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JULY - OCTOBER, 1953

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. XVII VICTORIA, B.C., JULY-OCTOBER, 1953 NOS. 3 and 4

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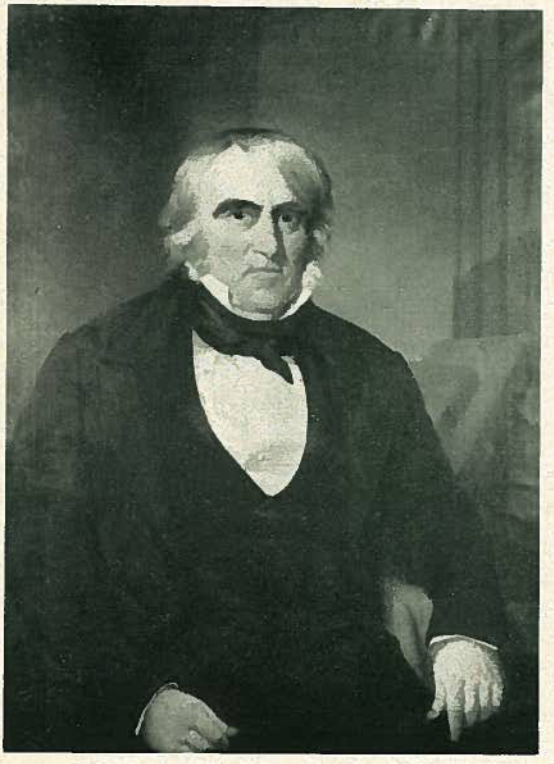

Peter Skene Ogden.

(From a portrait in the Archives of B.C. by John Mix Stanley.)

"OLD WHITEHEAD"—PETER SKENE OGDEN*

When our good friend Kaye Lamb was among us, before he was translated to more important spheres,[1] he had a lecture which he gave several times in Vancouver and Victoria entitled "Peter, James, and John." Peter, James, and John were the three great apostles of the fur trade on this coast—Peter Skene Ogden, James Douglas, and John McLoughlin. To their acts and epistles Dr. Lamb devoted his lecture. Douglas and McLoughlin have long been figures of controversy. Books have been written about Douglas and libraries about McLoughlin, but Ogden is less well known. He has been treated more as an incidental than a central figure, yet he was the most energetic, the most dynamic, the most far-ranging, and, in many ways, the most attractive character of the three. Though a fur-trade apostle, he was no saint; rather, he was a very human sinner, whose career is found to be strangely fascinating. It will be the purpose of this paper to take you over some of his trails, crossing, as we go, the trails of various other men of character who knew New Caledonia and the Columbia when the Great West was young. But before following trails, let us have a flashback to see where we are.

It will be remembered that in 1670 King Charles II granted a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company giving the Adventurers of England, who were the Company's shareholders, the exclusive right of trading with the Indians in the territories which drained into Hudson Bay. The French, who held the valley of the St. Lawrence, paid little attention to the franchise granted by King Charles and penetrated the Great West on their own account, reaching as far as the foot-hills of the Rockies. When the French were ousted in 1759, a number of independent traders, some French, but mostly Scottish or of Scottish descent, picked up the business they dropped. The new traders found independence and free competition dangerous and not very profitable; so, after a few tries, they formed a loose amalgamation or partnership known as the North

* The presidential address delivered before the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Vancouver, B.C., January 16, 1953.

(1) Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, editor of this *Quarterly* from 1937 to 1946, and now Dominion Archivist and National Librarian.

West Company, and this was for many years the great and vigorous competition of the Hudson's Bay Company in the West. As W. Stewart Wallace has put it, the North West Company was "one of the first examples of 'big business' in the New World."[2]

Each of the rival companies enjoyed certain advantages and laboured under certain disabilities. The Hudson's Bay Company could bring its goods by water into the very heart of the fur country and take its cargoes of skins out the same way. The Nor' Westers had to follow the tremendously long and laborious canoe route up the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, along the northern edge of Lakes Huron and Superior, and then through a chain of small lakes and rivers to Lake Winnipeg; thence up the Saskatchewan to its headwaters and via the Athabaska and various portages across to the Columbia and down to the Pacific Coast. The Hudson's Bay Company had the advantage of close organization and long experience, but it was an absentee concern with headquarters in London. It paid its servants poorly, and these had small incentive to exert themselves. The Nor' Westers, on the other hand, were partners—*bourgeois* they called themselves, never dreaming what an evil sound their chosen name would one day have in millions of ears. The partners went into the West themselves, managed posts there, and conducted business on the spot. They were working for themselves and were, naturally, more enterprising and energetic than their competitors.

There was another fur company in the West. John Jacob Astor, of New York, had established himself at the mouth of the Columbia River, had set up various posts in the Columbia Valley, and got as far north as the Thompson River. But the War of 1812 ended his venture, and the Nor' Westers took over his business and many of his men.

By this time rivalry between the two fur companies had sharpened. Lord Selkirk, who had bought control of the Hudson's Bay Company, had plans for establishing a colony of Scottish farmers on the Red River in the buffalo country and proceeded to carry them out. The Nor' Westers could not permit that threat to go unchallenged, for the new colony was right athwart their trade route, and if it succeeded it would frighten the buffalo away. The Nor' Westers depended on the buffalo for pemmican, the staple food of the fur trade. Lacking pemmican they

(2) W. Stewart Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, Publication of the Champlain Society, Vol. XXII, Toronto, 1934, p. 1.

would have to transport their food laboriously by canoe from Montreal, and what that would do to their profits may readily be imagined.[3]

So the war was on.[4] But is was a strange and intermittent war—in many ways a phoney war.[5] It must be remembered these rivals were conducting their campaign in a vast and hostile country. It was easy to starve there and the Indian population was none too friendly to either side, so for mutual protection the fur-trade enemies were obliged to huddle together.[6] Their posts were built quite close to one another, in a few instances even behind the same stockade. It was safer and more practical that way. It is easier to watch your enemy when he is your next-door neighbour. The rival traders were always fraternizing[7] and were in and out of one another's posts. They played cards together; they entertained one another. But that did not prevent their cutting

(3) "If the [Selkirk] colony succeeded, it would gradually cut off the buffalo, from which the pemmican is made, and ultimately oblige the Company to import from Canada, at an enormous expense, a great portion of the provisions necessary for their travelling parties." Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, London, 1831, Vol. II, p. 230.

(4) The story of the fur-trade war is told by W. Stewart Wallace, *op. cit.*, and by G. C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, Berkeley, 1918.

(5) Ross Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 229 states: "The opposition between the Hudson's-Bay and North-West Companies was for many years carried on without any violent breach of the peace on either side."

(6) "Many [of the posts] were built within sight of the opposition post." Douglas Mackay, *The Honourable Company*, Toronto, 1936, p. 129. This is confirmed by Daniel Williams Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels*, Andover, 1820, p. 138: "Riviere a la Souris or Mouse River. . . . Here are three establishments, formed severally by the North West, X.Y. and Hudson Bay Companies." This entry is under date May 27, 1805, and refers to the area at the confluence of the Souris and Assiniboine Rivers.

(7) D.W. Harmon, *op. cit.*, p. 138, recorded: "Last evening, Mr. Chaboillez invited the people of the other two forts to a dance; and we had a real North West country ball. When three fourths of the people had drunk so much, as to be incapable of walking straightly, the other fourth thought it time to put an end to the ball, or rather *bawl*. This morning, we were invited to breakfast at the Hudson Bay House, with a Mr. McKay, and in the evening to a dance. This, however, ended more decently, than the one of the preceding evening." Harmon's entry for September 11, 1806, at Cumberland House reads: "The Hudson Bay people have a fort within a hundred rods of ours, in charge of Mr. Peter Fidler." [*Ibid.*, p. 154.] Still later, on January 30, 1807, he recorded: "Two of the Hudson Bay people arrived from Fort des Prairies, who were so obliging as to bring me letters from several gentlemen in that quarter. The greater part of the North West and Hudson Bay people live on amicable terms; and when one can with propriety render a service to the other it is done with cheerfulness." [*Ibid.*, p. 155.]

one another's throats when the opportunity offered.[8] The throat-cutting was mostly metaphorical, it is true, but there were murders and cruelties and kidnappings, and at Winnipeg, to-day, descendants of the Selkirk settlers will still show visitors the scene of the Seven Oaks massacre.

All this fighting on the western plains and rivers and a series of costly lawsuits at Montreal[9] did not help the business of either company and it became apparent at last that, if both companies were not to go under, the war would have to cease. The terms of peace amounted to an amalgamation of the two concerns. The North West Company disappeared; the Hudson's Bay Company continued but took over the personnel of its rival, making the North West *bourgeois* commissioned officers; that is, Chief Traders or Chief Factors in the amalgamation. Incidentally, it should be pointed out that the fur-trade war never extended to the Pacific Coast, the reason being that the Hudson's Bay Company had never established itself west of the mountains.

When the amalgamation was complete, George Simpson, who had spent a winter in Athabasca and had played a part in the fur-trade war, was made Governor of the Company's enlarged Northern Department, which included both the Columbia and New Caledonia districts. In this territory west of the mountains and stretching from the Russian holdings in the north to the Spanish colonies in the south, the Hudson's Bay Company had no exclusive trading rights, but it soon arranged to get them. There was, however, a difficulty, for the British Government, which in 1821 gave the Company a twenty-one-year exclusive licence to trade west of the Rocky Mountains, could not grant a complete monopoly because it did not have complete sovereignty. The boundary between the United States and the British territories extended only as far west as the Rockies and westward of them the territory was held jointly. The Hudson's Bay Company's licence did not exclude American traders, and this circumstance led to a lot of things.

(8) W. Stewart Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25, says: "The 'ancient North West spirit' was marked by admirable courage and fortitude; but was capable on occasion of a decided form of *Schrecklichkeit*."

(9) Most of the lawsuits were won by the North West Company, partly, it was alleged, because of the influence the partners were able to exert on the Governments of Upper and Lower Canada. However, the strenuous Hudson's Bay competition reduced the North West profits or cut them away altogether, and as the North West Company had no reserve—its profits were divided among the partners each year—it was soon in a bad way. The Hudson's Bay Company suffered as well, for in the forty-two years between 1783 and 1824 there were no dividends at all during nine years, and in the other thirty-three the dividend was oftener 4 per cent than higher.

Having now set the stage, let us go back and gather up the actors. Peter Skene Ogden,[10] who is to play the lead in our drama, was the youngest son of Isaac Ogden, a Judge of the District Court at Montreal. The Judge was a Loyalist who had lost all his property in the American Revolution and had been given a judicial appointment in Canada. He was sixth in line from pilgrim John Ogden who had settled on Long Island about 1640.[11] Peter was born in Quebec and grew up in Montreal, where he had four elder brothers, three of whom became prominent.[12]

(10) The boy was named for his father's brother Peter and for Andrew Skene, his godfather. At the time of the American Revolution the family of Judge David Ogden, then settled at Newark, N.J., divided. The Judge and three sons—Isaac (Peter Skene's father), Nicholas, and Peter—took the royalist side and lost their property; Abraham and Samuel took the revolutionary side. The City of Ogdensburg, N.Y., is named for Abraham's son, David, who owned much of the land on which the city is built. [William Ogden Wheeler, *The Ogden Family*, Philadelphia, 1907, pp. 101, 104, 186.] Properly, Peter Skene Ogden's middle name is spelled "Skene," but in his letters, Ogden spelled it "Skene" or "Skeen" or "Skein." According to T. C. Elliott, Ogden felt it looked better this way and he enjoyed a bit of variety. [T. C. Elliott, "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI (1910), p. 233.]

(11) W. O. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, is a massive genealogy giving the story of the Ogden family down to 1906.

(12) *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103, 175, 176. The brothers were David (born after 1772, died before 1823), Henry (1782–1858), Isaac G. (1783–1868), and Charles Richard (1791–1866). Peter Skene was born in 1794. David became a leading Montreal lawyer, one of the chief counsel for the Nor' Westers in their litigation with Lord Selkirk. Charles Richard represented Three Rivers in the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada. He became Solicitor-General in 1823 and Attorney-General in 1833. In the latter office, which he held until the union in 1841, he had the unpopular job of prosecuting the rebels of 1837–38. His signature is on the proclamation bringing the union of Upper and Lower Canada into effect. After the Union, he again became Attorney-General for Lower Canada and, it is said, was the first victim of the new device of responsible government. He went on leave of absence, and while he was away the government changed, and he returned to find himself out of office. He protested that he had been appointed "during good behavior" and not "during pleasure." But he was not reinstated. In 1844 he went to England, was called to the Bar there, and became Attorney-General of the Isle of Man, retaining the office until his death. Donald Creighton says in *John A. Macdonald, the Young Politician*, Toronto, 1952, p. 69, that it is a curious fact that the members of the pre-Rebellion generation of Canadian public men "whether they were comparatively young, or middle-aged, or old, failed, with astonishing uniformity, to survive very long in the new political atmosphere. For them, the adjustment was too difficult." Charles Richard Ogden belonged to the pre-Rebellion generation. Isaac was a captain in the 56th Regiment and for forty years Sheriff of Three Rivers.

It is said that Peter's mother wished him to go into the church and that his father wanted him to take up law as two of his brothers had done. It is certain he read some law, for he was fond of flinging legal maxims about and quoting Latin tags. But the law did not attract him; it was dull, and young Peter had exciting things to think about. Alexander Caulfield Anderson,[13] who in later years worked closely with Ogden in Oregon and British Columbia, has left it on record that he was attracted to the fur trade by reading the Indian stories of Fenimore Cooper. Ogden could not have been drawn that way, for he was in the trade before the first of the Leather-stocking Tales was published. Nor was there any need for him to be influenced by fiction. He was living in the full flow of the very stories the fiction-writers would have given their ears to hear, for Montreal was the heart and centre of that part of the fur trade conducted by the Nor' Westers, and that was the exciting and colourful part. Think for a moment what strange tales of adventure and romance flowed down to Montreal in the wake of the brigades.

There was the romance of wealth. In our day we talk of oil and uranium and the fortunes to be made from them. At the beginning of the nineteenth century at Montreal the talk was all of fur. Fortunes had been made and were being made in fur. Montreal was the financial centre of the fur trade. The wealth of the trade flowed there and was spent there. The big men of the city—the men people talked about and envied—were fur-traders—the MacTavishes, the McGillivrays, the McGills, the Chaboillez, the Frobishers.[14] Theirs were the best houses. Their turnouts were the finest. They gave the grandest entertainments. These fur-traders, too, were credited with running the country and hold-

(13) James Robert Anderson, *Notes and Comments on Early Days and Events in British Columbia, Washington and Oregon, Transcript,* Archives of B.C., p. 8. Hereinafter referred to as *Notes and Comments.*

(14) For biographical sketches of these men, *see* W. Stewart Wallace, *op. cit.,* pp. 432, 446–447, 467–472, 484–485; E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. I), London, 1938, pp. 438–439, 450–452, 456–457; E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Minutes of Council of Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821–31* (Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. III), London, 1940, pp. 451–452; E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee: Second Series 1839–44* (Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. VI), London, 1943, pp. 397–398.

ing the government in their hand. Certainly a good many of them were members of the Legislature.[15]

Very soon it will be possible to reach Montreal from the Pacific Coast in a matter of eight hours by jet plane. A century and a half ago it took five months or more by canoe,[16] and there was adventure all the way. It was from Lachine, just outside Montreal, that the fur brigades started for the Upper Country. It was at Ste. Anne's, just up the Island, that the voyageurs paused to light a candle in the little church and, perhaps, sing a parting hymn. It was back to Lachine that the weary canoemen brought their heavy peltries. It was in Montreal that the partners and their servants regaled themselves after their months of labour and privation in *Le Pays d'En Haut*. It was in Montreal's saloons and clubs and at its dinner tables that the men who had seen the West and lived in it told their tales of adventure and boasted how they had met dangers and triumphed over them. After more than a hundred years the hospitality of the Beaver Club,[17] where the Nor' Westers received strangers of distinction and gave them unique entertainment, is still a legend. It was on St. James Street and Notre Dame and Beaver Hall Hill and the Champ de Mars that the peacocks of the fur trade showed their fine feathers on parade days.[18]

(15) Among these may be mentioned Roderick McKenzie, cousin of Sir Alexander; Nicholas Montour; Jules M. Quesnel, who was with Simon Fraser; John Richardson; and Colin Robertson. Biographical data is to be found in W. Stewart Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 478–479, 487–488, 493, 494.

(16) Ross Cox, on his way east with the fur brigade in 1817, crossed the continent from Fort George on the Columbia to Montreal in five months and three days. Ross Cox, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 330.

(17) G. C. Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 244; George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, Toronto, 1900, p. 191.

(18) Ross Cox, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 335–336, tells the story of Louis La Liberté, a canoeman from the Indian country who met his old *bourgeois* in Montreal and was brushed off too brusquely, or so he thought. Louis thought himself a man of importance, for he had married in the West and had a number of fine daughters, no fewer than three of whom had married North West partners. He decided to get even and ordered a very elaborate outfit—a coat of green cloth with silver buttons, a vest of crimson velvet with cornelian buttons, braided sky-blue pantaloons, Hessian boots with silver heels and gold tassels, a hat with a feather, and a silk sash. So attired Louis met his former boss on the Champ de Mars while the latter, with a number of friends, was watching a regimental parade. Pushing into the group he accosted the fur-trader, pointed to the latter's sober dress and then to his own silver and gold, crimson and green. Then, before he was pushed away, he shouted the names of his prosperous sons-in-law and cried "Je suis le beau-père de Monsieur M'Dinnill; Monsieur Mackenzie est mon gendre. . . ."

There was the romance, too, of far places and of discovery. The Nor' Westers were interested in much more than making money. They were curious about what lay beyond the horizon and were among our greatest explorers. Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, and Simon Fraser[19] were all Nor' Westers. Their stories, of course, came down to Montreal and were told and retold by the men who had shared their adventures. Under the circumstances, what boy with red blood in his veins could resist the pull of such highly charged propaganda, the tug of these far frontiers? Certainly Peter Skene Ogden could not.

His first business contact with the fur-trade was as a clerk in the office of John Jacob Astor, who maintained an establishment in Montreal. Peter was in his early teens then, and, most likely, was nothing more than an office boy. But he was breathing the atmosphere. Then at 16[20] he was off to the West.

The first record of him beyond the Great Lakes is at the post of Isle a la Crosse in the Saskatchewan district. This was in 1810, just when the fur-trade war was changing from the phoney to the violent period. Ogden was young, active, daring, keen, full of mischief, and fond of rough practical jokes. With him was Samuel Black, a very bitter enemy of the Hudson's Bay Company, and one whom Douglas Mackay has described as "the very personation of a reckless North West trader." The two young men apparently gave their rivals in the other fort on the island a pretty hard time. Peter Fidler,[21] who was in charge of Isle a la Crosse for the Hudson's Bay Company, tells how the pair assaulted and threatened him in his own post yard. According to another report, this strangely matched pair—Black was a very big man and Ogden was small—found amusement in setting Hudson's Bay Company fish-nets adrift or having them cut to pieces.[22]

Ross Cox, who met Ogden at Isle a la Crosse, when Cox was on his way east with the fur brigade in 1817, describes him as "the humorous, honest, eccentric, law-defying Peter Ogden, the terror of Indians, the

(19) For biographical sketches of these men, *see* W. Stewart Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 445–446, 474–475, 502.

(20) There is some confusion as to the exact date of Ogden's leaving for the West. T. C. Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 235, maintains: "In the year 1811, that is, at the age of seventeen, in the Spring he entered the service of the Northwest Company as a clerk. . . ."

(21) For a sketch of Peter Fidler and his remarkable will, *see* George Bryce, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–285.

(22) Donald Gunn, *History of Manitoba*, Ottawa, 1880, pp. 121–126.

delight of all gay fellows."[23] Cox and his party remained at Isle a la Crosse for a couple of days and were entertained hospitably "on excellent whitefish and tea without sugar." But in the Hudson's Bay Company fort near by, Ogden and his companion, McMurray, were holding prisoner twenty men, mostly Orkneymen, and upwards of 120 women and children; and these were dejected, emaciated, and wretchedly supplied with provisions. Their chief support was fish from the lake, and when these failed they depended on tripe de rocher. Ogden, according to Cox, beguiled the stay of the visitors with stories of the Indian country and of clashes with the Indians and Orkneymen, which, "if reduced to writing," Cox says, "would undoubtedly stagger the credulity of any person unacquainted with the Indian country." Unfortunately he did not attempt to reduce them to writing, so they are gone.[24]

After seven years' apprenticeship in Saskatchewan the young fur-trader was transferred to the Columbia. Apparently he had made himself so obnoxious to the enemy in the fur-trade war that a bill of indictment had been issued against him or was about to be issued, and it was thought desirable to put as many miles as possible between him and the law.[25] Two notes in old letters administer a parting kick. Colin Robertson, who had been a Nor' Wester, transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company and fought his former associates tooth and nail and with great resourcefulness. In August, 1819, writing from Fort Cumberland to William Williams, he noted: "Haldane and that fellow Ogden have gone to the Columbia by way of Beaver river. . . ."[26] Again ten days later Robertson, now writing from Isle a la Crosse, reported: "Haldane and that vagabond Ogden have gone across the Mountains."[27]

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(23) Ross Cox, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 245.

(24) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 228–243 *passim.*

(25) Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71,* London, 1939, p. 711.

(26) Colin Robertson to William Williams, August 26, 1819, *in* E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822* (Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. II), London, 1939, p. 257. Williams was the local Governor at York Factory. [W. Stewart Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 505.] For a sketch of Haldane, see *ibid.*, p. 453. John Haldane subsequently retired to England, and some of Ogden's letters are addressed to him there.

(27) Robertson to Williams, September 6, 1819, *in* E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book,* p. 258. There was another connection between Robertson and Ogden. When certain charges were preferred against Robertson by the North West Company, they came up for trial at Montreal, and Mr. Justice Isaac Ogden, Peter Skene's father, refused to sit on the case, as did Mr. Justice

Ogden and his party had a brush with the Indians at the mouth of the Walla Walla River but got safely through to Fort George, the old Astor post which had been renamed by the Nor' Westers. From headquarters at Fort George during the next few years he led trapping parties into the district between the Columbia and Puget Sound. He worked out of Spokane House and the Flathead post for a time and seems to have been in the Shuswap country.[28] In 1820, after ten years in the service, he was made a *bourgeois,* or partner. He had done very well and must have been pleased with himself. But late in 1821 word reached the Columbia of the amalgamation of the two companies. Nearly all the other partners had been given commissions in the new concern, but not Ogden and Black. They had fought the Hudson's Bay Company too effectively, and this was their punishment.

As the news spread there were protests from various old *bourgeois,* and Ogden himself started on the long trip to London. He had two purposes in going. One was to find a job and the other was to see his father, who had retired from the Bench and had gone to England for medical treatment. He spent some time in London, putting up at the London Coffee House on Ludgate Hill. Before leaving he received a letter from his father and, in view of the sort of life the son had been living and was to live again, the lines read strangely.

> Let me recommend you to be careful of your health and not expose yourself to danger unnecessarily. You will of course be exposed to many in the discharge of your duty, but let me entreat you not to court them or to be a volunteer in any hazardous enterprise for which you will get little thanks & credit.[29]

Isaac Ogden died in 1824, leaving Peter one-eighth of his estate, but by that time he was on the Columbia again. We find the story of his trip in a *Journal* kept by John Work. Peter was coming back as a chief clerk in the new company, and apparently he felt that he had prospects. John Work,[30] too, was a clerk who had been nine years with

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Reid, whose wife was a sister of William McGillivray, one of the North West partners. W. S. Wallace, *op. cit.,* pp. 290–291.

(28) John McLeod, in a letter written in 1823 about certain Indians on the Thompson River, wrote: "Mr. Ogden three years ago made an attempt to send free men up this river, but in consequence of some dispute that arose among them they returned, having been forty miles up the river." Quoted by J. H. Mosgrove in an article in the Vancouver *Daily Province,* February 15, 1931.

(29) *Quoted in* T. C. Elliott, *op. cit.,* p. 243. Original in Archives of B.C.

(30) At the time of the amalgamation of the two companies, Nicholas Garry had described John Work as "a most excellent young man in every respect." For a sketch of Work, *see* H. D. Dee, "An Irishman in the Fur Trade: the Life and

the Hudson's Bay Company and was destined to have a notable career in the fur trade. The two men met at York Factory and left for the West on July 18, 1823. They had two light canoes with four men in each. The express, with Ogden in charge, travelled light, taking only sufficient provisions to supply the men until they could get more. It was fly-time and they were worried by mosquitoes.[31] Some of the bags of pemmican with which they started out proved to be mouldy and useless. Four hundred pounds of dried meat taken on at Isle a la Crosse proved so tough the men could hardly chew it. The Indians and freemen they met had no provisions to sell. Their shot gave out and they could not get ducks. At Moose Portage, where they expected to find a cache of food, there was none. Consequently, we find entries in the *Journal* like these:—

[August 27] We had no breakfast this morning and only two small ducks among us for supper, which except a few berries was our days subsistance. When we stopped for the night we had not a drop of water.

[August 31] Some rain in the night and blowing strong & very cold with weighty rain the greater part of the day.

[September 2] We had no breakfast this morning and only 9 small ducks and a Muskrat for supper, but we found some berries in the course of the day.[32]

Ogden fell ill. This sort of fare was different from that he had known on Ludgate Hill, and he attributed his misery to poor living and anxiety of mind. For ten days or more there were entries similar to the following: "Mr. Ogden was ill the greater part of the night and appeared at times in some measure delirious. . . ."[33] But the party kept moving and at last it reached Boat Encampment, where the east-bound express was waiting for it. From that point onward the way was smoother.

Ogden and Work spent the winter of 1823–24 at Spokane House, which, from all accounts, was a lively place.[34] In 1824 Governor Simp-

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Journals of John Work," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1943), pp. 229–270.

(31) Work spells the word "muscatoes"; Ross Cox spells it "musquitoes."

(32) John Work, "*Journal:* York Factory to Spokane House, July 18–October 28, 1823," *MS.*, Archives of B.C., *passim.*

(33) *Ibid.*, under date September 14, 1823.

(34) "Spokane House was a retired spot: no hostile natives were there to disquiet a great man. There the Bourgeois who presided over the Company's affairs resided, and that made Spokane House the centre of attraction. There all the wintering parties, with the exception of the northern district, met. There they were all fitted out: it was the great starting point. . . . At Spokane House, too, there were handsome buildings: there was a ball room, even; and no females in

son came through to the Columbia, and the same year Ogden received his commission as a Chief Trader.[35] Simpson had secured the promotion for him, but not for nothing—he had work for Ogden to do (a lot of work as it turned out), and the various jobs were to last him the rest of his life. The first thing the Governor wanted the new Chief Trader to undertake was to head a trapping expedition into the Snake River country. This, as Simpson put it himself, was the " most hazardous and disagreeable office in the Indian Country,"[36] and none of the commissioned gentlemen had volunteered for this service. Ogden had built up a reputation for courage, toughness, resourcefulness, and tact, and these qualities got him the job.

For a moment let us take a look at the young man who was issuing the orders to Ogden. George Simpson[37] was probably 32 years of age at the time. He was two years older than Ogden, but whereas Ogden had had fourteen years in the fur trade, Simpson had had only four. However, Simpson was Governor and Ogden only a Chief Trader. When Simpson took over as Governor, he was confronted by an immense amount of detail work in consolidating the affairs of the two companies. As Dr. Lamb has put it, he found himself with " two of everything "[38]—too many posts, too many people, too extravagant a set-up. He had to close posts, reduce personnel, make economies, adopt conservation measures. It was three years, therefore, before he could get across the mountains and make a personal examination of the affairs on the Columbia. At that time he had had to alter his personal plans and postpone the trip he had counted on making to the Old Country to be married. He had laid aside, he told his patron and superior, Andrew

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the land so fair to look upon as the nymphs of Spokane; no damsels could dance so gracefully as they; none were so attractive. But Spokane House was not celebrated for fine women only; there were fine horses also. The race-ground was admired, and the pleasures of the chace [*sic*] often yielded to the pleasures of the race. Altogether Spokane House was a delightful place, and time had confirmed its celebrity." Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West,* London, 1855, Vol. I, p. 138.

(35) The commission is dated March 3, 1824, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(36) Frederick Merk (*ed.*), *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal . . . , 1824–1825,* Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 45.

(37) For a life of Simpson, *see* A. S. Morton, *Sir George Simpson,* Toronto, 1944.

(38) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee: First Series, 1825–28* (Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. IV), introduction by W. Kaye Lamb, London, 1941, p. xii.

Colvile, "all feelings or consideration in respect to my own ease and comfort . . . and . . . alone consulted the welfare of the Company & Colony."[39]

But if Simpson had not visited the Columbia, it had been much in his mind and in the minds of the Governor and Committee. What should be done about the Columbia? Was it worth keeping or should it be abandoned? Even in the days when the Nor' Westers had had a free hand there it had never made them any money. It had been tremendously far from the Montreal headquarters; there had been no possibility of adequate supervision and it had been run expensively—even extravagantly. There were other considerations than money. There were questions of high policy. If there was no profit in holding the Columbia, there was profit in New Caledonia, and New Caledonia was in danger. At the time four nations were interested in the largely unexplored Great West. The Russians were in the north, the Spaniards in the south, and Great Britain and the United States claimed the middle ground. The Hudson's Bay Company, which was close to the British Government, was satisfied that when the middle country came to be divided, the line would certainly not run south of the Columbia. It might run north, and it decided, therefore, to pull back to the north side of the river and to hold the country there. If it would not yield a profit itself, it would safeguard the more valuable fur lands to the north.

The truth is that the Hudson's Bay Company was faced with competition again, and no monopolist likes competition. The competition was threatening from two quarters—both American—and consequently not proscribed by the Company's licence. The Boston men were already on the coast, and the Mountain men were at the headwaters of the Missouri and would presently be over the mountains following the trails of Lewis and Clark and the Astor overland party or beating out new trails of their own. For many years a new fur-trade war was to be waged between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Americans. It was to be waged on both land and sea, and Ogden was to have a part in both campaigns.

Even when concerned with matters of high policy, Simpson never forgot that his real job was to make money for the shareholders in London and the commissioned gentlemen at the posts. On his first

(39) Simpson to Colvile, May 20, 1822, *in* F. Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Douglas MacKay, *op. cit.*, p. 182, states: "The object of the visit to England was marriage to his cousin, Frances Ramsay Simpson, but the event had to be postponed seven years in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company's efficiency."

visit to the Columbia he had been appalled at the sloth and extravagance and lack of enterprise he had found there. The traders did not know anything about the coast and had made no effort to learn, and he considered their ignorance a disgrace.[40] Prodigious costs were being incurred, and the system followed was little short of ruinous. "The good people of the Spokane District," he wrote, ". . . have been eating gold."[41] By this he meant that they were too fond of European foodstuffs, which had to be transported across the continent by canoe or half-way round the world by ship. He determined to change all that—to tighten up the business, to force the Hudson's Bay people to live on the country[42]—and to get some profit from the Columbia. Under his urging and encouragement, farming was started, first on the Columbia at Fort Vancouver, Nisqually, and Cowlitz, and later in New Caledonia at Alexandria, Kamloops, and Fort Langley.

Ogden was sent to trap the Snake country. In giving him this assignment, Simpson had two purposes. The country was full of beaver and other fur animals, and the fur would make a profit for the Company. The beaver were a quick-profit crop, and if they were all caught—the country trapped bare—there would be less temptation for the American traders to come across the mountains and to make trouble for the Hudson's Bay Company by offering the Indians higher prices in trade goods. Ogden had his orders. As a fur reserve, the Snake country was to be destroyed.[43]

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(40) F. Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 39. "Everything appears to me on the Columbia [to be] on too extended a scale except the Trade," the Governor had remarked rather bitterly. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

(41) "The good people of Spokane District and I believe of the interior of the Columbia generally have since its first establishment shown an extraordinary predilection for European Provisions without once looking at or considering the enormous price it costs; if they had taken the trouble they would have had little difficulty in discovering that all this time they may be said to have been eating gold; such fare we cannot afford in the present times, it must therefore be discontinued." *Ibid.*, p. 47. Again and again Simpson reverts back to the folly of importing European foods. One unfortunate post officer roused the Governor's wrath by requisitioning some mustard: "One would think from the quantity you order that it is intended to be used in the Indian trade." *Ibid.*, p. xix.

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 266.

(43) "The greatest and best protection we can have from opposition is keeping the country closely hunted as the first step that the American Government will take toward Colonization is through the Indian Traders and if the country becomes exhausted in Fur bearing animals they can have no inducement to proceed thither. We therefore entreat that no exertions be spared to explore and Trap every part of

The Snake River, the principal southern branch of the Columbia, is a great river in its own right. It has been said of it that ". . . it flows farther than the Ohio, trenches a deeper canyon than the Colorado, drains a larger basin than the Hudson and in its swift reaches lurks more potential hydroelectric power than in the Tennessee."[44] Great as the river's basin is, the fur-traders made it much larger. To them the Snake country was the whole vast and indefinite district lying west of the mountains, south of the Columbia, and north of the Spanish territories. Ogden himself, after being into it, described it as " bounded on the North by the Columbia Waters On the South by the Missourie [*sic*], On the West by the Spanish Territo[ries] and on the East by the Saskatchewan Tribes."[45]

It was a vast territory but not entirely new. Lewis and Clark had been through it and so had Astor's men. Wilson Price Hunt, their leader, after trying conclusions with its current, had named it the Mad River. The Astorians had sent a trapping party of seven into the region and not one had returned.[46] The Nor' Westers had been in several times and had come out with much beaver. Donald McKenzie, an old Astorian and an old Nor' Wester, who had spent the previous winter at Red River with Simpson, had led an expedition into the country and was enthusiastic about it.[47] So Simpson knew the Snake country by repu-

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the country." Simpson to McLoughlin, July 9, 1827, *quoted in* E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Minutes of Council, Northern Department 1821–31*, p. lxviii.

(44) Richard L. Newberger in a review of *Ogden's Snake Country Journals* in the September 9, 1951, issue of *The New York Times Book Review*, p. 14.

(45) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824–25 and 1825–26* (Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. XIII), London, 1950, pp. xxv, 262.

(46) "A party of six men, under a Mr. Reid, had been fitted out by the Astor Company for the Snake country. . . . It was afterwards discovered that Mr. Reid and his party were all murdered by the Indians." Alexander Ross, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 7–8.

(47) " There animals of every class rove about undisturbed; . . . the red deer were seen grazing in herds about the rivers; . . . where there was a sapling, the ingenious and industrious beaver was at work. Otters sported in the eddies; the wolf and the fox were seen sauntering in quest of prey; . . . In the woods, the martin and black fox were numerous; the badger sat quietly looking from his mound; and in the numberless ravines, among bushes laden with fruits, the black, the brown, and the grisly [*sic*] bear were seen. The mountain sheep, and goat white as snow, browzed on the rocks and ridges; and the big horn species ran among the lofty cliffs. Eagles and vultures, of uncommon size, flew about the rivers. When we approached, most of the animals stood motionless; they would then move off

tation. He knew its dangers—how it was possible to starve there if game became scarce and shy, how war parties of Bloods and Piegans were continually roving through it except in winter, and how the Snakes were always skulking about, ready to steal an unguarded horse or scalp an unwary hunter. All the same, he sent Ogden in with orders to trap the country clean.

Year after year, for six years, Ogden led expeditions into the country south of the Columbia. He did not always trap on the Snake, but he touched it or its tributaries each year in his rovings. He poked into all sorts of wild and unexplored places, looking always for beaver but taking less important furs if he found them. He traversed or visited the States that are known to-day as Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and California. On his first expedition he pushed eastward across the Great Divide and had his knuckles rapped by the Governor and Committee,[48] for Their Honours of Fenchurch Street had no wish to stir up trouble with the Americans. On his last expedition he pushed southward, east of the high Sierras, and reached the Gulf of California.[49] He trespassed on Mexican territory that time, but the Mexicans were not important. It was more serious that, on that occasion, he did not bring back much fur.[50] More than once he got east of the Great Salt Lake.

He threaded unknown areas, making his own trails. He crossed dreary wastes of burning sand and scrubby wormwood. He stormed

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a little distance, but soon came anew to satisfy a curiosity that often proved fatal to them." This description given by McKenzie is in *ibid.*, pp. 202–203. For biographical details on McKenzie, *see* W. S. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

(48) "We have repeatedly given direction that all collision with the Americans should be avoided as well as infringements upon their Territory, it appears however . . . that Mr. Ogden must have been to the southward of 49 degrees of latitude and to the Eastward of the Rocky Mountains which he should particularly have avoided . . . [Further] inattention to this instruction . . . will be attended with our serious displeasure." Governor and Committee to Simpson, June 2, 1826, *quoted in* E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters: First Series*, p. lxiv.

(49) "I was not so successful in my last years Trapping as the preceding although I extended my trails by far greater distance to the Gulph of California but found beaver very scarce, and unfortunately below the main Dalls [*sic*] of the Col[umbia]. my own Boat was engulphed in a Whirlpool and 9 men were drowned. I had a most narrow escape. . . ." Ogden to John McLeod, March 10, 1831, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

(50) McLoughlin to Simpson, July 13, 1830, printed in Burt Brown Barker (*ed.*), *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin*, Portland, 1948, p. 120.

mountain passes deep with snow or slippery with slush or barricaded by great tangles of fallen timber. He forded torrents and swam icy streams. Provisions failed and he endured hunger and thirst—privation in every form. He faced all sorts of dangers. Small wonder he cursed the Indians who were hanging always on his flanks, his own indolent and untrustworthy freemen, and the adverse fate which drove him without cessation "like a ball in a tennis court."[51] No wonder he was constrained to write, "This is the sort of life that make a young man 60 in a few months."

It would be impossible at this time to deal fully with all the expeditions, so only the high-spots will be touched upon. The first, which set out late in 1824, was probably the most exciting. Ogden was new to the country, but he was given the largest and best-equipped expedition ever sent to the Snakes. While Ogden himself listed his complement as 58 freemen, servants, and engaged men, with 61 guns, 268 horses, and 352 traps,[52] William Kittson, who was with Ogden and also kept a journal, in his entry for December 20, 1824, gives the following information on the expedition: "The party is now together consisting of 22 lodges which contain besides Mr. Ogden and myself, Charles McKay an interpreter of the Piegan Language 10 Engagés 53 Fremen and lads, 30 Women and 35 Children, all well furnished in arms ammunition Horses and Traps, able in all appearances to face any War party brought into the plains."[53] It might be thought that women and children were mere excess baggage, but an Indian wife on such an expedition was a distinct asset. She more than paid her way, for she sewed and gummed the canoes, when canoes were used; she made snowshoes and helped make traps; she skinned the catch and prepared the furs; when in the buffalo country she prepared the pemmican and did her share generally of the heavy work of travel. The expedition had to have her, and she had to have her children, so the lodges went along.[54]

Most of Ogden's men were freemen—men who could be led but not commanded.[55] They were of various races—French-Canadian, Iroquois,

(51) *Traits of American Indian Life and Character, by a Fur Trader,* London, 1853, p. 70. This work generally is attributed to Ogden.

(52) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Ogden's Snake Country Journals,* pp. 2–3.

(53) *Ibid.,* pp. 209–210. Alexander Ross, who was at the Flathead post when the expedition set out, gives a slightly different description of the size of the party. *See* Alexander Ross, *op. cit., passim.*

(54) E. E. Rich, "Colonial Empire," *Economic History Review,* Vol. XI, p. 318.

(55) McLoughlin to Simpson, March, 1830, printed in B. B. Barker (*ed.*), *op. cit.,* p. 83.

plains Indians, half-breeds. Simpson described them as ". . . the very scum of the country and generally outcasts from the Service for misconduct." They were, he added, "the most unruly and troublesome gang to deal with in this or perhaps any other part of the World."[56] Alexander Ross, who knew the freemen well, was even more severe: "A more discordant, headstrong, ill-designing set of rascals that form this company God never permitted together in the fur trade."[57]

All the same, there was something to be said for the freemen. If they were at loose ends in the Indian country, it was the fur companies that had brought them there. They were mostly old servants of the companies whose terms of service had expired. They had no ties elsewhere, had got used to the Indian country, and preferred to remain there. Simpson himself had thrown a lot of them on the country by his economies. The freemen did not like the Hudson's Bay Company and made no secret of their dislike. They felt the Company had exploited them, paying them low prices for their furs, exacting top prices for supplies, keeping them always in debt and therefore discontented. The Company, on its side, insisted that it was the freemen's own indolence and gambling instincts and not the Company's desires that kept them in debt. The Company outfitted them because it did not wish to see them starve.

Ogden set out with high hopes and, in spite of bad weather and adverse circumstances, was doing fairly well. Alexander Ross, who had led the expedition the previous year, had brought back 4,900 beaver, and the Governor had not been satisfied.[58] Ogden aimed at 6,000, but as things turned out he only brought back half that number, and more than once it seemed to him that he would not even get back himself. Disaster came when the expedition fell in with a party of American traders and twenty-three of Ogden's freemen deserted to them, a number of the freemen taking their furs as well as horses and traps that belonged to the Company. Worse than that, John Gardner, leader of the Americans, camped near by, hoisted the Stars and Stripes, and told Ogden's men that they were free of their debts and his engaged men that they were free of their contracts. He then ordered the Hudson's Bay man out of the territory, which, he said, was American. Ogden stood his ground and stood off the disaffected Iroquois who threatened to pillage the camp, but he realized the danger of his position, for the desertions

(56) F. Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(57) T. C. Elliott, "Journal of Alexander Ross," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1913), p. 376.

(58) F. Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

had so shorn him of strength that if he should meet an Indian war party he would have no chance whatever.[59] "Here I am now," he wrote in his *Journal,* May 25, 1825, "with only 20 Trappers Surrounded on all Sides by enemies & our expectations & hopes blasted for returns this year, to remain in this quarter any longer would merely be to trap Beaver for the Americans."[60] Writing to Simpson from the field a little later he added: "You need not anticipate another expedition ensuing Year to this Country for not a freeman will return, and should they, it would be to join the Americans."[61]

In the depth of his disappointment Ogden wrote many bitter things about the freemen in his *Journal.*[62] But when he got back he made it his business to get fairer treatment for these people. McLoughlin helped and the Governor and Committee wrote Simpson on the folly of endangering the goose that was laying golden eggs for them. "By attempting to make such expeditions too profitable," they said, "the whole may be lost. . . . We can afford to pay as good a price as the Americans and where there is risk of meeting their parties it is necessary to pay as much or something more."[63] Simpson fell into line, too, and wrote to McLoughlin: "Trap every part of the country and as the service is both dangerous and laborious we wish our people to be treated with kindness and liberality."[64] Simpson went even further and when reporting to his superiors admitted his error: "We now when too late perceive that our former system of trade with these people [freemen] was bad."[65]

The freemen, as it turned out, were not as bad as they had been painted. On his second expedition when near Klamath Lake, Ogden learned there were some Americans in his vicinity and tried to avoid them. He wanted no more desertions, but he was surprised to find in the American party some of the men who had deserted him the year before, and still more surprised when several of them came forward, paid instalments on the debts they owed the Company, and traded skins with him at Hudson's Bay Company rates.[66] In the end he learned not

(59) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Ogden's Snake Country Journals,* pp. 51–53.

(60) *Ibid.,* p. 54.

(61) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters: First Series,* p. 299.

(62) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Ogden's Snake Country Journals,* p. 79.

(63) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Minutes of Council, Northern Department, 1821–31,* pp. lxvii–lxviii.

(64) *Ibid.*

(65) *Ibid.,* p. lxviii, foot-note 2.

(66) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Ogden's Snake Country Journals,* p. 154.

to fear the Americans at all, for he could give them as good as he got. On this expedition, too, he had an experience which showed the stuff his freemen were made of. It was May 6, 1826, and he was on the main branch of the Raft River—near the south-east corner of modern Idaho—when he made the following entry in his *Journal*:—

. . . it began to Snow and continued the greater part of the night Many of the Trappers came in almost froze and without setting their Traps Naked as the greater part are and destitute of Shoes it is surprising to me how they can resist, and to their Credit be it said not a murmur or Complaint do I hear such men as these are well worthy of following Franklin, for they certainly are now well inured to suffering two thirds of them without a Blanket or any shelter and have been so for the last six months.[67]

Inclement weather was not the only difficulty. Starvation was always a threat. On Christmas Day, 1825, the party was down to less than 20 pounds of food. On New Year's Day Ogden gave all hands a dram, remarking sardonically, "I have only to observe there was more fasting than feasting." The days following were almost tragic as the *Journal* shows:—

Friday 6th. . . . we raised camp to facilitate the Trappers as their Horses are in a low state many of them can scarsely crawl not from the want of Grass but from the froze state of the ground, but march they must or we starve. . . .

Saturday 7th. . . . so many starving in the Camp that they start before day to steal Beaver out of their neighbours Traps if they find nothing in their own. . . .

Sunday 8th. . . . We had the Pleasure of seeing a Raven this day he appeared to be a Stranger in this quarter.

Saturday 28th. . . . many in the Camp are Starving and have been so more or less for some time past indeed as far as it concerns my mess we have been for the last ten days with only one meal every two days. . . .

Friday 10th. . . . two of the men who attempted to go in advance to set their Traps could not from weakness, we have certainly been on short allowance almost too long, and resemble so many Skeletons. . . .[68]

The third expedition confined itself mostly to eastern and southern Oregon. But again the same conditions were encountered. The following extracts from the *Journal* give a clear picture of what was to be encountered in a trapping party in the winter:—

[Saturday, November 5, 1826] My provisions . . . are fast decreasing. The hunters are discouraged. Day after day from morning to night in quest of animals; but not one track do they see. . . .

[Sunday, November 27] One horse killed for food to-day. My provisions are nearly exhausted. . . .

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(67) *Ibid.*, p. 162.

(68) *Ibid.*, pp. 110–126 *passim*.

[Saturday, December 3rd] 2 horses killed for food; terrible storms of snow and sleet! What will become of us?

[Sunday 25th, Christmas] I did not raise camp and we are reduced to one meal a day. . . .

[Saturday 31] Our hunters have no success. Discontent prevails. I gave rations to all. This closes the year; and my stock of provisions also. They have been measured out with a sparing hand. We have yet 3 mos. of winter. God grant them well over and our horses escape the kettle! I have been the most unfortunate man; but the Lord's will be done! . . .

[January 18th] I am wretched! No beaver! . . .

[January 22nd] Late last night two of my Iroquois came in with 7 deer. This news caused joy in camp. . . .

[March 9th] Huts no sooner made than rain came in torrents. Our leather tents are in a rotten state and I can swear our blankets have not been dry for 20 days. . . .

[March 13th] All obliged to sleep out in pouring rain and without blankets. Not one complaint. This life makes a young man sixty in a few years. . . . A convict at Botany Bay is a gentleman at ease compared to my trappers. Still they are happy. A roving life suits them. They would regard it as a punishment to be sent to Canada. . . .[69]

It was on this expedition that Ogden discovered and named Mount Shasta.[70]

The fourth and fifth expeditions took the wandering fur-trader to Nevada, where he discovered a stream which he called the Unknown River, which his trappers sometimes called Ogden's River, sometimes Mary's River, after Julia Mary, Ogden's wife, and sometimes St. Mary's River. But General Fremont, when he came by in 1848, brushed all the old names aside and called the river the Humboldt, after the German geographer. This is the river which Dale L. Morgan says ". . . challenged men, not to live upon it but to live without it. . . . necessary river, unloved river, barren river—Desert River of the West. There is no minstrelsy to celebrate it except the song of hate."[71] Even the weariest river, the poet says, runs somewhere safe to the sea, but for the weary Humboldt there is no such happy consummation. It dries up in the desert and dies miserably in the Carson Sink.

After his visit to the Gulf of California and the loss of his *Journals* and nine men at the Dalles when almost home,[72] Ogden went no more

(69) T. C. Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–217 *passim.*

(70) *Ibid.*, p. 214.

(71) Dale L. Morgan, *The Humboldt*, New York, 1943, p. 338.

(72) *V. supra*, foot-note 49. The details of this disaster are to be found in *Traits of American Indian Life*, pp. 165–169.

to the Snake country. Simpson had expressed the utmost satisfaction with the zeal, activity, and perseverance his lieutenant had displayed, but he had realized for some time that the hardships were telling on the health of the Company's aggressive and far-ranging officer, and that other occupation would have to be found for him.[73] As a result, John Work was assigned to replace Ogden on the Snake brigades,[74] and Ogden, withdrawn from the mountains, the deserts, and the rivers, was assigned to another of the "little Governor's" campaigns against the American traders. In his years with the Snakes, Ogden had brought back many thousands of beaver-skins and had left mementoes of his visits in many quarters. They are to be found to this day south of the Columbia—Ogden River, Ogden City, Ogden Valley, Ogden Canyon, Ogden's Bridge, Ogden's Hope. Later on in British Columbia he was to be remembered in Ogden Point near Victoria, Ogden Mountain in the Cariboo, and Ogden Passage. There are other features called for other Ogdens, possibly relatives.

Long before either the Nor' Westers or the Hudson's Bay people had crossed the mountains, American traders were operating on the Pacific Coast. Theirs was an adventurous and profitable trade. Leaving New England ports early in the year, they would round the Horn and in the spring and summer trade on the coast from California north. They would drop anchor near the shore at some likely spot and wait for the Indian canoes to come out. When they had exhausted the trade at one place, they would move on. By autumn they would be well up north and from there would make a direct run to the Sandwich Islands for the winter. In the spring they would be back off the California coast and follow the trade north again. Then, with holds full of furs, they would head for Canton, trade off their peltries for tea, silk, and other

(73) Simpson to Governor and Committee, March 1, 1829, as printed in E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Simpson's 1828 Journey to the Colombia* [*sic*], p. 65: "I cannot quit the subject of our Trapping Expeditions, without expressing my utmost satisfaction with the zeal, activity and perseverence manifested by Chief Trader Ogden, in the very arduous service on which he has been employed for some years past, while I am sorry to intimate, that the injury his constitution has sustained, by the privations and discomfort to which he has been so long exposed, will render it necessary to relieve him as soon as we can find a Gentleman qualified to fill his place with advantage."

(74) John Work not only succeeded Ogden in command of the Snake brigades, but he also succeeded him on the coast in 1834 when Ogden went to New Caledonia. Still later he was associated with Ogden on the board of management at Fort Vancouver after McLoughlin retired.

exotic goods, and carry their new cargoes home to Boston. Many a New England fortune was founded on this trade, but by 1821 it had dwindled, largely owing to the exhaustion of the sea-otter. Still there was trade there. The Hudson's Bay Company was not getting much of it, and Governor Simpson thought something should be done.

McLoughlin's idea was to build posts at strategic points, fortifying them because there was real danger. Simpson, however, favoured ships rather than posts. McLoughlin thought ships costly—it was easy to find gentlemen to command the posts but difficult to find reliable naval officers to handle the ships.[75] The masters either drank too much or they did not know the coast or they were incompetent. " Capt Davidsons talent as a Navigator I know nothing about," wrote the old White Eagle, " but his talent as a Grog Drinker I understand is without parallel. . . ."[76] And there were others. So the disagreement between McLoughlin and Simpson began and widened with the years, and in the end it became one of the causes of the bitter quarrel that broke out. In practice, both ships and posts were used. Fort Langley, the first of the posts, had been established in 1827. When Ogden got back from his California venture in 1830, he found instructions awaiting him to establish a post on the Nass River,[77] but a violent attack of intermittent fever in the posts on the Columbia delayed action for a year. McLoughlin needed a man like Ogden on the coast because, as he told the Governor, " the Natives of the place are reported to be very numerous and very Hostile to the Whites."[78] The Nass post was built in 1831 and named Fort Simpson for Captain Aemelius Simpson, who had died during its construction. Fort McLoughlin on Millbank Sound was built in 1833.

A post on the Stikine, 30 miles up or more, was to be next, but when Ogden and his party tried to enter the mouth of the river in June, 1834, they found the way barred by a crude Russian redoubt and a couple of small war vessels. Baron Wrangell, Governor of Alaska, had been

(75) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters: First Series,* p. 315.

(76) *Ibid.*, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii. Others were Captain Hayne of the *Ganymede* and Captain Minors of the *Dryad.* McLoughlin also thought that the *William and Ann,* the *Isabella,* and the *Vancouver* had all been lost owing to the incompetence or negligence of their commanders.

(77) Ogden to John McLeod, March 10, 1831, *Transcript,* Archives of B.C.

(78) McLoughlin to Governor and Committee, October 11, 1830, *in* B. B. Barker (*ed.*), *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin,* p. 139.

watching Ogden. He knew all about his record on the Snake—how he trapped the country bare—and the Governor perhaps thought he might do the same on the coast. He had noted Ogden's aggressive methods on the coast, too, and had reported:—

Mr. Ogden injured the Americans quite considerably this year. . . . he sends three vessels to the straits to such localities where the Americans are putting in and begins to pay twice or three times as much as the Americans who never hold out very long but hasten to leave the place and proceed to another, where they are immediately followed by Ogden's ships.[79]

This, of course, was quite in line with McLoughlin's policy and instructions.[80]. If you deprive the Americans of profit, the good doctor insisted, they will not come near you, or if they do they will not stay long. Wrangell perhaps thought the same policy would be used against the Russians.[81]. At any rate he set his armed vessels to bar the way to the Stikine and absented himself from Sitka so that he could not be argued with. Ogden, who was accompanied by quite an array of Hudson's Bay commissioned officers—Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, James Birnie, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, and Dr. John F. Kennedy—had quite a time making out what the Russians meant, for none of his men could speak Russian and none of the Russians knew English. Dr. Tolmie makes quite a story of it in his *Journal*[82] with his descriptions of the dress and appearance of the Russian officers, the fondness of one of them for Hudson's Bay brandy, their comings and goings, and so on.

(79) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters: First Series*, p. lxxxvii. The following letter from McLoughlin to Captain Thomas Sinclair, master of the *Cadboro*, June 4, 1831, is enlightening: "You will Trade with the Natives at the rate of three skins for a 2½ pt Blanket and twenty skins for a Gun However if you should see an American Coaster in that quarter you will sell at the rate of one made Beaver per Blanket." B. B. Barker (*ed.*), *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin*, p. 197. McLoughlin did not hesitate to fight opposition to the limit when called upon to do so. The common asking price for a blanket was five or six large beaver-skins, but under competition with the Americans on the coast he dropped his price to a blanket for one beaver and he went so far in writing to the Governor and Committee as to say he would give two blankets for one beaver if necessary to drive the Americans out of the trade. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

(80) ". . . our policy ought to be to collect a sufficiency of Furs to make our opponents lose money . . . as they are mere adventurers they will not and indeed cannot afford to carry on a losing business." McLoughlin to Governor and Committee, April 9, 1836, quoted in E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters: First Series*, p. 145.

(81) For Dr. W. Kaye Lamb's comments on this, see *ibid.*, p. cv.

(82) Dr. Wm. Fraser Tolmie, *Diary*, under date June, 1834, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

One of the Russians, who had a few words of English, threatened to "boxum" the Hudson's Bay men if they tried to go up the river. Another could speak a little Spanish, and Tolmie and Anderson tried to work out his meaning from their knowledge of Latin. At last the language difficulty was more or less solved, or seemed to be, by bringing together a Finn from the Russian ranks and a Swede who was a member of Ogden's crew. It was made plain then—at least that was the opinion on Ogden's ship—that the Russians were in earnest and would use force to prevent an entry into the Stikine. Chief Seix of the Stikine Indians also made it known that he would resist any attempt to build a post on the river. He was a fur-trader himself, dealing in skins brought down the river by the Interior Indians, and had no intention of allowing a competitor to gain a foothold.

Finally, Ogden held a council of war—should he try to force the entrance to the Stikine against the Russians and the Indians. His officers were unanimously against this idea, so the party hoisted sail and turned south. So that there would be at least some gain from the expedition, they decided to move Fort Simpson, built in 1831, to a more favourable site a few miles down the coast. The site for the new fort was selected and the buildings within the pickets taken down, one by one, and moved to the new position. Last of all, the bastions, with their heavy squared timbers, were moved and temporary defences had to be provided. The Indians, who did not approve of the move, were gathered in large numbers round the old fort. Many of them were drunk and boisterous, and for the last half-day the Hudson's Bay men were under arms constantly. The Indians outside the pickets were armed with guns, boarding pikes, and knives. Within the old fort was a 25-gallon cask of Indian rum. Dr. Kennedy, in charge at Fort Simpson and responsible for the Company's property, wanted to take the cask to the new fort. The other gentlemen believed it was too difficult to move and too dangerous and would better be left to the Indians. As soon as the gates were opened and the Hudson's Bay people were out, the Indians rushed in and the whites were able to reach the shore unmolested and board the *Dryad*. Then from the shore came a hail. Chief Caxetan wanted the *Dryad* to send a boat ashore for the rum. Ogden refused, and told the Indians they could have the rum. But the chief was serious. If Ogden would not send a boat for it, the Indians would take it out themselves, and they did. It was not that they did not want the rum, for actually they wanted it very

much, but they wished to have the Hudson's Bay people divide it. They knew it would be divided fairly and there would be no quarrels or fights.

Ogden had nothing further to do with the Stikine venture, but the Company did. When the news of the failure reached Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin sat down to figure the cost of the expedition and make out a bill of damages against the Russian American Company. He put everything in, and the bill when finished amounted to £22,150/10/11.[83] This bill, all itemized and duly certified, went to the Governor and Committee in London. They were glad to get it, for they had been trying for some years to arrange a trade agreement with the Russian American Company but had only met with polite evasions. Perhaps the bill could be used as a lever. So the bill was pushed gently into diplomatic channels and in due time reached Lord Durham, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg—the same Lord Durham, by the way, who a few years later was to make a notable report on Canada. The Russians coolly denied that Ogden's party had been prevented from ascending the Stikine, as they had a right to do, or that any threats had been made. It must have been incompetent interpretation that gave rise to any such ideas. Just as coolly the Russians refused to pay any damages.[84] This reply did not satisfy the Hudson's Bay Company, and negotiations dragged on. At last Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, suggested that the heads of the two companies should get together and settle the matter. It was a brilliant suggestion. Simpson and Wrangell met and buried the hatchet. The Hudson's Bay Company dropped its claim and the Russians gave the Company a lease of the Alaska "panhandle." In a supplementary agreement, the Hudson's Bay Company undertook to supply the Russian posts with provisions, and thus began a profitable trade in foodstuffs which the Company supplied from its farms at Nisqually, Cowlitz, and Fort Langley,[85] a trade which went on until Russia sold Alaska to the United States, and which did not even stop for the Crimean War. So the Stikine adventure paid off after all.

By this time Ogden had been transferred to other fields. He had left Fort Simpson early in October, 1834, but rough weather and contrary

(83) J. H. Pelly to Lord Palmerston, October 24, 1835, *in* O. Klotz, *Certain Correspondence of the Foreign Office & the Hudson's Bay Company*, Ottawa, 1899, p. 12.

(84) J. Backhouse, writing at the direction of Lord Palmerston, to J. H. Pelly, January 28, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 15.

(85) *See* Donald C. Davidson, "Hudson's Bay and Russian American Relations," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V (1941), pp. 45–48.

winds had so delayed the *Dryad* on which he was sailing that she did not reach the Columbia until December 14—two months to cover a distance usually covered in eight days.[86] On leaving the coast, Ogden, now a Chief Factor,[87] was given charge of all the posts in New Caledonia. His headquarters were at Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, and as this was considered to be a very pleasant place to live, he took his family with him.

When Ogden was young, he was described as a little below medium height but broad in shoulders and hips, and very muscular and quick in action. In the Snake country, where the freemen and engagés called him "M'sieu Pete," he complained that the hard life he led had reduced him to skin and bone.[88] He had changed a lot by the time he got to New Caledonia, for there the Carrier Indians thought they had never seen so fat a man, and the word got about that "Na'kwoel," a very rotund legendary hero of theirs and the personification of old age, had come back to them.[89]

In New Caledonia, Ogden was the great "Poo-Bah," and his post was the capital of the vast area.[90] It was both the administrative and economic centre, for Ogden was both law-giver and chief merchant. He was head of the social service, too, for one of his jobs was to see that his people did not starve, and as the district was not very productive, starvation was an ever-present possibility.[91] In 1841, the year the Thompson River district was added to his territory, he requisitioned 30,000 salmon from Fort Babine.[92] Salmon was the great staple food—

(86) It is amazing how the Hudson's Bay Company's ships got through in the rough Pacific waters. These little craft plied along the coast, as far north as Sitka, as far south as Monterey, and to sea as far as Hawaii, with their cargoes of logs and deals, shingles and rafters, dry and salted salmon, bringing back hides from California, molasses, sugar, and salt from the Islands. On occasion they even rounded the Horn to England. The *Dryad* was one of the largest of them, and she was a brig of only 200 tons. The others ranged down to the *Broughton* of 30 tons. The *Cadboro*, of 70 tons, was one of the smallest. Simpson claimed that she was quite unfit for the trade as there were hundreds of war canoes on the coast longer and higher out of the water than she.

(87) The commission is dated January 1, 1835, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(88) E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Ogden's Snake Country Journals*, under date February 16, 1826, p. 129.

(89) Rev. A. G. Morice, O.M.I., *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1905, p. 172.

(90) *Ibid.*, pp. 176–177.

(91) *Ibid.*, p. 177.

(92) *Ibid.*, p. 186.

dried, it would keep for two or three years, getting less and less palatable as it got older, but still not to be despised. To help feed his people, Ogden encouraged the growing of potatoes and wheat and had a small flour-mill at Alexandria—perhaps at Kamloops, too. Thus he became British Columbia's first manufacturer of flour and first large-scale farmer.[93]

To his subordinates in the other posts of the district, to the employees at Stuart Lake, and to the Indians round about, Ogden was the embodiment of authority. Father Morice, who writes the story of New Caledonia of that day, describes him as "Lively and yet dignified with his subordinates, imperious though kind-hearted, he was generous while remaining a vigilant guardian of his corporation's interests."[94] Where there was a dispute, he acted as judge or arbiter, and his decisions were "generally on the side of justice, even though the corporation he represented had to suffer thereby."[95] At times he still indulged his fondness for practical jokes.[96]

One of Ogden's neighbours at Fort St. James for several years was Kwah, the great chief of the Carriers. Kwah was an old man by this time and not in very good health. He and Ogden visited back and forth. Sometimes Ogden borrowed the old man's fishing-traps, and Kwah,

(93) "Regarding our farming operations I have done all in my power with the slender means at my disposal to encourage them and I would strongly advise you to follow the example, two years following from the scarcity of Salmon that prevailed over the District we had convincing proofs of the great benefit arising from farming, at Ft. George ten men were solely supported on grain and at Alexandria even more in proportion, independent of these advantages which are not of minor importance. I have within the last year reduced our demand on Colville twenty-five bags of flour less in itself again no small object when we take into consideration the long transport with Horses. . . ." In W. N. Sage (*ed.*), "Peter Skene Ogden's Notes on Western Caledonia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I (1937), p. 52. During the several years Ogden was in charge of New Caledonia, the post at Fort Alexandria was commanded by A. C. Anderson, whose son, James Robert, spent six years at that post as a boy and has this to say in his memoirs: "My father being of an agricultural turn of mind devoted a great deal of the men's time to the growing of crops and the rearing of cattle . . . and most successful he was in his endeavors: the production of wheat was phenomenal and so a grist mill was constructed and flour produced; where the mill stones came from I cannot say, but the motive power was horse power. A marvel it appeared to me of complicated machinery." J. R. Anderson, *Notes and Comments, Transcript*, Archives of B.C., pp. 50–51.

(94) Rev. A. G. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

(95) *Ibid.*, p. 180.

(96) *Ibid.*, p. 173.

when he had it, would send some game to the fort. Ogden would respond with a bit of sugar or flour or an onion or turnip from the garden. "Qua sent a whole beaver by a young man," reads the fort *Journal,* "at the same time he requested a turnip to refresh himself after his trip down the river."[97] But not all the Indians were friendly like old Kwah. Some were dangerous, and Ogden did not think any of them were particularly trustworthy. During his stay at Fort St. James three Hudson's Bay men, including his old Isle a la Crosse friend Samuel Black, were murdered by Indians.[98] In each case the murder was in supposed revenge for the death of a relative.

Each year, during his stay at Stuart Lake, Ogden led the brigade down to Fort Vancouver to take out the furs and bring in the supplies. He left usually about April 22,[99] took the boats down the Fraser to Fort Alexandria, and then followed the trail on horseback by way of Kamloops and Grande Prairie and through the Okanagan Valley to Fort Okanagan, where the Columbia boats were waiting. He had quite a load going down, for the profits of his district reached something like £10,000 a year.[100] By the middle of September he would be back at Fort St. James with his supplies for the coming year.[101]

Ogden liked it in New Caledonia. "I would not exchange my Dry Salmon with you," he wrote his old friend John McLeod, who had retired to Lower Canada.[102] But in the summer of 1844 he went out and did not return. He had a furlough coming to him, which he spent in Eastern Canada and Europe. In 1845 he was back on the Columbia

(97) *Ibid.*, p. 197.

(98) The story of Black's murder is told by Ogden in *Traits of American Indian Life,* pp. 187–195, in the chapter entitled "The Shewappe Murder."

(99) W. N. Sage (*ed.*), "Notes on Western Caledonia," *loc. cit.*, p. 55.

(100) T. C. Elliott in the Portland *Oregonian*, December 19, 1909, claims that Ogden was eminently successful in New Caledonia, bringing out furs to the value of $100,000 each spring. Writing to John McLeod on February 25, 1837, Ogden recorded: "This year we have been far more fortunate in every respect than last as our profits will exceed ten thousand Pounds last year little more than seven and if I can only manage to keep it up to ten I shall be very pleased & so ought all interested for independent of the opposition on the Coast the Country is not so rich as it was a few years past however, it still fully repays us for our trouble & I may also add there is not a District in the Country to equal it. in a word I am well pleased with my present birth [*sic*]." Quoted in *Washington Historical Quarterly,* II (1907–8), pp. 259–260.

(101) W. N. Sage (*ed.*), "Notes on Western Caledonia," *loc. cit.*, pp. 50–51.

(102) Ogden to McLeod, February 25, 1837, quoted in *Washington Historical Quarterly,* II (1907–8), p. 259.

and on the way acted as guide to two British officers who were making a reconnaissance, Lieutenants H. J. Warre and M. Vavasour. He did not like them, and they, as it turned out, did not like him, but that is another story.[103] Simpson needed Ogden on the Columbia, for he was now the Chief Factor closest to the Governor. The Company's days south of the 49th parallel were numbered, and McLoughlin's days with the Company were also numbered. A board of management was set up—McLoughlin, Ogden, and Douglas. McLoughlin retired in 1846, and Ogden and Douglas carried on, none too happily it would appear. In 1849 Douglas moved to Fort Victoria, and Ogden became virtually master of the Company's affairs at Fort Vancouver.

Before that, however, one of the great adventures of his adventurous life came. In the end it was not the American traders whom Simpson feared that pushed the Hudson's Bay Company out of Oregon, but the missionaries and settlers whom the big-hearted McLoughlin had befriended. Among the missionaries was Dr. Marcus Whitman and his wife, Narcissa. They had established a mission among the Cayuse Indians at Waiilatpu, 25 miles east of Walla Walla. The mission grew and the Whitman home became an orphanage, and round it a church, a school, and a hospital were built. Whitman was a propagandist for settlement, and his propaganda brought in large numbers. Unfortunately, with the 1847 migration came measles, dysentery, and typhus fever. The measles was of a particularly virulent type and carried off Indians in hundreds. They had their own cure-all—a steam bath and then a plunge into cold water. Whatever the merits of the cure, it did not work in this instance. The Indians died, and Whitman, who had

(103) "I had certainly two most disagreeable companions and I almost doubt you could have selected another that would have so quietly submitted as I did, but from a sense of duty I was determined not to loose [*sic*] sight of the object of our voyage and was silent to their constant grumbling and complaining not only about their food which was as good and abundant as any Man could wish for or desire but also in regard to promises made by you. . . . I should not however trouble you with further particulars, suffice it to say I would rather for ever forego the pleasure of seeing my Friends than submit to travel over the same road with the same companions." Ogden to Simpson, March 20, 1846, *quoted in* E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters: Third Series*, pp. 146–147, foot-note 3. These officers' opinion of Ogden is found in James R. Anderson, *Notes and Comments*, p. 337, in a letter written by James Anderson, a Hudson's Bay officer who met the officers after their return to the East from their visit on the Pacific Coast, to his brother, A. C. Anderson: "These gents seem to be partial to the Dr. [McLoughlin] and Worth [Work] but dislike Douglas, Ogden and Sir George."

been treating them wherever he could, was blamed. The Indians always held their own medicine men strictly to account. Consequently, one night in November the Cayuse young men took matters into their own hands and for several days the fury raged. When it calmed down, Whitman, his wife, and a dozen associates were dead, and about fifty white persons had been captured and carried off.

It was a week before a messenger reached Fort Vancouver with the news. Ogden and Douglas heard the story, but what should they do? They were Hudson's Bay officers, but Oregon had been American territory for a year and they had neither authority nor responsibility. The dead were all Americans; they had been warned of their danger but had paid no heed. Why should the Company worry? Ogden and Douglas thought not of the dead, but of the fifty captives. They knew that if the American authorities at Oregon City made one move against the Indians, the first thing they would do would be to butcher the fifty. By dawn Ogden was off up-river with two bateaux.[104] In his days on the Columbia he had made the acquaintance of all the tribes, and he was known among them as "Old Whitehead" and was much respected. It took nearly a fortnight, pulling against the current, to reach Walla Walla. There Ogden circulated word through the tribes that he was among them and would like to talk to them. The chiefs gathered, and to the Indian council Ogden went unarmed and alone. He spoke to the chiefs in their own tongue and in their own fashion, leisurely, beating about the bush as much as protocol required. But he spoke plainly, too. Their hot-headed young men had killed white people and to kill white people was very "bad medicine" for the Indians. They knew that from their thirty years' experience with the Hudson's Bay Company. If the Americans began war, it would not end until there were no Indians left. This was none of the Company's business and he could make no promises, but if the chiefs would deliver the captives to him he would pay them a ransom. To Ogden one of the Cayuse chiefs replied. "Your words are weighty. Your hairs are gray. We have known you a long time. You have had an unpleasant journey to this place. I cannot therefore keep the captives back. I make them over to you, which I would not do to a younger man than yourself."

The other chiefs had to be convinced, and it was days before the prisoners were all delivered and ready to start down the river with the

(104) The story is told by Douglas MacKay, "Men of the Old Fur Trade," *The Beaver*, June, 1939, pp. 7–9; and by Herbert Dank, "The Spirit of the Fur Trade," *The Beaver*, June, 1930, pp. 18–19.

man who had saved them. There was great rejoicing when they reached Portland and a salute was fired. There was another salute at Oregon City. Ogden was thanked by the Governor, but himself made light of his achievement. Telling his friend Donald Ross of the massacre, he merely remarked that he had had the good fortune to rescue the captives.[105] To the Company he made a brief report of the incident and added that if the Governor and Committee thought he had exceeded his authority in charging the costs of the rescue expedition to the Fort Vancouver account, he would meet the expense himself. One of those taken down the river by Ogden was John Mix Stanley, the well-known American portrait-painter.[106] In gratitude, perhaps, he painted the Chief Factor's portrait and, if you are interested, you may see it on the wall in the Provincial Archives in Victoria.

Ogden was often in a pessimistic mood during his last years at Fort Vancouver and complained to old friends with whom he corresponded. He was in poor health and often laid up. He seemed afraid that he might end his days in poverty after his long years of toil.[107] He thought the Company's dividends too low.[108] Douglas did,

(105) Ogden to Ross, March 10, 1848, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(106) Stanley was born in New York State in 1814 and was a wagon-maker by trade. He was with General Kearny in California in 1846 as a draughtsman to the corps of topographical engineers. He had done considerable painting, both landscapes and portraits, and at the end of his army career decided to make a tour in the Pacific Northwest, reaching Oregon in July, 1847. In October he was at Tshimakain, the mission of Cushing Eells and Elkanah Walker. From this place he went to Waiilatpu, where he intended painting the portraits of the Whitmans. When a few miles from Waiilatpu he heard of the massacre, and with the aid of an Indian guide escaped to Walla Walla. *See* Nellie Pipes, "John Mix Stanley, Indian Painter," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (1932), pp. 250–258.

(107) ". . . I have been very unwell and one day confined to my bed—I am indeed harrassed to death this I attribute my illness to. . . ." Ogden to W. F. Tolmie, July 18, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. "Mr. Hardisty arrived here safely on Saturday Evng and del'd me your letter but I am too weak at present to make reply to it. . . ." Ogden to Tolmie, August 25, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. ". . . the Fur trade still continues in a most depressed state and unfortunately no prospect of improvement and altho most anxious to retire so long as it remains so I dread to pronounce the word for once uttered it cannot be recalled and to die in poverty after having so long toiled would tend to make me wretched for the remainder of my days. I therefore submit to my fate with resignation the Gold mines will enrich many but not the Fur traders they are truly a doom'd race. . . ." Ogden to John Haldane, April 21, 1849, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(108) ". . . you can form very little idea of the state of anxiety we have endured for the last three Months and still endure and when I take into consider-

too, and wrote "just about enough to keep us in tobacco money."[109] Ogden did not have much hope that the Red River colony would ever amount to much, and he had about the same opinion of Vancouver Island, where even the coal mines left him cold.[110] He had troubles, too, at the time of the California gold-rush. His workers on the farm and even the commissioned officers deserted, leaving the harvest uncut and the stock untended. There was a compensation, however, for the Company was able to buy gold dust at $12 an ounce, giving goods in return on which it took "precious good care to place 300 p c on prime Cost." The gold-rush set Ogden moralizing a little: ". . . Gold has a charm about it that is irresistible . . . we poor Indian Traders have never experienced it for the plain reason we see none of it in the present days in any shape whatever for alas we no longer have any placed to our Credit."[111]

In 1852 Ogden went east. He spent most of the year in Lower Canada and about New York, where there were many Ogdens. He visited Washington, D.C., and helped Simpson with some business. Returning by way of Panama, he took passage on the steamship *Tennessee,* which was wrecked near San Francisco. This was his final adventure. The overexertion and exposure proved too much for his failing strength, and the next September he died.[112] He was only 60

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ation the low state of our Dividends it is to those who suffer no great inducement to remain and did I not expect soon to see an end to the Columbia I would this year send in my resignation. . . ." Ogden to Donald Ross, March 6, 1849, *MS.,* Archives of B.C. "Let us have a few words on the subject of Dividends year after year they are fast diminishing never is there the slightest appearance of a reaction in our favour and to beguile us we are assured with experiments . . . but not a word is said on the subject of reducing expences [*sic*] on the contrary the expences [*sic*] of Red River are annually on the increase and last year thanks to Lord Lewis and Mr. Gladstone considerably so and we must pay the Pipers. . . ." Ogden to Ross, March 18, 1850, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(109) Douglas to A. C. Anderson, October 28, 1850, quoted in J. R. Anderson, *Notes and Comments, Transcript,* Archives of B.C., p. 192.

(110) "We shall soon have I fear have [*sic*] another Bill of Expenditure should their Honors pawn their bargain of Vancouver Island on the Fur trade as they did in regard to Red River then we got for our trouble and Money wild Plains and discontented Settlers and Vancouver Island is probably likely to obtain Rocks no Settlers . . . and the *rich* Coal Mines will in all probability prove a failure and loss to all concerned." Ogden to Donald Ross, March 18, 1850, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(111) Ogden to Ross, March 6, 1849, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(112) An article by T. C. Elliott in the Portland *Oregonian,* December 19, 1909.

years old, but he had crowded enough activity and adventure into his life for a full century. In its many years west of the mountains, the Hudson's Bay Company had no more resourceful, vigorous, or courageous officer than Peter Skene Ogden. His tact, sense of responsibility, his fortitude in the face of adversity, his constant good humour and gaiety were qualities that paid dividends to the Company if not to himself.

There is much that could be said about Ogden's family, but only a few paragraphs will be added about the remarkable woman who was his companion through most of his roving. In Saskatchewan Ogden had had a Cree wife but she had died. On the Columbia he had married, fur-trade fashion, the daughter of a Spokane chief whom he called Princess Julia. There is a story—the truth of which is not known—that Ogden had bought her from her father for fifty horses, Julia herself having set the price. According to the tale, the transaction was something of an auction; one after another Ogden sent the horses to the old chief's lodge, thus upping the bid each time, and when the fiftieth had been sent Julia came riding it back. That was the wedding.

If even half the stories told about her are true, Julia was a woman of unusual courage and capacity and helped materially in making Ogden's fortune. Like the other Indian wives, she followed her husband on his expeditions, enduring the same hardships and privations as he, facing the same dangers. She lived with him at Fort St. James and at Fort Vancouver and every spring, when in New Caledonia, came south with the brigade. In his letters, Ogden speaks of her affectionately as "the Old Lady." Once in the Snake country, according to the story Joe Meek told,[113] while Ogden was camped not far from a party of American trappers, the Hudson's Bay horses were stampeded and some of them ran to the American camp. Among these was a pack-horse loaded with beaver-skins and Princess Julia's own saddle-horse with her baby slung in a sack from the saddle. It was not long before Julia missed the baby and traced the horse to the American camp. Without fear, she entered, seized her horse by the bridle and mounted it. Then, as she spurred out, she caught sight of the pack-horse and seizing its halter pulled it along. The Americans did not want the baby, but they did want the beaver-skins, for it had been in the hope of getting some of Ogden's skins that they had camped so near. Some shouted out to

(113) This story is related in Frances Fuller Victor, *The River of the West*, Newark, 1870, pp. 95–96.

shoot the rash woman who was running off with the prize, but most of the men admired Julia's pluck and she rode out in safety. There is another story of Julia's swimming the Snake River in March to get a goose for her sick child and returning with a necklace of icicles where she had held her head above the water.

Julia moved to British Columbia some years after her husband's death and died at Lac la Hache in January, 1886, aged 98. Her daughter, Sara Julia, the baby she saved from the American camp, had married Archibald McKinlay of the Hudson's Bay Company and died at Savona, B.C. There must be scores of descendants of this notable couple in British Columbia—Ogdens, McKinlays, Hamiltons, Fergusons, Alexanders, Mansons, McDougalls, Halls, and others of the current generation.[114] They should all be proud, and no doubt are, that the blood of Old Whitehead and Princess Julia runs in their veins.

D. A. McGREGOR.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(114) Peter Skene Ogden had eight children: Peter, born January 17, 1817, died at Fort St. James, October, 1870; Charles, born September 5, 1819, died at Lac la Hache, 1880; Cecilia, born April 2, 1822; Michael, born September 29, 1824, died in Montana Territory; Sara Julia, born January 1, 1826, died August 4, 1892, at Savona, B.C.; David, born February 1, 1828, and died in his youth; Euretta Mary, born July 29, 1836, at Fort St. James, died at Champoeg, Oregon, February 10, 1861; Isaac, born June 6, 1839, at Fort St. James, and died at Champoeg in 1869. His eldest son, Peter, who had married Phrisine Brabbant and had eleven children, had a tragic end. He had been educated at Red River and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. As a Chief Trader he was in charge of Fort St. James, where his father had served before him. His eldest son, Peter Skene, a clerk in the Company's service and a noted hunter, was at Fort St. James with him. One day the young man went out hunting with dogs and Indians; the hunters roused a bear, and young Ogden, following the dogs, left the Indians far behind. When they finally came up, they found Peter and the dogs lying on the ground beside the dead bear. Overheated, the young man caught a cold and died a week later. The shock was too much for his father, and he died the same day. Cecilia married Hugh Fraser. Michael was twice married and left a number of children. Sara Julia married Archibald McKinlay, long with the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia. In the sixties the McKinlays suffered heavily from floods on the Columbia and moved to Savona, B.C., where they died. They left ten children. Isaac married Anne Manson, daughter of Chief Trader Donald Manson, and left one son and two daughters. The remaining children did not marry. *See* W. Ogden Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 ff.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE OLD OREGON COUNTRY*

Most historians of the Pacific Northwest attribute the beginning of Christian missions in the old Oregon country to the appearance at St. Louis in the fall of 1831 of four Nez Perce Indians. According to Protestant sources, these Indians were seeking the "Book of Life"; according to Roman Catholics, they sought the "Blackrobes," as the Jesuit missionaries were known. Some modern historians, unable to account for the Indians' interest in Christianity, have even asserted that they had no religious interest at all.[1] The publicity given this event caused the Methodist Church to send out Rev. Jason Lee in 1834, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to send out Rev. Samuel Parker in 1835. As a result of these exploratory trips, the Methodists established themselves in the Willamette Valley, and the American Board sent Marcus Whitman, Henry Spalding, and W. H. Gray in 1836, and Cushing Eells, Elkanah Walker, and A. B. Smith in 1838 into the area of Eastern Washington and Idaho now called the Inland Empire. The Roman Catholic priests Fathers De Smet and Blanchet arrived at Fort Vancouver in the fall of 1838.

To what must have been their amazement, these missionaries found the Indians of this region already engaged in Christian worship and practices. Furthermore, the missionaries found that these Indians had a common form of worship which they were loath to exchange for the forms brought by the new-comers. Father Nobili, S.J., in June, 1847, "gave it as his opinion that the hope of a successful work among the Walla Walla, the Nez Perce, the Spokanes, and the Cayuse were slender,"[2] and the American Board missionaries had made almost no converts when their work was closed with the Whitman massacre of 1847.

From where and from whom did these Indian tribes receive their Christian instruction? And why did it make them so unresponsive to the initial efforts of both Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries?

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* The substance of this article was prepared for submission to the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., December 28 to 30, 1952.

(1) Ray A. Billington, *Westward Expansion,* New York, 1949, p. 515.

(2) Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits in the Middle United States,* New York, Vol. II, p. 343.

The search for an answer to these questions leads us across the continent and the Atlantic Ocean to the London headquarters of the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England. In 1819 the North West Company drew the attention of the Society to the desirability of establishing missionary work among the Indians in the area "lying between the high ridge called the Rocky Mountains and the North Pacific Ocean, and extending from about the 42nd to the 57th degree of North Latitude." The same year the Hudson's Bay Company proposed to the Society that it undertake work among the Indians living between the "Rocky Mountains and Hudson's Bay."[3]

The Hudson's Bay Company appointed Rev. John West as chaplain to its settlement on the Red River, now Winnipeg, and the Society gave him £100 to make a trial at establishing a school for Indians. West arrived there in October, 1820, and soon had his school, where Indian children were taught agriculture as well as religion. He wrote to the Society urging it to establish another mission at the mouth of the Columbia " on the banks of the Willammette [*sic*] River."[4]

West's school was so successful that at the January, 1822, meeting of the Society—at which time Benjamin Harrison and Nicholas Garry, both directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, were present—it was decided to appropriate £800 for Indian work at the Red River settlement and to organize the work there as a post of the Society, thus removing West from under the control of the Company.[5]

West returned to England in 1823 to become the secretary of the Society. His successor, Rev. David T. Jones, carried on the work he had begun very effectively. Jones decided to bring thirty Indian children, one half boys and one half girls, from distant tribes to his school to educate them in Christian ways at the expense of the Society. He asked George Simpson, Governor of the Northern Department of the Company, to aid him in securing the children. Although Simpson did not favour educating Indians, he agreed to help, influenced undoubtedly by the attitude of the directors in London.[6]

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(3) *Church Missionary Society Proceedings, 1819–1820,* quoted in J. O. Oliphant, "George Simpson and Oregon Missions," *Pacific Historical Review,* VI (1937), pp. 224–225.

(4) J. O. Oliphant, *op. cit.,* pp. 223–231 passim.

(5) *An Historical Account of the Formation of the Church Missionary's North West America Mission and Its Progress to August, 1848,* London, 1849, pp. 8–9.

(6) J. O. Oliphant, *op. cit.,* pp. 230–233.

While on his way to Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia in the fall of 1824, Simpson asked Alexander Ross, a trader for the Company on the Upper Columbia, to select two Indian boys to go back to the school with him in the spring. Ross did this, and the two lads, named by Simpson, Spokane Garry and Kootenai Pelly, arrived at Spokane House on April 12, 1825, to join the east-bound brigade.[7]

At the Red River school, where they spent more than four years, Garry and Pelly learned to read and write, to speak English with a Scotch accent, and a little about agriculture. They were given a good grounding in the Book of Common Prayer, with its daily offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, and a knowledge of the Holy Bible, and there they were baptized.[8]

In the summer of 1829 the two young men returned home and told their tribes and others about the religion they had studied and practised at the school. According to reports sent back to Jones by officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Indians on the Upper Columbia "paid the utmost attention to the information conveyed to them through the boys . . . and readily received whatsoever instruction or doctrine they thought proper to inculcate . . . and ever since they assemble every Sunday to keep the Sabbath in the ways they [*sic*] boys had directed."[9]

So enthusiastic were these two young men about the school and its teachings that when they returned in the spring of 1830 they took with them five additional young lads—Spokane Berens, possibly a brother of Garry; a Kootenai named Collins; two Nez Perces given the names

(7) Alexander Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, London, 1855, Vol. II, pp. 158–160; Frederick Merk (*ed.*), *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 138.

(8) Some confusion exists as to the date of the baptism. Presumably Spokane Garry was named at a ceremony on April 12, 1825, and was later baptized by Rev. D. T. Jones on June 24, 1827, according to the parish register at St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg. Drury is in error when he gives the date June 27. On this point *see* J. O. Oliphant, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Clifford M. Drury, "Oregon Indians in the Red River School," *Pacific Historical Review*, VII (1938), p. 54; and Sarah Tucker, *Rainbow of the North: A Short Account of the First Establishment of Christianity in Rupert's Land by the Church Missionary Society*, London, 1851, p. 70.

(9) D. T. Jones to the Secretary, Church Missionary Society, July 25, 1832, *MS.*, Church Missionary Society Archives.

of Ellis and Pitt; and a Cayuse called Halket.[10] These names given the boys were those of directors of the Company and were attached to the name of their tribe.

It was the enthusiasm stirred up by a visit of Garry to the Nez Perces to secure these two lads for the school that caused that tribe to send the "delegation" to St. Louis in the fall of 1831 to secure "Christian teachers," Lawyer, a prominent Nez Perce chief, told a missionary in 1839.[11] The *Foreign Missionary Chronicle* of August, 1834, stated that the four were sent east to learn how "white men talk to the Great Spirit" after they had heard from one of their number who had visited Canada.[12] The Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Louis, Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, who himself received these Indians, wrote that they ". . . received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who have been to Canada . . ."[13] The only Indians known to have gone to Canada from whom the Nez Perce could have received any such notions were Garry and Pelly, and because of similarities between Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, the bishop's mistake was a natural one.

In the meantime, back at the Red River Mission, Kootenai Pelly had been injured falling from a horse and died April 6, 1831. Gary was sent back with the sad news that fall, and the following summer the five others returned also. Collins died shortly after his return, and Pitt does not appear to have done any religious teaching, but Spokane Garry, Cayuse Halket, and Ellis of the Nez Perce all conducted services and gave instruction to their tribes. The basis of their teaching was the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England and the Holy Bible.[14]

In 1836, before any Roman Catholic or Protestant missionaries had visited them, John K. Townsend spent some time among the Cayuse. He found them holding divine services twice every day—in the morning

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(10) *An Historical Account of the Formation . . .*, pp. 17–18; William McKay, "Early Missions," *Oregon Churchman*, December 15, 1873. Dr. William McKay, himself part Indian, was born at Astoria, Oregon, in 1822 and was a physician on the Umatilla Indian Reservation.

(11) Clifford M. Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, Caldwell, 1936, pp. 78–79.

(12) Clifford M. Drury, "The Nez Perce 'Delegation' of 1831," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XL (1939), pp. 286–287.

(13) Clifford M. Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, p. 80, quotes this letter. It is also reproduced in G. J. Garraghan, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 237.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 78; *see also* Clifford M. Drury, "Oregon Indians in the Red River School," *op. cit.*, p. 57.

and after supper—and his description of an evening service he attended[15] bears a remarkable resemblance to the Office of Daily Evening Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer. Halket's labours were bearing fruit.

That same year Samuel Parker on his exploratory tour stopped among the Nez Perce, where he observed Christian practices. When he prayed during a service for them, they all repeated "amen" in their own tongue after him,[16] an Anglican practice. Ellis's labours were bearing fruit.

Spokane Garry built a school and a church building and taught English and agriculture to his people, as well as holding services and instructing them in the Christian faith.[17] Testimony to his efforts was given by Parker[18] in 1836, Gray[19] in 1837, and Walker and Eells[20] in 1838. Garry's efforts reached other tribes also, and Father Joset, one of the first Jesuits to visit the Coeur d'Alenes, stated in 1845 that Garry was responsible for Christianizing that tribe.[21] Walker describes a Christian service he heard conducted by the Coeur d'Alenes in 1839.

It was not the intention of the Society that this work among the Indians of the Far West should be left to partly educated young Indians, but insufficient funds to answer the many calls upon it made it impossible to open a new work there. As early as 1825 Simpson had notified the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company that it would cost from £500 to £700 annually to maintain a mission on the Columbia.[22] Five years later the Company notified Simpson of its intention to send a chaplain west of the Rockies. Two appointments were subsequently made but both clergymen declined.[23]

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(15) John K. Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains, to the Columbia, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands,* Philadelphia, 1839, pp. 245–247.

(16) Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains,* New York, 1838, p. 98.

(17) William S. Lewis, "The Case for Spokane Garry," *Bulletin of the Spokane Historical Society,* January, 1917, pp. 14–16.

(18) Samuel Parker, *op. cit.,* pp. 289–290.

(19) "The Unpublished Journal of William H. Gray from December, 1836, to October, 1837," *Whitman College Quarterly,* Vol. XVI, p. 77.

(20) Clifford M. Drury, *Elkanah and Mary Walker,* Caldwell, 1940, p. 101.

(21) G. J. Garraghan, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 314.

(22) F. Merk, *op. cit.,* p. 107.

(23) G. Hollis Slater, "New Light on Herbert Beaver," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* VI (1942), p. 17.

Finally, in 1836 Rev. Herbert Beaver,[24] a former British Army chaplain in the West Indies, accepted appointment, and with his wife, Jane, arrived at Fort Vancouver on September 16, only a few days before the Whitman party of American missionaries arrived. Supplies for a church and for his work having arrived in May, Beaver expected to find a church and rectory ready for him. When he arrived there was no evidence of any preparation, and the Beavers were placed in temporary quarters, and he given the use of the mess-hall for services.[25]

Dr. John McLoughlin, the Chief Factor in charge, had petitioned the Company for Roman Catholic priests and was obviously disappointed in having to accept an Anglican. McLoughlin, whose sister was a nun,[26] had a Roman Catholic mother and an Anglican father. Baptized a Roman Catholic, the Chief Factor had been brought up largely by an Anglican uncle.[27]

In England, Beaver had been led to believe that he was to exercise all the rights and privileges of a parson of the established church in the Department of the Columbia. According to this usage, McLoughlin turned the direction of the school at the fort over to Beaver, but when the latter insisted upon teaching the catechism of the Church of England to all the pupils, McLoughlin withdrew the charge from him.

This started a conflict between McLoughlin as a virtual dictator in the name of the Company and Beaver as a zealous upholder of the rights of the clergy—a conflict which spread to include the food served to the Beavers, the allowance of wine given the chaplain, the practice of slavery at the fort, the treatment of the indentured Hawaiians, and, most serious of all, the matrimonial situation.

With the exception of Jane Beaver, all the wives at the fort were Indian or part Indian, and almost all had been married to their husbands fur-trade fashion.[28] While the officers at Fort Vancouver and their

(24) For further biographical data on Herbert Beaver *see* Thomas E. Jessett, "Herbert Beaver, First Anglican Clergyman West of the Rockies," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XVI (1947), pp. 413–432.

(25) Hudson's Bay Company Archives, *B223/b/14.* (Grateful acknowledgment is made of the permission of the Governor and Committee to use material made available from their Archives.)

(26) "Letter of John McLoughlin, March 1, 1833," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* II (1907–08), pp. 167–168.

(27) W. Kaye Lamb in his introduction to E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee: First Series, 1825–1838,* London, 1941, p. xxx.

(28) Fur-trade marriages were sometimes conducted along Indian tribal customs, sometimes very informally. At this time they had no legal standing.

wives were a splendid group who led exemplary lives, the experience of the Society and the Company elsewhere had led them to believe that something ought to be done about these frontier unions which were generally taken rather lightly. The abandoned children from these unions were often a charge upon the Company and the Society for their maintenance.

Undoubtedly under instructions, Beaver began a campaign to get those married fur-trade fashion to have their unions regularized by marriage ceremonies performed by him. The second in command at the fort, James Douglas, and his wife, Amelia Connally, were so married by him in February, 1837; but McLoughlin, the Chief Factor, refused to consider such a course though Beaver was extremely desirous of having him set an example. Annoyed at McLoughlin's refusal, Beaver commenced to refer to those married only in the fur-trade manner as "living in adultery." He finally went so far in a letter to the Company as to refer to Mrs. McLoughlin, a fine lady, as "the kept mistress of the highest personage in your service."[29] McLoughlin read all letters leaving the post and was so angry at this insult to his wife that he gave Beaver a thrashing with his own walking-stick.[30]

McLoughlin left for England immediately after this quarrel reached its climax, and James Douglas assumed charge of the fort. Although things improved for a time, Beaver wrote another of his indiscreet letters and was relieved of his post by Douglas,[31] after which he left for England in November, 1838.

Although he limited his efforts to the officers, employees, and ex-servants of the Company, Beaver officiated at 124 baptisms, 9 marriages, and 12 burials during his two-year stay at Fort Vancouver. Children were brought to the fort for him to baptize by the settlers on the Willamette and Cowlitz Rivers, from Nisqually, from Fort George, and from Fort Colville.[32] Pierre Pambrum, the well-known Roman

(29) Hudson's Bay Company Archives, *B223/b/19*.

(30) For details of the dispute between McLoughlin and Beaver *see* Thomas E. Jessett, "Origins of the Episcopal Church in the Pacific Northwest," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (1947), pp. 225–244.

(31) W. Kaye Lamb (*ed.*), "The James Douglas Report on the 'Beaver Affair,'" *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (1946), pp. 16–28.

(32) Register of baptisms, marriages, and burials performed by Rev. Herbert Beaver at Fort Vancouver. The originals are in the possession of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B.C., and photostats were made available to the author.

Catholic clerk at Walla Walla, had Beaver baptize his son, Alexander, on March 3, 1837.[33]

Beaver made no effort to reach out to the Indian tribes near by or farther up the Columbia River. Had he been a different sort of person, more adaptable to frontier conditions so that he could have travelled up the Columbia and made contact with the Indians Christianized by the young lads educated at the Red River Mission, the whole story of that effort might have been very different.

Instead, when the British relinquished claims to territory below the 49th parallel in 1846 and the Hudson's Bay Company withdrew from American territory, the bonds with the Red River Mission were broken, and, lacking fresh inspiration, the movement among the Indians began to decline. As late as 1853 Governor Stevens of Washington Territory saw some Spokane Indians at worship in a service which he describes in a manner adequate to show its prayer-book origin,[34] but the end was in sight.

In 1872, annoyed at the efforts of Jesuit missionaries from the neighbouring Coeur d'Alene reservation to convert the Spokanes, Garry began a revival of his former efforts. He was quite successful, but knowing of no clergyman of his own church, he sent to Lapwai for the Presbyterian missionary, Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding, to baptize his converts. That same year the Government Inspector for Indian Affairs on the Pacific Coast, Colonel E. M. Kemble, an Episcopalian, visited the Spokanes and talked with Garry about the Church of which both were members. Kemble forwarded a letter from Garry to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States at New York requesting a teacher for his people.[35] Lack of funds prevented compliance with this appeal, and the Spokanes were divided between the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics. When Garry died in 1892, the Presbyterian minister in Spokane buried him.[36]

Thus ended the noble dream of Rev. John West of an Anglican mission among the Indians of the Inland Empire.

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(33) *Ibid.*

(34) N. W. Durham, *History of the City of Spokane and Spokane County, Washington, from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, Spokane, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 153–154.

(35) *Spirit of Missions, 1873*, pp. 623–624, 754–755, as quoted in Thomas E. Jessett, "Anglicanism among the Indians of Washington Territory," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLII (1951), pp. 238–240.

(36) W. S. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Beaver's successor on the coast, Rev. Robert Staines, did not arrive until 1849 and was sent to Victoria, B.C. He crossed to the American side in 1850 and 1851, when he visited the Company's post at Nisqually and officiated there. He also officiated for the United States Army garrison at Fort Steilacoom.[37] Staines was drowned while on his way to England in 1854, and with his death ended the efforts of the Church of England in the Old Oregon country below the 49th parallel.[38]

Although this project of the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England in the Old Oregon country appears to have been a failure, it was not entirely so. The efforts of the Indian lads educated at the Red River mission undoubtedly made easier the task of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries when the tribes they partially Christianized finally realized that no more help was going to come from that direction. The first American Anglican missionaries on the Lower Columbia made contact with those to whom Beaver had ministered. When Right Rev. Thomas F. Scott, the first Episcopal bishop to the Pacific Northwest, held his initial confirmation service, it was at Cathlamet, Washington, in 1854. Seven of those confirmed were members of the family of James Birnie, whose marriage to his part-Indian wife Beaver had solemnized, and six of whose children he had baptized.[39] Thus, in fact, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States began its work in this region upon the foundations laid by Beaver.

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(37) Victor J. Farrar (*ed.*), "The Nisqually Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* XI (1920), p. 228; XIII (1922), pp. 63–64.

(38) G. Hollis Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines: Pioneer Priest, Pedagogue, and Political Agitator," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XIV (1950), pp. 187–240.

(39) *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convocation of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, 1855.*

PERRY McDONOUGH COLLINS AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE

Fame touched Perry McDonough Collins only briefly; he emerged from obscurity in 1856 and returned to oblivion a decade later. Yet in that ten years he was the leading spirit in one of the great projects of the nineteenth century—the transcontinental telegraph to link Europe with America via Siberia and Bering Strait. Had the Atlantic cable broken again in 1866 or had his project begun only a few years earlier, his name would perhaps enjoy the renown now accorded to Cyrus Field. The cable held, his incomplete telegraph was left to rust in the wilderness of British Columbia, and Perry Collins again disappeared into the limbo of forgotten notability.[1]

The idea of a transcontinental telegraph may have occurred to Collins during a journey from St. Petersburg through Siberia to the Amur River in 1856, although the motivation for his journey appears to have been solely to examine the commercial prospects of the Amur River area in his capacity as commercial agent of the United States.[2] Collins had been appointed to this position at the suggestion of the California delegation in the United States House of Representatives, who had expressed to the Secretary of State their desire to promote commercial intercourse between the Pacific Coast of the United States and the Amur River, and nominated Collins to investigate potentialities of the Amur River country.[3]

The earliest mention of a telegraph in his communications to the Department of State was in a letter of March 6, 1858. He wrote to Secretary of State Lewis Cass:—

> This country [the Amur area] provided by nature with a natural road to the ocean, heretofore closed by barbaric powers, it is hoped will ere long, awake to the scream of the steam engine and the lightning flashes of the telegraph, and to be

(1) A good account of the Collins telegraph is provided by Corday Mackay, "The Collins Overland Telegraph," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* X (1946), pp. 187–215. *See also* Perry McD. Collins, *Overland Explorations in Siberia, Northern Asia and the Great Amoor Country,* New York, 1864; James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America,* New York, 1879; and Robert L. Thompson, *Wiring a Continent,* Princeton, 1947.

(2) United States, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., *H.R. Ex. Doc. No. 98.*

(3) United States, 35th Cong., 2nd Sess., *H.R. Ex. Doc. No. 53.*

received in the embrace of commercial states as a worthy, though heretofore rather a sleeping partner.[4]

The telegraph route which Collins originally conceived as the most practicable means of linking the continents was one which would have passed through Siberia, Russian America, British Columbia, the Hudson's Bay territories, and Canada to Montreal, where it would have joined the American system. As a first step to the construction of this line, he secured a Canadian charter for the Transmundane Telegraph Company, and in September, 1859, visited Montreal to confer with his Canadian backers, among whom was Sir George Simpson, Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Simpson, who was actively involved in Canadian railroad and steamship projects, had consented to allow his name to be used to secure the charter for the telegraph company, but he was skeptical of Collins's ability to fulfil his promises. Collins, styling himself as " a merchant of San Francisco and American Commercial Agent on the Amoor River," had informed his Canadian backers that Russia had promised to guarantee the payment of interest for the Russian section of the line, but before Simpson would invest his capital, he desired further information on Collins, whom the Hudson's Bay Governor believed to be less influential than he represented himself to be. Simpson, therefore, asked his friend Royal Phelps, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in New York, to provide him with further information on Collins.[5] Phelps consulted with American businessmen and with the Russian legation, and on September 23, 1859, reported to Simpson that Collins was much esteemed by the Governor of Russian America, General Mouraviev, and by the Russian Minister, Baron Stoeckel. Phelps also consulted with Cyrus W. Field, who had heard of Collins but who could provide no specific information.[6]

No further action was taken to bring to reality the Transmundane Telegraph Company, probably because American plans to build a line through the United States were far advanced, whereas the line across British North America had not proceeded beyond the visionary stage.[7]

(4) United States, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., *H.R. Ex. Doc. No. 98.*

(5) Simpson to Phelps, September 10, 1859, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/79. The writer acknowledges his obligation to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for their permission to cite correspondence preserved in their archives.

(6) Phelps to Simpson, September 23, 1859, *H.B.C. Archives,* D. 5/50.

(7) Congress authorized construction of a telegraph-line to San Francisco on June 16, 1860. The line was completed on November 15, 1861, four months and eleven days after its commencement. James D. Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 491, 496.

Also, the superiority of American capital resources to those of Canada dictated that the intercontinental telegraph be joined with the western terminus of the American system. In 1860 Collins petitioned the Government of the United States for assistance, and from this time the projected line was conceived as a junction between the United States telegraph system and that of Russian Siberia. To procure the active assistance of the Governments of the United States, Russia, and Great Britain became from this time the objective of Collins and his backers, most prominent of whom was Hiram Sibley, president of the Western Union Telegraph Company.[8]

The United States Executive and Congress, though preoccupied with imminent and, later, with actual, sectional conflict, gave Collins every encouragement short of financial assistance. On February 18, 1861, the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives reported favourably on a bill to appropriate $50,000 for a survey of the North Pacific area " having reference to telegraphic connection with Russia,"[9] and on February 17, 1862, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs advised the passage of an appropriation of $100,000 for similar purposes. Through the construction of the telegraph-line the Committee declared, " We hold the ball of the earth in our hand, and wind upon it a net work of living and thinking wire till the whole is held together and bound with the same wishes, projects, and interests."[10]

Despite such professions of support for the Collins telegraph and endorsements by such powerful groups as the New York Chamber of Commerce,[11] the United States took no action to assist Collins, probably because of the war.[12]

Meanwhile, Collins on May 23, 1863, negotiated an agreement with the Russian Government by which his company agreed to establish continuous telegraphic communication within five years on condition that it be granted exclusive privileges for thirty-three years. Russia would grant no subsidies but promised to grant a rebate of 40 per cent on the net profits of dispatches transmitted along the Russian telegraph-lines solely to America and back. Russia agreed to extend its line to the mouth of the Amur, and it was the responsibility of Collins's com-

(8) Robert L. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 371; United States, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Congressional Globe,* p. 999.

(9) United States, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., *H.R. No. 82.*

(10) United States, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Sen. Rep. Com. No. 13.*

(11) United States, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 16.*

(12) Robert L. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

pany to build the connecting-link between the Amur and the American telegraph system,[13] which in 1864 reached New Westminster, British Columbia.[14]

Since the goodwill and eventual support of the United States seemed assured, the major remaining task to be accomplished was to secure the co-operation of the British Government. In the autumn of 1863, he, therefore, sought and was granted an interview with the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, who referred him to the Colonial Office.[15]

The Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, was an enthusiastic supporter of projects for the improvement of transportation and communication facilities, always provided that they involved no charge upon the Imperial Treasury. The formidable Gladstone kept the keys to the exchequer, and he had earlier in the year emphatically declined to commit British revenue to a land telegraph. With Newcastle's support, Edward Watkin, president of the Grand Trunk Railway system, had conceived the Atlantic and Pacific Transit and Telegraph Company, for the purpose of providing telegraphic and, later, road communications from Canada through the Hudson's Bay territories to the Pacific. When Newcastle asked Gladstone whether he would support an Imperial grant for such a project, Gladstone replied that to make such a grant for a land telegraph would not only be unprecedented, but unwarranted. For subsidies to a maritime cable, he contended, a stronger case could be made, but even here demands on the Treasury were so extreme that shortly after the Palmerston Government was formed it was decided to limit assistance to the line between Great Britain and India. He concluded: "I do not think the House of Commons as at present minded would assent to such a vote if it was proposed, as I trust it will not be."[16]

Gladstone's views were decisive where expenditure was concerned, but, short of such commitments, Newcastle's energetic advocacy of projects for the improvement of communications in British North America could have free rein. With proper credentials, Collins would undoubtedly have been cordially received, but in his first communica-

(13) Melnikoff (lieutenant-general of engineers) to Collins, May 23, 1863, *in* United States, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 126.*

(14) The California State Telegraph Company extended its line in 1864 to Victoria and New Westminster. James D. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

(15) Collins to Newcastle, October 8, 1863, *C.O. 6/38.*

(16) Gladstone to Newcastle, February 16, 1863, Gladstone Collection, British Museum, *Addtl. MSS. 44263.*

tion with the Colonial Office he presented no evidence beyond his affirmation of the support of the United States and the agreement with Russia. Sir Frederic Rogers, the permanent Under-Secretary of State for Colonies and the department's leading expert on American affairs, to whom Collins's letter was referred, granted Collins an interview, but neither this nor the letter convinced Rogers of the truth of Collins's assertions.[17] Rogers, therefore, was at first cool to Collins, informing him that the power to grant a right-of-way rested not with the British Government, "but with the governments of the different colonies through which the proposed telegraph must pass."[18]

Within a month Newcastle and Rogers were converted from skepticism to enthusiasm. In November, 1863, Edward Watkin and Charles J. Brydges, of the Grand Trunk Railway system, had an interview with Newcastle on the subject of the telegraph-line which they all hoped would be built across British North America, the Atlantic and Pacific Transit and Telegraph project. During the convention, Brydges or Watkin mentioned that they had recently met General Guerhard, the director of telegraph communications for the Russian Government. The report of that interview, which they presented to Newcastle, gave the Duke new respect for Collins and his plans. The interview to which they referred had been held in the office and in the presence of Paul J. Reuter, head of Reuter's Agency. General Guerhard had told Watkin, Brydges, and Reuter of the Russian agreement with Collins and had assured them that Russian experience indicated that the line could be laid at relatively little expense and without necessity of a preliminary survey. Both Guerhard and Reuter, who had the reputation of authorities on telegraph questions, were of the opinion that a successful submarine cable across the Atlantic was unlikely and agreed that the only certain and practicable means of communication between Europe and America was by way of Siberia. If the telegraph system conceived by Collins became reality, Esquimalt or New Westminster, British Columbia, would become the focal point of the world's telegraph system, for it would be at one of these two cities that the American line from San Francisco would join the Collins telegraph, and also that the telegraph projected by Watkin across Hudson's Bay territory would reach the

(17) Note by Rogers appended to Collins to Newcastle, October 8, 1863, *C.O. 6/38.*

(18) Rogers to Collins, October 13, 1863, *C.O. 6/38.*

Pacific.[19] When Collins outlined his proposals in a letter of November 18, 1863,[20] they met with a very different response from the Colonial Office. Newcastle now wrote:—

> The project is one of the greatest interest and importance—and whilst England for her own sake ought to give it every encouragement every care should be taken not to lose the great advantage which Nature has given her. She holds in British Columbia the key to the position—the one indispensable link in telegraphic communication between the New and Old World until it is found practicable to lay, and maintain efficient, a cable under the Atlantic.[21]

The concessions requested by Collins on November 18, 1863, were as follows: (1) A right-of-way and the use of unappropriated Crown lands, and timber thereon; (2) roadways to be constructed, presumably at the expense of the British Government; (3) permission to import supplies free of duty; (4) the right to establish block houses; (5) the right to use harbours for the landing of supplies; and (6) a thirty-three-year monopoly.[22]

The proposals were referred to the Lords Commissioner of the Treasury, who in turn transmitted them to the Board of Trade. Both bodies agreed that Collins should be granted all reasonable facilities and encouragement for the construction of his line. They were, therefore, willing to allow his company to use unappropriated lands and to cut timber on the condition that the soil remain the property of the Crown. Also, they insisted that all road-building be at the telegraph company's expense. As to the use of harbours, they were not willing to grant to a telegraph company control of important anchorages, but were willing to allow it to use landing-places in remote and unpeopled districts where the absence of roads rendered supply difficult. Such a concession, however, they felt should be subject to the jurisdiction of the British Columbia Government. They objected to the proposal that the company be secured from competition for thirty-three years after completion of the line. With all of the other requests of Collins they were willing to make the appropriate concessions, but they insisted on the additional provision that, as in the Russian agreement, all privileges should cease if the line was not completed within five years, and that

(19) Brydges to Newcastle, November 14, 1863, and enclosure thereto, "Memorandum of Interview with General Guerhard," November 2, 1863, *C.O. 6/38*.

(20) Collins to Newcastle, November 18, 1863, *C.O. 6/38*.

(21) Note by Newcastle, November 30, 1863, appended to Collins to Newcastle, November 18, 1863, *C.O. 6/38*.

(22) Collins to Newcastle, November 18, 1863, *C.O. 6/38*.

British and colonial messages should receive equality of treatment with those of Russia and the United States.[23]

In all of this discussion, little attention had been paid to the prospective views of the Government of British Columbia, beyond a note from T. Frederick Elliot of the Colonial Office that " ultimately we shall have to write to the Government of British Columbia."[24] On January 14, 1864, Rogers informed Collins of the decision to accept his proposals, subject to the reservations suggested by the Treasury and the Board of Trade.[25] Collins was not entirely satisfied with these terms, protesting that the capitalists who supported him would desire assurance of exclusive control for at least ten years and requesting a form of grant from the British Government which he could show to his backers and to the other governments concerned, but on being informed that the terms were final, he agreed to accept the stipulations without modification. One minor change was made—the specific statement was added that the privileges conceded would cease on January 1, 1870, unless the line had been completed prior to that time.[26]

Fortune seemed to smile on Perry Collins. He had won the support of the British and Russian Governments. On March 16, 1864, the Western Union Telegraph Company agreed, on Hiram Sibley's recommendation, to a proposal Collins had submitted for the sale of his rights in exchange for a liberal proportion of the stock in a new satellite of Western Union, created for the specific purpose of constructing and operating the Russian-American line, and payment of $100,000 in cash for his efforts in securing the grants.[27] On July 1, 1864, the United States Government granted the company the right to construct and maintain a line or lines from the American Pacific telegraph to the boundaries of British Columbia and a permanent right-of-way over unappropriated public lands.[28]

(23) Rogers to Hamilton (Treasury Department), December 8, 1863; Neil (Treasury Department) to Elliot, December 28, 1863, and enclosure, Booth (Board of Trade) to Secretary, Lords Commissioner of the Treasury, December 22, 1863, *C.O. 6/38*.

(24) Note of T. F. Elliot, appended to Neil to Elliot, December 28, 1863, *C.O. 6/38*.

(25) Rogers to Collins, January 14, 1864, *C.O. 6/38*.

(26) Collins to Newcastle, January 29, 1864; Rogers to Collins, February 9, 1864; Collins to Rogers, February 2, 1864, *C.O. 6/38*.

(27) Western Union, *Statement of the Origin, Organization and Progress of the Russian-American Telegraph . . .* , Rochester, 1866.

(28) United States, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., *Public Act 171* (approved July 1, 1864).

When on January 26, 1865, the Legislature of British Columbia passed the bill embodying the agreed terms between the Colonial Office and Collins,[29] the last major obstacle seemed to be removed. Judge O. H. Palmer, secretary of the Western Union Company, secured the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company for the use of the services of Hudson's Bay personnel in the construction of the line.[30]

In the winter of 1865 the first surveys were made of the route of the line, and in the spring of 1866 construction began. By autumn the line was in operation to the Skeena River, 850 miles north of New Westminster, when the news was received which destroyed the hopes of the promoters and investors in the overland telegraph-line—the *Great Eastern* had successfully laid the trans-Atlantic cable, which began continuous operation on August 26, 1866.[31] On March 25, 1867, William Orton, vice-president of the Western Union Company, in a letter to Secretary of State Seward, officially confessed the end of the project which a few months before had appeared close to success:—

> The proof that the basis of revenue had been removed, was only needed to be complete, to make the duty of at once stopping the whole work a stern and peremptory necessity. That proof we have been month to month receiving. So clear and cumulative has that evidence been, that we have been compelled, though with great reluctance, to acknowledge its completeness and power. All doubts concerning the capacity and efficiency of the ocean cables, are now dispelled, and the work of construction on the Russian line, after an expenditure of $3,000,000 has been discontinued.[32]

Collins and those who supported him with their capital had recognized throughout the progress of his negotiations that the completion of the Atlantic cable might reduce their plans to a nullity, yet they had been willing to gamble. In pursuing their interests, for their line would have been a satisfactory substitute for the transmission of international messages in the event of the continued failure of the efforts to lay the oceanic cable. When their plans were frustrated, only the investors suffered loss, for none of the participating governments had committed funds or resources. Collins's energetic activity on behalf of his telegraph deserves an accolade as one of the illustrious failures in the history of communications.

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(29) British Columbia, Legislative Council, *Ordinance No. 5 of 1865* (passed by the Council, January 26, 1865; assented to by the Governor, February 21, 1865).

(30) Head to Palmer, November 7, 1865; Fraser to Tolmie, November 11, 1865; Fraser to Tolmie, April 7, 1866, *H.B.C. Archives,* A. 6/40.

(31) James D. Reid, *op. cit.,* p. 404.

(32) *Ibid.,* p. 516.

JOHN NOBILI, S.J., FOUNDER OF CALIFORNIA'S SANTA CLARA COLLEGE: THE NEW CALEDONIA YEARS, 1845–1848*

Sunday, December 11, 1949, was a memorable day in the history of the Jesuit Fathers in San Francisco. On that day they were joined in their large St. Ignatius Church of the University of San Francisco by a capacity congregation as they commemorated the passing of a full century since the arrival in gold-rush San Francisco of two Jesuit priests, Michael Accolti and John Nobili. The actual centennial date, December 8, had been the occasion of another commemoration when a stirring sermon had been preached by a distinguished orator of the Order, Father Zacheus J. Maher, and those present had listened with interest as the speaker recalled that—

> . . . the movement was again westward and northwestward, into the wilderness, across the plains, over the mountains and then, in God's good time, California. From the Potomac to the Mississippi, from the Mississippi to the Columbia, from the Columbia to San Francisco runs the trail of the Blackrobe.[1]

It was but natural that much of what was written and said at the time of this Jesuit centennial in San Francisco should have revolved mainly around the name and fame of Rev. Michael Accolti, S.J. (1807–1878), since he had been the leading spirit in the Jesuit arrival in California in 1849; less attention, accordingly, was given to Rev. John Nobili, S.J. (1812–1856), the companion of Father Accolti in the pioneer venture. However, Father Nobili looms large in the educational history of California, for it was he who founded Santa Clara College in 1851, and it is this institution which has developed into the University of Santa Clara, situated about 50 miles south of San Francisco. It is not commonly known that there is an earlier phase of Nobili's career which is not without significance in his complete story; it revolves around the fact that, for several years, 1845 to 1848, and before his going to California,

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* The substance of this article was prepared for submission to the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., December 28 to 30, 1952.

(1) "A Grain of Mustard Seed Becometh a Tree," a sermon preached in St. Ignatius Church of the University of San Francisco, December 8, 1949, and printed in the *Monthly Calendar of St. Ignatius Church,* December, 1949.

the Italian Jesuit was a missionary among the aborigines of New Caledonia, which is the general area now known as British Columbia, Canada. Here, then, it is proposed to recount this interesting phase of Father Nobili's career.

There are two notable disadvantages which confront anyone who would endeavour to work in Nobili material. The first stems from the fact that Father Nobili died much too young; he did not live out his normal life-span, for he died in 1856 at Santa Clara, and at the early age of 44, as a result of an infection which had resulted from his stepping on a rusty nail while supervising some building operations there. Then, too, it would seem that, at the time of his death, Nobili was much too young to be of interest to the portrait-painters, if any such existed in the California of his day. Consequently, there had long been an empty niche above the entrance-way of Nobili Hall on the modern University of Santa Clara campus, for no one knew or yet knows what John Nobili looked like.[2] This is but an example of the perplexities which confront the student who would work in the field of Nobiliana. However, it is still possible to put him in focus and to place his missionary apostolate in the Canada of a century ago in perspective. First, then, the focus.

John Nobili was born in Rome in 1812, and April 8 of that year was his natal date. With development he was recognized as a youth of quite some natural talents, and he was welcomed into the ranks of the Jesuit Order on November 14, 1828, at the early age of 16. His preliminary clerical studies at the Roman College were successful even to the point of brilliance, and he was successful, too, in the teaching duties which he fulfilled, as a scholastic of the Jesuit Order, in the Colleges of Loretto and Fermo; his theological studies, upon which he entered in 1840, resulted in his elevation to the priesthood in 1843 after fifteen years of life in the Society of Jesus. In that same year the justly celebrated Peter John De Smet (1801–1873) entered into his life, for Father Nobili tells us that he left Rome in September, 1843, as a volunteer for the missionary apostolate which De Smet was preparing in the Oregon country. August of 1844 saw the young priest at Fort Vancouver in Oregon, where, he tells us, he spent ten months before entering upon the more interesting phase of his labours among the aborigines of New Caledonia. As will later be indicated more fully, his work among these

(2) Several years ago authorities at the University of Santa Clara decided, in lieu of any representation of Nobili, that the empty niche should be filled with a statue of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order.

primitives lasted from 1845 to 1848, when, at the decision of his superior in the Jesuit Order, he relinquished this apostolate and in 1849 went to California as companion to Father Accolti. His founding of Santa Clara College in 1851 or, better, his endeavours to transform an almost ruined Franciscan mission into some semblance of a place where an education could be obtained—all of this adds stature to the man who accomplished so much with so little. His premature death came in 1856, and it was the occasion of an outpouring of genuine grief among his many friends.

It may help here to summarize, in briefest compass, the earlier Catholic history of New Caledonia before the years of the Nobili apostolate there. Catholicism came early into the land, for the first white inhabitant, Lamalice, professed this religion, as did the significant Simon Fraser and one of his two lieutenants, Quesnel, as well as some other French-Canadian companions. It is commonly considered, then, that these men gave the natives of the sections in which they trapped and explored their first contacts, however tenuous, with Christianity. In 1842 Father Modeste Demers (1809–1871), a French-Canadian secular priest, made an extended visit through the land inhabited by the inland tribes and got as far north as the country of the Porteurs or Carriers around Stuart Lake. The always interesting Demers, later first Bishop of Vancouver Island, appears to have undertaken this first missionary tour with the explicit encouragement of the Jesuit De Smet and, indeed, with the assurance that the work would be supported and carried on with Jesuit help. In this journey of 1842 Demers visited the Kamloops, the Atnans, and the Porteurs, and he administered baptism to 436 infants. Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., who, in the second volume of his competent *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* furnishes interesting details of the Demers journey, records the fact that at Fort Langley on the Fraser the Demers baptisms are said to have numbered 700. The Demers journey served as a preliminary visit to these people before the advent of John Nobili among them.

In a chatty letter which Father Nobili wrote to a Missouri Jesuit from the "Mission of Upper California, March 12, 1852," we are given an account of his missionary travels of several years before his arrival in El Dorado and the beginning of an entirely different life there. Nobili tells his Jesuit friend of his first ten months in Oregon, 1844 to 1845, which he spent at Fort Vancouver in the capacity of parish priest to the numerous Canadians in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company; only a portion of his time was he able to devote to the

spiritual care of the many Indians of the neighbourhood. He goes on to relate how, in August, 1845, Father De Smet gave him the "different task of exploring New Caledonia. Accompanied only by a half-breed, I visited and instructed the Indian tribes as far as Fort Alexandria and, in the May following [1846] I came down to Colville to give an account of my progress to Father De Smet, who sent me back again. So I spent there another year. I went as far as Ft. Stuart and Ft. Kilmars on Babine Lake, nearly the boundary line between the British and the Russian possessions."[3] No better preparation could be imagined for a rugged missionary apostolate, which was to last, presumably, for many years, than these preliminary journeyings of Father Nobili. He gives his reader in Missouri some more details:—

I was there alone among 8 or 9 thousand Indians of different languages and manners. In all, I think I baptized and gave the other sacraments to nearly one thousand three or four hundred Indians, many of whom had the happiness to die soon after, including about five hundred children carried off by the measles. In May 1847, I founded the first residence of St. Joseph among the Okinagans, two days journey from Thompson's River, and resided there the following year with Father Goetz, given me as a companion. Then, I will not say for what motive, I was with deep sorrow snatched away from my dear Indians, in the midst of whom I had hoped to die, and called South to the residence of the Flatheads. Here I passed the winter in a very precarious state of health and would undoubtedly have died were it not the will of God that the good and charitable Father Mengarini and Father Ravalli restored me with their fostering care.[4]

Thus far Father Nobili's account which was written just seven years after he had inaugurated his work among the inland tribes of New Caledonia. In this same connection, we have a cryptic but revealing note which Nobili wrote to Father Jenkins, an English Jesuit in London, it was dated March 15, 1847, and was written at Fort Alexandria:—

I take again the liberty of sending you some letters for our V. Reverend Father General. There is an account of my priesthood through the New Caledonia during the last winter, when I added 140 persons to the number of about 600 already baptized. I am quite alone in "terra deserta et invia" and, for this very reason, I am in need of your prayers and holy sacrifices to which I recommend myself and my dear natives earnestly. . . .[5]

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(3) John Nobili, S.J., to William Stack Murphy, S.J., March 12, 1852. The English copy of this letter was consulted by the author in the Missouri Province Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, Mo.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) John Nobili, S.J., to Rev. C. Jenkins, S.J., March 15, 1847. The author was furnished with a copy of this letter from the original in the Archives of the Jesuit Order of the Oregon Province, Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Wash.

Further details may be added to the somewhat incomplete Nobili accounts as a result of the researches of Father Garraghan. Thus, for example, we learn that the Jesuit had first welcomed the assignment to New Caledonia with these lines of enthusiastic response addressed to De Smet:—

I received your precious letter at Walla Walla and through it was made acquainted with my new destination. May the good God be blessed! . . . I go, then, encouraged by your words, and, in going, I forget my weakness, my defects, my lack of virtue and experience for an enterprise which is beyond my strength. I abandon myself entirely to the care of Divine Providence.[6]

Nobili was hardly unduly pessimistic in his anticipation of the difficulties which he felt sure would soon be upon him. Father Accolti later wrote to De Smet, under date of February 9, 1846, and described how Nobili, travelling with a certain Battiste who sought membership in the Jesuit Order, had had the experience of being deserted by an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company who had travelled with them for a few days. There is an indignant yet sympathetic note in Accolti's lines as he relates how the agent had "quit them villainously without listening to Father Nobili's entreaties not to abandon them. On his horses he had the Father's tent and sack of provisions. The result was that they had to remain without food or shelter on an entirely unknown trail. Then they got lost and lack of water and nourishment brought them within an inch of perishing. Two Indians from the Cascades, whom Father Nobili had known at Vancouver, rescued them from the peril."[7] Despite this inauspicious beginning, it would appear that Nobili's genuinely apostolic spirit was not dampened, for he continued the work without discouragement. He was responsible for the erection of several small chapels in the forts or trading-posts of the Hudson's Bay Company which he visited. The fall of 1845 saw him penetrating as far north as Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, and he returned there the next year. Garraghan adds these details:—

. . . Father Nobili . . . was surprised at Fort Alexandria on the Fraser to find a frame church built apparently in the interval that had elapsed since Demer's departure. Here some marriages among the Canadian employees of the Fort were set right and twenty-four children and forty-seven adults were baptized. On

(6) John Nobili, S.J., to Peter J. De Smet, S.J., n.d., from the original in the Missouri Province Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, Mo.

(7) Michael Accolti, S.J., to Peter J. De Smet, S.J., February 9, 1846, from the original in the General Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome, Italy.

December 12, 1846, he was at Fort George at the confluence of the Nechoco with the Fraser. . . .[8]

Nobili must have been made happy when he found fifty Sekani Indians at Fort George, where they had awaited his arrival for nineteen days after coming down from the Rocky Mountains to meet the Blackrobe. Twelve of their children were baptized and twenty-seven adults, of whom six were of advanced age. Nobili celebrated the event by erecting a missionary cross at the fort, and this, indeed, was his custom wherever he remained for any length of time. Christmas season found him at Stuart Lake, where he vigorously campaigned against the pagan customs of the Indians who centred there. Fort Kilmars, on Babine Lake, near the Alaskan border, next saw Father Nobili, and there the peripatetic padre administered some baptisms in October, 1846. Garraghan adds:—

Early in January, 1847, he was back at Fort St. James, where he remained, carrying on a vigorous campaign of instruction, until the beginning of Lent. In October . . . it would appear that he was among the Chilcotins, a troublesome Dene tribe . . . he was the first priest to visit the Chilcotins. He blessed a cemetery, visited several of the native villages and baptized a number of the adult Chilcotins whom, comments an historian, he would have left longer under probation had he possessed more experience of their native fickleness. . . . The map accompanying the first edition of De Smet's Oregon Missions indicates four missionary stations in New Caledonia—namely, at Fort St. James, Fort George, Fort Alexandria and Fort Thompson in addition to the residence among the Okinagans. At Kamloops near old Fort Thompson in British Columbia, tradition still witnesses to the missionary labors of Father Accolti in that remote corner of the New World. . . .[9]

Here, then, in a brief survey is an overview of the aboriginal apostolate inaugurated by John Nobili, Jesuit missionary among the New Caledonian natives. It compares favourably with many of the equally stirring missionary pages written by his Jesuit brothers in the history of their society. Many were the inconveniences suffered by Nobili during these years, and his eagerness in suffering is attested to by the fact

(8) Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* New York, 1938, Vol. II, p. 328.

(9) *Ibid.,* pp. 328–329. Father Garraghan here makes reference to the authoritative work of A. G. Morice, O.M.I., *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada from Lake Superior to the Pacific,* Toronto, 1910, and adds: "A considerable body of Nobili's unpublished correspondence descriptive of his missionary experiences is extant in the Jesuit General Archives, Rome. De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries,* New York, 1863, p. 513, has a sketch of Nobili."

that he wished to live and to die among his converts and neophytes. It has never been considered ideal among Catholic missionaries that one priest should be completely isolated from the companionship and help of another, and this would seem to be the reason why Nobili's religious superior, Father Joseph Joset (1810–1900), sent him Father Anthony Goetz to be his companion. The Jesuit General, Father John Roothaan (1785–1853), wrote to De Smet from Rome in 1846: "I should not have approved the sending of poor Father Nobili alone among the Porteurs; still, the necessity of so doing must have been unavoidable."[10] But even the assignment of a companion to Nobili did not make the New Caledonia missions a venture worth supporting in the opinion of Joset, and so it was that he summoned Fathers Nobili and Goetz to return to civilization. Although each obeyed as expected, so far as Nobili was concerned there was an obvious reluctance to abandon the work which had already cost him so dearly. In retrospect, it is entirely understandable that such an attitude should be his, for he must have promised various tribes that he would return to them whenever feasible, and now he rightly conjectured that neither he nor anyone else of his Order would do so, at least in the foreseeable future. Naturally, then, the young Italian Jesuit must have felt that the tenuous foundations which he had laid were destined to be in vain. But return he did, even though dragging his feet a bit; Father Joset felt confirmed in his decision when he saw the appearance of Father Nobili. He thus wrote to Roothaan in Rome: "When I saw him at the Sacred Heart [mission] I said to myself at once that he was by no manner of means made to live among the Indians."[11] Mid-May of 1849 saw John Nobili officially accepted as a member of the Society of Jesus, when, twenty-one long years after his admission to the Order in Rome, he made his final profession as a Jesuit in the hands of Father Joset. It was not to be long after this pivotal event in the life of the Jesuit that he was to accompany Father Accolti to California; he was never to see his dear Indians or New Caledonia again. To California he went, and in California he stayed, and in California, it would seem, his heart ever felt the hurt which had been his when the decision had been made to abandon New Caledonia in so far as his work there was concerned. We know this because of his explicit statement on the matter in a letter which he penned to the one who had first sent him there, Father De Smet. Nobili's letter was written in San Francisco under date

(10) Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 329.

(11) Joseph Joset, S.J., to John Roothaan, S.J., August 2, 1850, from the original in the General Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome, Italy.

of March 28, 1850, and it was sent to the famous Missouri Jesuit at St. Louis, Missouri:—

. . . But, you say, is it possible for you to finish this letter without even a short word or two about my New Caledonia Mission? Ah, infandum! Jubes renovare dolorem! O poor missions which gave such fruit and promised even more. O unhappy people! Why, Reverend Father, did you leave Oregon so quickly? 'Si fuisses ibi,' my mission would not have died, and I would rather have died with my mission. But the good God has only allowed my mission to last three years and that I should not die, as I hoped, in the midst of my dear Indians. Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit; sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est. Fiat Voluntas Ejus! When Father Joset received the letter from Father General making him superior of the mission, he recalled me from New Caledonia with all my belongings and ordered me to quit the residence of St. Joseph already established by the great lake of Okinagan. He ordered us under a precept of holy obedience to abandon the mission, residence, savages and belongings to Divine Providence and to return to the Rocky Mountains. Behold what has been the fate of new Caledonia where I labored for three years in the midst of privations, of all kinds of dangers, even that of losing my life. The answer to my letters to Father General—with a positive order not to abandon this mission, has at last arrived—but too late, i.e., during the past autumn, when I had already been called to the Flatheads of Willamette and, from there, to California.[12]

With this epistolary lament of Father Nobili, not without its poignancy, we may finish this account of a significant period in his life and, indeed, in the earlier Catholic missionary history of New Caledonia. Not that land, but El Dorado to the south was eventually to claim him, and his remains rest to-day in the Jesuit cemetery in Santa Clara, California, rather than in a missionary's grave in New Caledonia. These pages have not pretended to be anything like a complete account of what Nobili did in the Canada of his day; rather, they are intended as a humble tribute of praise of the California Jesuits of to-day to the memory of the man who did great things in the New Caledonia of his day and who would have, undoubtedly, done even greater things there had circumstances permitted. Nobili wrote a fine page in missionary history in his apostolate in New Caledonia of over a century ago. His attempt to evangelize the Indians there was never resumed by the Jesuit Order; however, at a later period, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate succeeded Nobili, and, where Demers and Nobili had sown, the Oblates reaped substantial results as a result of their own devotion and zeal coupled with the pioneer efforts of their predecessors.

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(12) John Nobili, S.J., to Peter J. De Smet, S.J., March 28, 1850, original in the Missouri Province Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, Mo. Quoted in Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 330–331.

THE KLONDIKE GOLD-RUSH—A GREAT INTERNATIONAL VENTURE*

The terrain of the northern gold-rushes which took place at the turn of the century is of almost continental proportions, all but coinciding with the basin of the Yukon River and, except on its western seaward side, shut off from the rest of the world by imposing mountain barriers. Even to-day it is a remote and lonely land; at the time of the purchase of Alaska it was unknown to all save the fur-trader and perhaps the missionary. "There is neither law of God or man, north of fifty-three," as the poet Kipling wrote. This was almost literally true at the time, for despite the Organic Law of 1884 there was no authority in the whole Yukon Valley. The Canadian part of the Yukon Valley was officially a part of the Northwest Territories and subject to the territorial government at Regina.

Beyond easing the Hudson's Bay Company out of its post at Fort Yukon in 1869, the United States Government had done as little to implement its claims or assert its authority as had Canada. It was left to the gold-miner to breach the barriers and to explore these vast solitudes, without the benefit of government and law. The same international band of gold-seekers who had broached the placer-fields of the Cariboo and had penetrated the remote fastnesses of the Cassiar and the Omineca could hardly fail to turn their attention to these northern solitudes once the diggings on the Fraser, the Stikine, and the Finlay Rivers were exhausted. It was at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, when the word of the purchase of Alaska spread through the goldfields of Interior British Columbia, that the new land began to beckon the gold-seekers. Miners from the Omineca, travelling by way of the Peace, the Halfway, the Sikanni Chief, the Fort Nelson, the Liard, the Mackenzie, the Peel, and the Porcupine crossed the mountain barrier and reached the Lower Yukon to try their fortunes. These men, such as McQuesten, Harper, Mayo, Hart, and the others, were twenty years ahead of their time. At that time the Yukon Valley was reached only by the yearly trips of steamers from St. Michael on Bering Sea, which

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supplied the scattered trading-posts of the Alaska Commercial Company solely for trading with the Indians. In point of time, posts on the Upper Yukon were a year or more away from their sources of supply on the Pacific Coast, and the high prices involved in transportation over these great distances were prohibitive for the prospector, who scraped what gold-dust he could from the river-bars in the few short months of the mining season, looking perforce to some unknown future for his reward. Easier access and quicker and cheaper transport was needed before their resources could be exploited. Most of the original band of gold-seekers were forced by dwindling resources to give up their quest and turn to trading with the Indians to make a livelihood.

By 1879 the overflow from the Stikine goldfields was working up the coast, through the intricacies of the passages of the Alexander Archipelago. One daring prospector, George Holt, induced the Chilkoot Indians of the coast to allow him to cross the Chilkoot Pass and prospect the upper courses of the Lewes and the Teslin Rivers.[1] The opening-up of the goldfield on Gastineau Channel and the founding of the town of Juneau[2] provided a convenient base of operations that enabled others, once the first breach had been made, to follow up this humble start. Thereafter the numbers increased steadily; Joseph Ladue led a party over the Chilkoot in 1882 to prospect on the bars of the Yukon and the Stewart;[3] Ed Schieffelin, of Tombstone, Arizona, brought a small steamer up the Yukon River in 1883, in search of ore deposits;[4] the most readily accessible bars were examined, but the operations of these miners were restricted to a few short weeks of summer owing to the need to return each winter to Juneau for supplies.

Not till 1885 did mining make appreciable progress. Prospectors returning to Juneau for the winter encouraged others to venture across the divide into the interior. The old-timers, McQuesten, Harper, though they had abandoned the life of the mine for the trading-post,[5] never lost interest in prospecting, and there can be little doubt that they kept their friends outside posted on developments and were to some extent responsible for the influx of newcomers. It was the bars of the

(1) W. B. Haskell, *Two Years up the Klondike and Alaskan Gold-fields*, Hartford, 1898, p. 48. Haskell gives the date for Holt's venture as 1878 rather than 1879.

(2) Miner W. Bruce, *Alaska*, New York, 1899, pp. 38–39.

(3) William Ogilvie, *Early Days on the Yukon*, Ottawa, 1913, p. 110.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 70.

(5) Miner W. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Stewart River that yielded the greatest returns during the early eighties and led to the establishment of a post at its mouth by Harper and McQuesten.[6] But the most sensational event was the discovery of gold at bedrock on the Forty Mile in 1886. That topped everything so far and led to such a rush to these new diggings that Harper and McQuesten moved their post from Stewart to the mouth of the Forty Mile, which shortly became a real gold camp.[7] Thereafter mining activity was rapidly expanded to take in the tributaries of the Forty Mile and extended across the divide into the valley of the Sixty Mile, then down-river to Birch Creek. It was this first influx that led the Canadian Government in 1887 to dispatch parties into the interior to report on the geology of these unknown regions and to establish the frontier between Canada and the United States.[8] These first tentative explorations found a rather intensive mining activity established on the Upper Yukon, but beyond marking the frontier on the Forty Mile[9] and on the Yukon, nothing was done to assert the Dominion's authority. Indeed, Mr. William Ogilvie recommended that in view of the fact that most of the miners were United States citizens and used to managing affairs in their own way, the Canadian Government should not interfere.[10]

The opening-up of these goldfields and the reports of the new finds soon reached the coast and the outside world and started a stampede. Claims on Forty Mile and its tributaries, Chicken and Jack Wade Creeks, were taken up by scores, and by 1894 the annual output had risen to $300,000.[11] Prospectors who passed over the divide to the Sixty Mile found gold in its tributaries, Miller and Glacier Creeks; then, in 1894, came the discoveries on Birch Creek[12] and the establishment of a supply-post at Circle City on the Yukon.[13] The greatly increased mining activity led to one great advance in mining. This was the use of fires to thaw the frozen gravel, which apparently was a discovery hit on by Fred Hutchinson on Franklin Gulch in the Forty Mile district in

(6) William Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

(8) "Report of the Minister of the Interior . . . 1887," Part II, pp. 64–69, and Part III, pp. 5–10, in Canada *Sessional Papers* . . . *1888*, Ottawa, 1888.

(9) William Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 143.

(11) Joseph Ladue, *Klondyke Facts*, New York, 1897, p. 18.

(12) W. B. Haskell, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

(13) William Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

1887.[14] Artificial thawing shortly became general. This enormously extended the miner's working season by allowing him to continue operations in the winter months when he had hitherto been idle. Indeed, most of the miners had heretofore planned on going out in winter, returning in the spring. The increase in the population of the goldfields, now more or less permanent, demanded greater transportation facilities to supply the miners with food and led to the formation with the aid of Chicago capital of the North American Transportation and Trading Company by Captain J. J. Healy, formerly of Dyea.[15]

It was this great accession of population that led Bishop Bompas, of the Diocese of Selkirk, to address a request to the Dominion Government urging it to take steps to introduce law and order to prevent the debauching of the Indians through increasing contacts with the whites.[16] The result was orders addressed to Captain Constantine (Inspector), in charge of the detachment of the North West Mounted Police at Moosomin, to proceed to the new goldfields to report on the situation. Constantine, going over Dyea Pass and proceeding down the Yukon River by small boat, reached Fort Cudahy (the North American Transportation and Trading Company's post at Forty Mile) on August 7,[17] where he collected customs duties on stores imported from the United States and gathered information for his report before proceeding down-river for the outside via St. Michael. On the basis of the latter, the Government in 1895 dispatched Constantine and twenty men and N.C.O.'s via St. Michael to Forty Mile, where a post was built and the administration of the country taken over.[18]

This task had hardly been completed when gold was discovered on tributaries of the Klondike some 50 miles south of Forty Mile. Here, on what was locally known as Rabbit Creek, George Carmack, a drifter who had linked his fortunes with an Indian wife and her relatives and made a somewhat precarious livelihood by fishing and cutting timber for the miners, on August 17, 1896, uncovered coarse gold on rimrock

(14) It is to be noted that Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 140, claimed that he suggested thawing the gravel.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

(16) H. A. Cody, *An Apostle of the North*, Toronto, 1931, p. 267.

(17) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1894*, Ottawa, 1895, pp. 70–85.

(18) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1895*, Ottawa, 1896, pp. 7–10.

in the banks of the stream.[19] As was the custom of the country, he staked two claims, his Indian companions two more, and they hurried back to the mouth of the Klondike and floated down the river to Forty Mile to register their claims at the newly opened mining recorder's office.[20] The unusually rich find, though regarded somewhat sceptically by the miners, none the less started a stampede for the new fields.[21] The stampeders at first found their way up in whatever small craft were available. A river-boat coming along about this time, Forty Mile and the neighbouring creeks were all but deserted. The result was that the ground on Rabbit Creek (shortly named Bonanza) and its tributary Eldorado was quickly staked. Miners in the Sixty Mile region did not hear of the strike till the arrival of the steamer, which had already brought the Forty Mile miners up to stake, so that most of them were disappointed in their hopes of getting in on the original creek and had to go farther afield for claims. Miners at Circle City heard of the strike but did not take it seriously till a miner named Rhodes, who had staked No. 21 above Discovery on Bonanza, reported that he had recovered $65.30 from a single pan.[22] This find was confirmed by agents of the trading companies at Circle. Then Circle City in turn was emptied, but this time the stampeders had to make their way up over the ice, since the river by this time had frozen over. Captain Constantine, of the North West Mounted Police, reported on November 20 to his superior at Regina that 38 claims had been registered in the new fields and that 150 remained to be entered, though the highest yield that he had heard of, from Carmack's claim, was $3 per pan.[23]

The speed with which the two creeks—Bonanza and Eldorado—were staked is illustrated by the fact that Bob Henderson, working over the Bonanza divide on Gold Bottom Creek, heard nothing of the strike for weeks afterwards, and was unable to secure a claim on either creek.[24] Since he had drawn Carmack's attention to the possibilities of the new field and induced him to make the trip to Gold Bottom, which led to the

(19) William Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–130.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 130. *See also* Miner Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

(21) William Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

(22) W. B. Haskell, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

(23) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1895*, Ottawa, 1896, p. 234. Constantine reported that other claims were yielding higher unspecified amounts.

(24) William Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 132.

discovery, he is regarded by many as responsible for the find.[25] Nevertheless, while at Gold Bottom, Carmack had promised to let him know of any find he made, but the promise was forgotten and Henderson was left out in the cold. His claims, as having pioneered the field, were finally recognized by the Canadian Government, who rewarded him with a pension of $200 a month.[26]

Since the discovery had been made late in the season, the miners had to exert themselves to erect cabins for shelter and assemble from Forty Mile the necessary food-supplies for the winter. Work on the new claims, however, gradually got under way. Shafts were sunk and drifts extended along bedrock, and before the winter was over the pay-streak was disclosed. Some of the dumps were panned with the scanty resources of water (probably obtained by melting snow) with phenomenal results. Yields per pan ran to hundreds of dollars; one case is reported by Haskell of $800 in a single pan.[27] Nevertheless, though the richness of the field was demonstrated, the shortage of labour and other difficulties (weather, etc.) prevented any really tangible proof of the extent of the finds. It was not till the spring clean-up that the astounding yields began to be reported, some taking from their claims as high as $80,000;[28] Clarence Berry, on No. 6 above on Eldorado, took out $130,000.[29] Much of the spring clean-up was shipped down-river to St. Michael to be transhipped to ocean-going vessels for the Pacific west coast ports. It was the arrival of these vessels at San Francisco and Seattle in the summer of 1897 that set off the real gold-rush.

Looking back from the vantage point of 1952, we can see that it was not inevitable that the arrival of a shipment of gold from the North should have had the spectacular results of these of 1897. It is true, the election of 1896 had passed and the cry of "free silver" had died down, while the Spanish-American War was still in the future. Times had been hard, but things were better than they had been at the beginning of the nineties, and it would not seem that the discovery of gold offered prospects of expanding prosperity. Could it have been the midsummer lull, with Congress no longer in session and most of the people who

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 125. *See also* Miner W. Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–151.

(26) Francis Aldham, "Bob o' the Klondike . . . ," Vancouver *Daily Province*, September 4, 1932.

(27) W. B. Haskell, *op. cit.*, p. 319. Joseph Ladue, *op. cit.*, p. 128, mentions a figure of $1,800 a day as being yielded by a claim.

(28) W. B. Haskell, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 322.

made news disporting themselves on the beaches or in the country, that induced the public to seize on this bit of news from a far-away part of the continent? Why did it catch the popular imagination? After all, not inconsiderable shipments of gold had been coming out of the North for years.

It so happened that of the two important San Francisco papers, the *Call,* probably for lack of competing news, spread it over the front page on July 15, 1897,[30] in true yellow-journal style in the most sensational manner. Its account was telegraphed to the New York *Tribune* with which it had associations. The other New York paper, the *Journal,* belonged to William Randolph Hearst, who also owned the San Francisco *Examiner.* Hearst was enraged that his papers had been scooped and wired the *Examiner* to do something to make amends. The latter paper sought the next day to outdo its rivals by still more sensational stories, and it was these highly spiced accounts that caught the popular imagination and were flashed over the wires by Associated Press to every community in the United States and by cable to the great cosmopolitan centres of Europe. Three days later the *Portland,* of the North American Transportation and Trading Company, docked with gold at Seattle;[31] this gave the papers in that city a chance to get in on the story, and they made the most of the opportunity. Not all of the accounts of the discovery were roseate, but those which attempted to give an indigo hue to the picture did so with just as heavy a hand. All this was but fuel to the flames. And the fact that not one person in ten million really knew anything of the North made it the easier to give free rein to the imagination.

Mr. William Ogilvie, Dominion Government surveyor who had been some years in the North, was on the *Excelsior,* yet no one was interested in his sober accounts, while the reporters were fed the most sensational stories by the ignorant crew and others as ill informed on board. Ogilvie was disgusted at the exaggerated accounts concocted in the papers. He did not realize that he was witnessing one of the great achievements of sensational journalism in modern times, the launching of a stampede which was to reach to the far ends of the earth.

If one stops to think about it, there was nothing in the summer of 1897 to justify the extravagant stories or to rouse the fantastic hopes

(30) The Victoria *Colonist,* July 16, 1897, reported the arrival of the steamer *Excelsior* at San Francisco on July 14.

(31) *Ibid.,* July 18, 1897.

of persons outside inexperienced in mining. In the scramble for claims that developed after the discovery, not even all those in the country had any chances of securing ground. Eldorado and Bonanza were staked by the miners from Forty Mile; the Sixty Mile men did not hear of it for weeks, and it was then too late to get in on the original creeks. The Circle City people did not hear of it till November, when many days were required for the trip over the ice to the goldfields. Both of these groups had to go farther afield. In the spreading-out, some new and unique finds were made—Big Skookum and Little Skookum Gulches, the terrace and hillside claims, Hunker Creek, and even over the Klondike divide on Dominion and other tributaries of Indian River. Moreover, since the *Excelsior* reached San Francisco on July 14, not much of the spring clean-up could have reached the outside. Mr. Ogilvie states that he remained in Dawson awaiting the boat for St. Michael till the middle of July, 1897, when the first arrivals from up-river reached Dawson in the wake of the ice going out, and that he reached St. Michael toward the end of July. One can only surmise that he meant June, since the ice goes out early in May and the lower river (from Dawson down) is clear by the end of that month, so that the boat must have reached Dawson by the middle of June and St. Michael toward the end of that month to enable him to reach San Francisco on July 14.[32]

It is true that long before that the first rush of stampeders had begun. Ogilvie reported that passengers off the first ocean-going vessels of the season were then waiting at St. Michael for the up-river boat. As we have seen, the first arrivals at Dawson that year had already reached there just behind the running ice. But since Lake Laberge does not go out till June, these must have been persons caught by winter along the upper river who had simply holed up where they were to wait for the ice going out. Of course, news of the richness of the goldfields had begun to reach the outside world, for an Ottawa syndicate arranged for the dispatch of an expedition of reconnaissance. Its leader, Secretan, reported some 400 people at the head of Lake Bennett when he reached there on June 1.[33] On approaching Dawson, June 17, 1897, he found miners already stampeding up-river for an obscure tributary of the Sixty

(32) " Mr. Ogilvie left Dawson City on July 15, and making his way on a river steamer to St. Michaels sailed thence on the Excelsior to San Francisco on her last trip, a short time ago." *Ibid.*, October 1, 1897.

(33) J. H. E. Secretan, *To Klondyke and Back, a Journey down the Yukon from Its Source to Its Mouth*, London, 1898, p. 65.

Mile, though this area had already been thoroughly prospected.[34] The fact is that the rich ground had long since been taken up and new arrivals were scrambling for possible new finds in outlying areas. Dawson was running full blast as a mining camp, though it was still without a post-office.[35] Steamers of the Alaska Commercial Company and the North American Transportation and Trading Company had arrived from the lower river and provided the only means of egress for passengers or mail.

Already in the autumn of 1897 Dawson and the creeks were running short of food for the miners who rushed into the country with scant supplies, in the belief that these could easily be replenished from the corner grocery in Dawson.[36] Thus the crowds of prospectors continued to grow and the trading companies, while making heroic efforts to meet the needs of the country as they appeared in the spring of 1897, were quite unequal to dealing with the situation as it developed in the late summer with the ever-increasing arrivals, mostly without supplies. The situation might have been relieved if the river steamers had been able to bring up-stream from St. Michael the stores that had been assembled there. But the Yukon is a tricky river in the autumn. The run-off of early summer had receded and the melting glaciers in the far south at the headwaters hardly affected the middle and lower courses of the river; moreover, the first frosts check the discharge of the tributaries, and even if the river remains clear of ice, navigation in some stretches of the river, owing to the low stage of water, becomes hazardous; the boats of the Alaska Commercial Company and the North American Transportation and Trading Company on their last trip (probably their second) just could not all make it. One or two got through; the rest were held up in the Flats, and Dawson faced the prospect of a famine, a prospect met by the Mounted Police by doing everything possible to induce those without supplies of their own to leave on the last boat or else to float down-river in small boats to where it was assumed that the steamers had put in for the winter. By every kind of pressure and inducement in the way of offering free passage, Dawson was gradually emptied of its surplus population, and those who remained behind, while on somewhat reduced rations, managed to live through the winter.[37]

(34) *Ibid.*, pp. 106–108.

(35) *Ibid.*, pp. 109–116.

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 117.

(37) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1898*, Ottawa, 1899, Part III, p. 97.

We can see now, with the country already swarming with experienced miners and some inexperienced would-be miners, what the chances were for those who were to come in a year later. Yet the needs of the daily newspaper for sensational news impelled editors to whip up the arrival of the *Excelsior* and the *Portland* with the first considerable shipment of gold from the North into a world-wide migration that was to converge on the Yukon Valley during the following spring. The call was to go out over the Associated Press wires throughout the length and breadth of the United States and Canada; and by cable to all parts of the English-speaking world, to Europe, and to remote outposts of civilization. Looking back, it is an almost incredible phenomenon how it caught the popular imagination and induced otherwise sane people to risk their all in the all but hopeless gamble of securing some share in the flood of gold. Public officials, normally restrained, made little or no effort to calm this madness; cities and Boards of Trade of communities that thought to profit began to advertise themselves as the gateway of the North; Edmonton, on the North Saskatchewan, offered two routes—one, a back-door route, held to be suitable for taking live stock, by the Peace, the Finlay, the Liard, and the Pelly, only discredited by the Mounted Police after more than one group of stampeders had come to grief by following it, and there was the Athabasca, the Slave, the Mackenzie, the Peel, the Rat, the Porcupine, fairly easy for experienced river-men but requiring a good part of two years to traverse. There was the route by the Stikine and the old Cassiar goldfields to Lake Teslin and the Hootalinqua River. Alaska communities were not to be outdone; Valdez on Prince William Sound, a mere cluster of huts, suddenly acquired publicity as a jumping-off place for the Yukon Valley via the Valdez Glacier, the Copper River, thence over the Alaska Range to the Upper Tanana, and thence across to Eagle on the Yukon. In 1896 Ogilvie had reported on a trail blazed by Jack Dalton up the Chilkat and Alsek Rivers,[38] over the divide to the waters of the Upper White, and through the interior valley behind the St. Elias Range northeast to the Yukon at Five Finger Rapids. This trail attracted those driving in stock in preference to the Chilkoot and White Passes, all but impassable for stock and devoid of pasture, even in summer.

Thus the stage was set for the epic rush of 1898. From the far corners of the earth—the United States and Canada, from Australia,

(38) "Report of the Minister of the Interior . . . 1896," *in* Canada *Sessional Papers . . . 1897*, Ottawa, 1897, pp. 48, 51.

from the gold-beaches of the South Island of New Zealand, from South Africa, from the British Isles, from France and Germany and the Scandinavian countries—there were few countries that had not heard the call. The short advance warning railways and ports on the west coast and coastal and river steamship lines had had was quite inadequate to handle the tide that flowed westward. Clifford Sifton, writing in March, 1898, informs us:—

> The Canadian Pacific Railway train going west yesterday consisted of five sections, about half of them loaded with intending prospectors, so you will have all the people you can take care of.[39]

And in the vanguard were the newspaper-men, sent out to get the stories of hardship, of suffering, of success and failure, of the humour and pathos of this great migration of peoples they had set off. It is to be noted that these newsmen were a cosmopolitan lot, brought together from all parts of the civilized world by the wide publicity with which the news of the strike had already been acclaimed, and that among them Canadians were a negligible minority. This was so apparent that it drew from Major Walsh in his report to the Minister of the Interior in 1898 the following comment:—

> It is to me a matter of surprise that the business men of Canada have not taken greater interest in this question. In fact, it appears to me that our people have given little, if any, attention to the district. It may surprise you, but it is nevertheless a fact that until the arrival of Col. McGregor in July there was not an accredited representative of the Canadian press in the district. No one commissioned by any of our leading newspapers to examine into the conditions of the country as they existed, or its wants, and to report the result of his investigation to the Canadian people, has visited the territory. By that means the people of Canada could have obtained reliable and worthy information regarding the country and its means. All the information sent out from the country was left to the representatives of English and foreign newspapers to supply. Last spring and summer there were in the Yukon in the neighborhood of two hundred representatives of newspapers, sent there for the express purpose of examining into the resources and wants of the district. Of these about thirty-five represented English papers, about ten represented papers published in Paris, ten papers published in Germany, and about one hundred and forty represented newspapers of the United States. . . . There is, however, this to be said—that while the American papers have heaped upon us a great deal of abuse, our thanks are certainly due to them for advertising our country, as without the assistance of their press and population, comparatively little would be yet known of the British Yukon.[40]

(39) John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times*, Toronto, 1931, pp. 179–180.

(40) "Report of the Minister of the Interior . . . 1898," *in* Canada *Sessional Papers . . . 1899*, Ottawa, 1899, p. 330.

The spring of 1898 saw the almost unbelievable phenomenon of masses of humanity converging on this remote locality. Probably 95 per cent were concentrated on the two landing-beaches on Lynn Canal and the grim passes that led across the coast ranges to the headwaters of the Yukon River. Every craft, no matter how cranky, that could float, whose engines could propel her through the Inside Passage, was pressed into service; one was even raised from the bottom of the sea; ancient river-boats that had long since been superannuated and were slowly rotting on their ways were floated, caulked, their engines overhauled; then, after inviting passenger and freight business, either under their own steam or more probably in tow of some ocean-going vessel, they made their perilous way across the Gulf of Alaska, through the Aleutian Islands into Bering Sea to St. Michael to go into river service. Considering the age of these craft, the indifferent and ignorant and inexperienced crews, the largely uncharted nature of these waters, there is little wonder that many came to grief. The ascent of the river and passage through the Yukon Flats alone was beyond the skill of the inexperienced river pilots who had to pick their way through these perilous waters by trial and error. But the worst hardships were endured by those who surmounted the mountain barriers and built and launched their crazy craft on the Yukon. Here inexperience took its worst toll; the storms on the upper lakes, especially Tagish, adverse winds, the racing torrent of Miles Canyon, and White Horse Rapids were only some of the hazards, not to speak of the running ice of early winter. It is safe to say that most of the fatalities from natural features or climate were to be credited simply to lack of the proper gear and experience. But at best the gold-rush was a mad race after a will o' the wisp, for a claim which not one in a hundred would be able to stake, for a fortune that beckoned yet that would elude the grasp.

Up till now we have had a mass movement, spontaneous and undirected, but the two chief governments involved, Canada and the United States, were now becoming interested. Tales of impending famine had stirred Congress to appropriate money for relief, and an expedition was being organized to convey it.[41] Canada had called into existence the Yukon Territory and organized at least a provisional administration, headed by Major James Morrow Walsh, who crossed the summit with his party in early autumn of 1897, but was overtaken by the freeze-up on the Upper Yukon and had spent the winter months at the Big

(41) John W. Dafoe, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

Salmon River and Lake Bennett.[42] Difficulties were now developing at the coastal end of the trail where boundary questions came up. Even more disturbing was the conflict of interests developing between the great coastal cities, Seattle and San Francisco, to whom this gold-rush was to be an unusually luscious windfall. The tales that set the gold-rush off had originated in those cities, and their merchants and supply-houses saw golden opportunity to be seized. Vancouver had hardly come into the picture at all. Victoria, having some previous experience of gold-rushes, did reap some benefits. But the efforts to exclude their rivals from the profitable trade did much to stimulate ill feeling over the frontier. Men and goods had to land at Skagway and Dyea and pass through United States territory to reach Canadian territory;[43] there was no authority at first to pass goods through in bond; a horse or mule would be passed through, if not used for moving goods over the mountains, and it took considerable protests to secure the lifting of this absurd ban. But even then the frontier was unmarked; United States authorities claimed that the summit was at Bennett and insisted that goods going through in bond had to be convoyed through to Tagish, the owner of the goods to pay the cost of convoy.[44] The talk of the coming United States relief expedition apparently led to rumours that the United States would occupy the disputed area by force, and the Canadian authorities took two measures: the Mounted Police under Superintendent Sam Steele were directed to occupy the summits of the Chilkoot and White Passes, and set up frontier customs posts.[45] Later on, to meet any possible use of force by 14th Infantry camped at Dyea,[46] it was decided by the Canadian Government to organize the Yukon Field Force of the permanent militia, consisting of 203 officers and men, and dispatch it into the country by the Stikine River-Teslin Lake route. Though this force reached the Upper Yukon by June 1, it was not till September 11 that they finally reached their future headquarters, Selkirk, while the Dawson detachment did not reach

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 176.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 164.

(44) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1898*, Ottawa, 1899, Part III, pp. 47–48.

(45) *Ibid.*, p. 6. This action was decided on by the Minister of the Interior, the Honourable Clifford Sifton, directly without consulting Major J. M. Walsh, a special detachment of the North West Mounted Police being sent in for this purpose under Superintendent Sam Steele. It led to a request from Major Walsh that he be relieved forthwith. *See* John W. Dafoe, *op. cit.*, p. 180, foot-note 1.

(46) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1898*, Ottawa, 1899, Part III, p. 48.

Dawson till October 1.[47] But international tension gradually eased, and good sense and the feelings of comradeship in the face of natural perils gradually asserted themselves and the crisis passed. The order issued by Major Walsh in the spring of 1898 that no one was to be allowed to proceed down-river without at least one year's supply of goods,[48] while it may have exceeded the powers conferred on him, undoubtedly was a salutary measure; while it might cause individual hardship, it removed the possible repetition of the near famine of the fall of 1897.

Almost at once the unprecedented congestion of population gave rise to almost insuperable obstacles. It is no fault of the Canadian Government that it had completely underestimated the problems that would be created. Clamour arose over the inability of the officials to cope with the registration of claims; a cause of even greater dissatisfaction was the totally inadequate mail service. Complaints on these and a score of other matters assailed the ears of Major Walsh on his arrival in Dawson in the early summer and pressed for immediate solution. The Commissioner gives an account of these in his report to the Minister and comments on them:—

> The introduction and enforcement of law and taxation naturally made us unpopular with the older residents, who were unaccustomed to that sort of thing. Added to this, some twenty thousand people of all nationalities had flocked into the district in a few weeks. They did not find things as they were in their own country and, as might be expected, in a few weeks everyone was dissatisfied with everything around him. The Englishman from South Africa wanted things carried on as he had been accustomed to have them carried on there; the New Zealander, as they had been carried on in New Zealand; the German and Swede as in their motherlands. Those who came from the United States wanted the mining laws and regulations adopted which are in force in that country, and the British Columbian called out for the regulations of his province, with this exception, that in his case he preferred the 500-foot claim of the Yukon to the 100-foot claim of British Columbia. When regulations could not be made to suit all these various elements of population, the officials and the law had to be abused, and, therefore, the crusade that was started against both.[49]

The matter that caused most headaches at first was the difference in mining laws between the United States and Canada. The Political Code of Alaska provided that mineral claims in the District of Alaska should

(47) G. F. G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers, 1604–1954*, Toronto, 1954, pp. 275–277. *See also* "The Yukon Field Force, 1898–1900," *Canadian Army Journal*, IV (November, 1950), pp. 30–34.

(48) "Report of the Minister of the Interior . . . 1898," *in* Canada *Sessional Papers . . . 1899*, p. 319.

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 331.

be subject to "such reasonable rules and regulations as the miners in organized mining districts may have heretofore made or may hereafter make governing the temporary possession thereof."[50] This was not only taken to apply to mining claims but, owing to the absence of any law-enforcement officers, was extended to all kinds of disputes, with the result that mining camps were run by miners' meetings called to settle all kinds of controversies. Authorities agree that this worked well in the early days of gold-mining in Alaska, but the surveying of the frontier and the discovery that some of the gold-producing areas were in Canada, and thus subject to Canadian mining laws, changed the picture. Order in Council of November 9, 1889, had fixed the size of claims at 100 feet, as provided by British Columbia laws, and it was not till May 21, 1897, that this was amended, providing for 500 feet for creek and 100 feet for bench claims, as contrasted with rules on Forty Mile that allowed 1,320 feet.[51] Moreover, with the advent of the Mounted Police, the commanding officer was named mining recorder, and all claims to be legal had to be in accordance with Canadian laws and recorded with him. The miners on Glacier Creek were inclined to be indignant with this interference with their established practices of settling these things by miners' meetings.[52] But the latter were often swayed by prejudice and passion, and the realization to which the miners quickly came, that their just claims were safeguarded by laws which were impartially administered by the police, soon reconciled them to the new order. Yet even as late as 1896 on Bonanza an effort was made to organize the miners and to take over the registration and surveying of the miners' claims. The new survey, an extremely rough and, as it turned out, very inaccurate survey, imposed on the original staking, admittedly rough as these inevitably were, caused such inextricable confusion and led to such hard feelings that the Dominion surveyor, Mr. William Ogilvie, was appealed to to establish the correct lines and proper ownership. While many of the new stakers (really claim jumpers) were squeezed out in the new survey

(50) Printed in Eugene McElwaine, *The Truth about Alaska,* Chicago, 1901, p. 398.

(51) This Order in Council furnished an additional grievance by imposing a 20-per-cent royalty on all gold produced. The Canadian Government, however, finally yielded to the importunities of the miners and reduced this to 10 per cent, then to 5 per cent, and later to 2½ per cent, and finally abolished it altogether in favour of an export tax. John W. Dafoe, *op. cit.,* p. 187.

(52) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1895,* Ottawa, 1896, p. 234.

and the new recording, it proved a salutary lesson, and no miners' meeting thereafter undertook to interfere with the claims as registered with the Dominion Government recorder.[53]

One other divergence in the mining laws of the two countries remained to be adjusted. United States laws refused aliens the right to stake a claim on United States soil. Canada, following British tradition, allowed aliens the same rights as citizens.[54] While the ban on British subjects was not strictly enforced, the difference in treatment was so glaring that Congress finally agreed to reciprocate in this matter.

The gold-rush continued into 1899, when the pushing of the White Pass railway through to Bennett eliminated the worst hardships. Passing into the interior now became a routine matter. The trails were now blazed, the dangers known and, for the most part, avoided. Dawson and the goldfields now plunged into the business of digging out gold. But, of the 30,000 estimated to have camped on the flat at Dawson in the summer of 1898,[55] few could hope to find claims. Most were soon bankrupt and had recourse to work for others or went into business; the others, disappointed and disillusioned, left the country. It is estimated that $3 were brought into the country for every one taken out. The total gold production of the Yukon eventually, by 1952, reached $229,601,006.[56] It did bring a flood of people to the North from all lands, many of whom stayed—Americans, Canadians, Australians, South Africans, New Zealanders, all of whom left their mark in the country. One great tradition that has persisted in the country is that feeling of comradeship that overleaps all barriers of race and language; this is embodied in the watchword of the secret order known as the Arctic Brotherhood, founded during the gold-rush: "No frontier here."

The native Canadian element was lost in the mass of humanity that struggled over the passes and down the Yukon River in 1898. Major Walsh estimated in the spring of that year 30,000 persons reached the goldfields, of whom a bare 4,000 were Canadians and perhaps 8,000 were British subjects.[57] In the great avalanche that buried some fifty

(53) William Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–171.

(54) Eugene McElwaine, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

(55) "Report of the Minister of the Interior . . . 1898," *in* Canada *Sessional Papers . . . 1899*, Ottawa, 1899, p. 331. Actually Major Walsh stated that this number was "in the district" and not only in Dawson.

(56) Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Gold Mining Industry, 1952*, Ottawa, 1954, Table 5.

(57) "Report of the Minister of the Interior . . . 1898," *in* Canada *Sessional Papers . . . 1899*, Ottawa, 1899, p. 331.

stampeders under snow on April 3, almost all were Americans hailing from California.[58] On that year, July 4, Independence Day, was celebrated with greater gusto that first year than July 1, Dominion Day.[59] Likewise, the Spanish-American War was followed, albeit at a distance of some months, with the interest natural to American citizens.[60]

Part of the surplus population of the Klondike goldfields was absorbed by the gold-rush to Nome in 1899.[61] The year 1903 saw also the stampede to the new fields on the Tanana at Fairbanks, and Dawson contributed its quota.[62] Dawson was gradually cleared of all but the professional miner, the business-man, and the government official. In a very real sense, therefore, the Yukon goldfields were the funnel through which passed the miners who opened up the Alaska goldfields at Nome, Fairbanks, and a dozen other points.

Next to the Americans and possibly the Canadians, the Australians, New Zealanders, and Newfoundlanders perhaps left the most lasting impression. In fact, in the traditions that have persisted, the Australians still bulk very large, a good proof, it seems to me, that the men from the Antipodes formed a very substantial element in the gold-rush. The cosmopolitan nature of the original stampeders is to-day reflected in the second-generation Yukoners, whose names indicate their diverse national origins, however attached they may be to their birthplace and to the country of which they now form a part.

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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
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(58) Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police Force, 1898*, Ottawa, 1899, Part III, p. 90. The Report of the Minister of the Interior for the same year, p. 319, claims that seventy-five persons were killed.

(59) R. A. Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1935, pp. 161–164.

(60) *Ibid.*, pp. 109–110.

(61) Eugene McElwaine, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–237.

(62) John Scudder McLain, *Alaska and the Klondike*, New York, 1905, pp. 304, 307.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VICTORIA SECTION

A joint meeting of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association and the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society was held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, April 16, with the Chairman, Mrs. J. E. Godman, presiding and over 100 persons in attendance. The speaker on that occasion was Dr. Charles E. Borden, of the University of British Columbia, who chose as his subject *Aluminum and Archæology*. Dr. Borden had been placed in charge of the archæological survey undertaken in the Tweedsmuir Park area prior to the flooding consequent upon the development of the Aluminum Company of Canada's project, and his lecture constituted a report on the work and findings of the survey. As a preliminary to his subject, Dr. Borden gave a very rapid summary of the status of archæological study in general in British Columbia. Many years ago there had been some intensive work done by men such as Harlan I. Smith and under the ægis of organizations as the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, but until relatively recent years little further had been undertaken and that mainly in the delta of the Fraser River. Now the archæological importance of other parts of the Province, and in particular of the Northern Interior, has been recognized and careful investigation undertaken. The agreement between the Government of British Columbia and the Aluminum Company of Canada, involving the damming of the Nechako River, constituted a real threat to our knowledge of the prehistory of our Province, and the Government provided funds for a preliminary reconnaissance in the summer of 1951, and the following year the company joined with the Government in supporting a more detailed examination. As a result, from July to mid-September, 1952, a group of fourteen, including anthropological students from the University of British Columbia, the University of Washington, as well as from Columbia and Toronto, were in the field undertaking detailed examination of selected area. Their findings are now being analysed, and detailed reports will ultimately be made public. A very beautiful set of coloured slides were shown to illustrate the work at the various points of the survey. A sincere vote of thanks was tendered to Dr. Borden by Mr. A. F. Flucke, President of the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society.

A regular meeting of the Section was held on Friday evening, May 29, in the Provincial Library, when Mr. Russell Potter, an active member of the Association, read a paper entitled *A Good Word for Juan de Fuca*. Mr. Potter, a civil engineer, is a member of the Public Utilities Commission and has long been interested in the early exploration of this coast. In the course of his address Mr. Potter analysed much of the evidence available concerning the voyage of Juan de Fuca and came to the conclusion that to classify it as an apocryphal venture is unwarranted. The lecture was illustrated with sketches and maps and aroused considerable interest among those present.

The meeting of the Section held on Thursday evening, June 25, in the Provincial Library was planned as a prelude to the annual field-day and also as an opportunity for the members to become aware of the work being undertaken by the Special Committee on Old and Historic Homes. The speaker on that occasion was Mr. J. K. Nesbitt, who, through the columns of the Victoria *Daily Colonist*, has done so much to arouse interest in the pioneer homes. He had chosen as his subject *Some of Victoria's Oldest Homes*. In particular he dealt with "Duvals," the Barnard residence; "Point Ellice," home of the O'Reilly family; "Wentworth Villa," the Ella residence; and the James Bay residences of the Trounce and Pendray families. During the evening a number of photographs, many in colour, of houses recently photographed by the Committee were shown and the points of architectural interest pointed out. In addition, Miss Madge Wolfenden, who has been of inestimable assistance to the Committee, gave an outline of the history of Beckley Farm in James Bay.

The annual field-day of the Victoria Section was held on the afternoon of August 22 and took the form of a caravan tour of many of the old historic houses of the city of which the Committee is attempting to secure a photographic record. In addition to private cars, a large bus was chartered, and mimeographed notes prepared by Miss Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Provincial Archivist, were provided, giving information about the homes visited. The route covered most sections of the city, and stops were made at five homes of particular interest and concluded at the manor house of Craigflower Farm, where tea had been arranged. This was particularly appropriate, as this was the year of the centenary of the establishment of the farm. Both the manor house and the school-house were open to inspection, and nearly 100 persons availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting the old homes.

The first meeting in the fall season was held on Tuesday evening, October 27, in the Provincial Library, with Mrs. J. E. Godman in the chair. On that occasion the speaker was Mr. E. G. Hart, a member of the engineering staff of the British Columbia Electric Company, who had chosen as his subject *Tofino to Sooke*. Mr. Hart has long been familiar with the West Coast of Vancouver Island and was able to add many personal recollections. He had prepared a large-scale map of the region and spoke briefly on the origin and development of the numerous small communities dotting the coast. Particular emphasis was laid on the problem of communication, which still remains unsolved, and the various proposed routes for a West Coast road were indicated.

VANCOUVER SECTION

A general meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, April 14, with Mr. D. A. McGregor in the chair. The speaker was Dr. Frank G. Roe, whose monumental study on *The American Buffalo* won him well-merited recognition among historians and led the University of Alberta to confer upon him an honorary degree. Dr. Roe very rapidly sketched the background of the story of the buffalo as substantiated from the records of early explorers in the American mid-West and dealt particularly with the problem of their migrations. The Indian method of capturing the animal was also described. At one time, it has been estimated, there were 60,000,000 buffalo, and the question

of their destruction was considered, the suggestion being put forward that American military authorities, despairing of conquering the West as long as the Indians remained economically secure because of the prevalence of the buffalo, were largely instrumental in having the herds wiped out. The various attempts to domesticate the animal were also mentioned. Captain C. W. Cates proposed the vote of appreciation to the speaker.

At a meeting of the Section held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, May 19, Mrs. Mildred Valley Thornton spoke on the subject *Indian Trails in British Columbia.* Mrs. Thornton is a well-known friend of the Canadian Indians and has painted them, written extensively about them, and lectured. Her address was illustrated with many Kodachrome reproductions of her paintings of famous Indian men and women, about whom Mrs. Thornton told their story. Into her narrative she introduced many interesting accounts that she had gathered during her travels throughout the Province making her paintings. Mr. Noel Robinson tendered the appreciation of the meeting to the speaker.

The summer outing of the Section took the form of a picnic to the Oblate shrine at Mission on Saturday afternoon, June 27. At the shrine, dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes, Father George Forbes, O.M.I., gave an interesting account of its foundation by the first Roman Catholic Bishop of British Columbia and told of the work of other members of the clergy connected with the Order. A visit was also made to the small cemetery wherein are buried many of the pioneers, laymen as well as priests and brothers, of the Church who served in the area.

The first meeting of the fall season was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, September 15, and drew a large attendance to hear Captain C. W. Cates speak on the subject *When North Vancouver Was Young.* Captain Cates is First Vice-President of the British Columbia Historical Association and, having lived nearly all his life in North Vancouver and having attended the school at Moodyville, was well qualified to speak on the history of North Vancouver. From his great store of personal anecdotes he was able to re-create much of the spirit and temper of the forgotten days. From his association with the Indian peoples he learned many of their names for the regions along the shores of Burrard Inlet and told several of their legends pertaining to the region. The great stands of timber first drew the white men to the inlet, and the beginnings of settlement were about the mill constructed at Moodyville. In the old days great sailing-ships came into the inlet to load the lumber for export the world over. North Vancouver proper began as a dairy-farm and gradually a town grew up, a process that was hastened by the coming of the shipyards. In passing, Captain Cates also dealt with the history of such things as the Second Narrows Bridge and told the stories of many of the early ships on the inlet—the *Sudden Jerk* and *Spratt's Ark.* Mr. E. G. Baynes expressed the thanks of the meeting to Captain Cates for the delightful story he had told.

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, October 13. The speaker on that occasion was Mr. Norman Hacking, marine editor of the Vancouver *Daily Province* and a frequent contributor to this *Quarterly* of articles on steamboat history in this Province. His lecture, entitled *From Beaver to Princess,* traced the story of the beginning and development of a coastwise steamship service in British Columbia. In the course of his address

Mr. Hacking pointed out that the present coastal service of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is a lineal descendant of that commenced by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1835, when the pioneer steamer *Beaver* first put in her appearance. In the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, which was taken over by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in 1901, the Hudson's Bay Company was a large stockholder, along with Captain John Irving, one of the most colourful of steamboat captains. Mr. Hacking recounted many of the interesting stories of marine history—the *Premier* and her part in the " smallpox war " and subsequent difficulties after her collision with an American steamer, as a result of which she could never again cross the boundary-line and ended her days as the steamer *Charmer*. The story of the Spanish privateer hoax of 1898 was recounted—a colourful if unholy scheme to transfer some of the Klondike gold-rush trade from American to British ships. In 1894 the Canadian Pacific Railway built in Scotland the *Prince Rupert*, ostensibly to compete with the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company on this coast. It was while off the Azores en route to this region after being commissioned that her orders were cancelled, and instead she went into operation in the Bay of Fundy service. At the conclusion of the address Mr. Mark Lumley presented to the Section a souvenir from the *Beaver*—a soldering-iron which he had made from metal taken from the ship as she lay a wreck on Prospect Point.

WEST KOOTENAY SECTION

For the first time in many years a new section of the British Columbia Historical Association has been organized. Largely through the enthusiasm of Mrs. A. D. Turnbull, Second Vice-President of the Association, Section No. 4 has been organized in the Trail-Rossland area. A preliminary meeting was held on Monday evening, March 30, in the home of Mrs. Turnbull, when a paper on the *History of Fort Edmonton* was read by Mr. Alan Jenkins, manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. While living in Edmonton he had become interested in the history of the old fort and had collected together all the facts available. His address traced chronologically the history from the founding of the post in 1795 to the incorporation of the city in 1892, and in his researches he had consulted maps, journals, newspapers, published histories, and had secured information direct from the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London. Fort Edmonton occupied an important position in the Company's operations, for it became the jumping-off point for traders crossing the Rocky Mountains to Boat Encampment on the Upper Columbia River. It was also strategically located on the boundary between the warlike Blackfeet and more peaceable Cree Indians. The appreciation of the members was tendered to Mr. Jenkins by Mr. Gordon German.

The second meeting of the group was held on Thursday evening, April 29, in the home of Mrs. A. D. Turnbull on the occasion of a visit of the Provincial Librarian and Archivist to the West Kootenay District. Mr. Ireland spoke on the subject *The Place of the Kootenays in the History of British Columbia.* Far from being isolated, in the old days it was on the direct route of the fur brigades and was actually in use years before comparable activity developed on the coast. Subsequently, it became significant in the efforts to build up a defence against anticipated American expansion. The building of the Dewdney Trail in gold-rush days was a direct attempt to cut off American economic penetration, a plan

repeated years later in the building of the Crowsnest–Kettle Valley branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railway as an offset to the American Great Northern Railway. In like manner, Fort Shepherd was established in the hope that it would divert trade from Fort Colville to British territory. After the address considerable discussion took place on the proposal of formal organization into an historical society, and the decision to join with the British Columbia Historical Association was reached. A committee of five, comprising Messrs. Alan Jenkins, Gordon German, and F. Etheridge, and Mesdames James Armstrong and A. D. Turnbull, was elected to arrange for the organization of the Section.

The third meeting of the Section was held on Monday evening, June 20, at the home of Mrs. A. D. Turnbull, with Mr. Alan Jenkins acting as Chairman. Election of officers took place, and resulted as follows:—

Chairman - - - - - - - -	James Armstrong.
Secretary-treasurer - - - - - -	Mrs. A. D. Turnbull.

The speaker at the meeting was Mr. Gibson Kennedy, who had chosen as his subject *Steamboating on the Kootenays.* The story began with the *Forty-nine* in 1865, which ran up the Columbia River from Fort Colville taking miners to the Big Bend gold-rush. It was not until twenty years later that steamboats really came into their own with the mining boom in the Kootenays. A leader in this development was the Columbia and Kootenay Navigation Company. Mr. Kennedy mentioned many of the old sternwheelers—*Despatch, Lytton, Kootenay, Kokanee,* to name but a few—and had photographs of many of them. To-day only two are left in active service—the *Moyie* and the *Minto*—for the completion of the Kettle Valley line of the Canadian Pacific Railway spelled the end of steamboating, but with their passing a great deal of colour has gone out of life on the lakes and rivers of the Kootenay country.

Late in September this Section held an afternoon field-day at Rossland, exploring many of the old mine-sites in the district and also visiting the Rossland Museum that is in process of organization. On October 18 several of the members of the Section drove to St. Paul's Mission, near Kettle Falls, Washington, to participate in the dedication of a marker commemorating the centenary of the arrival of Governor I. I. Stevens of the Territory of Washington at that site.

On Tuesday evening, October 20, the Section sponsored a public meeting in the City Council chambers, at which the guest speaker was Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist. The subject of his address was *Trail-Rossland Backgrounds,* which dealt with developments from the coming of the first white man to the building of the original smelter. Mr. Ireland divided the subject into six broad periods—the age of exploration, the fur-trade era, the gold-mining boom, the period of neglect, the base-metal boom period, and the age of improved communications. Anecdotes and facts illustrative of each period were given, and emphasis paid to the work of such men as David Thompson and Edgar Dewdney and to such events as the building of Fort Shepherd and the opening of the LeRoi mine. In many instances it was remarkable how significantly West Kootenay history was linked with that not only of British Columbia, but frequently with that of Canada as a whole.

NANAIMO SECTION

Another new section of the British Columbia Historical Association, Section No. 5, has been organized at Nanaimo, thanks in large part to the enthusiasm of a small group in that city including Miss Patricia Johnson and Messrs. W. E. Bray and J. C. McGregor. An organizational meeting was held in the Parish Hall of St. Paul's Anglican Church on Saturday afternoon, June 20, in conjunction with civic celebrations commemorating the centenary of the building of the Bastion. This meeting was attended by Mr. Bruce McKelvie and Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, both of whom commended the proposal to organize as a section of the British Columbia Historical Association. To this end a temporary executive was elected, as follows:—

President	J. C. McGregor.
Secretary	Miss Patricia Johnson.
Treasurer	F. W. Robinson.

Arrangements were made for a meeting in mid-July.

A regular meeting of the Section was held in St. Paul's Parish Hall on Tuesday evening, July 14, when the affairs of the Section were discussed and the temporary executive confirmed in office. Programme plans for the year were discussed, at the conclusion of which the Venerable Archdeacon Albert E. Hendy read a paper on the *History of St. Paul's, Nanaimo*. An expansion of this paper has recently been published in Nanaimo and is reviewed in this *Quarterly*. The formal application for recognition as a section was passed at this meeting.

Formal recognition of the Section was made known at its meeting held on Wednesday evening, October 7, when four reports on researches into Nanaimo history were read. Mr. W. E. Bray reported on the location of many of the early settlers in Nanaimo; Mrs. M. A. Kenny prepared an excellent report on early buildings in Nanaimo, which was read by Archdeacon Hendy; Miss Patricia Johnson gave a preliminary report on the burials in the old cemetery on Comox road; and Mr. Robert Davison discussed the first coal mines in Nanaimo. All reports were received with considerable enthusiasm, and the members present contributed much additional information. Membership of the section stood at eighteen.

FORT ST. JAMES AND CENTRAL B.C. SECTION

The sixth section of the British Columbia Historical Association was organized with the assistance of Dr. W. N. Sage, who was present at Fort St. James at the time of the festivities on the occasion of the unveiling of the cairn erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. The inaugural meeting was held on Tuesday, June 30, in the Fort St. James school-house, when the following were elected as officers:—

Honorary Patron	George Ogston, Vanderhoof.
Honorary Chairman	W. D. Fraser, Fort St. James.
Chairman	Mrs. David Hoy, Fort St. James.
Vice-Chairman	E. D. Vinnedge, Fort St. James.
Secretary-Treasurer	John M. Lowe, Fort St. James.

Councillors—

D. Forsyth. Rev. M. Silk. E. Moirs.
Constable T. Garvin. Dr. E. McDonnell.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

For the first time since its inception in 1925 the annual meeting of the Okanagan Historical Society was held in Penticton on Friday afternoon, May 29, on board S.S. *Sicamous*. President J. B. Knowles was in the chair, and there were representatives present from the following communities: Okanagan Mission, Kelowna, Canoe, Westbank, Penticton, Vernon, Naramata, Summerland, Oliver, Osoyoos, Okanagan Falls, Armstrong, Okanagan Centre, and Princeton. The various annual reports indicated that the affairs of the Society were in a flourishing condition. There was a membership of over 700 and a bank balance of $364.42. A new system of accounting and recording had been instituted during the year. Reports were received from all the branch societies, and Mrs. R. L. Cawston gave a special editor's report on the history of the *Annual Reports*. Silent tribute was paid to three prominent deceased members—the Rt. Hon. Grote Stirling, P.C., H. H. Whitaker, and Harry D. Barnes. During the course of the afternoon a resolution that the Society itself establish a central museum was defeated, but the membership expressed its willingness to encourage and assist any organization interested in the establishment of historical museums in the valley.

In the evening 150 persons sat down to a banquet on board the steamer. His Worship Mayor Rathbun welcomed the visitors to Penticton, as did Mr. R. N. Atkinson, Chairman of the Penticton branch of the Society, and Captain J. B. Weeks. The principal speaker on this occasion was Mr. O. L. Jones, M.P., who spoke on the national and local responsibility in the preservation of historical records and data. In it he referred to the findings of the Massey Royal Commission, wherein a great interest was revealed but as yet financial support remained inadequate. He deplored the funnelling-off in many instances to Ottawa and elsewhere of material that should have been retained in the local region. He was warmly commendatory of the efforts of the Okanagan Historical Society in so far as its efforts to preserve the history of the valley were concerned. Many old-timers were present, and a period was given over to their reminiscences, one of the most outstanding being provided by Mr. George M. Watt, of Okanagan Mission, who years ago brought a bicycle over the Hope–Princeton Trail and told of his experiences on the journey.

The election of officers resulted as follows:—

Honorary Patron	His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
Honorary President	O. L. Jones, M.P.
President	J. B. Knowles, Kelowna.
First Vice-President	J. D. Whitham, Kelowna.
Second Vice-President	Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton.
Secretary	Dr. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton.
Treasurer	W. R. Pepper, Vernon.
Auditor	Sidney Spyer, Vernon.
Editor	Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Vancouver.
Assistant Editor	Mrs. R. L. Cawston, Penticton.

Directors—

North—

Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops. J. G. Simms, Vernon.
G. C. Tassie, Vernon.

Middle—
Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank. Dr. Frank Quinn, Kelowna.
James Goldie, Okanagan Centre.

South—
George J. Fraser, Osoyoos. G. J. Rowland, Penticton.
Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton.

At large—
Miss K. Ellis, Penticton. Mrs. G. Maisonville, Kelowna.
A. K. Loyd, Kelowna. F. L. Goodman, Osoyoos.
J. H. Wilson, Armstrong.

A meeting of the *Penticton Branch* was held on April 23, at which Mr. D. A. McGregor, Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association, was the guest speaker and his subject *Peter Skene Ogden*. The officers of this branch are:—

President	R. N. Atkinson.
Vice-Presidents	H. Cochrane.
	Mrs. R. B. White.
Secretary	Mrs. C. G. Bennett.
Treasurer	Captain J. B. Weeks.
Directors—	
R. L. Cawston.	J. G. Harris.
E. Bentley.	J. T. Leslie.

Mr. McGregor also addressed the *Kelowna Branch* on the same subject at its April meeting. The officers of this branch are as follows:—

President	R. C. Gore.
Vice-President	J. B. Knowles.
Secretary-Treasurer	L. L. Kerry.
Directors—	
Mrs. D. Gellatly.	Nigel Poole.
Mrs. G. D. Fitzgerald.	E. M. Carruthers.
Mrs. G. Maisonville.	J. D. Whitham.

Other Branch Societies' officers are as follows:—

Vernon

President	S. J. Morton.
Secretary-Treasurer	George Falconer.
Directors—	
A. E. Berry.	Burt R. Campbell.
G. E. McMahon.	

Armstrong

President	J. H. Wilson.
Vice-President	J. E. Jamieson.
Secretary-Treasurer	Arthur Marshall.
Directors—	
Mrs. D. G. Crozier.	Mrs. Myles MacDonald.
Arthur Young.	

Oliver-Osoyoos

President	Vernon Simpson.
Vice-President	Mrs. E. J. Lacey.
Secretary	R. Butler.
Treasurer	A. Kalten.
Directors—	
L. Ball.	A. Miller.
Mrs. A. Miller.	A. McGibbon.

SOUTH CARIBOO HISTORICAL MUSEUM SOCIETY

The South Cariboo Historical Museum Society was organized at a meeting held in Clinton on Monday evening, July 6, when the following officers were elected:—

President	Harold Mainguy.
Vice-President	S. E. Robertson.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. Avis L. Choate.

Plans were discussed for the immediate development of a museum, and a garage with a cement floor was rented for that purpose and material collected for exhibit purposes. The official opening of this museum took place on Friday morning, September 4, as an integral part of the Clinton Rodeo. This ceremony was presided over by Mr. Harold Mainguy and opened with the singing of " O Canada." Mr. R. D. Cumming, an old-time resident of the South Cariboo District and long associated with the Ashcroft *Journal,* was called upon to give an address, and in his remarks he spoke of pioneer days and in particular of the establishment of early grist and flour mills. Mrs. Charles E. Robertson, Clinton School Trustee, was also called upon and stressed the value of preserving the lore and history of the region and paid tribute to the encouragement afforded the project by Mrs. G. Maisonville. The official opening was performed by Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, who commended the Society and the community for the effort that had been put forward. In a very limited period of time a most impressive collection had been assembled and arranged for display that was representative of all phases of the history of the region. At the conclusion of the ceremony the group proceeded to the unveiling of the Clinton cairn, after which visiting guests were entertained for lunch at the Cariboo Lodge.

SPROAT LAKE PETROGLYPHS

In November, 1952, the Department of Trade and Industry presented a plaque which was mounted on the shores of Sproat Lake in a park which has been established by MacMillan & Bloedel Limited that has within it a very fine example of early Indian rock carving. Gilbert Malcolm Sproat knew of the existence of this carving in the 1860's, for he described it in his *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life,* published in London in 1868: " The only rock carving ever seen on this coast is on a high rock on the shore of Sproat's lake behind Alberni. It is rudely done, and apparently not of an old date. There are half-a-dozen figures intended to represent fishes or birds—no one can say which. The natives affirm that Quawteceht made them. . . . The meaning of these figures is not understood by the people;

and I dare say, if the truth were known, they are nothing but feeble attempts on the part of the individual artists to imitate some visible objects which they had strongly in their minds" (pp. 268–269). Sproat's opinions have not been supported by later anthropological investigation. In 1890 Dr. Franz Boas examined the petroglyph, photographed it, and had a cast made of the carving. Subsequently, he described it in a German anthropological journal, a condensed translation of which provides the following information: "The accompanying rock picture is found on the eastern shore of Sproat lake, near its southern outlet. . . . In former times this region was the territory of the Hope-tschisath, a tribe of the Nootka or Aht. . . . The present inhabitants of the region know nothing concerning the origin of the rock picture. According to their legends, the rock on which it is carved was once the house of Kwothiath. Kwothiath is the wandering divinity in Nootka mythology, and corresponds approximately to the raven of the Tlinkit and Haida, the Qäls of the Kowitchin. The picture is found on a perpendicular rock wall about 7 metres high, which drops directly into the lake, so that it was necessary to make the copy while standing in the water. The rock is traversed in the middle by a broad cleft, narrowing below, from which blocks have fallen out which bore part of the drawing. . . . The lines of the drawing are flat grooves, about two or three fingers' breadth, and in many places are so weathered as to be hardly recognizable. They have been scraped into the rock probably by the points of sticks rubbing moist sand against it. No marks of blows of any kind are found. . . . The objects represented are evidently fishes or marine monsters. The middle figure to the left of the cleft may be a manned boat, the fore part of which is probably destroyed." [Garrick Mallery, "Picture-writing of the American Indians," *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1888–89*, Washington, 1893, pp. 44–45.]

The inscription on the plaque is as follows:—

SPROAT LAKE PETROGLYPHS

These petroglyphs or rock carvings were made many centuries ago by early Indian inhabitants. Their meaning has long been forgotten but similar carvings often commemorated supernatural occurrences or social events of great importance to the carvers.

PLAQUE TO COMMEMORATE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SURVEY OF VANCOUVER TOWNSITE BY L. A. HAMILTON, 1885

In commemoration of the sixty-seventh anniversary of the incorporation of Vancouver as a city the Board of Park Commissioners of that city tendered a dinner on Monday evening, April 20, to all pioneers of Vancouver resident in the city before the arrival of the first passenger-train on May 23, 1887. The dinner was held in the Stanley Park Pavilion, and the highlight of the evening was the unveiling of a bronze panel commemorating the precise spot where Mr. Lauchlan Alexander Hamilton drove the first stake at the edge of the forest and commenced the survey of the townsite in the autumn of 1885. The panel is the work of Sydney March, of Farnborough, Kent. Miss I. O. Hamilton, only child of the pioneer surveyor, who as a child of 7 lived with her parents in their cedar-shake cottage in what is now the Fairview District while the survey was progressing, travelled from

her home in Toronto to unveil the panel, which was ultimately erected on the south-west corner of Hamilton and Hastings Streets in Vancouver. The inscription is as follows:—

> Here stood Hamilton, first land commissioner, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1885, in the silent solitude of the primeval forest. He drove a wooden stake in the earth and commenced to measure an empty land into the streets of Vancouver.

PRESENTATION OF THE DOUGLAS DOCUMENTS

On the eighty-second anniversary of the entry of British Columbia into Confederation, July 20, an interesting ceremony took place at Government House, Victoria, when five valuable documents belonging to Sir James Douglas—the Father of British Columbia—were formally presented to the Government by Mr. John Douglas, acting on behalf of himself and his elder brother, Mr. James Douglas, of London, England. The documents were the original parchment commission with attached Great Seal of the Realm, dated September 2, 1858, appointing James Douglas Governor of British Columbia; the manuscript Order in Council embodying a draft of the Commission; the official instructions under the Privy Seal to Douglas as Governor; a letter from the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Colonial Secretary, to Douglas, dated December 16, 1858; and a manuscript testimonial address to Governor Douglas upon his retirement, signed by various members of the Civil Service in the colony at that time.

Many years ago these documents had been taken to England by members of the family and placed for safe-keeping with the B.C. Land and Investment Agency Limited in London. There they remained and almost miraculously survived the bombings of World War II. Recently they were discovered in the company's vaults, and the suggestion was put forward that they be presented to the Provincial Archives. In this Mr. James Douglas, a grandson of Sir James, concurred, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, then in London to attend the Coronation, graciously consented to bring the documents to British Columbia. Upon his return to Victoria, His Honour arranged for the formal transfer of the documents to Mr. John Douglas, who expressed the appreciation of his family for His Honour's interest in the documents and then obtained permission to request the Prime Minister of British Columbia to accept the documents on behalf of the Government. The Hon. W. A. C. Bennett in a few well-chosen words of acceptance thanked Mr. Douglas for the generous gift to the Province and then committed the documents to the care of Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist. Other members of the Government present included the Hon. Wesley D. Black, Provincial Secretary, and the Hon. Tilly J. Rolston, Minister of Education. Mr. Robert Shanks, manager of the Victoria office of the B.C. Lands and Investment Agency Limited, officially represented his company. In addition to Mr. John Douglas and family, another grandson of Sir James Douglas was present in the person of Colonel Chester Harris.

FORT ST. JAMES MEMORIAL CAIRN

Elaborate plans had been made for the unveiling of the memorial cairn and tablet erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada at Fort St.

James on July 1, 1953. Unfortunately, heavy rains prevented holding the ceremony at the site of the cairn overlooking Stuart Lake, and instead over 250 persons gathered in the Community Hall. Mr. William D. Fraser, a former manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort St. James and a pioneer of the district, presided. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the national anthem, after which Rev. Father M. Silk, O.M.I., pronounced an invocation. Mr. George Murray, M.P., was introduced and brought greetings on behalf of the Government of Canada. In his remarks he emphasized the importance of Dominion Day and the foresight of the Fathers of Confederation and made special reference to the work of the early fur-traders and pioneers. Mr. Don Fraser, present manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's store, brought greetings from the company and expressed the regrets of Mr. C. P. Wilson, editor of the *Beaver*, at his inability to be present. There was also present Chief Louis Billie, hereditary chief of the Fort St. James Indians, who is now inactive, but the former chief, Felix Antoine, and the newly elected chief, Edward Moise, both spoke in commendation of what had been done for their people.

Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada was then called upon to deliver an address on *New Caledonia*. Before he did so, Dr. Sage conveyed greetings from the Board he represented and from the University of British Columbia. He also read letters from Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, and from Mr. Harry Gilliland, President of the British Columbia Historical Association. Dr. Sage explained why Simon Fraser named the district New Caledonia and indicated the geographical limits of the territory. He then commented on the native tribes—Carriers, Babines, Chilcotins, Sikani, and Nehanni—all of whom belonged to the Athapaskan language group and were collectively known as the Western Dénés. He stressed the influence of the Coast Indians and the intrusion of their customs, including the potlatch. The arrival of the Nor' Westers, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, John Stuart, and others was discussed and also the building of the fur-trading posts—McLeod's Lake (1805), Fort St. James (1806), Fort Fraser (1806), Fort George (1807), and Fort Alexandria (1821). Simon Fraser's descent of the great river which bears his name, in 1808, was next described, and the beginnings of agriculture at Fort St. James in 1811 by Daniel Williams Harmon were mentioned. After the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821 the reorganized Hudson's Bay Company took over New Caledonia, and Fort St. James became the recognized fur-trading centre of the district. Dr. Sage then mentioned the officers in charge of Fort St. James, from John Stuart to Alexander C. Murray. In conclusion, he dealt briefly with the coming of the missionaries and the Fraser River gold-rush of 1858, which resulted in the creation of the new colony of British Columbia.

At the conclusion of the address, the gathering adjourned to the cairn, where Chief Louis Billie spoke of the old days as he recollected them, as did Mr. George Ogston. The latter had joined the Hudson's Bay Company as an apprentice in 1903 and came to serve at Fort St. James in 1905 under Alexander C. Murray. He recalled the great celebration in 1906 on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the post, and he then unveiled the tablet which had been

covered fittingly enough by a Hudson's Bay Company's flag. Dr. Sage then read the inscription, which is as follows:—

FORT ST. JAMES

Founded in 1806 by Simon Fraser of the North West Company, has been the chief fur trading post in north-central British Columbia, formerly known as New Caledonia. Since 1821 it has been in continuous operation by the Hudson's Bay Company. As early as 1811 the Nor-Westers began to cultivate the soil.

Fort St. James has been a most important link in the water, land and air communication with northern British Columbia.

The Proceedings ended with the singing of "God Save the Queen." In the afternoon the weather cleared and a regatta and sports day—both aquatic and field—was held, followed by an evening dance in the Community Hall.

PLAQUE COMMEMORATING SAMUEL BLACK

As an integral part of the three-day celebration marking the diamond jubilee of the incorporation of Kamloops as a city and the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, on Sunday afternoon, May 31, a public ceremony was held in Riverside Park under the chairmanship of His Worship Mayor J. E. Fitzwater. At the conclusion of a religious ceremony arranged by the Ministerial Association to commemorate the Coronation, the plaque commemorating the life and death of Chief Factor Samuel Black was dedicated. Rev. the Hon. P. A. Gaglardi, Minister of Public Works, made the presentation of the plaque on behalf of the Department of Trade and Industry. Mr. B. A. McKelvie, popular newspaper-man and historian, was the principal speaker and outlined the career of Samuel Black up to his tragic murder at Fort Kamloops on February 8, 1841. A native of Aberdeen, where he was born in 1785, Samuel Black entered the service of the XY Company in 1802 and remained on after its absorption by the North West Company, which he served with distinction. At the time of the union in 1821 with the Hudson's Bay Company, Black was passed over in the promotions, but he was a faithful servant of the new company and successfully undertook for it in 1824 a hazardous expedition to the headwaters of the Finlay River. For a time thereafter he served at various posts in the southern part of the Columbia District and in 1830 was sent to assume charge of the Thompson River District, with headquarters at Fort Kamloops, and there he remained until his death through treachery by an Indian. Plans were made to take his body to Fort Vancouver for burial, but this was never accomplished, and he was buried somewhere on the hill overlooking Monte Creek near the Bostock residence. The unveiling was performed by Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Truchot, of Oswego, Oregon, the former being a great-grandson of the famous fur-trader. Special mention was also made of the effort of Burt R. Campbell, President of the Kamloops Museum Association, in having the tablet erected. The inscription is as follows:—

In memory of Chief Factor Samuel Black, Hudson's Bay Company, in command of Fort Kamloops 1830–1841. Treacherously murdered by an Indian at the establishment across the river from this site, February 8, 1841.

Discoverer, Explorer, Fur Trader.

CLINTON CAIRN

A very impressive ceremony was held at noon on Friday, September 4, at Clinton to unveil the historic marker at the junction of the two routes to the Cariboo goldfields. The proceedings were chaired by Mr. Cedric Durell, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, who paid particular tribute to Mr. Bruce McTavish, who donated the land upon which the cairn was erected; to Mr. Derward Smith, who built the cairn that is made from local stone from all over the area; and to the Provincial Department of Trade and Industry, who prepared the bronze tablet for the cairn. Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, was called upon to deliver an address, and he very rapidly sketched out the early history of the routes to the mines and the significant position that Clinton came to occupy. The actual ceremony of unveiling was performed by William Young, deputy chief of the local Indians. The inscription on the tablet reads:—

CLINTON

This cairn marks the junction of two routes to the Cariboo Gold Mines; the original 1859 Cariboo Trail from Lillooet and the Cariboo Road through the Fraser Canyon built in 1863 by the Royal Engineers. Originally called Cut Off Valley, renamed in 1863, honoring Henry Pelham Clinton, 5th Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, 1859–64.

PLAQUE COMMEMORATING WALTER MOBERLY

A feature in the Golden Spike Days celebration held at Revelstoke was the dedication of a plaque to commemorate the work of Walter Moberly. The unveiling took place on Sunday, July 5, in the former Central Park, now renamed Moberly Park. The ceremony was presided over by His Worship Mayor Walter Hardman, who called upon Mr. W. J. Fraser, first white boy to be born in Revelstoke, to perform the unveiling. Mr. Fraser, who now resides in Vancouver, spoke briefly of the arrival of his family at "Second Crossing" in 1885 on the first work-train and of their early associations with the community. His mother, Mrs. Catherine Maud Fraser, now 97 years of age, resides in Vancouver.

The inscription on the plaque, presented by the British Columbia Department of Trade and Industry, is as follows:—

WALTER MOBERLY, C.E.

1832–1915.

Pioneer Surveyor, Engineer and Road Builder, came to British Columbia in 1858. When leading the government sponsored Columbia River exploration in 1865 he discovered Eagle Pass through the Gold Range, a vital link in the route of Canada's first transcontinental railway.

THE ALBERTA HISTORICAL REVIEW

It is a pleasure to call the attention of our readers to the appearance of *The Alberta Historical Review*, Volume I, No. 1 of which is dated April, 1953. With its appearance Alberta becomes the last of the Western Canadian Provinces to have embarked upon publication in the local history field. The *Review* is published quarterly by the Historical Society of Alberta and is printed through the courtesy of the Department of Economic Affairs of the Government of Alberta. This publication aims to print first-hand accounts interpretative of the life of the Province and hopes to encourage the collection and preservation of historical material relating to Alberta and the Canadian West. Editor of the *Review* is Mr. W. Everard Edmonds, 11146 Ninety-first Avenue, Edmonton, and subscriptions at $2 per annum are handled by the Treasurer of the Society, Mr. E. S. George, 9817 One Hundred and Seventh Street, Edmonton.

The first issue contains three interesting articles as well as a summary of the history of the Historical Society of Alberta. Dr. George Douglas Stanley, a medical practitioner in Southern Alberta since 1901, has written on *Medical Pioneering in Alberta.* John W. Shera, retired Collector of Customs at Edmonton and only surviving member of the old North West Territorial Assembly, has contributed his personal reminiscences on *Poundmaker's Capture of the Wagon Train in the Eagle Hills, 1885.* The final article, *The Edmonton Hunt,* was written by Colonel Frederick C. Jamieson, well-known Edmonton barrister.

The Historical Society of Alberta was incorporated by Provincial Statute in 1907, with members of the Legislature and a number of prominent citizens as charter members. Early in 1919 the Society was reorganized and carried out effective work in securing the marking of a number of historic sites in the Province. During World War II the Society's work remained dormant and was not revived until 1947. One of its major objectives is the restoration of Fort Edmonton, torn down in 1915, and there would appear to be hope that this might be accomplished. Present officers of the Society are as follows:—

Honorary President	Hon. J. J. Bowlen, Lieutenant-Governor.
Honorary Vice-Presidents	Hon. A. J. Hook.
	Rev. W. E. Edmonds.
	Colonel F. C. Jamieson.
	Rev. R. E. Finlay.
	Dr. D. G. Revell.
	Dr. A. B. Watt.
	Mrs. Annie Gaetz.
President	J. G. MacGregor.
Vice-President	Dr. W. C. Whiteside.
Secretary	Bruce Peel.
Treasurer	E. S. George.
Executive Committee—	
Mrs. E. H. Gostick.	Professor M. H. Long.
Mrs. C. E. Learmouth.	Dr. P. R. Talbot.
Miss Marjorie Sherlock.	S. A. Dickson.
Miss Bertha Lawrence.	W. S. Searth.
J. W. Sherwin.	Rev. Father Breton.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

D. A. McGregor, immediate Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association, is an editorial writer on the Vancouver *Daily Province* and a keen student of the history of this Province.

Thomas E. Jessett is the historiographer of the Diocese of Olympia of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

John S. Galbraith, Ph.D., has contributed previously to this *Quarterly* and is Associate Professor of History at the University of California at Los Angeles.

John Bernard McGloin, S.J., Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of History at the University of San Francisco and the author of *Eloquent Indian: The Life of James Bouchard, California Jesuit,* published in 1949 on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the arrival of the Jesuit Order in California.

Stuart R. Tompkins, Ph.D., is a member of the Department of History of the University of Oklahoma and an authority on the history of Alaska. He has contributed previously to this *Quarterly* and is the author of *Alaska: Promyshlennik and Sourdough.*

T. F. McIlwraith, Ph.D., is Head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto and the author of a definitive work on the Bella Coola Indians.

W. W. Bilsland is a member of the permanent staff of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

Willard E. Ireland is Provincial Librarian and Archivist of British Columbia and Editor of this *Quarterly.*

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

St. Michael and All Angel's Church, 1883 to 1953. Victoria [1953]. Pp. 20. Ill.

St. Mark's Church, Parish of Salt Spring Island, Diamond Jubilee, 1892–1952. Victoria [1953]. Pp. 12. Ills.

St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo: A Brief History since Its Foundation, 1859–1952. By the Venerable Albert E. Hendy. Nanaimo: 1953. Pp. 36. Ills.

75 Years of Service: A History of Olivet Baptist Church, 1878–1953. By J. Lewis Sangster. New Westminster: Smith-Reed Printers, 1953. Pp. 78. Ills.

Hitherto one of the more neglected fields of historical research and publication in British Columbia has been its religious history. The discovery and political evolution of the Pacific Northwest has now been fairly well worked over, and some serious efforts have also been made to provide us with data on our economic development. The social aspects of our history have not fared nearly so well, and within that general field religious or ecclesiastical history has suffered most. In comparison with other regions in the Pacific Northwest perhaps this is not surprising, for in the era of early settlement missionary activity was much more restricted in British Columbia and is not personalized to the same degree by great names such as Jason Lee, Elkanah Walker, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman. That is not to say, however, that there is no necessity for activity in this field. If a truly balanced picture of the social development of our Province is to become a reality, the role of the clergy and of religious institutions must be examined and integrated.

There will, of necessity, have to be a great deal of preliminary "spadework." The careers of some of the pioneer clergy have already been made available through this *Quarterly* and similar journals. The four items under review suggest that perhaps the next step—namely, the collecting of parish or congregational histories—is now being taken. It is perfectly true that all four booklets are studies in minutiae, but they are a fundamental preparation for the writing of the ultimate general survey.

Three of the booklets deal with parishes within the Diocese of Columbia of the Anglican Church. St. Michael and All Angel's Church is located on the West Saanich Road not far from Royal Oak, some 6 miles from Victoria. While missioners served the district from 1864 onwards, the parish dates its history from the consecration of the church on September 20, 1883. Rev. W. W. Malachi was the moving spirit in the venture, and one of the more celebrated incumbents of the parish was Rev. G. W. Taylor, F.R.S., a keen naturalist and biologist, who later founded the Dominion Biological Station at Departure Bay, near Nanaimo. The brochure on this parish follows a strictly chronological pattern and provides many details. It owes its origin to a seventieth anniversary expansion project.

St. Mark's Church, located at Ganges on Saltspring Island, was the first Anglican church to be built on the island. Rev. J. Belton Haslam was the first resident clergyman, and his church was consecrated on May 15, 1892. It was in connection

with the sixtieth anniversary of that event that the brochure was prepared under the guidance of the present incumbent, the Venerable Archdeacon G. H. Holmes. The illustrations in this publication are numerous and exceptionally well reproduced.

St. Paul's, Nanaimo, is much the oldest of the three parishes to produce a history, for it dates back to colonial days, with the appointment of Rev. R. L. Lowe in 1859 as the first incumbent. Religious services had, of course, been conducted previously, for there is a record of a visit by Rev. Edward Cridge in May, 1857, but it is difficult to accept the statement that this was the first service in a community that was then several years old. The first church was opened by Bishop George Hills on Whitsunday, 1862, and that edifice served until April 11, 1907. The present church was opened on January 3, 1932. Archdeacon Hendy has pieced together not only a chronological history of his parish and its rectors, but has quite successfully introduced much of the history of the development of Nanaimo generally.

The fourth booklet is a welcome addition, for it is the congregational history of the first church on the Mainland of British Columbia of the Baptist denomination, a denomination about which little information of a historical nature has ever been published. This is a more ambitious undertaking, for, unlike the other three histories, this one has been bound in hard covers. Again it is extremely well illustrated. Its author, J. Lewis Sangster, a former Mayor of New Westminster, has been associated with the church from childhood; indeed, his family association very nearly covers sixty of the seventy-five years under consideration. Official recognition of the congregation was taken in August, 1878, at which time there was neither a church building nor a resident pastor. The latter want was not met until 1885, when Rev. Robert Lennie came from Dundas, Ontario, and under his leadership the first church building was built and dedicated in the fall of 1886. Since that time there have been thirteen regular pastors and two new church buildings. The original church, enlarged in 1891, was destroyed in the disastrous New Westminster fire of September 10, 1898, which wiped out approximately eighteen city blocks. In 1899 a new Olivet Baptist Church was dedicated on a new site—one that is to-day occupied by still another building dedicated September 16, 1938. *75 Years of Service* has a tremendous amount of detail concerning the expanding life of a robust congregation. Mr. Sangster has a delightful sense of humour and has included many anecdotes that relieve what might otherwise be the tedium of detail. It is obvious that he has had access to many official records in compiling this history. It is only to be regretted that the careful checking of fact in so far as the congregational history is concerned was not followed in so far as the few pages of general historical background are concerned. The capital of the colony of Vancouver Island was always Fort Victoria or Victoria, never *Queensburg*, and when that colony and its Mainland counterpart were united on November 19, 1866 (not November 21), New Westminster and not Victoria became the capital of the united colony (page 9).

The four congregations whose histories have in this way been so well recorded are to be congratulated on the efforts they have undertaken. It is to be hoped that they will serve as a stimulus to other churches and other denominations to undertake similar efforts to preserve their own story.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. (Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No. 1, 1952, British Columbia Provincial Museum.) By Wilson Duff. Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1953. Pp. 136. Maps & ills.

The appearance of the first volume of a new anthropological series in Canada is an event of scientific importance. It marks the growing recognition of the importance of anthropology in British Columbia, where the Department of Education has shown a commendable interest in the study of the Indian tribes of the Province. Writing from the East, the reviewer wishes to express his whole-hearted commendation and admiration for this policy. It is to be hoped that it will be followed elsewhere in Canada.

The basis upon which anthropological conclusions depend is the accurate and thorough recording of the culture of non-European peoples. Fifty years ago it was assumed that such records could be obtained only at the time of European contact, or within a few years of that period. Since the rich life of the Indians of British Columbia had largely disappeared in the last century, it was generally believed that the field investigators of 1900 to 1910 were collecting the last available data in all fields except archæological and linguistic. Such views took little cognizance of the stability of human culture, and of the amount remaining as oral tradition. It is worth remembering that the most comprehensive studies of British Columbia Indians have appeared since 1930. As the field investigator of to-day works among Indians whose way of life is essentially that of the white man, he may sigh for the opportunities of his predecessors who witnessed the rituals and occupations which he knows only through oral description, but he may take comfort in the fact that his patient interviews with old men and women are recording a culture with greater detail and understanding than can be found in the writers of the last century.

Duff's *Upper Stalo Indians* is a good example of this general thesis. Under the term *Stalo* he groups and describes the scattered groups of Indians from the mouth of the Fraser to a few miles above Yale, with descriptions of the *Upper Stalo* who centred around the Fraser Canyon. Much has been written about these people, yet Duff has succeeded in collecting new facts. Even more important, he has gone through earlier publications and manuscript material, identifying "tribal" groups and ascribing descriptions to the relevant areas. The result is a compilation of data on the peoples of the Fraser which can never be repeated. It can properly be described as definitive.

It must not be thought that Duff has given a complete picture of Upper Stalo life. Much of their culture disappeared a century ago, and just as the Indians of New England, whose culture was the first to disappear before the white man in the East, are less known than tribes in the hinterland, so in British Columbia we know more of marginal tribes than of those living on such a thoroughfare as the Fraser. His descriptions of marriage ceremonies are meagre, as are examples of guardian-spirit quests. Few folk-tales are given, and there is little to indicate the importance of these as monitors of native thought and action, as is common elsewhere in British Columbia. A Duff making the same study in 1850 would have written a more comprehensive work; the Duff of 1950 has shown what can still be learned in a community where the culture seems to have decayed almost completely.

Such material is scientifically important. It enables the anthropologist to trace the distribution of customs. For example, although Duff has added little to our knowledge of the potlatch, he shows the area in which this ceremonial distribution of goods occurred. The same is true for underground houses, canoes, or shaman quests. Contact between coastal and interior peoples is shown in the blending of culture traits. If Canada is a melting-pot to-day, similar interactions are shown in native culture, and the principles are often more easily recognized in a setting that is not our own. Then, too, the survival of some elements and the disappearance of others are a guide to the whole question of cultural stability, and, conversely, to decay. Not least important are the facts themselves, set out logically and with meticulous care and accuracy.

This is a satisfactory book, a credit alike to the author and the British Columbia Provincial Museum.

T. F. McILWRAITH.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO,
TORONTO, ONT.

Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba: Series III, No. 8. Edited by J. A. Jackson, W. L. Morton, and P. Yuzyk. Winnipeg: Stovel-Advocate Printers Ltd., 1953. Pp. 47. $1.

No. 8 of this the third series of *Papers* of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba contains three of the papers read before the Society during its 1951–52 season as well as the Archæological Report of Mr. C. Vickers for 1951, which hitherto have been published in mimeographed form only. The four items make a well-rounded addition to Manitoban local history.

The first paper, entitled *Pioneer Trails in Education between the Lakes,* was contributed by Mr. E. D. Parker, Superintendent of Schools for the School District of St. James. From 1911 until 1949 he was an Inspector of Schools for the Manitoba Department of Education in the region that lies north of Winnipeg between Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg, and he was able to draw from a rich field of anecdote to illustrate the problems and difficulties to be faced in organizing schools in that area.

Mrs. Irene L. Richards is a school-teacher in Norwood and the daughter of a pioneer in the Beautiful Plains region, the history of which she has chronicled in her article *The Story of Beautiful Plains.* Originally this region, drained as it is by the White Mud River, was in the Northwest Territories and became a part of Manitoba only after the westward extension of its boundaries in 1881. To-day it is centred by the thriving town of Neepawa. Mrs. Richards has undertaken a very careful research project and, in addition to printed sources, secured information from many of the pioneer families, from the advent of the first settler, Adam McKenzie, in 1872. She was also able, fortunately, to draw upon personal sources of information, for her father and maternal grandfather were pioneers of 1879.

The summer and fall of 1951 marked the sixtieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada and was observed with due ceremony in Ukrainian communities across the country. There are now over 400,000 persons of Ukrainian origin in Canada, and nearly one-quarter of them reside in Manitoba, where they

constitute nearly 13 per cent of the population. Mr. Paul Yuzyk, Assistant Professor in the Department of Slavonic Studies of the University of Manitoba, and himself of Ukrainian descent, was active in these celebrations and also in the Ethnic Group project sponsored by the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society. His paper *The First Ukrainians in Manitoba* tells the story of the beginnings of this very significant migration and is a real contribution to our knowledge of the ethnic grouping within our country. It is a detailed account of the first scattered arrivals down to the appointment of Cyril Genik as immigration agent by the Canadian Government and his arrival in Winnipeg in the early fall of 1896 and the visit of Father Nestor Dmytriw in the spring of 1897.

The final article, *The Assiniboines of Manitoba*, by Mr. Chris Vickers, is an attempt to locate more specifically the region occupied by the Assiniboines. Mr. Vickers first musters all the evidence from historical sources that have survived—explorers', fur-traders', and missionaries' reports—and then examines the evidence provided by the archæological investigations that have been undertaken in the Province in recent years.

It is unfortunate that maps were not provided for some of the articles, particularly that by Mrs. Richards. In addition, the odd typographical error (notably on page 44) has crept in. All in all, this is a creditable production for a society that is sadly handicapped for want of funds.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Alaska, 1741–1953. By Clarence C. Hulley. Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1953. Pp. 406. Ills. $5.

"Geographically Alaska is a land set apart from the United States. Its location, isolation, and inaccessibility have retarded its development. To-day it is a frontier but not a new frontier. It was a Russian colony of exploration rather than a colony of settlement for over a century. It remained that for many years after it became an American possession. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the location, which has been so great a liability in the past, brought world prominence to the territory. To-day with its strategic importance accentuated by the balance of power struggle with the Soviet Union, Alaska is a focal point of world interest. The land where Europeans from the East met those from the West has now, as in the eighteenth century, a unique geographical and political significance." (P. 13.)

Such significance, therefore, renders Clarence C. Hulley's book, *Alaska, 1741–1953*, a timely piece of historical scholarship. Canadian-born, Dr. Hulley attended the University of British Columbia before studying at the Universities of Wisconsin and Washington, at which latter institution he earned his doctoral degree. Since 1945 he has been Head of the Department of History and Political Science at the University of Alaska near Fairbanks. Believing that there was a need for a new history of Alaska to describe past and recent developments in the Territory, Dr. Hulley wrote his book to satisfy this need and has admirably accomplished his goal. Laying the groundwork for his historical research with a geographical and

climatic description of the country, he then outlines the habitats and customs of Alaskan natives before beginning his broad sweep over the whole range of Alaskan history from the first timid uncertain Russian explorations of the north-western coast of America to the background of the contemporary problem of statehood.

Because of its geographical position, Alaska was late to receive white men on its shores. When Europeans finally penetrated to the region, they came from all directions: eastward, over the Siberian wastes and the Pacific Ocean; westward, across North America by land; and northward, by sea from present-day United States. It was the Russians, the " most eastern and least maritime of all European peoples," who first discovered and settled Alaska as the last phase of Russian expansion eastward across Asia to the Pacific; and it is to the Russians, to their explorations, their fur-trading activities, their settlements, their mode of life in Alaska, and their eventual withdrawal from the Northwest Coast that Dr. Hulley devotes approximately one-half of his work.

In 1725 Peter the Great set into motion a project to discover whether or not Asia and America were joined by land. Sixteen years later Vitus Bering, the man to whom the scheme was entrusted, died after reaching Alaska, after satisfying for the moment the original purpose of the expedition and after revealing the rich wealth to be gleaned in the pursuit of furs in the newly discovered Alaskan region. " Through the invasion of the northwest Pacific by Russian fur hunters following in the wake of Bering . . . the islands adjacent to Alaska and eventually the shores of the Alaskan mainland were opened to Russian exploitation " (p. 53). At first the Russian Government made little effort to regulate the fur trade, permitting many small merchants in privately outfitted vessels to venture to the Aleutians. Gradually, however, large and well-equipped expeditions, with extensive capital investments, replaced the small traders and inevitably the large concerns engaged in a bitter struggle to secure a monopoly of the lucrative trade. Men such as Gregory Shelekhov, intrigued by the dream of a personal empire, founded permanent Russian colonies in the new land in order to secure for themselves vast fortunes and to prevent other nations from securing too great a share of the wealth of the fur trade. Thus began the first Russian settlements in Alaska. Other nations, particularly Britain and the United States of America, soon had explorers and traders on the Northwest Coast to gain a share of the Alaskan fur trade. With the coming of these western maritime fur-traders, there began a new epoch in the history of Alaska.

In 1799 Czar Paul I granted a charter to the newly formed Russian American Company, giving the organization a twenty-year monopoly of the Alaskan area, to the complete exclusion of all other traders, but retaining a strong hold over the activities of the company. When the second and third charters were officially granted in 1821 and 1844 respectively, the Russian Government completed the process of transforming what originally had been intended as a private firm into a Governmental institution for the purpose of ruling the Russian American colonies and extending Russian activities in the region. Adding to the difficulties imposed by the rigid control of the Czarist bureaucracy was the competition of the English and American traders who, by sea and by land, with ever-increasing frequency and efficiency, sought out the lucrative fur trade of Alaska. Russian attempts to meet the competition were unsuccessful. The depletion of the returns of the fur com-

pany, the competition of the Hudson's Bay Company, the realization by successive Russian Czars of the diplomatically bothersome aspects of a Russian empire in America, and growing Russian preoccupation with events in Europe and the Far East finally led to the sale of Russian interests in Alaska to the United States in 1867, and to the end of Russia's dream of a North American empire.

When the United States Government completed the negotiations for the purchase of Alaska, it was not prepared to assume the direction of a colonial empire. To a bewildered War Department was entrusted the task of maintaining law and order in the newly acquired territory. When all American military forces in Alaska were withdrawn in 1877 to combat an Indian uprising in Idaho, the Revenue Cutter Service of the United States Treasury Department assumed the responsibility of administration of the region and retained those duties until Congress passed the " Organic Act " of 1884, giving Alaska the status of a district with some judicial rather than legislative privileges, but, nevertheless, starting Alaska along the road toward civil government. In 1906 Congress approved the "Alaska Delegate Bill," thereby permitting the district to elect one delegate to Congress, with no power to vote, but with permission to serve as a " board of information " on things Alaskan. At this moment, says Dr. Hulley, Alaskan politics were born. In 1912 Alaska secured a Territorial Legislature with legislative powers over local matters only, and thus equipped could begin her long struggle, still not consummated, for statehood.

Alaska's fight for constitutional development has been obscured by more glamorous phases in her story, particularly the fabulous gold-rushes. Russian explorers had noted the presence of deposits of copper, coal, and gold in the region but had failed to develop their discoveries. Gold-mining in Alaska really began with such pioneers as Leroy Napoleon McQuesten and Arthur Harper in 1873, and from that year until the 1890's these and other men scrambled up and down the banks of the tributaries of the Yukon, paving the way for the flood of gold-seekers in the late 1890's. In 1892 the origins of the subsequently fabulously wealthy Treadwell concession on Douglas Island, near Juneau, were located. In 1893 the Circle City-Birch Creek mining fields were discovered. The reports of the succeeding Forty Mile and Bonanza Creeks and other discoveries soon led to the influx of thousands of gold-hungry miners into Alaska and the Yukon and to the beginning of the Klondike gold-rush. Later finds drew thousands of people to the Nome area and the tributaries of the Tanana River. Like goldfields the world over, the Alaskan and northern Canadian diggings eventually subsided into big company operations, and the thousands of miners, prospectors, and hangers-on gradually dwindled in numbers. Alaska turned to other fields of endeavour—to her lucrative fisheries; to farming experiments, such as that of the much-debated Matanuska Valley settlement of the New Deal era; to the development of mineral deposits other than gold; to her oilfields; and to the building of roads, railways, hospitals, schools, a university, and the other essentials of civilization. The participation of the United States in World War II and the subsequent deterioration of Russian-American relations has given Alaska a new strategic importance in world affairs, emphasizing Dr. Hulley's contention that Alaska's growth has always been dominated " by political and economic factors completely outside the Territory. This state of affairs is not likely to change for some time." (P. 370.)

Dr. Hulley has produced a good piece of historical research into the geographical, economic, political, cultural, and social fields of Alaskan history from 1741 to 1953. He has enhanced his work with an extensive bibliography, some fine illustrations of Alaskan life (past and present), some useful statistical and chronological data, and a good index. In several places, unfortunately, there are some instances of careless printing errors. Dr. Hulley, however, is to be congratulated for producing a readable, comprehensive history of Alaska.

W. W. BILSLAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

The Seventeenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society, 1953. Edited by Margaret A. Ormsby. Kelowna: Kelowna Courier, 1953. Pp. 148. Map & ills. $2.50.

Since its inception in September, 1925, the Okanagan Historical Society has gained for itself a well-merited position as one of the leading local history associations in Canada. Not a little of this prestige has accrued to the Society as a consequence of the *Reports* which began to appear in 1926, and of which this is the seventeenth. As might be expected, in the earlier days the printings were small, and, as a result, the decision was made that the *Seventeenth Report* would be a reprinting of the first two *Reports*. Collectors of Pacific Northwest materials who lack these early issues will doubtless welcome this decision, although it should be pointed out that most of this material, sometimes with alteration, was also reprinted in the *Sixth Report*. In this instance, however, the articles as they originally appeared have been reproduced and only one omission was made, since most of that article had reappeared as recently as last year's Report.

There are a few new items—notably a biographical sketch and tribute to the Society's former Honorary President, the late Hon. Grote Stirling, P.C. In addition, the *Report* is admirably illustrated and, in format, a vast improvement over the two earlier *Reports*. Commendable and all as is the decision to reprint, it is a matter of some regret that more new material was not introduced. It is sincerely hoped that there is no feeling that there is no new grist for the mill, for an area as significant and as diversified in interest as the Okanagan Valley should have little difficulty in discovering many topics suitable for investigation and publication.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

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