

The Fraser River Gold Rush of 1858 and the Victoria Newspaper Boom:

An Account of Bishop Demers' Printing Press
with the *Victoria Gazette* and the *British Colonist*.

Research for

The Fraser River Gold Rush and the Victoria Newspaper Boom
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Prepared for UBC Rare Books and Special Collections by Jeremiah Saunders
Student of the School of Library, Archival and Information Studies, UBC
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University of British Columbia
School of Library, Archival and Information Studies
Jeremiah Saunders, Joint MAS/MLIS Candidate
Email: jsaunder25@hotmail.com

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In the beginning, the printing press came to British Columbia to spread the word of God. The press in question was manufactured by Lorilleaux of Paris at the beginning of the 19th century, and had a long way to travel before it arrived.¹ The Society for the Propagation of the Faith funded the transportation of the press from France to Fort Victoria, BC, over the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and around the Cape Horn. Received by Bishop Demers in 1856, a French-Canadian missionary, and the first Catholic Bishop of Vancouver Island, the machine was intended to bring religion to the “pagan Indians.”² For two years, however, the press only collected dust while waiting for the arrival of a printer. The discovery of gold in the Fraser Canyon in the late 1850s attracted the first printer Frederick Marriott, publishers, and newspaper editors, mostly from San Francisco. As well, it forever changed the original purpose of Bishop Demers’ printing press. Rather than spreading the word of God, the printing press was used to publish newspapers with reports on gold trails, services for sale, and bankruptcies. The Gold Rush of 1858 led to a boom in Victoria, and this resulted in a proliferation of newspapers. The *Victoria Gazette* was the first newspaper in British Columbia, and it survived competition from three rival publications printed on Bishop Demers’ press.

A parallel theme in the history of early British Columbian newspapers is the often political nature of the stories. For example, the Gold Rush of 1858 attracted pressmen, miners, and ambitious men seeking glory. Some of these men would become future politicians, one of

¹ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, “British Columbia’s Peripatetic Press,” *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 25; H. Pearson Gundy, *Canada, The Spread of Printing*, Western Hemisphere (Amsterdam: Van Gendt; New York: Abner Schram, 1972), 72.

² Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 5; Ægidius Fauteux, “Pioneer Printers in the Western Province,” in *The Introduction of Printing into Canada* (Montreal: Rollan Paper Company, 1957), 9. Basil Stuart-Stubbs records the year when the first printing press arrived in British Columbia as 1852, not 1856. Reportedly, Basil Stuart-Stubbs published a correction, but this author was unable to find it after hand searching subsequent volumes in the *British Columbia Library Quarterly*. Basil Stuart-Stubbs, “British Columbia’s Peripatetic Press,” *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 25.

them being *Amor De Cosmos*. The newspaper that stirred up the most controversy was the *British Colonist*, which survives to this day as the *Times Colonist*, Victoria, BC. Part of its success may be attributed to its constant incorporation of new print technology, allowing it to print more papers than any of its competitors. To demonstrate such a claim, a comparison of the various printing technologies used by early BC newspapers will be provided. Finally, this essay ends in 1908 when Bishop Demers' printing press returned to Victoria.

British Columbia's Gold Rush of 1858: Victoria Booms

In 1858, news of the discovery of gold in the Fraser River Canyon earlier in that year reached San Francisco.³ Gold would bring thousands of American and other miners to Victoria. Approximately 25,000 miners migrated to Victoria between April and July in 1858. In six months 200 hundred buildings were constructed.⁴ On April 3, 1858, the 450 passengers of the *Commodore*, mostly American miners, disembarked in Victoria. The miners outnumbered the colony's Caucasian residents.⁵ Following the Victoria boom newspaper publishing flourished.

British Columbia's Newspaper Boom of 1858

Besides attracting gold miners from far afield, the gold rush attracted British Columbia's first printers, publishers, and newspaper editors.⁶ Frederick Marriott of San Francisco was one of the first to arrive in Victoria. Brushing off the dust from Bishop Demers' press, Marriott printed three new newspapers in 1858: the *Vancouver Island Gazette*, the *News Letter*, and *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie*. But the honour of the first printing in BC goes to James W.

³ Additional key events are arranged chronologically in Appendix 1.

⁴ Eric Haworth, "Gold Lures Printing to the West," in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 190.

⁵ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 17.

Towne and Abel Whitton, both from San Francisco, who produced the *Victoria Gazette* on June 25, 1858 on a press they had imported. The *Victoria Gazette* not only had the distinction of being the first printing in BC, but also it would outlast the three newspapers printed by Marriott.

A fitting way to introduce the *Victoria Gazette* is to explore how it survived the competition from the three rival publications offered up by Frederick Marriott on Bishop Demers' printing press. He was a prolific pressman that could make use of Bishop Demers printing press. On July 28, 1858, Marriott printed the first newspaper: the *Vancouver Island Gazette*. Unable to persuade readers away from Towne and Whitton's *Victoria Gazette*, published a month earlier on June 25, 1858, Marriott tried to have the government adopt his paper as its official voice, but this was denied.⁷ Thus, the *Vancouver Island Gazette*, printed in July 1858, was abandoned by August of the same year with only eight issues printed.⁸ The *Victoria Gazette* had survived its first rival.

The failure of the *Vancouver Island Gazette* proved to only be a temporary setback for Marriott who decided to print two more papers simultaneously: *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* and the *News Letter*. Once again, Bishop Demers' press was used. In printing *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie*, Marriott aligned himself with Paul Joachim d'Urtubie de Garro, referred to as Paul de Garro henceforth, a political exile from France. Following the 1851 failed coup in France, Paul de Garro escaped as far away as possible from the reach of Napoleon

⁶ Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 5.

⁷ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 25-26.

⁸ Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 7-8.

III to hide in San Francisco, and later he found his way to Victoria.⁹ *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* was edited by W. Thornton, printed by Marriott, and owned by de Garro who was representing Bishop Demers in this matter.¹⁰ The short-lived *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* has deservedly earned a place in the history of early BC newspapers because it was British Columbia's first newspaper to be published in French.¹¹ In 1858, Victoria was home to a French-speaking community, so it is possible that Marriott sought a niche market when he printed *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* in order to compete against the *Victoria Gazette*. *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie*, which was started in September 1858, was unsuccessful, and stopped circulating a month later. The *Victoria Gazette* had survived a second rival.

As he was printing *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie*, Frederick Marriott also competed with the *Victoria Gazette* by means of his *News Letter*, fashioned after his earlier, more successful venture in San Francisco, the *San Francisco News Letter*. Once again, Bishop Demers' seemingly ill-fated press was used. Frederick Marriott began the *News Letter* in September 1858 but had to shut it down a month later.¹² With the failure of the *News Letter*, the

⁹ Eric Haworth, "Gold Lures Printing to the West," in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 190; Glennis Zilm, "B.C.'s First Books," *Amphora* 45 (September 1981), 20.

¹⁰ Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 8. Eric Haworth gives a greater role to Paul de Garro, naming him the printer and editor of the *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie*. Eric Haworth, "Gold Lures Printing to the West," in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 190. Basil Stuart-Stubbs describes Paul de Garro as a "...local bill-poster and carrier of hand-bills...." and not as a "printer." Admittedly, it is possible that Paul de Garro was the publisher *and* printer of *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* (September to October 1858) in that if he was not a printer, he quickly acquired the skill: he printed the *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, one of the earliest books printed in BC in November or December of 1858; and he printed the first issues of the *British Colonist*, which started December 11, 1858. Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 26.

¹¹ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 26. George Woodcock records the full title of the first French newspaper in Victoria as "La Courrier de La nouvelle Calédonie: Journal politique et littéraire, organe des populations francaises dans les possessions anglaises." George Woodcock, "Imprints and Publishers of Early British Columbia," *Canadian Notes & Queries*, no. 43 (Winter 1990), 3.

¹² Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 26.

Victoria Gazette survived its third rival. The popularity of the *Victoria Gazette* leads one to believe that Victoria only had room for a single newspaper.

The *Victoria Gazette*: June 25, 1858 to July 30, 1860

The *Victoria Gazette* was the first newspaper published in British Columbia.¹³ A more impressive claim is that it was the first newspaper to be published “west of the Great Lakes.”¹⁴ On hand to witness the momentous occasion of the printing of the very first issue was Governor Douglas and several HBC officers, the political elite in early BC.¹⁵ Even from its beginnings, the *Victoria Gazette* never strayed too far from the government line.

With two editors, and two printers, the *Victoria Gazette* enjoyed “...the distinction of being the largest-staffed pioneer newspaper ever launched in Canada.”¹⁶ The editors of the paper were H. C. Williston and Columbus Bartlett, and the printers were James W. Towne and Abel Whitton; all four staff members of the *Victoria Gazette* were from San Francisco. Initially, the newspaper was going to be called *The Anglo-American*, or *North American*, but both names were quickly dropped in favour of the *Victoria Gazette* after the four partners measured the tension that was building between Britain and the United States.¹⁷ Fortunately, the choice of the *Victoria*

¹³ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, “British Columbia’s Peripatetic Press,” *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 26.

¹⁴ J. Forsyth, “Early Press of B.C. Was Ably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country,” [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 8. Although James Evans had attempted to print the *Nor’Wester* prior to the *Victoria Gazette*, he only succeeded on December 29, 1858.

¹⁵ Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 6.

¹⁶ Eric Haworth, “Gold Lures Printing to the West,” in *Inprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 192.

¹⁷ J. Forsyth claims that the newspaper was originally going to be called the *North American*. J. Forsyth, “Early Press of B.C. Was Ably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country,” [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 8. A number of events that serve as indicators of the tension building

Gazette gave it a “quasi-official flavour,” and indeed, Abel Whitton rarely criticized Governor Douglas.¹⁸ The political bias demonstrated by the *Victoria Gazette* in favour of Governor Douglas would eventually prove to be fatal.

Before one concludes that Bishop Demers’ press was cursed (i.e. three newspapers had been printed on it by Marriott, but all of them could not compete with the *Victoria Gazette*), there was a fourth newspaper to be printed on the press: the *British Colonist*, initially printed by Paul de Garro.¹⁹ The *British Colonist*, published and edited by Amor De Cosmos, was successful at reading public opinion in Victoria; the public was increasingly dissatisfied with the political status quo, and the *British Colonist* exploited and condemned the close ties between the *Victoria Gazette* and Governor Douglas.²⁰

up between the British and United States, in no particular order, include: President Polk’s, “54-40 or Fight” campaign; the influx of US gold miners; and the San Juan Islands dispute.

¹⁸ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 32. Glennis Zilm illustrates the broader connection between early BC newspapers and colonial politics: in late 1858, the presses of the *Victoria Gazette* and the *British Colonist* printed most of the government publications, which served as a relatively stable, much-needed source of revenue. The government attempted to print its own official newsletter, but local printers so strongly opposed the government that the government agreed to abandon its proposal. Glennis Zilm, “Early B.C. Books: An Overview of Trade Book Publishing in British Columbia in the 1800s with Checklists and Selected Bibliography related to British Columbian,” Master’s thesis (Simon Fraser University, May 1981), 43.

¹⁹ George Woodcock, “Imprints and Publishers of Early British Columbia,” *Canadian Notes & Queries*, no. 43 (Winter 1990), 4. Ægidius Fauteux records how Paul de Garro met an unfortunate end. With the failure of his newspaper, he eventually became a waiter in a Victoria restaurant. In 1861, he died from a boiler explosion on a steamer that was taking him to the mines of the Cariboo. Ægidius Fauteux, “Pioneer Printers in the Western Province,” in *The Introduction of Printing into Canada* (Montreal: Rollan Paper Company, 1957), 10.

²⁰ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, “British Columbia’s Peripatetic Press,” *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 28.

The *British Colonist*

Gold had attracted many printers to Victoria from San Francisco (i.e. Frederick Marriott, James W. Towne, and Abel Whitton), but it was glory that led a man named Amor De Cosmos to Vancouver Island. In December 1858, Bishop Demers' press was sold to De Cosmos. He had left behind his birth name in California, legally changing it from plain William Smith, born in Nova Scotia, to Amor De Cosmos, roughly meaning "lover of the universe."²¹ With Bishop Demers' press in his possession, he started the *British Colonist* on December 11, 1858.

Although Amor De Cosmos once remarked that he had "...started the *Colonist* for amusement during the winter months," in his ambitious hands, the newspaper had two definite purposes: (1) the paper was to be a tool for political reform; and (2) it was to offer a critical viewpoint of Governor Douglas and the Hudson's Bay Company.²² The sincerity of De Cosmos' notion of "reform" has been interpreted by one author to mean the "...reshaping of the government in terms of his own ideas."²³ Although De Cosmos had two purposes for founding the *British Colonist*, five issues, among other concerns, were considered by him to be the "great colonial issues of the day:" (1) responsible government; (2) a union of the colonies; (3) representation in the imperial parliament; (4) a Pacific railroad; and (5) an overland wagon road with a telegraph line.²⁴

The *British Colonist*, with Amor De Cosmos at the helm, certainly reflected the fact that "...printing and politics were fused together in the island and mainland colonies, and resulted in

²¹ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 28.

²² George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 32.

²³ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 28.

²⁴ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 34.

many, often-vitriolic outbursts in print.”²⁵ De Cosmos did not believe that Governor Douglas was capable of representing the interests of British Columbia because Governor Douglas was “serving two masters,” the British Colony and the Hudson’s Bay Company.²⁶ De Cosmos had his own opinions: he was against dance halls, believing that they offended public morality; and he was anti-American.²⁷ At the outset, the *British Colonist* mirrored the personal beliefs of De Cosmos.

In the first issue of the *Colonist*, De Cosmos outlined his plan of attack when he printed the paper’s editorial policy: this newspaper was to be “an independent paper, the organ of no clique or party – the true index of public opinion.”²⁸ The public supported De Cosmos in his effort to be the “true index of public opinion.” In an attempt to shut down the *Colonist*, Governor Douglas imposed a bond of £800 by invoking a rarely used statute on March 30, 1859. De Cosmos, a political strategist with an eye for hardball, complied with Governor Douglas’ demands, shut the paper down for four days, and waited for public opinion to boil over. On April 4, at the largest meeting yet held in Victoria, the public paid the bond, on behalf of De Cosmos and the *Colonist*.²⁹

²⁵ Eric Haworth, “Gold Lures Printing to the West,” in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 195.

²⁶ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 35; Eric Haworth, “Gold Lures Printing to the West,” in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 193; Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 9.

²⁷ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 39.

²⁸ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 35; J. Forsyth, “Early Press of B.C. Was Ably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country,” [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 2.

²⁹ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 42; Eric Haworth, “Gold Lures Printing to the West,” in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 193. G.P.V. Akrigg, and Helen B. Akrigg have listed the total bond required by Governor Douglas to be 600 pounds, not 800. G.P.V. Akrigg, and Helen B. Akrigg, *British Columbia Chronicle, 1847-1871: Gold & Colonists* ([Vancouver]: Discovery Press, 1977), 161.

A bitter rivalry developed between the *Victoria Gazette* and the *British Colonist*. The *Victoria Gazette* slandered Amor De Cosmos by making him appear desperate, and attacking his credibility, with statements that De Cosmos had “for sale for an advertisement for a room to rent,” and “a long and lean wolf in that sheep’s clothing steeped in duplicity.” In one instance, the *Victoria Gazette* went so far as to claim that De Cosmos “sold shoes on Dupont Street in San Francisco.”³⁰ Despite the libels, De Cosmos would go on to be a popular politician, and the *Colonist* would turn out to be so successful that it drove the *Victoria Gazette* out of business.

In 1866, Amor De Cosmos sold his stake in the *British Colonist* to D. W. Higgins, once a journalist with De Cosmos. In 1862, D. W. Higgins founded the *Victoria Daily Chronicle*. Following the merger of the *British Colonist* and *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, the *British Colonist*’s name continued to appear on the masthead, probably to vex Governor Douglas.³¹ Following the sale of the *British Colonist*, the politics of De Cosmos continued. Having moved from newspaper owner to politician, De Cosmos served in the British Columbia Legislative Assembly for many years, and eventually became Premier from 1872 to 1874. In addition, he represented Victoria in the House of Commons from 1871 to 1882. Thus, he served as both Premier and Member of Parliament simultaneously, proving that he had a knack for reading the public.³²

³⁰ George Woodcock gives a flavourful description of what an early BC newspaper would read like. All newspapers at the time followed the style of a “western frontier newspaper.” The international news section would be grossly outdated, but the local gossip would be fresh, barely with time to let the ink dry. Advertisements would vary from medicine to gourmet foods from England. Bankruptcies would be frowned upon, and public condemnation would be echoed in the newspaper for public misdeeds. Above all, papers at this time were written with loaded language. An illustrative account follows care of the *Colonist*: “an unfortunate lover of old rye was brought before the magistrate yesterday. He pleaded guilty to the crime of being corned the night before...” On another page, George Woodcock summarizes the values embodied in many of the early newspapers as “independence, individuality, and machismo.” George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 38, 40, 42.

³¹ Eric Haworth, “Gold Lures Printing to the West,” in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 193.

³² Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 14.

Printing Technology

Bishop Demers' already well-worn iron hand press was small at 11 by 18 inches, relatively lightweight at "a few hundred pounds," and came with French type. The first printing of the *British Colonist* actually included French accents, but a more modern English type was quickly substituted. What became of the French type? A tramp printer cut off the accents.³³ When it was sold to George Wallace, the founder of the *Cariboo Sentinel*, the letter "Y" was lost. All subsequent newspapers that used Bishop Demers' press were unable to print "Y."³⁴ With two experienced pressmen, the hand press could turn out 250 impressions each hour.³⁵

The *Victoria Gazette*, the first newspaper printed in British Columbia, most likely used an Adams power platen press.³⁶ With an Adams power platen press, popular in North America between 1830 and 1880, approximately 500 to 1,000 impressions could be made each hour.³⁷

In 1862, the *British Colonist*, under Amor De Cosmos, upgraded to a cylinder press, the first of its kind in "the colonies" (i.e. Western Canada),³⁸ or the North Pacific Coast,³⁹

³³ Glennis Zilm, "Printing Technology in B.C. in the 1800s," *Amphora* 51 (March 1983), 4.

³⁴ Cecil Clark, "Old Press Printed First Colonist...and Turned out a Great Deal of B.C.'s Newspaper History," [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), (27 February 1966), 13.

³⁵ Bryan Dewalt, *Technology and Canadian Printing: A History from Lead Type to Lasers*, Transformation Series, no. 3 (Ottawa: National Museum of Science and Technology, 1995), 31.

³⁶ Glennis Zilm, "Printing Technology in B.C. in the 1800s," *Amphora* 51 (March 1983), 3. J. Forsyth reports how the *Victoria Gazette* was first printed on a No. 4 Washington hand press. On July 24, 1858, James W. Towne replaced the No. 4 Washington hand press with an Adams power platen press, previously used in San Francisco. J. Forsyth, "Early Press of B.C. Was Aably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country," [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 8.

³⁷ Bryan Dewalt, *Technology and Canadian Printing: A History from Lead Type to Lasers*, Transformation Series, no. 3 (Ottawa: National Museum of Science and Technology, 1995), 31.

³⁸ Toronto Public Library, *Canadian Book of Printing: How Printing Came to Canada and the Story of the Graphic Arts* (Toronto: [s.n.], 1940), 65.

representing a “major advance” in printing technology.⁴⁰ A cylinder press could produce 1,500 to 2,000 impressions per hour.⁴¹ In 1876, the *British Colonist*, now under D. W. Higgins, became the first newspaper to use steam power to run the cylinder press.⁴² With a cylinder press running on steam, a pressman could produce upwards of 5,000 impressions each hour.⁴³ Thus, the *British Colonist* was able to outperform its competition because it constantly incorporated new technology.

Epilogue: BC’s First Printing Press

What happened to Bishop Demers’ press after it was replaced with improved printing technology by the *British Colonist*? In 1863, two of Amor De Cosmos’ reporters opened up another newspaper, the *Evening Express*, to compete with the *British Colonist*. After slightly over a year, George Wallace and Charles W. Allan were forced to abandon the paper.⁴⁴

Purchasing Bishop Demers’ press from De Cosmos, George Wallace travelled to the Cariboo, ending up in Bakerville, a thriving town built on gold. In June 1865, the *Cariboo Sentinel* was published for \$1 per copy, or \$52 per year, making it one of the most expensive early BC

³⁹ John Clyde Oswald, “British Columbia,” in *Printing in the Americas* (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1965), 522. No definition of the geographic scope of “North Pacific Coast” is provided.

⁴⁰ Glennis Zilm, “Printing Technology in B.C. in the 1800s,” *Amphora* 51 (March 1983), 4; Eric Haworth, “Gold Lures Printing to the West,” in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 193.

⁴¹ Bryan Dewalt, *Technology and Canadian Printing: A History from Lead Type to Lasers*, Transformation Series, no. 3 (Ottawa: National Museum of Science and Technology, 1995), 29.

⁴² Glennis Zilm, “Early B.C. Books: An Overview of Trade Book Publishing in British Columbia in the 1800s with Checklists and Selected Bibliography related to British Columbiana,” Master’s thesis (Simon Fraser University, May 1981), 174; Glennis Zilm, “Printing Technology in B.C. in the 1800s,” *Amphora* 51 (March 1983), 4.

⁴³ Bryan Dewalt, *Technology and Canadian Printing: A History from Lead Type to Lasers*, Transformation Series, no. 3 (Ottawa: National Museum of Science and Technology, 1995), 31.

⁴⁴ Cecil Clark, “Old Press Printed First Colonist...and Turned out a Great Deal of B.C.’s Newspaper History,” [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), (27 February 1966), 13.

newspapers.⁴⁵ After making a substantial profit in 1866, Wallace sold the machine to Warren Lambert and Charles W. Allan.⁴⁶ Unable to sustain splitting the profits between two partners, the paper closed on October 31, 1867. Allan reduced the price of the newspaper and continued printing until 1872. Six months later the paper was printed under the new ownership of Robert Holloway. When fire burned Bakerville to the ground on September 16, 1868, Robert Holloway took Bishop Demers' press, the type, a ream of paper, and fled to Richfield, a few miles from Bakerville and *missed only a single issue*.⁴⁷ Keep in mind that for George Wallace to get Bishop Demers' press from Victoria to Bakerville, the press was dismantled, and transported by mule, and manual labour. It was truly miraculous that Holloway rescued the press from the 1868 Barkerville fire. Although fire did not burn Bishop Demers' press, the *Cariboo Sentinel* ended on October 30, 1875 with Holloway announcing his decision to take a cruise. He never returned to reopen the paper.⁴⁸

Bishop Demers' press was to follow the gold trail once more to Emory. When the settlement floundered, the press was moved to Kamloops in 1884. By 1890, Bishop Demers' printing press had become obsolete, as new printing technology like the cylinder press had now spread inland. After exchanging hands, the press, in 1908, returned home to the Sisters of St.

⁴⁵ Toronto Public Library, *Canadian Book of Printing: How Printing Came to Canada and the Story of the Graphic Arts* (Toronto: [s.n.], 1940), 65.

⁴⁶ George Wallace went on to join a Japanese troupe, travelled all over the world, lost most of his fortune in the process, and died in Montreal in 1888. Ægidius Fauteux, "Pioneer Printers in the Western Province," in *The Introduction of Printing into Canada* (Montreal: Rollan Paper Company, 1957), 13.

⁴⁷ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 29; Cecil Clark, "Old Press Printed First Colonist...and Turned out a Great Deal of B.C.'s Newspaper History," [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), (27 February 1966), 13.

⁴⁸ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 28-29.

Ann Academy in Victoria, an institution originally founded by Bishop Demers.⁴⁹ The miraculous printing press had produced at least five early BC newspapers (in chronological order): the *Vancouver Island Gazette*; the *News Letter* and *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* simultaneously; the *British Colonist*, and the *Cariboo Sentinel*.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958), 30.

⁵⁰ Cecil Clark, "Old Press Printed First Colonist...and Turned out a Great Deal of B.C.'s Newspaper History," [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), (27 February 1966), 13; Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "British Columbia's Peripatetic Press," *British Columbia Library Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (July 1958).

Appendix 1: Early British Columbia Political Timeline, Key Events

1842	Victoria selected for a Hudson's Bay Company post.
1849	Vancouver Island became a British colony. ^{51,52}
1852	Victoria became a town.
1858	Gold Rush begins with news of the Fraser River discovery reaching San Francisco. ⁵³
19 Nov. 1858	Mainland (New Caledonia) became the "Colony of British Columbia" under Governor James Douglas. ⁵⁴
1866	Two Crown colonies (Vancouver's Island and British Columbia) were joined to form the "Province of British Columbia." ⁵⁵
1868	Victoria becomes the provincial capital. ⁵⁶
1871	British Columbia enters Confederation. ⁵⁷

⁵¹ Canada. Library and Archives Canada. *Canadian Confederation: Provinces and Territories*. "British Columbia – Canadian Confederation." (c14 December 2001; updated 7 October 2004). <<http://www.collectionscanada.ca/confederation/h18-2185-e.html>> (22 January 2005).

⁵² Eric Haworth, "Gold Lures Printing to the West," in *Inprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 190, holds the incorrect year of 1856 as when Vancouver Island became a British colony. Perhaps Eric Haworth is thinking of 1856 for different politically important reason: the first elected legislative assembly in British North America west of Upper Canada.

⁵³ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "The Stuart-Stubbs Handy-Dandy Guide to Pre-Confederation Newspapers in British Columbia" (Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Rare Books and Special Collections: n.d.), [25236 SPAM].

⁵⁴ Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "The Stuart-Stubbs Handy-Dandy Guide to Pre-Confederation Newspapers in British Columbia" (Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Rare Books and Special Collections: n.d.), [25236 SPAM].

⁵⁵ Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 9-10.

⁵⁶ G.P.V. Akrigg, and Helen B. Akrigg, *British Columbia Chronicle, 1847-1871: Gold & Colonists* ([Vancouver]: Discovery Press, 1977), 354.

⁵⁷ Canada. Library and Archives Canada. *Canadian Confederation: Provinces and Territories*. "British Columbia – Canadian Confederation." (c14 December 2001; updated 7 October 2004). <<http://www.collectionscanada.ca/confederation/h18-2185-e.html>> (22 January 2005).

Appendix 2: Circulation History of the *Victoria Gazette* [1]

The following account of the circulation history of the *Victoria Gazette* [1], which cannot be considered complete, was compiled from several secondary sources^{58, 59} with the purpose of assisting future research early British Columbia newspapers:

<p><i>Victoria Gazette</i>* [1]</p> <p>H. C. Williston and Columbus Bartlett, eds.</p> <p>James W. Towne and Abel Whitton, printers.</p> <p>June 25, 1858 - July 30, 1860</p> <p>*Name is changed to <i>Daily Victoria Gazette</i> from July 24, 1858 onward, although a weekly issue continues.</p>	<p>2 bits per copy reduced to 1 bit (12 ½ cents)</p> <p><u>June 25 to July 24, 1858:</u> Biweekly (9 issues)</p> <p><u>July 24 to October 26, 1858:</u> 5 per week (65 issues)</p> <p><u>October 26, 1858 to June 1859:</u> 3 per week</p> <p><u>June 25, 1858 to June 23, 1859:</u> Large sheet</p> <p><u>June 23, 1859 to July 30, 1860:</u> Small sheet</p> <p><u>September 1, 1858:</u> James W. Towne departs; sells his stake to Abel Whitton. From this day forward, the paper carries the imprint of A. Whitton & Co.⁶⁰</p>
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⁵⁸ Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 7.

⁵⁹ Eric Haworth, "Gold Lures Printing to the West," in *Inprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 192.

⁶⁰ J. Forsyth, "Early Press of B.C. Was Aably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country," [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 8.

Appendix 3: Circulation History of the *Victoria Gazette* [2]

The following account of the circulation history of the *Victoria Gazette* [2], which cannot be considered complete, was primarily compiled from a single secondary source⁶¹ with the purpose of assisting future researchers in distinguishing a brief newspaper that started out with the same name as the first newspaper in British Columbia, the *Victoria Gazette* [1]:

<p><i>Weekly Victoria Gazette</i>,* or the <i>Victoria Gazette</i> [2], or the <i>Victoria Weekly Gazette</i></p> <p>E. Hammon King</p> <p>December 5, 1859 to September 29, 1860</p> <p>*E. Hammon King, a British army captain, published the <i>Weekly Victoria Gazette</i> (either in January or February 1859),^{62,63} but on December 5, 1859, the name changed to the <i>Victoria Gazette</i> [2]⁶⁴ and a year later, it changed again to the <i>Victoria Weekly Gazette</i> (August 1860). The original <i>Victoria Gazette</i> [1] sued, and three issues of E. Hammon King's paper (December 12, 14, 16) appeared with no name while the case was in court. According to two accounts "[t]his incident is possibly unique in Canadian newspaper printing."^{65,66}</p>	<p><u>December 5, 1859 to July 30, 1860</u> Issued three times a week</p> <p><u>July 30 to September 29, 1860</u> Issued weekly as the <i>Victoria Weekly Gazette</i></p> <p><u>Dimensions:</u></p> <p>At least for certain, in July 1860, issues were 4 pages.</p> <p><u>Imprint</u> (1860):</p> <p>George E. Nias & Company on Langley Street, off Yates.</p>
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⁶¹ J. Forsyth, "Early Press of B.C. Was Ably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country," [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 8. Provided the most information on the circulation history of the *Victoria Gazette* [2].

⁶² Douglas C[rawford] McMurtrie, *The First Printing in British Columbia* (Chicago: privately printed, 1929), 10, has the start-up date of the *Weekly Victoria Gazette* as February 1859.

⁶³ Eric Haworth, "Gold Lures Printing to the West," in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 193, pins the date for the start of the *Weekly Victoria Gazette* as January 1859.

⁶⁴ Not to be confused with the original *Victoria Gazette*, hence the [2] to indicate King's.

⁶⁵ Eric Haworth, "Gold Lures Printing to the West," in *Imprint of a Nation* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing, 1969), 193-194.

⁶⁶ J. Forsyth, "Early Press of B.C. Was Ably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country," [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 8.

Appendix 4: Circulation History of the *British Colonist*

The following account of the circulation history of the *British Colonist*, which cannot be considered complete, was pieced together by the author from several secondary sources with the purpose of aiding future research into early British Columbia newspapers:

<p><i>British Colonist</i>*</p> <p>Amor De Cosmos, and Harries & Co.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amor De Cosmos, editor • Paul de Garro, first printer <p>December 11, 1858 –</p> <p>*When D. W. Higgins (founder of the <i>Victoria Daily Chronicle</i>) purchases the <i>British Colonist</i> in 1866, the paper becomes the <i>Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle</i> with the imprint of “Higgins, Long, & Comp.” By 1872, the newspaper abbreviates its title to the <i>Daily British Colonist</i>.⁶⁷</p>	<p>25 cents (1 bit) per copy \$3 per year</p> <p>3 per week</p> <p><u>After December 1859:</u></p> <p>Weekly edition issued</p> <p><u>After 1860:</u></p> <p>Changes to a Daily</p> <p><u>By 1862:</u></p> <p>Circulation reached 4,000 from starting out with 200.⁶⁸</p>
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⁶⁷ J. Forsyth, “Early Press of B.C. Was Ably Edited by Men Who Played Big Parts in Shaping Country,” [microform], *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), 10 December 1933: 8.

⁶⁸ George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: OUP, 1975), 40.

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