No. 1.

There is no doubt that some, who would not like their names mentioned now, signed this petition and that it was duly forwarded to the President, but I never heard that it was in any way acted on. I never even saw this petition, much less signed it and indeed I only know from hearsay some who are said to have signed it, and altho I have often striven to get a sight of the copy said to exist in Victoria, I have never succeeded. I think some petition of the same kind was got up in Canada, so it seems to have been a semi-organized thing. Anyhow I have no doubt I was asked to sign it and listened to what they had to say, but as usual laughed and was non committal. Many talked more or less about annexation—and in process of time when the question of Union with B. Columbia and subsequently confederation came up, doubtless many debated whether it would not be better to be at once annexed instead of waiting until the whole of Canada had been gobbled up—for I think too before this the Americans bought Alaska—. . . After the Americans bought it they boasted of Canada being sandwiched—ready to be gobbled up—. . .¹

The alternatives of annexation or confederation and the significance of the Alaska purchase are further discussed by Helmcken in reference to the resolution sponsored by Amor de Cosmos in the Legislative Council of British Columbia in 1867 favouring confederation.

At the same time there sprang up afresh an agitation in which many joined, that annexation to the U States would be much more beneficial than Confederation with Canada—this sentiment existed among the Americans of course and they played their part—many Britishers agreed with them. The poverty of Canada—distance from British Columbia, the intermediate portion uninhabited—the difficulty of communication &c were freely made use of; the riches of the United States and if united the population and business would flow in, all would be rich and progressive instead of stagnant and poor. Victoria and B. Columbia became a political boiling cauldron. The discussions and agitation led me to form an, or if it please better, to change my opinion. I came to look on Confederation as premature—it seemed like another leap in the dark—we were to be united to what we did not know, but the absence of communication governed me much—there could be no immigration from Canada, there being no means of travel. What B. Columbia wanted was population—. . .

In addition to all this the Americans had by purchase acquired Alaska, and so boasted they had sandwiched B. Columbia and could eat her up at any time. . . . Possible H M Govt regrets now not having bought Alaska, but at this time H M. Govt cared but little about the Colonies—they might go and do as the[y] pleased; they were only children which when grown up would go their own way and be independent. . . .²

(1) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, MS, Archives of B.C., Vol. IV., pp. 53–55.

(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. V., pp. 67–69.

That the opposition to confederation was due more to an ignorance of the aims and capabilities of the recently organized Dominion of Canada, rather than to the desire to see annexation to the United States accomplished, becomes apparent.

Canada was looked down on as a poor mean slow people, who had been very commonly designated North American Chinamen. This character they had achieved from their necessarily thrifty condition for long years, and indeed they compared very unfavorably with the Americans and with our American element, for at this time and previously very many liberal handed and better class of Americans resided here, many in business—some on acct of the civil war necessitating their remaining even after the frightful internecine killing had ceased. Our trade was either with the U. S or England—with Canada we had nothing to do. Of course my being an Anticonfederation[i]st, led to my being dubbed an Annexationist, but really I had no idea of annexation, but merely wished the colony to be let alone under H M Govt and to fight her way unhampered. I had nothing whatever to do with annexation petitions, and do not know who signed them—tho I have heard that some who now hold or have held official positions had done so. This petition doubtless went to the President of the U. S. but no one has ever been able to see a copy of it since, altho it is said to exist in Victoria some where. There is no doubt the Americans had a contempt for Canada and this feeling extended to the Colonists.

I suppose the election was one of the fiercest ever fought in Victoria, every one seemed crazy I among the number—these were the days of great excitements. I had the British and American element and Jewish element on my side and after a time the election came on. . . . The Anticonfederation had won handsomely.³

It would thus appear that confederation, in this instance, was defeated by a curious combination of loyal British colonials with foreigners, many of whom were actively interested in furthering the cause of annexation.

As has already been pointed out, the emergence of an annexationist movement in British Columbia might almost have been expected, in view of the large influx of American settlers at the time of the Fraser River gold-rush. The annexation petitions might be taken as the political manifestations of the movement. On the other hand, one of the most interesting indications of the extent of the infiltration of American sentiment into the normal life of the colony is to be found in the movement within the

(3) *Ibid.*, Vol. V., pp. 76-78.

Masonic order for the establishment of an independent Grand Lodge for British Columbia.⁴

Masonry in British Columbia dates from the organization in Victoria of Victoria Lodge, No. 1085, under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England, dated March 19, 1859. The first lodge to be organized on the Mainland was at New Westminster—Union Lodge, No. 1201, by a warrant from the same authority, dated December 16, 1861. Even at this early date American influence can be found at work. Amongst the new arrivals in the colonies were many Masons who were unacquainted with the work practised by the English lodges and who were, consequently, desirous of organizing a lodge which would use American work. A proposal to apply to the Grand Lodge of Washington for a dispensation came to the notice of the Victoria Lodge early in 1861, and was dealt with by the following resolution, passed January 24, 1861:—

Whereas we have been informed that a party in this community have applied to the Grand Lodge of Washington Territory for a Dispensation or Warrant to organize a Lodge of F. & A. M. in this town, it is, therefore, Resolved, That while we hail the Grand Lodge of Washington Territory and all other Grand Lodges as Brethren and Masons, we do not recognize their power to grant Dispensations or Warrants out of the district of their own country, and all Dispensations and Warrants emanating from any other source than the Grand Lodges of the mother country in this place, we shall hold as clandestine, and all Masons visiting such Lodges cannot be recognized by us as Masons.⁵

The outcome was that the original scheme was dropped, but application was made for a warrant under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, whose work was more similar to that practised by the American lodges, and, in consequence, Vancouver Lodge, No. 421, came into being.⁶ By 1871 there were no less than nine Masonic lodges; four operating under the English constitution

(4) General references on this topic are: Thomas Shotbolt, *An Account of the Establishment and Subsequent Progress of Freemasonry in the Colony of British Columbia from its origin in 1859 to 1871*, Victoria, 1871; *Proceedings of the Convention to Organize the M.W. Grand Lodge of A.F. & A.M. of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1872 (reprinted, 1907); and "Report of the Grand Historian [R. L. Reid]" in *Proceedings of the . . . Grand Lodge . . . of British Columbia*, 1938, pp. 165-185.

(5) Shotbolt, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

(6) Shotbolt, *op. cit.*, p. 4, *vide* also, *Address delivered by R.W. Bro. DeWolf Smith, December 14, 1909*, n.p., n.d., p. 5.

with a District Grand Lodge, and five under the Scottish constitution governed by a Provincial Grand Lodge.

Vancouver Lodge, No. 421, was, from its inception, the most pro-American of all the lodges. In this connection it is interesting to note that in all ten of its members signed the Annexation Petition.⁷ Moreover, it was this lodge which launched the agitation for the Independent Grand Lodge of British Columbia early in January, 1869,⁸ and the prime movers in that connection, R. H. Adams and M. W. Waitt, were also interested annexationists. The Scottish lodges were, on the whole, favourable to the proposition, but it was opposed by the English lodges. An extract from the letter of Robert Burnaby, District Grand Master, reporting the affair to the Grand Lodge of England is significant.

In opening this case, it is necessary in the first place to premise that this colony is a small and isolated British community in close proximity to American Territories and States, each of which, as a matter of course, has its own Independent Grand Lodge. Our population contains, besides many Americans, a large proportion of Canadians, who have also an Independent Grand Lodge—hence among the more restless spirits of the Craft has arisen this desire to achieve also an independent position and to take rank as a distinct Grand Lodge.⁹

The Grand Lodge of England reported itself as unfavourable to the movement. It should, in all fairness, be noted that the Provincial Grand Master, I. W. Powell, was unwilling to act without the consent of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, whose opinion, though requested, never was transmitted to the colony.

The question thus remained in abeyance until January, 1871, when Vancouver Lodge, No. 421, reopened the issue by urging again the calling of a convention of all lodges to organize the independent body.¹⁰ The prime movers in this instance were H. F. Heisterman and G. C. Keays, both of whom had signed the Annexation Petition; indeed, the former might almost be

(7) They were as follows, P. Ousterhout, J.G., M. W. Waitt, P.M., G. C. Keays, P.M., H. F. Heisterman, Lewis Lewis, J. F. Becker, H. M. Cohen, W. Hoffman, D. F. Fee, and C. B. Sweeney.

(8) Shotbolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6. DeWolf Smith states that an earlier meeting had been held on December 16, 1868, at which the subject had been discussed. *Vide, Address . . . DeWolf Smith*, p. 9.

(9) Robert Burnaby, D.G.M., to the V.W. Bro. John Hervey, Grand Secretary, etc., February 8, 1869, Shotbolt, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

(10) *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

regarded as its originator. Despite the opposition of the English lodges, plans went forward for a convention to be held in March, and the Hon. Elwood Evans, Past Grand Master of Washington,¹¹ was invited to attend to install the new Grand Lodge. The plans thus laid were forestalled by the prompt action of the District Grand Master. During the summer of 1871 the differences between the two branches of the Craft were smoothed away and on October 21, 1871, a convention was held in Victoria, which resulted in the organization of the present Grand Lodge of British Columbia.

Geographical isolation from the mother country and Canada had fostered in British Columbia a feeling of independence. From the foregoing account it would appear that at times persons with ulterior motives in mind attempted to take advantage of that feeling of independence and to turn it to their own purposes. But at heart the colony was loyal. Annexation from the day of its origin was a hopeless cause.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

(11) It is perhaps significant to note that the Hon. Elwood Evans had, in January, 1870, made an address to the Tacoma Library Association on "The Re-annexation of British Columbia to the U.S., right, proper and desirable," which was later published in pamphlet form. (Olympia, 1870.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SOME ARCHIVES ACCESSIONS, 1938-40.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Many interesting and valuable additions have been made to the rich store of documents preserved in the Provincial Archives since the last list of accessions was printed in the *Quarterly*. A number of these relate to the fur trade, the most important being the original journal of Fort Simpson, covering the years 1859 to 1862. The book is in perfect condition, and gives an intimate account of happenings at the post during a very interesting period—the transitional years from the old regime of the fur trade to colonial days. Inquiry has revealed that earlier and later volumes of the series are on file in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company.

A large collection of papers of the late Dr. J. S. Helmcken was presented to the Archives by the heirs of Dr. Helmcken's daughter, the late Mrs. Edith L. Higgins, when the historic Helmcken residence was purchased by the Government in 1939. The papers include Dr. Helmcken's reminiscences, which fill five large exercise books. The first volume commences with the amusing entry: "Well here goes—March 27th 1892." The narrative appears to have been completed within a year, and although it is without any formal plan, and is in parts fragmentary, it contains an immense wealth of fact and anecdote relating to early colonial days. Two important documents from the collection have already been printed in this *Quarterly*—Dr. Helmcken's diary of the confederation negotiations at Ottawa, in 1870, and the census of Vancouver Island compiled by Governor Douglas, in 1855. The many letters amongst the papers include a long series addressed to A. G. Dallas, and other items of equal interest.

The Archives has also acquired a collection of letters and papers from the estate of the late Sir Henry P. P. Crease, some of which date back to 1858. Amongst them are a number of early colonial imprints, several of which are new to the Archives, and at least one of which is probably unique. The letters include several long and informative communications from Colonel Moody, who corresponded with Sir Henry for a number of years after his departure from British Columbia.

The Archives has had few more staunch friends than the late Charles H. French, a former Fur Trade Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose interest and help will long be remembered. The last of his many gifts to the department, made some months before his death, consisted of a most valuable group of documents relating to early colonial days, and included several original letters from Archibald Barclay, one time Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, to James Douglas and A. G. Dallas.

From England there recently arrived the abstract log of the steamship *Empress of India*, covering the period from January, 1900, to March, 1903. The log was the property of the late Captain O. P. Marshall, who commanded the pioneer *Empress* from the time she entered service, in 1891,

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. V., No. 1.

until his retirement from the service of the Canadian Pacific in 1905. Original records relating to the original *Empress* liners are now rare and this is the only log known to be in existence, except those kept by the late Captain Pybus and presented by him to the Canadian Pacific some years ago.

Other manuscripts received have included historical and autobiographical notes compiled by the late Horatio Webb, of Chilliwack, which were presented by members of Mr. Webb's family; several account-books from the old Spuzzum toll-bridge, on the road to Cariboo, presented by Alfred Dryden, of Victoria; transcripts of a number of most interesting letters by William Fernie and R. T. Galbraith, relating to early days in the Kootenay, presented by the late S. S. Fowler; a transcript of a narrative by the famous "Colonel" Robert Stevenson, presented by Rev. J. C. Goodfellow; and the early minute-books of the Victoria School Board, which have been received from the Board on loan.

An extensive and valuable collection of early legal records was transferred from the vaults of the Law Courts, and the Attorney General's Department, to the Archives in 1939-40. From the popular point of view, the most interesting items were probably the note-books kept by the various Judges during trials. Several of these are in the handwriting of David Cameron, first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island, and the earliest of them records the first session of the Court, held in 1853. Equally interesting is the much longer series of note-books in the handwriting of Judge Begbie, first Chief Justice of British Columbia. Though not quite complete, these include the original book in which he recorded his first trials, in the spring of 1859. Though most of the Begbie records are in longhand, some of them are in a type of shorthand now obsolete, which no one has contrived as yet to decipher.

By an interesting coincidence these legal records were received in great part just before the retirement of the Hon. Archer Martin, former Chief Justice of British Columbia, in the spring of 1940. Mr. Justice Martin very kindly arranged to transfer his own note-books to the Archives, and these form a most interesting supplement and complement to the earlier records. There are some 60 volumes in all, and these cover the entire period from 1898, when Mr. Justice Martin was appointed to the Supreme Court, to his last cases in the Court of Appeal in 1940, and also include the innumerable cases which he tried as Judge of the Admiralty Court.

MUSEUM EXHIBITS.

Along with his note-books, Mr. Justice Martin presented his wigs, which include his barrister's wig, his Judge's wig, and his full-bottomed wig, complete with carrying cases. It is probable that they constitute the only set of the kind on this continent, and their interest and attractiveness as an exhibit will be readily appreciated. To complete the gift, the retiring Chief Justice included a number of books and miscellaneous reports and papers, as well as his old circuit-box, with its special fittings and law texts.

Readers will recall that the purchase of the old Helmcken home included most of the contents of the building. Various items of interest will be

described later, when it is possible to open the house to the public. The work of restoration has been much delayed by circumstances arising from the war, but it is progressing slowly. The building was made thoroughly weather-proof before the winter of 1939-40; the cleaning and painting of the interior was finished recently; work on the floors is proceeding, and it is hoped that all will be ready for furnishing by the spring.

The contents of "Cloverdale," the old Tolmie estate, which was built by Dr. William Fraser Tolmie in 1859, and was in recent years the residence of his son, the late Dr. Simon Fraser Tolmie, former Premier of British Columbia, were sold at auction in 1938, but, fortunately, the Archives was able to acquire a few items before the sale. Chief of these were the dining-room table and chairs, which were used originally in old Fort Victoria. They are now in the Northwest Library of the Archives Department, where they are used by the Council of the British Columbia Historical Association, when it meets in Victoria, and regularly by the Council of the Victoria Section. Other Tolmie family treasures purchased included a Hudson's Bay Company half-bushel measure, the branding-iron used to mark cattle with the Tolmie brand; and an iron griddle, used by the family ever since "Cloverdale" was completed, which was made from a part of the original boiler of the steamer *Beaver*. This boiler was removed in 1846 at Nisqually, while Dr. Tolmie, Sr., was in charge of that post, and the griddle is the only fragment known to be in existence.

Other *Beaver* relics acquired recently by the Archives Museum include a small box, carved from a solid block of oak; a cane, presented by Mr. C. C. Pemberton; and the utensils used for cleaning the vessel's muzzle-loading guns, which were transferred from the Provincial Museum.

Two other transfers from the Museum were made at the same time. One of these was the first mace of the Province of British Columbia, which was designed on the most modest scale, and relegated to storage in the Museum many years ago. The second item was a paddle carried by the old Arctic whaler *Karluk*, which was used by the Canadian Arctic Expedition, led by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. She left Esquimalt in June, 1913, and was crushed in the ice and sank a year later near Wrangel Island. Her end was given an incongruous touch of melodrama, for when she sank a gramophone in her galley was playing Chopin's Funeral March, thanks to the whim of Captain Bartlett, who tells the whole story in his book, *The Last Voyage of the Karluk*.

Another marine relic is a landing pike from H.M.S. *Egeria*, the famous old vessel which was used on the British Columbian coast for many years as a hydrographic survey ship. She was sold out of the service in 1911, and dismantled in Vancouver.

Mr. I. E. Barr, of the staff of the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway, has presented to the Archives a fragment of the last rail laid in the Canadian Pacific Railway, at Craigellachie, in November, 1885. Many bits of steel can be found which purport to be genuine fragments of the historic rail, but the authenticity of this one can be established with some certainty.

An exhibit which has attracted much attention is the dagger which, according to tradition, was used to kill Captain James Cook. The weapon has been loaned to the Archives Museum by Mr. M. A. Grainger, of Vancouver. Mr. Grainger states that originally it was accompanied by a series of letters, the earliest of which was almost contemporary with the murder; but, most unfortunately, the older letters are now lacking.

Some time ago, through the efforts of Mr. T. L. Thacker, of Hope, the Fraser Canyon Historical Society came into possession of the interesting old sun-dial presented to the village in colonial days by the Royal Engineers. The inscription reads: "Constructed by the Royal Engineers, New Westminster, December 1860. Engraved by Chas. Sinnett, Sapper, R.E." The dial was rescued when its stand became ruinous, and the Society has now deposited it in the Archives for safe-keeping. A replica of the dial has been made, and this is to be erected at Hope in place of the original.

Mrs. Mabel Borland, a former resident of Keithley Creek, has presented to the Department an elaborate set of gold-scales, formerly the property of her uncle, the late Robert Borland. These scales were carried into Cariboo over the trail, before the completion of the road, and were used originally in the Barkerville office of the Bank of British Columbia.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

In recent years an effort has been made to enlarge the Archives collection of early photographs of cities and towns in the Interior of the Province, and gratifying progress has been made toward that end. Mrs. George Kane, of Kaslo, presented over one hundred photographic plates, which include views of Kaslo, Ainsworth, Sandon, Nelson, and other communities taken in the 90's, at the height of the Kootenay mining excitement. Another fifty plates, chiefly relating to the City of Nelson and the steamers plying on Kootenay Lake, were presented by Mr. C. C. Payne and the *Nelson Daily News*. A fine collection of early pictures of Merritt and district was gathered and loaned for copying purposes by Miss Edith Bristow, and other early views have been secured with the help of various friends, including Mr. R. R. Burns, M.L.A., of Trail; Mr. William Turnbull, of Glasgow, Scotland; Mr. John Forsyth, of Victoria; Lieut.-Col. G. G. Aitken, Chief Geographer; and the Department of Public Works.

The portrait collection has been enriched by several notable gifts, including an autographed photograph of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, presented by the Misses Galt, and a number of early pictures of Sir James and Lady Douglas and members of the Douglas family, presented by Mrs. J. E. W. Oland, Sir James's granddaughter.

Small but important purchases have been made from the plates of two pioneer photographic firms, both of which are noted for their views of Victoria and pictures of old-timers of the district—the late Edgar Fleming, and Jones Brothers, of Esquimalt.

The collection of photographs of the old lake and river steamers which plied Interior waters is now nearly complete. Although many of the vessels were in existence relatively recently, pictures of them are surprisingly rare, judging from the difficulty experienced in finding many of them. Many

plates and prints have been added within the last year or two, and special mention should be made of the help received from Mr. John Stobo, of Nelson, and Captain J. B. Weeks, of Penticton, both of whom loaned a number of photographs for copying purposes.

The largest item added to the marine collection was an album of 250 shipping views presented by Major Harold Brown. In addition, rare prints or plates have been loaned by many interested friends, including Captain E. Aikman, Mr. J. A. Heritage, Captain Samuel Robinson, Captain A. W. Davison, Mr. J. B. Penty, Mr. J. E. Jeffcott, and Mr. J. E. Macrae.

HISTORICAL MARKERS AND MONUMENTS.

CRAIGFLOWER SCHOOL CAIRN.

At an interesting ceremony held on the afternoon of November 13, 1940, a memorial cairn which had been erected by the Provincial Government Travel Bureau was unveiled by Alexander Watson, grandson of Kenneth McKenzie, original bailiff of the old Craigflower estate. The monument consists of a large stone taken from the foundations of old Christ Church Cathedral, mounted on a base of smaller stones, and bears a bronze plaque with the inscription: "Craigflower School House, established by the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, March, 1855. Oldest school building now standing in Western Canada. This monument was erected by the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau, 1940."

A large crowd had gathered for the occasion, and Mrs. Curtis Sampson, President of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, acted as chairman and introduced the speakers. These included Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, who represented the Provincial Government, and told of his department's plans for marking and preserving historic buildings and landmarks. The work is being done in co-operation with the Historical Association, and Dr. T. A. Rickard, Past President, expressed the Association's appreciation of the Government's efforts, and the hope that the present ceremony would be the first of many. Mr. J. L. Hobbs, Chief Factor of the Native Sons, Post No. 1, spoke of his organization's interest in preserving links with the past. Mrs. H. A. Beckwith, Past Chief Factor of Post No. 3, Native Daughters, recalled how, some years ago, the historic old school was about to be torn down, but was saved and restored thanks to the intervention of Mr. Lorimer and a committee of the Native Sons and Native Daughters. Since that time the school has been opened and maintained as a museum, and Mrs. Beckwith made an appeal for further relics to add to the many items of interest already on display in the building.

Mr. James H. Beatty, who was President of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce in 1921, when a first modest tablet was set up to mark the school, introduced Mr. C. C. Pemberton, chairman of the committee interested in commemorating the site. Mr. W. E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist, outlined the early history of the school, and noted that in those days the teacher and pupils had not only to go through the ordeal of a visit from a Government

Inspector, but had to bear up under the strain of a personal visitation and examination by Governor Douglas as well.

The ceremony concluded with the singing of the National Anthem.

CHARLES MONTGOMERY TATE.

On September 29, 1940, a handsome bronze plaque was unveiled in St. Andrew's-Wesley United Church, Vancouver, to the memory of Rev. C. M. Tate, noted pioneer mission worker amongst the Indians. Rev. S. S. Osterhout, D.D., presided, and the speakers included Major J. S. Matthews, Vancouver City Archivist, Dr. A. M. Sanford, and Dr. G. H. Raley. The unveiling was performed by Mrs. Harry Uslick, who was a member of Mr. Tate's first class, 52 years ago. The inscription reads as follows:—

Reverend

Charles Montgomery Tate

1852-1933

"A Voice in the Wilderness"

To the Indians of the British Columbia Coast

Founder of Coqualeetza Indian School

Indian Missionary to the First Church in Vancouver

Built on the Shore by the Indians

1876

His Canoe was his Chapel

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on October 28, 1940, with the President, Mr. B. A. McKelvie, presiding. Reports covering the year's activities were presented by the Secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; the Treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden; and the following committee conveners: Mrs. George Phillips (Necrology), Mr. C. C. Pemberton (Historic Landmarks), and Major H. T. Nation (Mining). The President made special mention of the invaluable service rendered to the Section by Mrs. Cree, who had served as Secretary for the past six years.

The Section has every reason to be proud of its continued growth, and the Treasurer was able to report that the paid-up membership for 1940 had reached the encouraging total of 198. Judging by the number of fees for the new year already paid, there is every reason to hope that this total will be maintained in 1941.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Martin and Mr. D. B. F. Bullen, scrutineers, reported that the following members had been elected to the Council of the Section for the year 1940-41:—

Mrs. M. R. Cree.	Miss Muriel Galt.	Mr. John Goldie.
Col. H. T. Goodland.	Mr. F. C. Green.	Mr. W. E. Ireland.
Mr. E. W. McMullen.	Major H. T. Nation.	Dr. J. S. Plaskett.
Miss Alma Russell.	Mrs. Curtis Sampson.	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Mr. McKelvie chose as the subject for his presidential address *The Nootka Affair*. By a fitting coincidence, it was 150 years to the day—

October 28, 1790, to October 28, 1940—since the conclusion of the Nootka Convention. Mr. McKelvie traced the gradual growth in the interest shown in the Pacific Coast by successive Spanish and British rulers, and the development of trading rivalry between British, Spanish, and American sea captains, which culminated in the disputes over the Nootka territory, the seizure of British ships by the Spaniards, and the imprisonment of British captains and crews. He described with apt allusion and quotation the disputes and negotiations which nearly flared up to war between Spain and Great Britain, and outlined the final settlement of the quarrel which Vancouver Island had raised in European chancellories. The large attendance at the meeting was evidence of the popularity of the President, and his address was much enjoyed by all present.

The newly-elected Council of the Section met on November 4, and elected the following executive for 1940-41:—

President.....	Mrs. Curtis Sampson.
Vice-President.....	Mr. F. C. Green.
Honorary Secretary.....	Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Honorary Treasurer.....	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

A general meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on December 9, 1940, when the speaker was Mr. J. W. Eastham, plant pathologist for the Provincial Government. His address on *The Spanish Contribution to the Botanical Exploration of the Pacific Northwest* formed a complement to the account of the work of the Russian botanists and explorers which Mr. Eastham gave to the Section a year ago. The contribution of the Spanish explorers to the names of British Columbia's flora is limited to a dozen or so species, the speaker explained, and the only genuine botanist from Spain to explore the Northwest was Joseph Mariano Monico, who accompanied Quadra to Nootka in 1792 and collected some 200 specimens of plants. Monico wrote an interesting book entitled *Information About Nootka* which was first printed as recently as 1913, although it was compiled more than a century earlier. Malaspina's voyages of exploration ranked next in interest, but the botanist who accompanied him was a Bohemian, Thadeo Haenke. The first English-speaking naturalist to visit the Pacific Coast was William Anderson, surgeon's mate in Captain Cook's *Resolution*. A very sick man, Anderson botanized at Nootka in 1778, but died soon afterwards aboard the *Resolution*, in Bering Sea.

Following the address, several reels of coloured motion pictures, illustrating animal and plant life, and small-boat cruising in British Columbian waters, were shown by Mr. F. J. Barrow.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the York Room of the Hotel Georgia, on October 28, 1940. The speaker of the evening was Dr. Robie L. Reid, K.C., a Past President of the Section, whose most interesting address on *The Inside Story of the "Komagata Maru"* is printed in this number of the *Quarterly*. In 1914, when the famous affair occurred, Dr. Reid was agent in Vancouver for the Minister of Justice, and, as a conse-

quence, has an intimate knowledge of the whole story, and in particular of the all-important legal points which were involved.

The report of the nominating committee was accepted unanimously by the meeting, and the following slate of officers for the year 1940-41 was declared elected:—

Past President.....	Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop.
President.....	Mr. E. S. Robinson.
Vice-President.....	Dr. M. Y. Williams.
Secretary.....	Miss J. Coots.
Treasurer.....	Miss Thelma Nevard.
Members of the Council—	
Mr. E. G. Baynes.	Miss Helen Boutilier.
Mr. J. M. Coady.	Judge J. A. Forin.
Mr. A. G. Harvey.	Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.
Miss E. B. Mercer.	Mr. D. A. McGregor.
Dr. R. L. Reid.	Dr. W. N. Sage.
Mr. K. A. Waites.	Mr. G. B. White.

THE GRADUATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Graduate Historical Society of the University of British Columbia has arranged its programme for 1940-41 around the international situation. The diplomatic background of recent events, and the varying ambitions, jealousies, and intrigues of the world powers are being analyzed and evaluated for their part in bringing about the second World War.

The topics chosen, which are provocative and have given rise to much discussion, appear in the current programme as follows. Names and addresses of hosts and hostesses are given in brackets:—

October 17, 1940.

Mr. Arthur Wirick: *Are the defects of the Versailles settlement responsible for the outbreak of the present war?*

(Dr. Sylvia Thrupp, 2547 Wallace Crescent.)

November 21.

Miss Helen Boutilier: *Was war made inevitable by the rise of dictatorships in Germany and Italy?*

(Mr. and Mrs. K. A. Waites, 1931 Linden Road.)

January 23, 1941.

Mr. John Gibbard: *Was Russia a factor in the drift towards war?*

(Miss Eleanor Mercer, 5729 Hudson Street.)

February 27.

Annual banquet. Details to be announced.

March 27.

Miss P. Johnson: *What real economic rivalries were there between the powers at war?*

(Miss Rose Whelan, 3085 Tolmie Street.)

May 15.

Mr. Robert McKenzie: *What hope is there of rational reconstruction in the post-war period?*

(Dr. and Mrs. Robie L. Reid, 1736 Wesbrook Crescent.)

The executive for the present year comprises: Honorary President, Dr. Sylvia Thrupp; Staff Adviser, Dr. W. N. Sage; President, Mr. R. J. Boroughs; Vice-President, Mrs. P. Frith; Treasurer, Miss Patricia Johnson; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Margot McDermott; Recording Secretary, Miss Audrey Reid; Past President, Mr. John Gibbard.

A cordial invitation is extended to members of the British Columbia Historical Association to attend the meetings of the Graduate Historical Society.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Robie L. Reid, K.C., LL.D., F.R.S.C., author of *The Assay Office and Proposed Mint at New Westminster*, and of many articles and papers, is one of the best-known authorities on the history of British Columbia. In 1914 he was agent for the Minister of Justice in Vancouver, and was therefore in the thick of the negotiations and complications which resulted from the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*. It is too seldom realized that the fundamental question involved was one in law, and Dr. Reid is able to tell the whole story from personal knowledge.

Ven. Archdeacon Henry Alexander Collison was born at Metlakatla. He is a son of Archdeacon W. H. Collison, famous pioneer missionary amongst the Indians, and author of the well-known volume, *In the Wake of the War Canoe*. Though he was educated at Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin, Archdeacon Collison knew Indian life and ways intimately in his youth, and writes of them from personal observation. He returned to Canada in 1904, and lived for many years on Vancouver Island, first at Cedar Hill, and later at Comox and Duncan.

Donald C. Davidson, Ph.D., a former graduate of the University of British Columbia, is Educational Adviser to the Henry E. Huntingdon Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. His doctoral dissertation "The Alaska Boundary: an historical survey," written at the University of California, makes him eminently capable for the discussion of present topic.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Tales of the Kootenays. By Fred J. Smyth. Cranbrook, B.C.: Printed in the office of *The Courier*, 1938. Pp. iv. + 205. Ill. \$2.

This volume is more serious in character than its title suggests, and might better be termed a historical miscellany relating to the Southern Kootenay. It is concerned primarily with two areas—Rossland, Trail, Nelson, and the Slocan country on the one hand, and the Cranbrook-Kimberley-Fort Steele region on the other. There are a few references to the early explorers, notably David Thompson, and an account of the rush to Wild Horse Creek in 1865 and later years, but the bulk of the book is devoted to the Kootenay mining boom of the eighties and nineties, and to railway and other developments of later days. Much of the narrative has been written from personal knowledge, for the author has resided in the Kootenay since 1896, when he moved from Spokane to Slocan City, and went to work in the office of the *Slocan City News*. Two years later he moved to Moyie, and in 1911 arrived in Cranbrook, where he is now on the staff of the *Cranbrook Courier*.

The book was written in spare moments, and the narrative has suffered in some ways as a consequence. Thus, while it contains much of interest, it is often fragmentary and conforms to no general plan. Even the chapter headings do not always give an accurate indication of the contents. As there is no index, it is extremely difficult to use the book for reference purposes. To these deficiencies must be added the fact that authorities are cited much too seldom, at least for the taste of this reviewer. It is true that numerous and elaborate foot-notes would be entirely out of place in a work of the kind, but a foreword or appendix in which the chief sources used were indicated, and the more important newspaper narratives which have been used were listed, would be of the greatest value to the serious student.

The narrative is marred by a good many errors of fact, most of which could have been eliminated if they had been checked against the second volume of Howay and Scholefield's standard and readily available *British Columbia*. Frank Lamerster should read Frank Laumeister on page 11; the Great Northern Railway constructed a line from Kaslo to Sandon in 1894, and not from Kaslo to Nakusp, as stated on page 16; Gilbert Malcolm Sproat died in 1913, and not in 1903, as stated on page 29; on the same page, *Blanbet* is a misprint for *Blanchet*. And so it goes. There is no need to labour the point, but it is a pity that a little more attention could not have been devoted to accuracy of detail, for, in spite of its faults, the book is of considerable interest and value. Much of the material it contains has not appeared previously in book form, and the author has caught something of the colour, romance, and humour of the history of the region.

It is only just to add that no book was ever presented more modestly, and any one who has worked in the field of local history will agree with the

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. V., No. 1.

words of wisdom about the stories of pioneers which appear in the foreword, on page 2. And there is a most disarming paragraph on the last page, in which Mr. Smyth asks his critics not to be too severe. "Just remember," he remarks, "that the field is open, and that you, too, are at liberty to write a book on the Kootenays according to your own notion at any time you choose."

The volume is illustrated with a portrait and nine other illustrations. It is a pity that no map is included, as it would have clarified many points for readers not familiar with the geography of the district. *Tales of the Kootenays* has enjoyed a good sale and is now out of print, but a second edition is reported to be in preparation.

Incidentally this must surely be the first volume dealing with the history of British Columbia to contain references to Mae West and B.O.!

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Tale of the Nativity, as told by the children of Inkameep, British Columbia, with eight original illustrations by *Sis-hu-lk*. Pp. 19. 25 cents.

This booklet has a triple claim to recognition. It is the original product of a group of Indian children belonging to the Okanagan Tribe of this Province, who poured it spontaneously into the ears of their sympathetic teacher, Anthony Walsh, on the Inkameep Reserve, near Oliver, B.C. It reverses the ordinary procedure of story-telling, for it is the "grown-up" who listens and the children who tell the tale. And it is the children who transfer the old, old story from its original setting in Palestine to their own familiar surroundings amongst the creatures they love in the little Inkameep Valley.

Here each detail finds its ordered sequence as seen through these children's eyes. Mary sets out on her visit to Elizabeth carrying deer meat and dried roots as a present, with her pet chipmunk set up behind her on her horse. Later on, when she and Joseph arrive, spent and weary from their long journey, at the Head Meeting Place where the Great Chief has ordered them to record their "marks on sheets of birch bark," the mother deer and her fawn come to warm them, the rabbits gambol to amuse them, the chickadees sing sweetly to soothe them as they fly around their heads. In due course come the shepherds, with a pathetic little touch as the lame boy gives his all, his treasured pet brown mouse, to the tiny Babe. Then follow the travellers from afar, with characteristic offerings of a little canoe from the distant ocean, a jar of fragrant gum from sweet-scented pine-trees, and a child's palm-leaf cloak brought by a "Darkie" from the remote south country. There is a pretty description of the presentation of the Child to the old priest and then the hurried flight through the deep snow of an Okanagan winter to a safe retreat from the Great Chief's threats; finally a happy picture of the sheltered early days of the child Jesus, amid the flowers, birds, and butterflies he loved.

These and other incidents are the subjects of eight black-and-white illustrations contributed by the brilliant young artist, *Sis-hu-lk*, a former

schoolmate of the children, whose gifts are already known across Canada, and in Great Britain, where a well known art critic has written of these illustrations that they are "masterly." With freshness and skill Sis-hu-lk shows the quail preening themselves with pride in their approaching presentation by Mary, as the doves she had desired have flown away to the warm south; the animals in the cave; the visits of the shepherds and Wise Men; the charming episode at the entrance to the old priest's ceremonial tepee; a portrayal of the "men with wings," as the story-tellers call angels, spreading them over the snow-drifts to protect the feet of Mary and Joseph as they hasten to escape with the precious Child; and, finally, a picture of the peaceful scene to which the closing words of *The Tale* are devoted.

The publication of this *Tale*, the firstfruits of their efforts, is due to the formation last January of a small committee in Victoria with the object of promoting the revival of the latent gifts of drama and art inherent in the young people of our Indian Tribes. The results of its successful sale will be devoted to the remuneration of Sis-hu-lk for his illustrations, and to a fund to enable the committee to carry further these objects, and thus contribute to Canadian culture, and, incidentally, to assist to economic independence those specially gifted among the Indians of this Province.

VICTORIA, B.C.

ALICE RAVENHILL.

Guide to the Material in the National Archives. (The National Archives, Publication No. 14, Washington, D.C., 1940. Pp. xviii, 303. Paper, 40 cents; cloth, 70 cents.)

The most appropriate criticism of this aid to historical research is that offered in the introduction: ". . . with all its faults, this guide does provide not only a useful conspectus of a large part of the records of the Federal Government but also reasonably adequate descriptions of many of the more important groups of those records." (P. x.) The faults (if such they are to be called), are those which naturally arise from the compromise implied in an attempt to satisfy temporarily the widespread curiosity regarding the contents of the National Archives of the United States and the prodigious task involved in the classification of so large a collection. To the student of British Columbia history the records of the State Department are probably the most important, including as they do the records of Diplomatic correspondence; Consular correspondence; Boundary commissions, arbitrations, and negotiations; Claims commissions, arbitrations, and awards; Miscellaneous letters; Domestic letters; and Territorial papers. Special mention should also be made of the records of the Russian-American Company for the period 1802-1867.

The *Guide* is fortunately prefaced by an excellent introduction which clearly explains the purpose and function of the publication. Special commendation is merited by the plan of italicizing the "finding mediums"—those invaluable time-savers for the research student. A complete table of contents and twenty-four-page index considerably enhance its value. By the very nature of its contents a detailed review of such a publication is neither necessary nor desirable. Its true worth will be demonstrated as its use as a

research-tool becomes more common. The National Archives are to be commended on the production of so adequate a successor to the preliminary guide published as an appendix to the *Third Annual Report* of the Archivist in 1938.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Ranald MacDonald: Adventurer. By M. Leona Nichols. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1940. Pp. 176. Ill. \$3.

When this book first appeared the news-sheet issued by a prominent bookshop ventured to cast doubts upon the authenticity of the narrative, and to one more familiar with books than with history the story of Ranald MacDonald might well seem incredible. His mother was Princess Sunday, daughter of famous old Chief Comcomly, of the Chinooks. His father was Archibald McDonald, one of the best known officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in the West. He attended the school conducted by Oregon's first schoolmaster, John Ball, at Fort Vancouver. In 1834, at the age of 10, he was sent overland to another school at Red River, and a few years later travelled on to Upper Canada and the home of Edward Ermatinger, who is well known to historians as the recipient of the correspondence known as the Ermatinger Papers. Young Ranald was put to work in a bank, but his native restlessness became too much for him, and about 1841 he ran away to sea. Thereafter adventures came his way thick and fast. He found himself on a specie-laden ship whose crew hid the treasure ashore and then scuttled the vessel off the coast of Lower California. He discovered too late that another of his ships was a slave-runner, and saw her human cargo thrown overboard when a British man-o'-war approached. He took to whaling, but seems to have fared better and more pleasantly than most. And it was from a whaler that he set out upon his most famous adventure of all—his attempt to crash the gates of old Japan, in 1848. Ranald deliberately had himself cast upon the shore, and although he was kept in custody and subjected to a series of searching inquiries, the ten months he passed in Japan were a fascinating experience, which he enjoyed to the full, despite certain discomforts. For seven of the ten months he was even able to conduct classes in English for a group of fourteen young students, several of whom later acted as interpreters during the negotiations between the Japanese authorities and Commodore Perry, in 1854. In the spring of 1849 the United States corvette *Preble* visited Japan, and Ranald was released and placed aboard her; but his adventures were far from over. He went to sea again, and was shipwrecked. He travelled to the Australian gold-fields, made a small fortune there, and spent much of it upon a trip to Europe. Finally he returned home to the West, and was attracted by the gold excitement in our own Cariboo. He built trails, kept stores, ran hotels, farmed, operated a ferry across the Fraser River at Lillooet, and mined between times during the next twenty years. Finally, in 1882, he returned to his first home, which in the interval had become the State of Washington,

and his last years were spent quietly and in near poverty near the site of old Fort Colville. He died in 1894, a few months after he had attained the age of three score years and ten.

Mrs. Nichols tells the story simply and well, and the attractiveness of the book is enhanced by a pleasant format and numerous illustrations. The latter comprise a dozen woodcuts by W. J. C. Klamme, and facsimiles of six old prints and documents. There is an index and bibliography, but the latter contains no reference to the standard work on Ranald MacDonald by Lewis and Murakami, in which Ranald's own narrative is printed complete, and to the introduction and notes of which any person writing about him to-day must turn for much biographical information.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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