THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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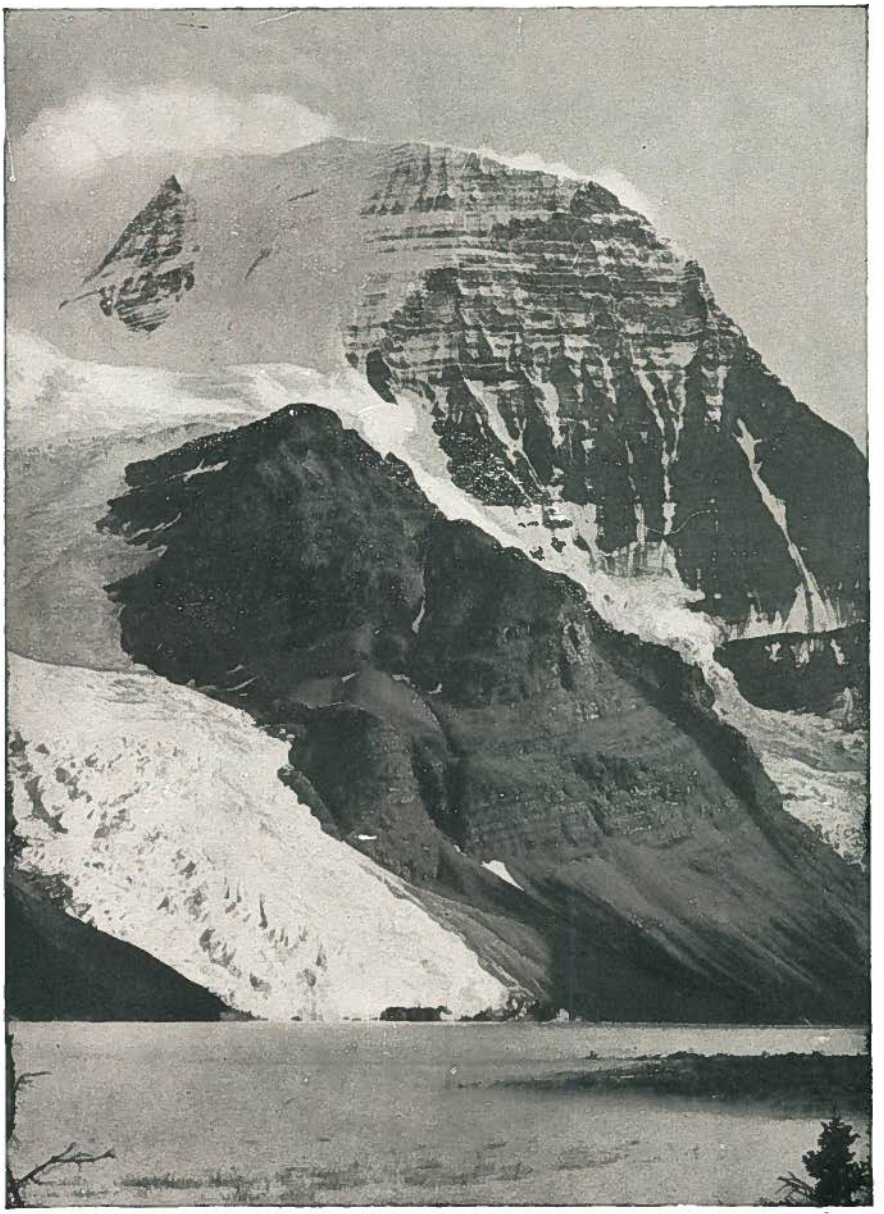

(Photo courtesy Canadian National Railways.)

Mount Robson.

THE MYSTERY OF MOUNT ROBSON.*

Mount Robson, monarch of the Canadian Rockies, is fairly well known throughout the Pacific Northwest. Many persons have a slight acquaintance with the mountain, from having read of it or seen pictures of it; others have a nodding acquaintance from having seen it; while a few have an intimate acquaintance from having climbed it.

How did this well-known mountain get its name—why was it named Robson? That is a simple question but one not so simply answered, for thereby hangs a tale; several tales, in fact; different tales, conflicting tales; but nevertheless interesting tales, since they dip into the early history of the Northwest.

The earliest known description of the mountain is found in the journal of John M. Sellar, one of a party of gold-seekers bound for the Cariboo, who passed the peak on August 26, 1862. The entry reads as follows: " At 4 P.M., we passed Snow or Cloud Cap Mountain which is the highest & finest on the whole Leather [Yellowhead] Pass. it is 9000 feet above the level of the valley at its base, and the guide told us that out of 29 times that he had passed it he had only seen the top once before."[1] There can be no doubt as to the identity of the mountain here described; and as the guide knew the locality well, the inference is that the name Mount Robson was not well known, if it had been bestowed, at that time.

Milton and Cheadle.

Eleven months later, on July 14, 1863, Viscount Milton and Dr. W. B. Cheadle passed the mountain in the course of their overland journey of adventure to the Pacific Coast via the Yellowhead Pass and the North Thompson River. Their book, *The North-West Passage by Land,* published in London in 1865, con-

* The thanks of the author go to Mr. J. N. Wallace, of Calgary, for his helpful criticisms and suggestions, and to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, for the information furnished by them; also to Major J. S. Matthews, City Archivist, Vancouver, for his kind assistance.

(1) Quoted from the transcript of Sellar's journal in the library of His Honour Judge Howay, New Westminster. On Sellar *see* Mark S. Wade: *The Overlanders of '62*, Victoria, 1931 (Memoir IX., Archives of B.C.).

tains the earliest known description of Mount Robson by name, and this has led some persons to conclude that they named it.

After describing the junction of the Grand Fork of the Fraser (now Robson River) with the main stream, which was the original location of Tête Jaune Cache (now 12 miles farther west), they say: "On every side the snowy heads of mighty hills crowded round, whilst, immediately behind us, a giant among giants, and immeasurably supreme, rose Robson's Peak. This magnificent mountain is of conical form, glacier-clothed, and rugged. When we first caught sight of it, a shroud of mist partially enveloped the summit, but this presently rolled away, and we saw its upper portion dimmed by a necklace of light feathery clouds, beyond which its pointed apex of ice, glittering in the sun, shot up far into the blue heaven above, to a height of probably 10,000 or 15,000 feet. It was a glorious sight, and one which the Shushwaps of The Cache assured us had rarely been seen by human eyes, the summit being generally hidden by clouds."[2]

Some years ago the late James White, technical adviser in the Department of Justice at Ottawa, in an endeavour to solve the mystery of the mountain's name, communicated with Earl Fitzwilliam, son of Viscount Milton, and also with Dr. Cheadle's son, and obtained a copy of Cheadle's original journal. The more brief entry there is: "To the right Robson Peak, a magnificent mountain, high, rugged, covered with deep snow, the top now clearly seen, although generally covered with clouds."[3] Neither Milton's son nor Cheadle's son could suggest anything to help solve the mystery. Although Mr. White previously had been of the opinion that Milton and Cheadle had named the mountain, his conclusion after "a study of the whole question" was "that it had been named prior to their expedition."[4]

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(2) *The North-West Passage by Land*, p. 257. The height of the mountain has been established since as 12,972 feet above sea-level.

(3) *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada, 1862–1863*. With Introduction and Notes by A. G. Doughty and Gustave Lanctot. Ottawa, Graphic Publishers, 1931, p. 177.

(4) James White: "Cheadle's 'Journal'—across the mountains . . . 1863," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, XIV. (1924), p. 111. The earlier article is entitled "Place Names in Vicinity of Yellowhead Pass," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, VI. (1914–15), pp. 143–158.

A paper read by Milton and Cheadle before the Royal Geographical Society on November 28, 1864, contains the following: "This grand fork of the Frazer is at the foot of a very high mountain, which has received the name of "Robson's Peak," and is the original Tête Jaune's Cache. It was the highest peak they had hitherto seen."[5] The Society's Librarian, Mr. G. R. Crone, informs me that this paper was taken from a privately printed pamphlet in which the reference to Mount Robson is in identical terms.[6]

The question arises as to whether the words, "which has received the name," mean that Milton and Cheadle had given the name or whether it had been given previously. Mr. Crone considers "that it merely implies that the name had been fairly recently bestowed, but makes no implication as to who had given it." He adds that "in the pamphlet referred to, they proposed to call two other peaks 'Mount Milton' and 'Mount Cheadle' . . . As in these two cases they use the expression 'named Mount Milton,' etc., it is possible to argue that the other phrase was used to imply that someone else had bestowed the name 'Robson's Peak,' but this is not entirely conclusive." Of greater significance is the fact that we have three separate references to the mountain by Milton and Cheadle, in none of which they take credit for naming it; which is very strange, if they did name it.

If they did name it, the further question remains as to whom it was named after. Possibly a clue may lie in the number of entries in Cheadle's journal relating to the theatre.[7] If he and Milton were lovers of the drama, probably they knew and admired the famous English actor Thomas Frederick Robson, who was at the peak of his career in the years just before his death in 1864; and it is possible that they may have thus honoured him.

JOHN ROBSON.

Another suggestion is that the mountain was named after John Robson, editor of the New Westminster *British Columbian*,

(5) *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, IX. (1864–65), p. 19.

(6) G. R. Crone to the writer, May 8, 1935. The pamphlet is entitled *An Expedition across the Rocky Mountains by the Yellow Head or Leather Pass*. The reference is to p. 19.

(7) See *Cheadle's Journal*, pp. 236, 265, 271, 282, 286, 301, 303.

and later Premier of the Province (1889–92), following his imprisonment by Judge Begbie in 1862 for contempt of Court, an incident which made him a popular hero. This explanation is given by A. O. Wheeler, alpinist, though he doubts its truth.[8] Indeed, it seems most improbable. In 1862 the Mount Robson region was practically unknown; and although John Robson may have been very popular in New Westminster, there was at the time no travel route to the mountain and consequently no travellers to carry his name to it. The only ones to pass the mountain came from the East—a few gold-seekers en route to the Cariboo.[9]

FOREMAN ROBSON AND PETER SKENE OGDEN.

Mr. Wheeler makes a further suggestion in his article based upon a letter from the late H. J. Moberly, well-known Hudson's Bay Company factor, which reads:—

Macdowall, [Saskatchewan]
31st May, 1912.

A. O. Wheeler, Esq.

Dear Sir,—

Your letter, dated 21st instant I received a day or two ago, and am now answering it, stating, as far as I have always heard, the origin of the name given to Mount Robson.

Years before the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'-West Co. joined (1821), it was the custom for the Nor'-West Co. to outfit a party for a two years' trip, hunting and trading. They went west and north, even as far as the border of California. One party, under the charge of Peter S. Ogden, some two hundred men, chiefly Iroquois and French Canadians. When west of the Rockies, he scattered his hunters in different parties under the charge of a foreman, to hunt for the season. One of his camps, under the charge of a man named Robson was somewhere in the vicinity of this mountain, and it was the rallying point where all other parties came together for their return east.

I remain, yours truly,

H. J. Moberly.[10]

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(8) Arthur O. Wheeler: "The Alpine Club of Canada's Expedition to Jasper Park, Yellowhead Pass and Mount Robson Region, 1911." *Canadian Alpine Journal*, IV. (1912), p. 42.

(9) It has also been said that the mountain was named after John Robson's younger brother, the Rev. Ebenezer Robson, pioneer Methodist missionary, but no evidence to prove this has been brought forward.

(10) *Canadian Alpine Journal*, IV. (1912), pp. 42, 43.

It is true that Ogden was one of the best known and most colourful characters in the fur trade. He served the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company at various places, from Athabasca on the east and California on the south, to the Stikine River and Stuart Lake on the north. The city of Ogden, Utah, is named after him. He succeeded Dr. John McLoughlin as chief factor at Fort Vancouver, and died at Oregon City in 1854. I find nothing, however, to substantiate Moberly's statement that Ogden had a camp near Mount Robson. In fact, it is doubtful if he was ever in its vicinity. From his entry into the North West Company service in 1811 until 1818 he was at Ile-à-la-Crosse, on one of the headwaters of the Churchill River. This was 500 miles from Mount Robson in a straight line and probably double that distance by the trade routes. Other posts of the Company were much nearer; and it is extremely unlikely that Ogden ever set out from Ile-à-la-Crosse on a hunting trip to the other side of the Rocky Mountains, especially with " some two hundred men."

He was transferred to the Columbia in 1818, with headquarters at Fort George (formerly Astoria). According to John McLeod, he was at Kamloops for a time, in charge of the Thompson River district, and found the territory at the headwaters of the North Thompson, which lay between Kamloops and Mount Robson, impenetrable; and it remained so for many years.[11] Furthermore, the system of large trapping-parties mentioned by Moberly, though adopted about 1816, seems to have been confined to the territory south of the Columbia River.[12] It was there that Ogden attained his fame as a leader of these parties,

(11) Writing in 1872, Malcolm McLeod, son of John McLeod, refers to " the wood choked, boggy, and glacier covered mountain fastnesses of the head waters of the North Thompson. It is a region which has hitherto been impenetrable, even, I believe, to the Indian." He states that his father, who was in charge of the Thompson River district in 1823, reported " that up to that time his predecessors—and among them were men of keen intelligence and great energy, and especially Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden . . . had failed in every effort to even enter that region, for trade." Cf. *Peace River. A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific . . . Journal of the late Chief Factor Archibald McDonald . . .* Edited, with notes, by Malcolm McLeod. Ottawa, 1872, pp. vi., vii.

(12) *See* Alexander Ross: *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, London, 1855, Vol. I., pp. 73, 74.

and it was there that he spent the remainder of his life, except for ten years or so on the Northern Coast and at Stuart Lake, and furloughs in Canada and Europe.[13] Finally, it seems strange that no mention of Ogden's foreman, Robson, can be found anywhere except in Moberly's letter. Records remain of most of the early white traders engaged in the Far West, but no one else mentions this Robson.

In making these criticisms I do not overlook the fact that this story comes from a man who, himself a fur-trader, spent some years in the territory where Mount Robson is well known. Moberly served under the Hudson's Bay Company at Jasper House for three years and at Rocky Mountain House and Edmonton for shorter periods; and on at least one occasion he journeyed past the mountain.[14] But forty years had elapsed since Ogden's departure from Ile-à-la-Crosse for the Columbia when Moberly first wintered at Jasper House. Meanwhile Ogden had become famous and died. But his fame did not die with him, and therein may lie the origin of the story. I am inclined to think that the Moberly letter is an attempt to solve the mystery of Mount Robson by drawing upon the glamorous memory in which Ogden was held by the fur-traders. To quote one example of this, Archibald McKinlay, a co-worker on the Columbia, wrote of him in 1882: "Whenever the Hudson's Bay Company had occasion to send any of their officers on a dangerous expedition, Peter S. Ogden was sure of the berth. His even temper, his great flow of good humor and his wonderful patience, tact and perseverance, his utter disregard of personal inconvenience and suffering rendered him just the man for any difficult and dangerous task. He was greatly esteemed by his brother officers and nearly worshipped by his men and the Indians."[15]

BLACKSMITH ROBSON.

A further story comes to me from Mr. T. C. Young, of Jasper, Alberta, who is interested in the early history of that part of the

(13) On Ogden *see* T. C. Elliott: "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1910), pp. 229–278.

(14) Moberly's autobiography, *When Fur was King*, London, 1929, makes no mention of Mount Robson.

(15) Quoted by Robert E. Pinkerton in *The Gentlemen Adventurers*, Toronto, 1932, p. 321.

country. He says: "During the summer of 1915 I was on the construction of the Canadian Northern Railway [now part of the Canadian National Railways] through the Yellowhead Pass. At the time several lodges of Shuswaps Indians were living at Tête Jaune Cache. One Indian who could speak English very well—he was a man about 60 years of age, I should judge—said that as long as he could remember Mt. Robson was known as Robson's Peak, but he did not have any knowledge of the original naming. He informed me his father who lived with him might have some information relative to the origin of the name, so I interviewed the old man. He was blind and very old, could not speak English, but his son interpreted for him. His story was as follows. One time when he was young man, whiteman shoe horse at junction of Grand and Fraser Rivers, or on the old site of Tête Jaune Cache. The horse kicked the blacksmith and he died from the effects of the kick. He was buried at the place of accident and the mountain was called Robson, that being the name of the whiteman."

It may be interpolated here that other persons who have interviewed Indians on the subject have obtained different stories. Dr. J. M. Thorington, of Philadelphia, an eminent mountaineer, writes: "The Cree Indians call Robson simply 'The Big Mountain,' but this seems to be a modernism; old men, with whom I have talked, say that their tribe never had a special name for the peak."[16] The Kamloops Indians, according to Dr. G. M. Dawson, called it "Yuh-hai-has-kun, from the appearance of a spiral road running up it. No one has ever been known to reach the top, though a former chief of Tsuk-tsuk-kwalk, on the North Thompson, was near the top once when hunting goats. When he realized how high he had climbed he became frightened and returned."[17] In 1871, Mr. A. R. C. Selwyn, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, reported that the Indians told him their name for the mountain signified

(16) J. Monroe Thorington: *The Glittering Mountains of Canada*, Philadelphia, 1925, p. 231.

(17) George M. Dawson: "Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, IX. (1891), Section II., p. 37.

"The lines in the rocks";[18] and it will be recalled that in 1862 Sellar's guide gave the name of the peak as Snow or Cloud Cap Mountain.

It seems unlikely that there would have been a blacksmith at Tête Jaune Cache as long ago as the story told to Mr. Young would imply; but the latter suggests that the Robson in question might have been a Joseph Robson who is said to have landed at Hudson Bay in 1791. In answer to an inquiry on the point, the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, stated that the Company's ships' logs for 1791 and the *Lists of Servants in Hudson's Bay for 1791–3* contain no reference to any one named Robson, and, further, that a search of their archives for several years before and after the union with the North West Company in 1821 discloses no mention of a Joseph Robson, and that the only man of this name recorded as formerly in their employ served between 1733 and 1747, when he assisted in the construction of the stone Fort Prince of Wales[19]—which brings us to our next story.

JOSEPH ROBSON.

It has been suggested that the mountain may have been named by Thomas Drummond, a botanist who visited the Athabasca district in 1825–1826, in honour of Joseph Robson, author of two books dealing with the Hudson's Bay territories. This Robson was an architect and had to do with the construction of Fort Prince of Wales on Hudson Bay, near the present Churchill. His books were: *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, published in 1752; and *The British Mars*, a treatise upon various military "schemes and inventions," published in 1763. The suggestion is that Drummond had read one or both of Robson's books before leaving England and had been so impressed by their author that when he came upon the mountain he named it after him. This theory was advanced by the late Professor E. S. Meany, for many years head of the Department of History in the University of Washington, in an article entitled *The Name*

(18) Geological Survey of Canada: *Report of Progress for 1871–72*, Montreal, 1872, p. 44.

(19) Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, to W. A. McAdam, Acting Agent-General for British Columbia, London, November 20, 1933.

of Mount Robson a Puzzle.[20] Professor Meany discusses the possibility that the mountain was named by Milton and Cheadle, or by one of the great early explorers—Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, or David Thompson—but rules out all these in favour of the possibility that Thomas Drummond named it after Joseph Robson, architect and author.

Robson's first book (I have not read the second) is largely an attack on the Hudson's Bay Company for its indifference to the great possibilities of the country and the need for westward exploration and the discovery of a North-west passage. Though he was biased against the Company, as he had been dismissed from its service after a quarrel with the governor, Robson's criticisms contain a good deal of truth and many of his prophecies have come true. He warned of the advance of the fur-traders from Montreal and of the probable trouble which the Hudson's Bay Company would have with them, trouble which came sure enough, in the long and deadly conflict with the North West Company, ending only with the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821. He did not travel inland far from Hudson's Bay, but he learned a lot about the vast hinterland and foresaw its agricultural and commercial possibilities. Indeed, he qualifies as one of the earliest boosters of the Canadian Northwest.

But while Robson may have been worthy of having a great mountain named after him, it is most unlikely that Drummond gave the name. Drummond was attached to the second Arctic expedition of Sir John Franklin; but instead of accompanying it to the Arctic he spent the time botanizing about Athabasca Pass and the headwaters of the Athabasca and Smoky Rivers. The accounts of his journey show that he was never near the mountain—probably not near enough even to see it in the distance—and they make no mention of it or of Joseph Robson.[21]

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(20) *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIX. (1928), pp. 20–30.

(21) One account is in Hooker's *Botanical Miscellany*, London, I. (1830), pp. 178–219; the other is in Sir John Franklin's *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, London, 1828, pp. 308–313. Professor Meany quotes from a letter from James White which states that it "is practically a certainty" that Drummond never saw the mountain. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIX. (1928), p. 27. For a further reference to this story *see* the Victoria *Colonist*, November 2, 1915.

There remains the possibility that even if Drummond did not name the mountain, it was named after Joseph Robson by some one else. May not some fur-trader have honoured him? I do not think so. At that time, and until comparatively recent years, Robson's reputation was not of the best. He was said to have been actuated by prejudice and revenge because his ideas were rejected by the Hudson's Bay Company.[22] The Nor'Westers would be the only traders who might have had any regard for him, and it was too early for the truth of his prophecies to be understood or appreciated by them. Moreover, a fur-trader would be unlikely to name a mountain after a man dead and gone for many years and known to him only as the author of a book. He would be more likely to name it after some one of his personal acquaintance, either alive or recently dead, for whom he had a high regard. It should be noted that the Mount Robson region was not visited by men of education or science until late years—Milton and Cheadle in 1863 were the first.

COLIN ROBERTSON.

Still another story suggests that Mount Robson was named after " Colin Robertson who served both [the] North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company in Athabasca before and after 1815 and that Francois Decoigne, the fairhaired trader after whom the Yellowhead Pass is named, who also served both the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company, and who was in charge at Jasper house in 1814, named it after his superior officer."[23]

Colin Robertson was one of the most prominent figures in the conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. After several years in the Far West under the latter

(22) Note, for example, the following: " Robson from his six years residence in Hudson's Bay and in the Company's service, might naturally have been supposed to know something of the climate and soil immediately round the Factories at which he resided; but the whole of his book is evidently written with prejudice, and dictated by a spirit of revenge, because his romantic and inconsistent schemes were rejected by the Company." Samuel Hearne: *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean.* London, 1795, p. xxii.

(23) Geographic Board of Canada: *Place-Names of Alberta,* Ottawa, 1928, p. 109.

company, he returned to Montreal and became associated with Lord Selkirk, as close adviser and right-hand man in Selkirk's colonization plans. He it was who selected the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers as the site for Lord Selkirk's colony. " A great empire will be there some day," he prophesied.[24] He recommended measures for making the Hudson's Bay Company more efficient and progressive, measures which were adopted when Selkirk secured control of the Company, and which put new life and energy into the old concern. When hostilities broke out at Red River he took charge of affairs, brought back the colonists who had been driven out by the Nor'Westers, and became acting-governor of the colony. Robertson was an enthusiastic leader, a man of ability, a dominating personality. The hopes of the colonists were revived. Retaliatory measures were taken. Fort Gibraltar, the North West post, was captured and demolished, and its commander taken prisoner and sent to Hudson Bay. The winter express of the North West Company was intercepted and its contents seized. Robertson was charged with violence and indicted; but when brought to trial in Montreal in May, 1818, he was acquitted.[25]

In the fall of 1818, " to fight fire with fire," Robertson led an expedition for the Hudson's Bay Company into the enemy's territory, the Athabasca region, in an effort to ruin the business of the Nor'Westers in that El Dorado of the fur trade, where hitherto their supremacy had been undisputed. Here he was seized by the Nor'Westers and imprisoned at Fort Chipewyan for eight months, during which he kept in communication with his men by an ingenious use of whisky barrels, which is a story in itself.[26] In the summer of 1819 he was sent East under escort to face trial again on the Red River charges, and was threatened with death if he ever returned. While en route by canoe his guards attempted to drown him, but he escaped and they were

(24) F. H. Schofield: *The Story of Manitoba*, Winnipeg, 1913, I., p. 99.

(25) *See* Chester Martin: *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, Toronto, 1916, pp. 97, 98, 104, 106–108, 156.

(26) *See* Schofield: *The Story of Manitoba*, pp. 148, 149; also Agnes C. Laut: *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*, Toronto, 1918, II., pp. 209–218.

drowned instead.[27] He led an expedition into the Peace River district in the winter of 1819–20; and on his way East in the spring was again arrested by the Nor'Westers and again escaped. Upon the union of the companies he was appointed in charge of Norway House, for many years the capital of the fur trade. He died in 1842.

Here was a man to name a mountain after: a virile, vigorous, resourceful, two-fisted fighter of the North; unafraid of anybody or anything; a courageous leader in a great cause, a maker of history; a live hero! To implement the altruistic plans of Selkirk, the visionary Scottish nobleman and semi-invalid, for planting an agricultural colony amid the preserves of the embittered Nor'Westers there was needed the bold and driving force of just such a man as Colin Robertson. Himself a former Nor'Wester, he knew their methods of trade and transportation, and he knew that the best way to fight them was to get the Hudson's Bay Company to adopt the same methods, and this he succeeded in doing. When the Red River colony was torn up by the roots, he it was who replanted it and watched over it. Indeed, if it had not been for Robertson's courage and Selkirk's money things might have turned out quite differently: the conflict probably would have ended in victory for the Nor'Westers and in the eradication of the colony. Although the result of the conflict may be termed a draw, it enabled the colony to survive.

Hated and feared by his enemies, respected and admired by his friends, Robertson was known up and down the fur-trade routes from Montreal and Hudson Bay to the farthest posts in the West. What could be more natural than that one of his admirers should name a great mountain after him?

This admirer, it is suggested, was a French-Canadian fur-trader named Francois Decoigne (or Du Quoin), who entered the service of the North West Company in 1799, a few years before Robertson. They served under the same master, John McDonald of Garth—" of Garth " to distinguish him from other John McDonalds.[28] Decoigne was in the Athabasca district for

(27) On the different versions of this incident *see* G. C. Davidson: *The North West Company*, Berkeley, 1918, pp. 158, 159.

(28) *See* John McDonald of Garth: " Autobiographical Notes 1791–1816," in L. F. R. Masson: *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnia du Nord-Ouest*, Quebec, 1889, II., pp. 23, 29.

several years and for a time was in charge of Jasper House (Rocky Mountain House).[29] Robertson left the North West Company in 1809 and returned to Montreal, where he met Lord Selkirk.[30] Decoigne went to Montreal in 1814.[31] There he was induced by Robertson to leave the Nor'Westers and join the Hudson's Bay Company. He returned to the Northwest in the spring of 1815 and remained for some years.

Further argument in support of this story would run, I presume, as follows: If Decoigne had not already explored the pass through the mountains leading towards Mount Robson, he probably did so now. Competition between the two companies was keen and bitter and all possible haunts of fur-bearing animals were sought out, even in the remotest places. Possibly it was Decoigne who moved Jasper House from Brûlé Lake to Jasper Lake, making it a better post and 25 miles nearer the mountains. He is said to have been the fair-haired trader who had the fur cache at the junction of the Robson (Grand Fork) and Fraser Rivers, the original Tête Jaune Cache, where an excellent view of Mount Robson may be had;[32] and the supposition is that he gave the mountain the name of his friend, now his superior officer, whose courage and heroism were the talk of all the trading-posts.

The name Robertson would easily become contracted to Robson. Most of the men frequenting the region then and for years afterwards were illiterate Indians, French-Canadians, or half-breeds. Decoigne himself, a French-Canadian, would be in-

(29) Gabriel Franchère: *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, New York, 1854, p. 298.

(30) E. H. Oliver (editor): *The Canadian North-West* (Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9.), Ottawa, 1914, I., p. 41.

(31) Franchère: *Narrative*, pp. 303, 354.

(32) *Report of Geographic Board of Canada*, Ottawa, 1924, p. 280. Malcolm McLeod, whose father, John McLeod, was a figure of some note in the fur trade, said: "Tete Jaune was so called from the colour of the hair—not infrequent amongst French Canadians of Breton and Norman French origin—of an enterprising French trapper, of the name of Decoigne, who used this singularly appropriate locality—an immense hollow, but comparatively level, of some 70 square miles in area, amongst the mountains there—for his 'cache' or entrepot in his line of work." *Natural Resources, Canada*, July, 1924, p. 4, quoting the *Montreal Gazette*, 1874.

clined to pronounce it Rob-er-son, and even if he pronounced it correctly they would pass it on as Rob-er-son or Rob'son. The fact that the derivation of the name was forgotten would not be surprising. Decoigne was modest and made no special announcement about it. He left the fur trade in 1818 and returned to the East, where he married in 1821.[33] Colin Robertson's fame continued for a time—indeed, it was expected that upon the amalgamation of the two companies he would become governor; but he was passed over in favour of young George Simpson, with the result that Simpson's name took the place of Robertson's on every one's lips. Moreover, Decoigne's cache was a very out-of-the-way place; few white men had visited it. Even in 1824, when Sir George Simpson travelled overland to the Pacific via Athabasca Pass, the region was little known. He proposed to place a winter establishment at Moose or Cranberry Lake, " to draw the Freemen further into the Mountain than they have been in the habit of going, where they are expected to make good Hunts as it has been rarely Wrought."[34] " Rarely wrought "—yet Decoigne's cache was about 20 miles farther still. The Yellowhead Pass was not used as a trade route until 1827; thereafter it was used occasionally by parties from New Caledonia, who went to the prairies for supplies of hides needed for leather[35]—hence the name Leather Pass. But this was discontinued, and for many years the pass was unused. In 1863 Milton and Cheadle found travel through it " exceedingly difficult and harassing," necessitating " struggling through floods, logs and *debris*," and resulting in the loss of a horse and a load of provisions.[36] These facts give an idea of the inaccessibility of the Mount Robson region until comparatively recent years, and of the ease with which the naming of the mountain has been forgotten.

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(33) Librarian, Montreal Public Library, to the writer, February 15, 1935. The letter states further that Decoigne died at Lachine, Quebec, in 1861, aged 94.

(34) Frederick Merk: *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 30.

(35) *See* McLeod: *Peace River*, p. 31; A. G. Morice: *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1904, p. 153.

(36) *The North-West Passage by Land*, pp. 251, 258.

But this argument cannot stand. There is nothing to show that Decoigne was ever in the vicinity of Mount Robson after his departure from Jasper House in 1814; and according to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, who has very kindly made a search of the surviving records, the latter go to show that Decoigne was elsewhere. His report is as follows:—

So far as we know Decoigne was not in the Yellowhead Pass Region subsequent to 1814, when he was dismissed from the North West Company's service. He was engaged by Colin Robertson for the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the autumn of 1814 and was employed at Montreal during the winter of 1814/15 in engaging men for the service of the Company. In the spring of 1815 he accompanied Colin Robertson from Montreal to Lake Winnipeg. On August 1st, 1815, he bade adieu to Robertson and pursued his way to Lesser Slave Lake, where he arrived on October 18th and remained in charge throughout the ensuing winter. On June 27th, 1816, Colin Robertson includes the following remarks in his journal:—

> "About 12 O'Clock arrived [at Sea River Portage near Norway House] Messrs. Logan and Decoigne, with the melancholy news of fifteen of the Companies servants being starved to Death in Peace River"

and adds a tribute as follows to Decoigne:—

> "Decoigne has done remarkable well at Lesser Slave Lake, he has brought 25 Packs of excellent Furs from there."

Decoigne was again entrusted with the charge of Lesser Slave Lake for the Trading Season of 1816/17, and left Cumberland House for that place on August 13th, 1816. Whilst he was at Lesser Slave Lake he and all the men with him were taken prisoners by Alexander Stewart of the North West Company and the property seized.

Decoigne was appointed in charge of the Athabaska Department for the trading season of 1817/18 and embarked at Norway House for that place on August 31st, 1817, arriving at the "Old Fort" on Lake Athabaska on October 12th following, where he remained until the middle of February and then removed to Fort Wedderburn on the Northern shore of Lake Athabaska—and adjacent to the North West Company's Fort Chipewyan.

After residing here until the end of May 1818, Decoigne returned to Montreal and apparently left the Service. At any rate we have no information regarding his subsequent movements.[37]

All the places mentioned in these records are so far distant from Mount Robson or Jasper House that it seems very unlikely that Decoigne visited either of the latter places. Indeed, this

(37) J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, London, to the writer, September 18, 1935. Published by permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

part of the country was not occupied by his employers, the Hudson's Bay Company, until the union with the North West Company in 1821, and by then he had left the country.

In answer to the suggestion that it was Decoigne who moved Jasper House from Brûlé Lake to Jasper Lake, 25 miles nearer the mountains, the Hudson's Bay Company state that:—

The house on Brulé Lake came into the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company at their union with the North West Company in 1821. The post was still situate here when Governor George Simpson visited it in April 1825, on his way eastward across the mountains from Fort Vancouver to Edmonton. Simpson ordered it to be abandoned, but his intention does not appear to have been carried out, though, possibly because it was merely an outpost, Jasper House is not mentioned at this time in the Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department.

At any rate, the post here was still in existence when Aemilius Simpson, hydrographer of the Hudson's Bay Company passed here on his way across the Continent from York Factory to Fort Vancouver in the autumn of 1826. On October 6th, he (Aemilius Simpson) describes the situation of Jasper House as under in his Journal:—

> " Having followed a bend W N W ½ mile we rounded a Point & entered Jaspers Lake, & crossing the Lake S W 1½ mile, We arrived at the Post."

He also states that " this small Post is situated on the West side & Northern extremity—nearly—of Jaspers Lake which extends North & South —about 10 Miles," and computes its situation to be in Lat. 53° 18′ 40″ N. Long. 118° 38′ 36″ W.

On leaving Jasper House on the following day, Aemilius Simpson states that he ascended the Lake in a southerly direction for 9 miles before re-entering the Athabaska River. As further proof of the fact that Jasper House was at this time in operation Aemilius Simpson mentions the delivery of, " the Outfits for this Post " and in confirmation of the fact that its position was still on Brulé Lake, he states that, on continuing his journey from the post up the Athabaska he encamped the first night " at the base of Milletes' Rock." Shortly after resuming the journey he passed through another Lake—evidently that now known as Jasper Lake.

Edward Ermatinger, in the course of his journey from Fort Vancouver to York Factory, mentions stopping on May 4th, 1827, at Jasper House on his way down the Athabaska and that it was, at that time, still situate on the " 2nd or Lower Lake "—i.e. Brulé Lake.

A reference to the " litter " in the store in the Journal of Jasper House on October 1st, 1828, indicates the continued existence of the old post.

The preparations for the removal to the new site on the present Jasper Lake are indicated in the Jasper House Journal of 1829/30, and on March 19th, 1830, Michael Klyne, who was in charge of the Post, says:—

> "I went up once more to see the horses and mares and to work at the store and house."

An entry in his Journal on March 29th, 1830, says:—

> "I went off to see the horses once more and to work at the house and store."

It is, therefore, evident that the actual abandonment of the old site on Brulé Lake took place when Michael Klyne left with the returns of the post in the spring of 1830, and that he commenced to reside at the post on the present Jasper Lake on his return to the locality in the autumn of that year. There is no mention of the actual removal of the post in the Journal, but on October 5th, 1830, Klyne refers to "the old post" and on November 19th to "the old house" thus indicating that the move had been completed by that time.

The fact that Brulé Lake was still occasionally referred to as Jasper Lake as late as 1846—some sixteen years after the removal of the post to its new position—is borne out by the following extract from Father Pierre Jean de Smet's "Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845/6" (Early Western Travels Series, Vol. XXIX, Pp. 251/2 (Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906)

> "Lake Jasper eight miles in length, is situated at the base of the first great mountain chain. The fort of the same name, and the second lake, are twenty miles higher, and in the heart of the mountains."

The opening up of the route through Yellowhead Pass to New Caledonia recorded in Resolve 64 of the Minutes of the Northern Council for July 2nd, 1827, no doubt indicates an additional reason for the continued existence of Jasper House as a provision depot for both the Columbia and New Caledonia Brigades.[38]

As to journals or letters written by Decoigne, the Hudson's Bay Company state:—

We have one Journal kept by Decoigne at Lake Athabaska during the trading season of 1817/18. We also have copies of a few letters written by Decoigne. In these items there is no mention of his having named a mountain after Robertson, or anyone else, and there is only one brief reference to Robertson, this being in a letter from Decoigne to James Bird, Chief Factor at Edmonton, dated at Lesser Slave Lake, January 22nd, 1816, and copied in the Edmonton Journal. This reference is as follows:—

> "I request of you to forward a copy of the arrang[e]ment that has taken place between the H. B. Coy & N. W. Coy to Mr. Colin Robertson. I have sent you a letter directed to Mr. Robertson which after your perusal you will be kind enough to seal and send him."

(38) *Ibid.*

No copy of this letter from Decoigne to Robertson has been made in the Edmonton Journal.[39]

As to any mention of Decoigne by Robertson in his journals, the Company says:—

We have in our Archives a correspondence book kept by Colin Robertson during his imprisonment by the North West Company in Fort Chipewyan in the winter of 1818/19. Also a Journal of Events at the post of St. Mary's, Peace River, in the trading season of 1819/20. In neither of these is there any mention of Decoigne apart from a brief reference in a letter from one, Vital Bourassa, to Colin Robertson, dated St. Mary's, Peace River, May 17th, 1820, when he speaks of a gun which had been handed over by the North West Company to Decoigne after the receipt of Col. Coltman's orders to that effect. This was apparently when Decoigne was employed in Athabaska in 1817/18.

In a private Journal or Diary of Events kept by Robertson during the years 1814/17, there are several mentions of Decoigne, but no reference to a mountain having been named in Robertson's honour.[40]

These records seem to force us to the conclusion that the Colin Robertson story is without foundation in fact. At least they would seem to prove that if Decoigne named the mountain after him he must have done so out of pure friendship before he went East in 1814, and therefore before Robertson became famous.

OTHER STORIES.

So much for the six stories of the naming of Mount Robson. Each one may have its advocates; each may have its critics. The reader can take his choice; or, he may bring forward another story, for there may be other stories.

It has been said, for example, that the mountain was named by one of the several parties of gold-seekers who travelled overland from the East to Cariboo by way of the Yellowhead Pass in 1862.[41] A Robertson and a Robinson crossed at that time, and there were other men whose names are unknown. Their journey was even more adventurous than that of Milton and Cheadle; several were drowned in descending the Fraser.[42] There was a John Robson in the Cariboo in 1863, for his death

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) *Ibid.*

(41) See *Canadian Alpine Journal*, XIV. (1924), p. 111.

(42) *See* Wade: *The Overlanders of '62*, pp. 119–126, 166, 169.

is recorded. He was a Canadian, but whether he came overland is not known.[43]

Another possibility is that the mountain may have been named in honour of Commander Charles Rufus Robson, of Her Majesty's gunboat *Forward*, who died at Esquimalt on November 5, 1861, from the effects of a fall from his horse. A monument to his memory stands in the old cemetery in Victoria. He is said to have been of a heroic type, one of his exploits being the rescue of the crew of an American vessel wrecked on the west coast of Vancouver Island, for which the American residents of Victoria petitioned President Buchanan that Robson be accorded national honours by the United States Government.[44] Apparently this was not done; but some of the American gold-seekers en route overland to the Cariboo may have honoured him by conferring his name on the great peak which they passed.

Our conclusion then is that a real mystery exists as to the naming of Mount Robson. Let us hope that some day some one will solve it.[45]

A. G. HARVEY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(43) Victoria *Colonist*, November 26, 1863.

(44) *Ibid.*, November 8, 1861.

(45) Mr. T. C. Young, of Jasper, Alberta, contends that the mountain had a name as early as 1827 and quotes from a journal (now unavailable) of George McDougall, a fur-trader who passed the mountain in that year en route from Fort St. James to Fort Carlton and return, in which the mountain was mentioned as " Mt. Robinson " or " Mt. Robson " (Mr. Young contradicts himself as to which). Mr. Young's letter, together with criticisms by Mr. J. N. Wallace and Father A. G. Morice, is in the Provincial Archives.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The author's reference to George McDougall's journal (note 45, *supra*) deserves more detailed mention. In July, 1924, Mr. T. C. Young, of Jasper, Alberta, visited Fort St. James and was permitted to examine certain of the old records then preserved there. Amongst them he found the journal of George McDougall, one of the first traders to cross the Rockies by way of the Yellowhead Pass. The portion of the journal describing the journey was copied by Mr. Young; and according to his

transcript the party left Fort St. James on April 17, 1827. Under the date April 25, there is the following entry:—

> Arrived at Tete-Jaune Cache, after encountering very heavy travel. The men were nearly exhausted, and one of them died of a vile disease. Tete-Jaune Cache, is a place where one an Iroquois Indian half Breed who was fair-haired, had made a fur-cache, or a place to store his Catch of furs, and was known as Tete-Jaune Cache, or Yellowhead. It is near the meeting of the Grand River—which flows from the Base of Mt Robinson—and the Fraser River.[1]

Mount Robson is undoubtedly the mountain here referred to as "Mt. Robinson"; and the latter name may either have been used in error for Robertson or Robson, or may indicate the original name of which Robson is a corruption. Unfortunately at this late date it is exceedingly difficult to judge the accuracy, and therefore the value, of the McDougall diary. The original journal consulted by Mr. Young has disappeared, and all efforts to ascertain its fate have been unsuccessful. Father Morice quotes from a George McDougall journal which he examined when preparing his *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia;* but neither the dates nor the text he gives agree with those in the transcript made by Mr. Young. To add further to the confusion, the dates of McDougall's journey, as indicated by the records in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, agree with neither version.[2]

The reference to Mount Robson appears only in the Young transcript, and is much the earliest mention of the peak yet discovered. This suggests the necessity for further examination and research.

W. K. L.

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(1) Quoted from the original notes made by Mr. Young at Fort St. James, July 19, 1924 (now in the Provincial Archives).

(2) The dates given in each instance may be tabulated as follows:—

	Morice.	Young.	H.B. Archives.
Left Fort St. James	March 18	April 17	March 13
Arrived Tête Jaune Cache	March 30	April 25	———
Arrived Jasper House	April 18	May 4	April 12

Morice: *History*, p. 155; J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, London, to the Canadian Committee, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg, January 22, 1934; original transcript of McDougall's journal by T. C. Young (in Provincial Archives). It is pertinent to note that at the time Mr. Young visited Fort St. James he was not aware that the origin of the name of Mount Robson was a mystery.

MY FATHER: WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE.* 1812–1886.

The name of my father, the late Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, is prominently connected with the pioneer days, and perhaps an outline of his activities in the Pacific Northwest from the time of his arrival, in 1833, until his death, will be interesting to you.

These were all active years. I say active because he was energetic and I cannot remember a single instance in his later years that would indicate indolence on his part, and he certainly did not permit anything that had the appearance of laziness during the growing years of his family.

My mother passed away in 1880, when I was 13 years old. My father died six years later. During these six years I was practically at his call continuously, and it was during this time that he helped me so greatly with my studies, which I have had reason to appreciate ever since.

Before delving into my subject I am simply giving you a few general impressions, so that you may have some idea of the character of the man.

I said a moment ago that he was energetic; and as an illustration, one of his favourite sayings was that an hour in the morning was worth two at night. We usually retired about 9 p.m. We arose at 5 in the morning and foregathered in his library about 5.20 a.m., and there we would go over my lessons for the day—Euclid, Algebra, Latin, French, and Greek. He was an excellent scholar in all these subjects. At 7 o'clock our studies were over, and I packed up my lunch and books and walked from 7.30 until a quarter to 9 to the public and high schools of Victoria, at the corner of Yates and Fort Streets. It was three-quarters of a mile, without any sidewalks, from the house on the farm to the nearest public road.

My father also taught me boxing. I remember he secured the services of a boy who was two years older than I, and how that fellow used to hammer me I will never forget; but I had to stand up and take it, because I had the utmost respect for

* The revised text of an address delivered before the British Columbia Historical Association, November 23, 1934.

what my father could do to me in the event of my failing to obey orders. He had often rehearsed on my six older brothers. My first riding lessons were also interesting. I can remember the Saturday afternoon when I received the first lesson. I fell off three times; and after he caught the horse my father's instructions were very brief, consisting of just two words: "Climb on."

My father came from Inverness and was inspired with Scottish thrift. I shall never forget the purchase of suits for the seventh son. The idea was not to buy a suit that fitted me, but first to get one that I would not outgrow before it wore out. He was particular about the lasting qualities of the material; and I can see him yet trying the cloth to see if it would wear well.

He was a great student and reader and possessed a good library. He led a clean life and was a strict disciplinarian with his growing family. He was a profound student of religion, and though he did not attend church latterly on account of slight deafness, he insisted upon the family going and upon the younger members attending Sunday School. He obeyed the law and expected others to do likewise. He had a deep appreciation of the Pacific Northwest, and great faith in the future destinies of British Columbia, whose claims he never tired of backing.

William Fraser Tolmie was born in Inverness, Scotland, on February 3, 1812. He received a sound but not expensive education at private schools in Edinburgh, and subsequently studied medicine at Glasgow University, from which he received the degree of M.D. in 1832. On September 12 of the same year he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, as physician and surgeon; and three days later, on the 15th, he sailed from Gravesend for North-west America in the sailing-ship *Ganymede*. He celebrated his twenty-first birthday on the way out, but his diary does not indicate how. It would perhaps be interesting to know.

The *Ganymede* travelled by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, and arrived at Fort George (Astoria), at the mouth of the Columbia River, on May 1, 1833. Three days later my father reached Fort Vancouver and reported to Dr. John McLoughlin, the Chief Factor in charge. He began his work as medical officer and clerk immediately, and learned that it was

intended that he should pay a brief visit to a new post at Nisqually, on Puget Sound, and then be stationed at Fort McLoughlin, which had been built in the spring of the year on Milbanke Sound. After the long sea voyage he preferred to travel overland from Fort Vancouver to Nisqually, where he arrived after a pleasant journey of some twelve days on May 30. At that time the post consisted of only one half-built store building, and the site of the fort proper had not yet been definitely chosen.

Early in June one of the men at Nisqually was seriously injured; and as he would require skilled attention for a considerable time, it was decided that Dr. Tolmie should remain there for the present. For part of the time the post, and the building operations under way there, were placed in his charge. "Recollected as I scampered along," my father noted in his diary on June 23, after he had been out riding, "that the past week was the second anniversary of my trip to the Trossacks, last year at this time I was officiating for a few days at the Cholera Hospital and this year am commander of a trading post in a remote corner of the New World with only a force of six effective men in the midst of treacherous, bloodthirsty savages, with whom murder is familiar."

My father was an enthusiastic botanist; and perhaps the most important result of his longer stay at Nisqually was that it enabled him to make a botanizing and exploring expedition to the vicinity of Mount Rainier. He set out on August 29, 1833, accompanied by five Indians. He had hired his guide for the trip for a blanket, and the guide's nephew for ammunition. The other Indians went along in the hope of killing elk and deer. The expedition was poorly and cheaply equipped and suffered many hardships. Travel was through virgin country with no trails, and the party crossed swollen streams of icy water from the glaciers, and slept out under the trees on the side of the mountain in heavy rain. It was quite a change for a 21-year-old Cheechako, fresh from Scotland, but his diary gives a remarkably cheerful account of the whole affair.[1] On September 2, and

(1) The portion of Dr. Tolmie's diary recording the expedition has been published several times. The most accurate and accessible text is probably that in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I., pp. 77–81 (October, 1906).—W. K. L.

again the following day, he reached the summit of the peak now known as Tolmie's Peak. From this point Mount Rainier "appeared surpassingly splendid and magnificent," and he was able to see small glaciers on the conical portion; but he was not able to climb the great mountain itself. Time was short, and the Indians, who entertained a racial superstition of the giant spirits who lived among the snows, were loath to advance above the timber-line. Indeed, it seems that it was only by stressing his search for medicinal herbs that Dr. Tolmie persuaded them to go as far as they did.

This was the first attempt made by a white man to ascend Mount Rainier, and the first observation of living glaciers within what is now the United States. For many years these facts were overlooked; and credit for the first climb towards Mount Rainier, and the first report of glaciers, was given in published records to Lieutenant (later General) A. V. Kautz, the date of his expedition being 1857. Thanks largely to the efforts of the late Professor E. S. Meany, of the University of Washington, a former president of the Mountaineers' Club of Seattle, Dr. Tolmie's claims to priority are now known and acknowledged. On September 2, 1933, the National Park Service of the United States and the Rainier National Park Advisory Board invited a number of people from the State of Washington and from British Columbia to attend a centennial celebration and the dedication of a Mowich, or Tolmie, Entrance to Mount Rainier National Park. To serve as a reminder of the rude life of the pioneer, the National Park Service constructed an entrance typical of a Hudson's Bay Company post of one hundred years ago. On the gateway is a bronze plaque recording the significance of the celebration, to serve as a permanent record of this first exploration of the mountain by Dr. Tolmie in 1833. Several descendants of Dr. Tolmie were present, and I was very proud to be asked to take part in the ceremony.

The trip to Mount Rainier by Dr. Tolmie was fruitful in more ways than one. He discovered and recorded many new plants which bear his name. He also secured the skins of many birds, including that of the Macgillivray's Warbler (*Oporornis tolmiei*), which was named after him by Dr. J. K. Townsend.

On December 12, 1833, Dr. Tolmie left Nisqually on board the schooner *Cadboro,* bound for Fort McLoughlin. He arrived on December 23, after a tempestuous voyage, in the course of which the *Cadboro* more than once almost came to grief. A. C. Anderson, Donald Manson, and my father spent Christmas Day together, and celebrated the event with a rifle-shooting tournament. Later, Dr. Tolmie's diary tells us, they " Passed the evening very agreeably. Sang several old Scotch ditties and the other gentlemen also tuned their pipes." They drank Mountain Dew, whatever that may be; and the Doctor claims that he was " the only person who awoke in good trim " the next morning, and did not suffer from headache and thirst. We do not seem to have changed very much in the last century. The fellow who tells the story still insists that he never had any headache, and never felt badly at all. It is all so human.

Dr. Tolmie remained at Fort McLoughlin for five months, and then joined a party under Peter Skene Ogden, bound for the Stikine. They sailed in the brig *Dryad* on May 30, 1834. During the voyage Dr. Tolmie read Ross Cox's *Columbia River*— " a work," he noted in his diary, " which has made much noise at home." As I have said already, he was a great reader; and the previous winter, while at Fort McLoughlin, he and Donald Manson " conceived the idea of establishing a circulating library among the officers of the company . . . The officers subscribed, sent the order for books and periodicals to the company's agent in London; the books were sent out, and as everybody had subscribed, they were sent to all the forts throughout the length and breadth of the land. The library was kept at Fort Vancouver, subscribers sending for such books as they wanted, and returning them when read . . . This was the first circulating library on the Pacific Slope, extending from 1833 to 1843."[2]

The *Dryad* called at Fort Simpson, then situated on the Nass River, on June 15. To understand her mission, it must be recalled that in 1833 Roderick Finlayson, an able officer of the Company, who later married an aunt of mine, had been sent north by the Hudson's Bay Company on a scouting trip, to find a site for a trading-post which would intercept the furs then reaching the

(2) H. H. Bancroft: *History of British Columbia,* San Francisco, 1887, p. 63 (quoting Dr. Tolmie).

Russian establishments in Alaska, from what is now the Northern Interior of British Columbia. The Stikine was found to be the chief trading route of the district, and in 1834 Peter Skene Ogden was sent to erect a fort on that river; but he found the Russians blocking the entrance to the territory, and the Indians of the area allied with them. Dr. Tolmie's diary gives an interesting account of the progress and failure of the negotiations which followed. As he was unable to come to any understanding with the Russians, Ogden and his party had to withdraw. On the return voyage southward Ogden moved Fort Simpson from the site upon which it had first been built by Captain Simpson in 1831, on the Nass River, to the present site of Port Simpson; and my father gives a graphic account of the evacuation of the old post, which was abandoned to the natives on August 30.

Dr. Tolmie remained at Fort Simpson for a time, but arrived once more at Fort McLoughlin on November 3. His description of the New Year festivities on January 1, 1835, is worth quoting: "The men after breakfast visited us in the dining hall and after the compliments of the season received a couple of drams. In the evening they assembled in the same apartment and danced with great vivacity till 10—to vocal music. Manson and I danced several reels. The Canadians possess a natural ease of manner equally remote from the free and aisy of the Emerald Isle and the sheepishness so characteristic of the Sawney. They sung several paddling songs. Our two Iroquois danced the war dance of their tribe with great spirit, and the S[andwich] Islanders sung Rule Britannia tolerably well. They all seemed to enjoy themselves highly."

Another entry in the diary made about this time will be of interest. Under the date December 11, 1834, Dr. Tolmie wrote as follows: "Have of late been frequently enquiring amongst the Indians about the rock on which Sir Alexr. McKenzie made the inscription on his arrival at the Pacific. They talk of a rock marked with vermilion about half a days journey hence which I am to visit tomorrow." The next morning my father set out as planned, and the Indians piloted him to "a bare rock partially washed by the tide" upon which were "some Indian hieroglyphics marked with red earth"; but from the course they had

followed to reach it, Dr. Tolmie concluded regretfully that it could not be Mackenzie's Rock.

In the spring of 1836, Dr. Tolmie left Fort McLoughlin and was stationed at Fort Vancouver, where he remained until 1841, when he was granted permission to visit his homeland. He left Fort Vancouver on March 22, 1841, by Hudson's Bay Express, being one of a party in charge of George T. Allen, headed for York Factory, on James Bay. They travelled via the Columbia River to Walla Walla and Fort Colville; and on April 25 left the latter point with two boats and fourteen men. Ten days later, on May 4, they arrived at Boat Encampment, the highest point on the Columbia to which a boat can be used. From this point they travelled on foot and with snow-shoes, where possible, the travel being heavy with soft snow. Proceeding north-eastward, they came to the headwaters of the Athabasca River, the valley of which they followed. On May 10 they met their horses, and on the 12th reached Jasper's House. Taking to boats once again, they proceeded to Fort Assiniboine, from which horses carried them to Fort Edmonton, where they arrived May 20. The next day they started down the Saskatchewan River, and on the 25th reached Fort Carlton. Having reduced their baggage to a minimum there, Mr. Allen and Dr. Tolmie started across the plains, bound for the Red River, in company with an Indian guide and three men. Fort Garry was reached on June 10, and a fortnight later they set out once more for James Bay, by way of Norway House. York Factory was reached finally on July 4, after a journey from Fort Vancouver which had lasted three months and twelve days.

Most of these details have been taken from Mr. Allen's very interesting diary. He and my father travelled the whole distance together, and it is amusing to read his complaints about Dr. Tolmie's temperate habits, the latter never having accepted a drink of liquor on the whole journey, while Allen had an adequate supply. This is a day of records—aeroplane flights, sports, etc.—but I have no doubt I am right in claiming for my father the record of having travelled from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic by canoe and horseback without taking a single drink of alcoholic liquor. Surely this must be a record for a Scotsman.

At York Factory my father boarded a ship and proceeded to London. While in Europe he visited France and took a post-graduate course in medicine there. While in Great Britain he had acquired a knowledge of Spanish, having in mind an appointment to the Hudson's Bay post at Yerba Buena (San Francisco); but when he returned to Fort Vancouver, in 1843, he was stationed at Nisqually instead—this time as superintendent in charge of the Nisqually farms of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, which had taken over the farming and kindred operations of the Hudson's Bay Company. Dr. Tolmie retained this post until 1859. While he was in charge at Nisqually the foundation live stock was mostly imported from California, and they were of Spanish breed, very much the type of the old Texas longhorn, nearly all horns and legs. In body conformation they looked as though they were bred for speed rather than beef. Nearly twenty years ago I saw in the Buckhorn Saloon in San Antonio, Texas, two specimens of horns from this breed of cattle, one set being 6 feet 6 inches from tip to tip, and the other set 7 feet 3 inches. As my father established such an outstanding record for temperance on his trip to York Factory, I think that I should mention here that I entered the saloon for the sole purpose of seeing the horns.

The farming operations of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually were quite extensive. In 1846 the farm possessed 8,312 sheep, 3,180 cattle, and nearly 300 horses. As early as 1841 they were milking 200 cows and making cheese and butter which, in addition to supplying the forts, was sold to the Russians in Alaska. They sold 15,000 bushels of grain in one year to these people. Hides, horns, tallow, and wool were exported to Great Britain, providing additional cargo for the Company's ships. Some of their surplus stock was sold to American settlers. In 1854, Dr. Tolmie made a drive of 3,000 surplus sheep to the Willamette Valley, going as far as Eugene, Oregon. Good prices were secured, and the trip is said to have been very profitable. This source of food and breeding stock was a great boon to early settlers before they were well established.

From the time of his arrival in this country Dr. Tolmie made a careful study of Indian languages, and he acquired a very good knowledge of them. This was useful in trading, and also in his

medical work among the Indians. When the Indian War broke out in 1855–56, his knowledge of these languages was of great assistance in bringing about peace. Shortly before his death, in collaboration with Dr. George M. Dawson, Dr. Tolmie compiled a comparative dictionary of Indian languages in British Columbia.

In 1846 the Oregon boundary award gave the Americans title to what is now Oregon and Washington. As a result, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company were removed in 1849 from Fort Vancouver, Washington, to Victoria, which thereafter became the chief trading-post. In July, 1859, Dr. Tolmie himself moved to Victoria, where he took over the management of the Puget Sound Company's farms on Vancouver Island, and also became one of the three members of the Board of Management of the Hudson's Bay Company. He retired from both services in 1870.

Years before this he had obtained a tract of land near Victoria, comprising 1,100 acres, where he settled and where he resided until his death, which occurred on December 8, 1886. This was known as Cloverdale Farm. The house my father built there in 1859–60 is still in an excellent state of preservation, and has been kept as nearly as possible in its original condition. It is now more than 75 years old, and it is interesting to note that the original stucco coating is still in first-class condition. It was the first stone private dwelling-house built in what is now British Columbia. The kitchen and the rear of the house are constructed of hewn Douglas fir; and this timber is still perfectly preserved. The doors, sashes, and mouldings were imported from California, and are made of California redwood. Wright & Saunders, of San Francisco, were the architects. Needless to say, many functions of interest have taken place in this old home. Among the striking features in the grounds are the original acacia trees imported from Fort Vancouver, one of the largest oaks on Vancouver Island, estimated to be 800 years old, some very excellent Oregon ash, and a fine specimen of California redwood, planted about the time the house was built. This is the house in which I was born, and which I acquired when I became Premier of the Province, in 1928.

Among other interesting things that my father did was to import quail from California, in 1866. They were kept in confinement for some time in what we used to know as the "quail-house." I remember it very well, as it was in existence for some years. The descendants of these quail are still to be seen every day in the grounds of Cloverdale.

My father took a deep interest in public affairs. Before the jurisdiction of the United States Government was extended to Oregon and Washington a provisional government, in which both British and American subjects participated, managed affairs there; and in June, 1846, Dr. Tolmie was elected to represent Lewis County, Washington, in the House of Representatives. This House met at Oregon City on December 1, and the members were sworn in the next day.

In 1860, after he had moved from Nisqually to Victoria, my father was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island, and remained a member until the union of the Crown Colonies in 1866. He took an active part in the proceedings of the House. The old records show that in 1860, for example, he introduced a bill relating to the laying-out and repairing of roads—then, as now, an important subject in this Province. The same year he introduced a bill for the protection of persons aiming at the improvement of live stock; and in this year, too, he introduced a motion relative to the improvement of postal communications with the Mother Country. He also moved for a Select Committee to draw up a petition to be forwarded to Her Majesty regarding the future management of Indians.

Dr. Tolmie's keen interest in live stock has been indicated. In 1865 a *Stock and Carcass Act* was passed, supposedly for the purpose of protecting the producer of live stock on Vancouver Island. The import duties imposed by the Act were heavy; and the measure was opposed by a group led by my father, who claimed it would retard the development of farming on account of the lack of breeding stock. In 1866 Dr. Tolmie moved successfully for the reduction of these duties, and they were lowered substantially, that on cattle being cut from $4 to $1 per head. Finally the Act was rescinded altogether; and when the free importation of live stock was resumed, my father showed his interest in herd improvement by importing a pure-bred Short-

horn bull from California, the first to set foot on the Island for a private owner.

After British Columbia joined the Dominion, Dr. Tolmie represented Victoria District in the Legislature. He was elected in February, 1874, at the by-election necessitated by the resignation of Amor De Cosmos, who was a member of the House of Commons at the time and vacated his seat owing to the abolition of dual representation. Dr. Tolmie was re-elected at the general election held in 1875, and retired from political life in 1878. Among the measures introduced by him were *An Act to amend the Law of Trespass so as to provide for Summary Jurisdiction in certain cases, An Act to prevent the Spread of Thistles, An Act to prohibit the Sale or Gift of Intoxicating Liquors or Drugs to Minors and to prevent the frequenting of Liquor Saloons by such Persons,* and *An Act respecting Breeding Stock.* He was also responsible for a resolution urging upon the Federal Government the establishment of Indian Agencies throughout the Province, which was duly passed.

Dr. Tolmie took a great interest in education, and was a member of the first Board of Education, which was appointed in 1865. The first meeting of the Board was held on June 2, and was attended by His Excellency Governor Kennedy, who explained the provisions of the *School Act* and submitted a memorandum thereon. My father was elected chairman of the Board, but resigned this office, in spite of the protests of his colleagues, in June, 1867. A sharp difference of opinion existed between the Board and Governor Seymour at that time, and Dr. Tolmie seems to have resigned in order that he might take a more direct part in the meetings. In any event, the minutes show that he either moved or seconded most of the resolutions passed between that date and March 9, 1869, when the Board adjourned *sine die.* The record of the first Board of Education is very interesting. It made a gallant fight to maintain the system of free education that had been inaugurated on Vancouver Island, but as Governor Seymour was not in favour of free education it was forced through inadequate provision of funds to give up the unequal struggle. This was one of the first fights for free education in this section of the continent.

After the Crown Colony joined the Dominion in 1871 the *Public School Act* was passed on April 11, 1872. By this Act a new Board of Education was created for the Province, consisting of the following persons: W. F. Tolmie, M. W. T. Drake, A. Munro, A. J. Langley, R. Williams, and E. Marvin. Dr. Tolmie continued to act as a member of this Board until it was abolished by the *Public Schools Act* of 1879. The report of the Superintendent of Education for the year ending July 31, 1877, states that at the Teachers' Convention held that year there were present forty-seven teachers and Dr. Tolmie, and that the latter " gave a sketch on the relation of teachers, trustees and parents, and impressed on the teachers the necessity of inculcating the ' Golden Rule ' as the best means of securing the highest morality."

After leaving the service of the two companies he kept on improving his herd of live stock and continued deeply interested in this work until his death. He always took a keen interest in agriculture, and in the development of agricultural exhibitions; and in 1862 was the first president of the Victoria Agricultural Association.

His interests were by no means confined to live stock. In 1833 he brought dahlia seeds from Hawaii to Fort Vancouver; and students of history may care to know that they were planted on May 7 in the garden under a frame. On May 18, when leaving for Nisqually, my father paid them a farewell visit, and noted in his diary that the plants were by that time " nearly an inch high and numerous." This is the first recorded importation of dahlias into the Pacific Northwest, and there are now thousands of varieties of the plant in this section of the country.

The same year he also brought seeds of the acacia tree from Hawaii to Fort Vancouver, and these trees have done remarkably well in the Northwest. It is recorded that in 1857 Dr. Tolmie sent strawberry plants from Nisqually to James Douglas at Victoria. I do not know whether or not there is any earlier record of the domestic strawberry in British Columbia.

Dr. Tolmie's deep interest in the plant-life of this country was due no doubt to his early training in botany; and from the time of his arrival on the Pacific Coast he collected specimens of plants, which he sent to his friend Sir William Hooker, the cele-

brated naturalist, at Kew Gardens, in England. As a consequence there are a number of flowers and shrubs named after him, among which are *Saxifraga Tolmiei, Carex Tolmiei,* and *Tolmiea Menziesii.*

In 1835, when my father was stationed at Fort McLoughlin, a number of Indians from the north end of Vancouver Island came to trade. The blacksmith was at work at his forge, and when he put more coal on the fire the Indians were very curious. They asked him where the coal came from, and he explained that it took six months to bring it by ship from Wales. He noticed that they were greatly amused and asked what was so funny about it. The Indians replied that it seemed funny that the white men should carry this soft black stone so far when it could be had without expense close at hand. The blacksmith called Dr. Tolmie, and the Indians told him there were places on Vancouver Island where he could get all the soft black stone he wanted, as it cropped out of the ground. My father then notified Dr. McLoughlin, at Fort Vancouver, who ordered the steamer *Beaver* to stop on her next voyage to see if the Indians were telling the truth. The result was the discovery of the coalfield at Beaver Harbour and the founding of Fort Rupert some years later, when the Hudson's Bay Company determined to undertake mining operations there. The venture was not a commercial success, but the finding of the Beaver Harbour seam nevertheless ranks as the first important discovery of coal in British Columbia.

My father strongly favoured Confederation and was an enthusiastic advocate of a transcontinental railway. For the latter he favoured a route through the Yellowhead Pass, reaching the coast at Bute Inlet, crossing by ferry or bridge to Vancouver Island and terminating at Esquimalt. He fought hard for this route, but after it had practically been decided to adopt it, and rails had been unloaded at Esquimalt, the change was made to the Kicking Horse Pass and a terminus on Burrard Inlet.

Dr. Tolmie frequently contributed articles to the press pertaining to the devolpment of this country and took a great interest in public affairs. When I was a boy I used to drive him to town on Saturdays, which the average boy has for a holiday; and I sat for hours outside newspaper offices and other places while he was talking politics with somebody. I thought it was

a very poor way to spend Saturday, but as I look back on those days I feel that I might have been worse occupied.

One cannot study the work of the early pioneers of the Pacific Northwest, on both sides of the line, without the deepest possible appreciation of what they have done for us in laying the foundation of this great section of the North American Continent, a section which, owing to its geographical situation, bountiful resources, and excellent climate, seems destined to be one of the most important centres of commerce in the world.

S. F. TOLMIE.

"CLOVERDALE,"
VICTORIA, B.C.

As this number of the *Quarterly* goes to press we have received, with the very deepest regret, news of the death of Dr. Tolmie.

SIMPSON TO TOLMIE.

To attain the rank of Chief Factor in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company was Dr. Tolmie's most cherished ambition; and the letter from Sir George Simpson quoted below throws interesting light upon the circumstances of his promotion. The original letter is preserved in the Provincial Archives.

Hudsons Bay House
Lachine 28. January 1856

Private

My dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge your favor of 29. March last and should have answered it sooner, but deferred until I could have the pleasure of congratulating you on attaining "the prize" as you call it, for which you have been working—a Chief Factorship, to which rank you have been promoted as from the 1. June next.—My visit to England was opportune, as far as regarded your interests, as after the nominations were sent in, in which you were recommended for promotion, it proved there was but one Factorship to fill up, which, as McNeill[1] had the majority of votes, was conferred on him. It so happened at this conjuncture, that news reached us of the death of poor Paul Fraser,[2] and I lost no time in recommending that the half share that would thereby become vacant on 1. June 1856, should be applied to your promotion as originally contemplated, to which arrangement the Governor and Committee assented. It is true you will get but 1½ share for O[utfi]t. 1856 (with two full shares in 1857)[3] but you are secured your step beyond chance of miscarriage had you to be balloted for again, when the next Factorship falls vacant.—

By my late advices from Fort Vancouver, I learn you have had considerable trouble with the Indians in your part of the country, but that by good management you have secured the Company's property from pillage, while at the same time you have maintained, or rather improved, your friendly relations with the American officials.[4] This is very satisfactory

(1) Captain William Henry McNeill (1803–1875), who arrived on the Pacific Coast in 1831 in the American brig *Llama*, which was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1832. He was the second captain of the pioneer steamer *Beaver*, which he commanded from 1837 to 1843. Later he was in charge of several trading-posts, and retired in 1863.

(2) Fraser was killed by a falling tree on Manson Mountain in 1855, while travelling from Kamloops to Victoria.

(3) Forty per cent. of the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company went to the "commissioned gentlemen" in the service—the Chief Traders and Chief Factors. The sum available was divided into 85 shares, 7 of which were credited to a retiring allowance. Each Chief Trader received one share; each Chief Factor two.

(4) The boundary settlement of 1846 placed Nisqually in American territory, and American settlers made every effort to secure possession of the extensive farming and pasture lands there which were claimed by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. It is to the settlement of these claims and the counter claims that Simpson refers later in the letter.

and creditable to your discretion and careful attention to the public interests.—I regret to notice there was a loss on the Fur Trade operations at Nisqually last Outfit, but hope they may do better this year, otherwise we must there, as elsewhere in the Oregon Department, discontinue business when it ceases to cover expenses.—On Puget Sound Co's affairs I shall not touch, as you will have communications direct from London: that concern is not doing very well on Vancouver's Island, where the system of making heavy advances to persons holding farms on halves must be discontinued. I hope you are watching the interests of the Association in getting their claim secured by the U/S authorities, who in conducting their survey should lay out the boundaries we claim, leaving it for the Company and the U/S Government hereafter to settle, whether the whole, or only a portion (to be agreed upon) of such claim shall be confirmed to them. We make little progress in our negociations at Washington, although there is a drive on the part of the President and Cabinet to close with us, but frustrated by the proceedings of Congress, which after being seven weeks in session has not commenced business, being unable to elect a Speaker for the House of Representatives.

I returned here about a fortnight ago from England, where I saw many of our old acquaintances. There is little news worth noticing from hence, and from the interior the advices are tolerably satisfactory. With good wishes,

Believe me
My dear Sir
Yours very truly
G Simpson

William F. Tolmie Esq
Nisqually

TO THE FRASER RIVER MINES IN 1858.

Written records describing the early days of the Gold Rush to British Columbia in 1858 are few. The adventurers were seeking gold and that alone. They were too busy to set down, at the time or even later, the details of their experiences in this country. There may have been writers amongst them—we know that Bret Harte came at least as far as Point Roberts—but we hear nothing from them. If letters were written home, they were private letters, and have not come to light. Hence the discovery of a detailed account of a trip in June, 1858, from Whatcom, in Washington Territory, via the Fraser and Harrison Rivers, and the intervening lakes, to the spot where the town of Lillooet now stands, and thence down the Fraser, is a real find, and one which all students of the history of British Columbia will appreciate. Such is the Gardiner letter hereto appended.

The route described was afterwards opened, first by trail in the autumn of 1858 and then by road in 1860, and was the principal route to the upper reaches of the Fraser until the opening of the road through the Fraser Canyon, the Cariboo Highway of to-day. We have several accounts of journeys over this route after it was made available to traffic by the construction of roads between the lakes, and the operation of steamers upon the lakes themselves; but, so far as the writer is aware, Gardiner's account is unique, in that it describes travel prior to the opening of the trail.

The possibilities of travel over this route were, of course, known to the Hudson's Bay Company. It had been considered at one time as a possible road from the coast to the interior; but upon investigation it was found to be too difficult for ordinary use, and an alternative route was chosen instead. There were some Indian trails between the lakes, but nothing more. It was not until September, 1858, that the first through trail was completed under the supervision of Governor Douglas.

It is indicative of the interest of the world at large in the reports of gold on the Fraser River that this letter should have been discovered in a newspaper called *The Islander*, published in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. Its existence was first called to my attention by the late Henry C. Shaw, for many

years Police Magistrate in Vancouver, who obtained for me the copy from which the letter is now reprinted. The writer of the letter was a prominent resident of Charlottetown for many years, and Mr. Reuben MacDonald, the present editor of the Charlottetown *Patriot*, has kindly furnished some particulars of his career.

Charles Coulson Gardiner was a native of Bedeque, Prince Edward Island, and was born in 1835. As a young man he was attracted by the reports of gold in California, and left for that far-off western land. Even in 1858, when he came north to the Fraser River, he was only 23 years of age. One wonders if he would have gone through with the adventure had he been older, or if he would have turned back when his party lost most of their provisions on the Lillooet River. But his splendid physique and natural force of character, and his strength nurtured on the Island farm where he was reared, brought him through in safety.

He made considerable money in California, although his trip north did not add to his savings, and he did what so many of his fellow-adventurers failed to do—he brought it back to Prince Edward Island with him. On his return he became interested in business, first in his native village of Bedeque and later in Summerside. Tiring of mercantile life, and strongly drawn to the farm, he sold out and went to Charlottetown, near which city he purchased a large property which he operated for many years, specializing in cattle-raising and the breeding of heavy draught horses. He took a great interest in agricultural matters generally and was one of the founders of the Prince Edward Island Exhibition. He died as recently as July 24, 1924, in his ninetieth year. All old residents of the Island knew him well and speak of him with respect and esteem.

In reading the letter we must remember that Gardiner had no means of measuring distances accurately, and that his statements in this regard were merely rough estimates. Owing to the care he took to make matters intelligible to the readers of *The Islander*, very few notes are necessary, and most of these refer to place-names which have come into use since the days when our Island friend paddled his boat up the Fraser.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

FRASER RIVER OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

To the Editor of *The Islander.*

Sir:

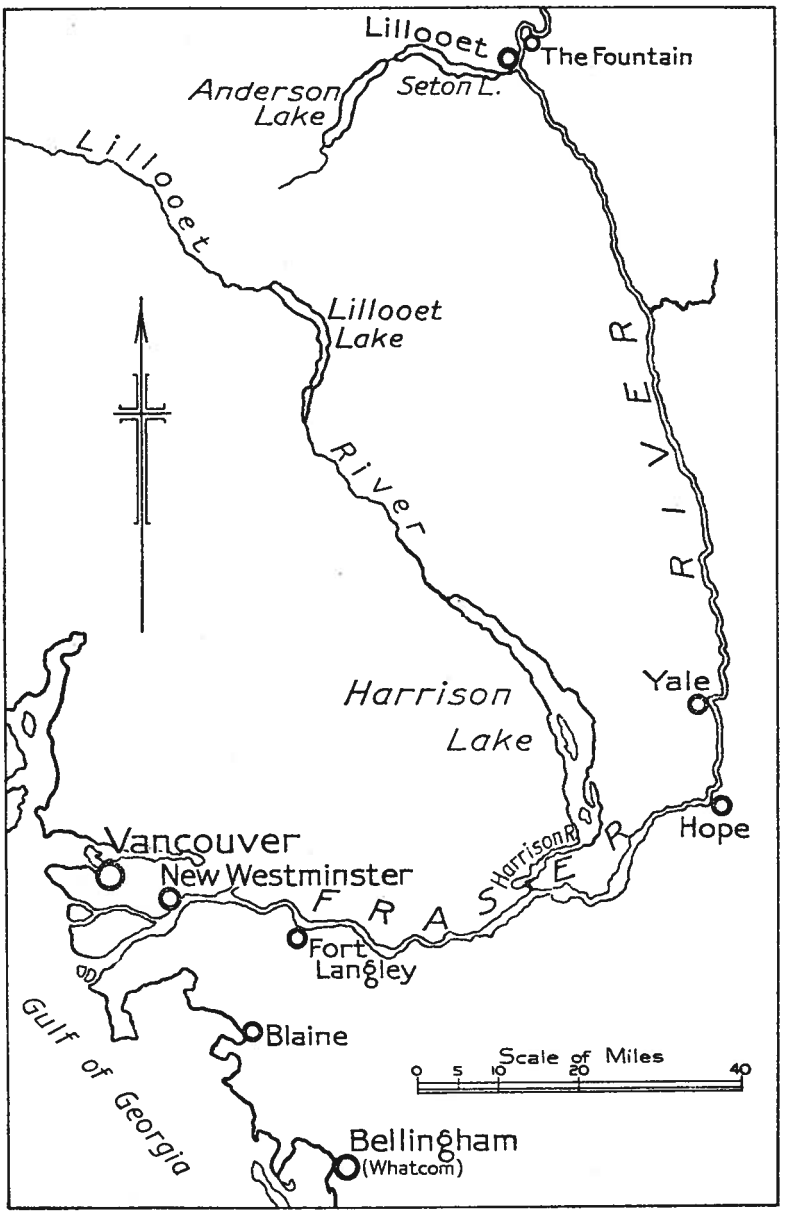
As I have just arrived from British Columbia, or what is more commonly called Fraser River, and informed myself to a considerable extent concerning the facilities of obtaining gold in the New Eldorado, I have come to the conclusion I would write a few lines for publication in the columns of your widely circulated paper, for the benefit of my friends, and inhabitants of P. E. Island generally, if any there may be who have an idea of emigrating to that country.

No doubt you are aware that about the 1st of May last a great excitement arose, and spread quickly over the lands of California, Oregon and Washington Territories, proving equally infectious to men of all vocations—the merchant, the farmer, the mechanic and miner—that gold in abundance was found on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. I being, perhaps, like many others, of somewhat an excitable disposition, left, on the 20th May [1858], a mining town in the interior of California, and proceeded to San Francisco, where I found the excitement even more intense than in the mountains—the greatest credence being given to the stability of the reports, they going unanimously to prove the country could not be surpassed in richness with gold.

After no little deliberation respecting the most accessible way of getting to the new mines, I concluded I would go by the way of the Dalles,[1] that being a route by trail across Oregon and Washington Territories, to the Thompson River, in the British Possessions. Accordingly I left San Francisco on the last day of May, for Portland, O[regon] T[erritory]; but on my arrival there found that Col. Steptoe, with a company of U. S. soldiers had just been repulsed by the Indians who were reported to be very hostile all through that section of the country. Consequently, under such circumstances, I thought it more prudent to proceed across Oregon and Washington Territories to Bellingham Bay, where, to my astonishment, I found the excitement, combined with American enterprise, had already two towns in course of erection, viz; Seahome and Whatcome [now Bellingham], the latter of which there was some talk of incorporating, it being then about four weeks old. These places were allowed by the old Pioneers of California to bear a strict resemblance to San Francisco in 1849, especially in two particulars. The hundreds of tents which were squatted in every direction, and the great amount of gambling which was practised in every saloon, restaurant, and accessible place throughout the towns.

Some thousands men were waiting there at that time in the greatest dilema, not knowing which way to proceed to the new mines. Fraser River being so high could not be ascended for two months, a sufficient distance to reach the main diggings, on account of the current running so swiftly through the Big Canon, forming rapids, which would be impossible to navi-

(1) On the Columbia River, in Oregon.



Map to illustrate Gardiner's narrative.

gate at that stage of water. Nevertheless, many would form in companies, buy a canoe, lay in from three to six months' provisions, and start, working their way as far as possible, until the river fell. Others would assert they would wait for the trail, which was then in operation of being cut through the country, across the Cascade Mountains to Thompson River, at the expense of some Land and Town Lot speculators, who were determined to have the great depot and centre of trade, effected by the new mines, on American soil.[2] The balance of the men were divided in opinion, the weaker, or perhaps I may now justly allow, the wiser, being disgusted with the chances of getting to the New Eldorado, resolved to return to California.

When the more determined, and those who persisted in getting to the Upper Fraser, and that immediately, took by way of preference what is called the Harrison route, and the only route that turned out to be practicable at that time, though many had much doubt of its practicability, thinking it would be quite impossible to pack the provisions across the Cascade Mountains, over which the old Indian trail was supposed to run. But I having received some information from a gentleman of the Hudson Bay Co. to the effect that the trip would be hard nevertheless could be accomplished, came to the conclusion I would join in with a company, and decided on going that way. Accordingly my partner and I linked in with a company of six, purchased a large Indian canoe, for which we paid $135, laid in about four months' provisions, mining tools, etc., etc. and on the 25th day of June, left Whatcome, Bellingham Bay, for the Upper Fraser, via Harrison River, or Lilcoot [Lillooet] route.

The first day out we were favored with a good strong breeze, which caused us, as we were very deep loaded, to ship some water, as well as to reach across Georgiana Bay [the Gulf of Georgia] that evening to Sandy Point,[3] where we camped; and next morning after taking a good breakfast of pork and beans put out again, and crossed Semiahmoo Bay, camping that night in the mouth of the Fraser River, which we perceived to be a large stream and the first British water I had seen for some time. We the next evening reached Fort Langley, a distance of forty miles from the mouth of the river, where my curiosity was at last satisfied in seeing one of the oldest trading posts belonging to the Hudson Bay Co. on the Pacific. What constitutes the Fort is an enclosure of high and large pickets, containing about 25 buildings, strongly built of logs the roofs of which are covered with bark. The chief part of these buildings are used as dwelling houses for the officers and men, stores, fur rooms, cooper shop, etc. It is built on the bank of the river, and for the protection of the company in case of an outbreak with the Indians.

During my stay there what is called the Brigade Train, happened to arrive from New Caledonia, a country situated west at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, for whom quite an interesting Ball was given, as a welcome for their annual visit; the great number of furs which they bring going to

(2) *See* R. L. Reid: "The Whatcom Trails to the Fraser River Mines in 1858," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVIII. (1927), pp. 199–206, 271–276.

(3) Semiahmoo, opposite the town of Blaine.

prove their last year's success in trading with the savages in that desolate part of the country. To this ball I received an invitation, which I, with much pleasure attended, and was not a little surprised at seeing the company composed of so heterogeneous a kind. There were the English, Scotch, French and Kanackas[4] present, and their offspring, and all so thoroughly mixed with the native Indian blood, that it would take a well versed Zoologist to decide what class of people they were, and what relation they had to each other; though that will cause you but little surprise, when you are informed that almost all the Co.'s wives are the native Squaws, their children, which are called half breeds, as a general thing, being quite fair, docile and intelligent. The Ball was conducted with the best possible decorum. The music was sweet, from the violin, and the dancing was performed in the most graceful manner, by the Indians and the half breeds, who took a very prominent part on that occasion. I retired to my tent about twelve o'clock leaving them still enjoying their mirth to the utmost extent.

On the following morning we again started, and the following day reached the mouth of the Harrison River, a large stream emptying into the Fraser from the left. That being our route, we thought it prudent to hire an Indian pilot, which we did, and proceeded up the river a distance of ten miles, where a large lake presented itself to our view, called Harrison Lake, which we crossed, being a distance of 75 miles.

After landing, at a short distance we perceived three tents, belonging to some white men, whom we were much pleased to see, and who informed us that the swift running stream emptying into the lake was called the Lilicoot [Lillooet] River. They also stated that some companies were ahead of us; and that the Indians would not go any further as pilots, as they were afraid to venture their lives on the river at that stage of water, the current being judged to run, by sea-fareing men, at about 14 knots. We first concluded to wait, as they intended to, until the water fell. We waited three days but on close examination found the river still rising, and thought it best to proceed onward.

During those three days, several other companies arrived, bound upward, three of whom started in company with us. We had prepared ourselves with a strong tow-line of about 200 feet in length, it being quite impossible to row or paddle against such a current; but were so unfortunate the second day out as to upset our canoe and loose some $350 worth of stuff, the principle of which were our meat, sugar, rice, molasses, indeed I may say all of our provision kind except flour and coffee. We also lost five of Colt's Revolvers, which at that time and ever after, while in the country, we much needed as the Indians from hence, through to Fraser River proved to be in many instances very hostile.

The upsetting of our canoe was nothing more than an accident, which most every company experienced, many not only losing their grub, but their lives. We very nearly lost two of our men, but were providentially saved by catching hold of the branches of a leaning tree, as the current was taking them swiftly down.

(4) Kanakas were natives of the Hawaiian Island.

After getting our flour ashore and dried, we held a consultation whether we should go on with only our flour and coffee, any further, or return; but one moment's thought respecting the new mines being so rich immediately dispersed all fears of trying, which we did, after fitting up our canoe.

The more minute particulars which would be too tedious to relate, while on that rapid stream, I shall pass over, by giving only the synopsis of the principal events during the 23 hard working days we were getting up the river, a distance only of about 35 miles. Every day of the 23 we were in the cold water most of the time, with our heads out, but very frequently with them under, an unpleasantness which could not be avoided, in passing the line outside the trees and brush which grew on the banks of the river, when the water was low, but were now submerged half way to their tops. Those nights we passed in sleeping in our wet clothes, or part of them only, as each in his turn had to keep watch, with revolver in hand, that the Indians did not steal our provisions, as well as Mamaloose[5] us while asleep. Notwithstanding our guard, every few mornings one or the other of the companies would have something missing that the Red Skin had stolen at night. Indeed it is considered as impossible to keep them from or detect them stealing, as it is to detect the celebrated Wizard of the North in his tricks of legerdemain.

We were also put to much trouble in having to make, in several places, a portage of our canoe and provisions, in order to avoid the Canons which the water ran so swiftly through, as to form currents running almost in every direction, they again making whirlpools, which we noticed would immediately suck down the drift timber, and would not come to the surface, a distance of 200 feet below. Notwithstanding all those privations, and the very laborious work we executed on that stream, we arrived safely at its head, where we found a lake of 5 miles breadth [Little Lillooet or Tenas Lake], and never was the oasis on the sandy desert more welcome to a weary traveller, than it was to us. We then thought we had gone through our most dangerous ordeal, which was the case.

We camped on its banks that night in high spirits, and next morning after a not very hearty breakfast on bread and coffee, started across the lake, when we came to a swift little river of 2 miles, which took us one day to navigate. We came then to another lake of 15 miles [Lillooet Lake]; that we crossed, after which we went up a river of 5 miles, at the head of it being a beautiful valley of some thousand acres, on which was situated a large Rancharee of Indians, the most of whom were naked, and appeared somewhat hostile. This we soon ascertained was the starting-in point of the Indian trail leading to Fraser River.

After a recruit of a few days, we, with much difficulty, hired, for some clothing, a number of Indians to help us pack our stuff across the portage, but had much trouble with them in keeping the villains from stealing their packs and returning home again. I, as well as some of my partners, had the moderate weight of 100 pounds in our packs, which we all allowed would,

(5) Kill (Chinook jargon).

at least, be 200 pounds by the time we would have our trip performed, as it kept getting heavier, or we weaker, every hour we travelled. But on the evening of the third day the work was accomplished and we again beheld another beautiful lake [Anderson Lake] which had not a ripple on its surface.

The portage which we crossed was 40 miles by the trail, which we were much surprised at finding so level, there being a kind of gap through the Cascade Mountains, having but some trifling elevations of ground.

At this lake a great number of Indians were also camping, and who, after going through a great many military evolutions, allowed us to pitch our tents, where we stayed for two days; and on the morning of the third, the old chief consented—though not without many preliminaries—to take our company across the lake in his canoe, which he did to our satisfaction, and where we were met by 200 of the largest and most hostile natives we had yet seen. They were each armed with a musket and knife, besides an innumerable number of bows and arrows; the two former they purchased from the Hudson Bay Company. Their faces were painted with a red and black substance, always used by them when going to war with another tribe. We hired some of them to help us pack our stuff across a 2 mile portage, when we came to another lake [Seton Lake], and there camped, though much against their will as they wanted us to go a mile further up to their ranch, so that they could have a better opportunity of stealing from us. The Chief told us if we did not go he would keep us there ten days, and take our provisions from us. We made him believe we did not understand him, as the only way we could converse with them was by signs. They then cocked their guns and levelled them at our heads, a very common occurrence in that country, and by which many poor fellows have lost their lives; an accident there but little worse than loosing your provisions, as the country is altogether destitute of any support for a white man. After a little while they became less excited and many went to their camp. There were only seven of us in company and, believe me, we slept but little that night, expecting every moment they would be down upon us, though we were not disturbed until very early in the morning, when two made their appearance, offering to take us across the lake in their canoe. We bargained with them, giving them a shirt and blanket, as money they do not know the value of. We started with them, but much to our dissatisfaction, when opposite their ranch, they steered the canoe for the shore, where about fifty Bucks were in readiness to receive us, thinking we were going so soon it would be their last chance to pilfer. I was sitting in the bow of the canoe where our cooking utensils were. A big fellow stepping down, snatched the camp kettle and ran off. I jumped out and gave him chase, but only a short distance, until two guns were cocked and levelled within a few inches of my head. Discretion being the better part of valor, especially in a crowd like that, I returned and walked back to the canoe. In a few moments the old Chief came down with the kettle in hand, which we had to buy back, my partner taking the handkerchief from his neck, gave it to the old Chief, who gave it then, in our presence, to the villain who took the kettle. The Chief then

asked us for some Mucamuc (food). We told him we had none, when he seemed quite vexed, and again took the kettle, which we had to purchase the second time with some flour. We concluded then, had we not lost our revolvers, we would sell our lives as dear as possible, though our number was only as one to fifty, after a few yells from them would be given. After a great deal of trouble they let us go, and I felt very much like as if we had got out of a pretty bad scrape, and I guess the other boys felt the same. We got across the lake about noon, a distance of 18 miles, where we found another portage of 7 miles. We loaded 6 big Bucks, as well as ourselves, pretty heavily, and started, leaving you to imagine, better than I can describe, our delight that evening in seeing Fraser River; the same stream we had left some 40 days ago, and were now about 400 miles from its mouth,[6] and where the gold diggings were reported to be the best.

We found quite a number of men camped on the river banks, the most of whom had come by trail from the Colville Mines in Washington Territory, and who were forced to kill their horses and mules, the flesh of which they had been subsisting on for the last 4 weeks. Flour we soon ascertained (if there was any for sale) was worth $125 per 100 lb., meat of all kinds $1.75, beans $1.00, and everything else in proportion.

Fraser River was still very high, and the miners informed us they could only make from two to five dollars per day, that not being sufficient to grub them the way provisions sold, and there was not a probability of it getting much cheaper for some time.

Five of us in Company pitched our tent, fixed up our mining tools, and went to work. We prospected up and down the river a distance of 40 miles each way, and could find gold in small quantities most any where on the surface of the bars, which were then getting bare, as the river fell. The gold is much finer than any found in California, and found in a different deposit. On Fraser River what has been dug has been found within three to eighteen inches of the surface, in a kind of sand being underneath a very pretty gravel, but no gold in it. In this country it is just the reverse, in sand like on Fraser, we can find nothing in California, but in the gravel, and the nearer we approach the bed rock, the coarser the gold, and the richer it pays. We found a bar which prospected better than any other in that section, and set in to try our luck. We worked early and late, averaging from $3 to $5 per day. We washed out dirt in rockers, using quicksilver, not then being able to save all the gold, it being so fine, much would float off, and some rusty that would not amalgamate. After working there about six weeks our stock of provisions was getting nearly exhausted, and we concluded to pack up and start down stream. I for one was getting tired of living on bread and water alone, for long since the Indians had stolen the coffee. Not any of the miners within fifty miles of us at this time were making grub, at the price of provisions; indeed it was hard to get it at any price, as few had it to spare. The river had fallen quite low, and where we expected, as in California, to find it rich, we could make

(6) Gardiner almost invariably overestimates distances, the correct figure in this instance being about 205 miles.

nothing. Men began to think it a great humbug, and the glowing accounts of Fraser River became gradually pronounced a fiction. The natives there were all so very troublesome, stealing and pointing guns at men was a prominent feature of their character. A few nights before we left the bar, one of them [entered] while five of us were asleep in the tent, and stole several pieces of clothing, as well as fifty pounds of floor, worth then the sum of $60. One of the boys happened to awake, and saw him coming in for another load, but by giving the alarm a little too soon, the scamp made good his escape. Next morning we were much amused when the man who detected the thief stated that both pairs of his pants were gone, but had a very good idea who had taken them. As I before suggested, we packed up our duds and started down the river, by an Indian trail, meeting every day hundreds of men coming up, all stating that the mines were of no account. They were all bound for a place called the Fountain,[7] which they heard was very rich, but up to my certain knowledge they could not make a dollar per day within five miles of it. We proceeded onward to Fort Yale, making every inquiry about the mines the general pay being from two to four dollars per day. Men at this time were coming into the country by thousands, as a great many new routes had been opened, one in particular by which a great many travelled,—a trail from Fort Yale up the river along its banks, crossing the Cascade Mountains. We went down that way, and after a journey of six days, arrived at Fort Yale, where we found quite a nice little town, which had been built up during the excitement, but was now about on a standstill, as bad accounts had come down from the upper mines. My partners there and then, as well as myself, resolved to return to California, not having faith in the mines. The hills are all composed of rock, which, in my estimation goes to prove the mines in that country can never be extensive. We took a boat at Fort Yale, and went down to Fort Hope, another of the Company's trading posts, fifteen miles below, between which two places the mines have paid better than in any other place on the river, but they being so very shallow were soon worked out. The next day we left Fort Hope that night reaching Fort Langley, a distance of 60 miles. We proceeded from there to Victoria, Vancouver's Island, which is now quite a town containing about 1000 inhabitants. Its location is very much like that of Charlottetown, and I have no doubt that in a few years it will be quite as large, as the mines, if not so rich [as] in California, will help it much; besides a great part of Vancouver Island is very fertile, and has at the present time many fine farms on it. The climate is good, resembling that of P. E. Island in summer, but much milder in winter, more resembling the climate of the Middle States. The climate of Fraser River is hot in summer, and cold in winter. The river near its mouth has been known to be frozen over for 4 months at one time. The country on each side is very mountainous, and can never be adapted for farming purposes.

Governor Douglas, governor of Vancouver's Island, and its dependencies, I had the honour of seeing at Victoria, who has a very good house, and

(7) Fourteen miles above the town of Lillooet.

pretty location, and is considered, I believe, a very plain and fine man. His wife is a lady from Red River Settlement. His daughters are rather nice looking, and seem to have a great deal of attention paid them by the Officers of the man-of-war ships, two of which have been there this summer, the *Satellite*, and *Plumper*, the former of which had the collecting of Licences from the miners, as they went up the river. Another large 74 gun-ship had lately arrived on that station, from South America. Contracts of some thousand dollars have been given out for the building of barracks. They are also building a large Court House and Police Office, the Government intending to have Victoria for its head quarters, as a military and naval station on the Pacific, like Halifax on the Atlantic. I almost forgot to mention that those two towns at Bellingham Bay, Seahome and Whatcome, which were so flourishing in the spring, faded as the season advanced, and are no more; as the rush all coming to Victoria, caused town lots there at one time to sell at high prices.

I left Victoria about the middle of October, when times were rather dull on account of such a reaction. Instead of hundreds leaving there daily for the mines, as they did a short time ago, there were that number coming back, on their way to California, pronouncing the diggings a humbug; many of them without a dollar in their pockets. We had a pleasant time down in the steamship *Pacific*, only taking us three and a half days to San Francisco, California; a country a little the best of any I have seen on the Pacific, both in climate and productions, and where I think I shall stay, in spite of all other gold excitements, until I leave for the Atlantic side again.

I am afraid, Mr. Editor, I have taken up too much space in your columns, and shall conclude by saying I should not advise any one from P. E. Island to come to Fraser River, with the intention of making his fortune; and I'm quite sure, speaking from experience, nothing will be gained by going for anything else, as the trip is a very expensive and laborious one.

C. C. Gardiner.

Michigan Bluffs, Placer County,
California,
November 17, 1858.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

A. G. Harvey, of Vancouver, a former alderman in that city, has published a number of articles upon interesting problems and personalities relating to the history of the Province.

The Hon. Dr. Simon Fraser Tolmie, P.C., M.P., V.S., was Federal Minister of Agriculture in two administrations, and Premier of British Columbia from 1928 to 1933.

INDEX TO VOLUME I.

Subscribers who intend to bind the *Quarterly* will please note that a title page and index to the first volume, which is completed with the publication of this issue, will be distributed with the January, 1938, number.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, on October 8. There was a good attendance, in spite of the fact that many other meetings and social events were being held in the city the same evening.

The Secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree, presented a report which gave details of the recent growth of the Association. A year ago the membership was 70; on October 1, 1937, the total had risen to 412. The Victoria Section reported 133 members; the Vancouver Section 192. Members-at-large numbered 87. The latter represent practically every section of the Province, as well as other parts of the Dominion, the United States and Great Britain; but it is hoped their number may be increased substantially during the coming year, as the Association and the *Quarterly* become more widely known.

The presidential address was delivered by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, his subject being *Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island: 1844–1865*. The revised text of this address will appear in an early issue of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. T. A. Rickard, President of the Victoria Section, spoke briefly upon the Drake plate, recently discovered in California. He suggested a number of tests which might be made and which, in his opinion, would go far to determine whether or not the relic is genuine.

The Secretary reported that the ballot of the membership had resulted in the election of the following officers and councillors for the year 1937–1938:—

President	Dr. W. N. Sage.
1st Vice-President	Dr. J. S. Plaskett.
2nd Vice-President	Mr. K. A. Waites.
Honorary Secretary	Mrs. M. R. Cree.

Honorary Treasurer	Mr. E. W. McMullen.
Members of the Council	Mr. J. M. Coady.
	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.
	Judge F. W. Howay.
	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
	Major H. T. Nation.

Dr. Sage, President-elect, then took the chair, and in the course of his remarks outlined the substantial contribution to historical research which is now being made, year by year, by graduates and undergraduates of the University of British Columbia.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Similkameen Historical Association.—The regular quarterly meeting was held in July, and the annual meeting in September. At the former some interesting reports were received on old trails and "lost" mines in Similkameen. It is planned to place a marker upon the site of the old Hudson's Bay post at Keremeos.

The sixth annual banquet of the Association was held on Thursday, September 9. Over 150 persons attended. Mr. S. R. Gibson was in the chair, and spoke of the work of the Association during the year. The Honorary President, Mr. J. A. Schubert, of Tulameen, who arrived in Kamloops with the Overlanders in 1862, told of early days in Lillooet, Cariboo, and Okanagan. Mrs. R. B. White, of Penticton; Mrs. D. Innis, of Keremeos; and Mr. M. P. Williams, of Kelowna, brought greetings from kindred historical bodies. Rev. J. C. Goodfellow spoke on the place of the prospector in Similkameen history.

At the quarterly meeting in October Mr. C. R. Mattice will read a paper dealing with the Great Northern Railway and its operations in the Similkameen valley. [J. C. GOODFELLOW, *Secretary.*]

THE MUSEUM OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

BY NEAL M. CARTER, F.R.G.S.

(Director, Pacific Fisheries Experimental Station, Prince Rupert.)

As it is both the terminus of the Canadian National Railway and the most northerly port of call in Canada for Alaskan tourist steamers, Prince Rupert early felt the need of a museum which would serve as an attraction for the many tourists who spend from an hour to several days in the city. Even more important, the area of British Columbia is so immense that the flora and fauna and geographical and geological features of the northern portion of the Province, as well as its indigenous Indian population, are sufficiently distinctive to warrant local preservation for educational purposes and scientific study.

In 1924 Mr. H. F. Pullen, editor of the Prince Rupert *Daily News*, sounded out the feelings of the citizens through the medium of articles and editorials; and in November of that year an interested group of five persons met, under

Mr. Pullen's chairmanship, to discuss ways and means of instituting a museum. The manager of the local branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Mr. Campbell, gave permission to house in the lobby of the Bank what exhibits were on hand, and so a nucleus was formed. Those interested formed themselves into a Museum Board and endeavoured to raise funds through the sale of associate membership cards; but progress was slow, and as the years passed interest flagged and the meetings of the Board became fewer and fewer.

Late in 1934 widespread interest was aroused by a report that the remains of a strange sea monster had been found on an island some 30 miles from the city. Before the skeleton was positively identified as that of a basking shark, Prince Rupert's "sea serpent" had become a nine-days' wonder in the world press. Popular opinion demanded the preservation of the skeleton that had brought so much publicity to the city, and interest in a museum was thus reawakened. Almost simultaneously with this episode, the City Commissioner, Mr. W. J. Alder, had well under way a plan to purchase and erect in the city a representative collection of totem-poles from near-by Indian tribes; and the interest shown by tourists in these poles furthered the idea of a more suitable museum to house other Indian exhibits.

Mr. Alder was able to secure the unused second floor of the Public Library for museum purposes, and the exhibits in the Bank of Commerce were transferred thereto. Campaigns were put on by local organizations to raise funds, and many citizens contributed oddities of one nature or another. The Museum was particularly fortunate in its Indian collection. Specimens of dried native foods, ceremonial robes, masks, etc., were contributed by various tribes. The Museum regained possession of an excellent collection of Indian curios and artifacts belonging to the estate of Dr. Hyde, who had resided for many years in the Nass River district. A still more valuable acquisition was a collection of some fifty-five specimens of carved slate (nephrite) totems from the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands. These were gathered by Mr. George Cunningham, of Port Essington, and have an interesting history, as they were the product of a competitive expression of art on the part of Chief Edensaw, of the Haidas, and a crippled boy born of parents who had been brought to the Islands as a result of a raid amongst some mainland tribes.

The Indian exhibits naturally predominate and comprise over half the total items on display. As opportunity offers, exhibits are being secured which illustrate the industries of the region. Forestry exhibits and mineral and marine forms may be less attractive to the tourist, but they lend themselves even more readily than Indian curios to educational purposes. Careful arrangement and labelling adds much to the interest and value of the whole. It is the aim of the Board to make the Museum both representative and characteristic of the area in which it is situated, and for this reason the acquisition of material having no particular relation to the North is not encouraged. Space is already at a premium, and an extensive exhibit of the pulp and paper industry has been donated but cannot be shown at present. In view of this, and the fact that the number of tourist visitors

(over 2,000 in the three summer months of 1937) severely taxes standing room at times, serious consideration has been given to the possibility of moving into larger quarters devoted exclusively to the Museum.

The officers and members of the Board are as follows:—

Honorary President	Hon. T. D. Pattullo, Premier of British Columbia.
Honorary Vice-President	Olaf Hanson, Esq., M.P.
President	R. L. McIntosh.
Vice-President	Canon W. F. Rushbrook.
Secretary-Treasurer	R. H. W. Bartlett.
Honorary Curator	Dr. N. M. Carter.

Members of the Board:—

W. J. Alder, Prince Rupert City Commissioner.
Rev. W. E. Collison, Skeena Indian Agent.
Mrs. J. B. Gibson, President, Caledonia Diocesan W.A.
C. G. Ham, Prince Rupert Junior Chamber of Commerce.
Dr. J. T. Mandy, Resident Mining Engineer.
A. E. Parlow, District Forester.
H. F. Pullen, Editor of the *Daily News*.

Mr. N. L. Jones was appointed custodian of the Museum when it was opened in its new quarters, early in the summer of 1936. A unique feature is the daily attendance, during the tourist season, of the Rev. W. H. Pierce, who, though nearly 90 years of age, is proud of his Scottish-Indian parentage and can still recall vividly many of the interesting and historic episodes in the early development of Christianity among the Indians of the Northern Coast. He is designated official Guide to the Museum, and gives a most interesting lecture on its Indian exhibits soon after each tourist steamer docks. On request, he demonstrates the "drum dance" and can still sing with vigour the ancient "paddle song." His fund of legends is immense; and his character and genuine background make him a distinct attraction.

In 1934 attention was drawn to the fact that financial assistance for certain museum work might be secured from the Carnegie Corporation, and application was made to Mr. H. O. McCurry, Secretary of the Canadian Committee, for a grant of $1,500. This was finally received early in 1937, and is being used judiciously to further the development of the Museum and to make it of greater educational value.

INDEX TO THE VICTORIA *COLONIST*: 1858–1871.

Some years ago work was started by the Provincial Archives upon an index of the Victoria *Colonist*, which is the oldest existing newspaper on the Pacific Coast. The first issue appeared on December 11, 1858, and the file therefore covers all but the first few months of the gold-rush era. The intention was to carry the index through the Crown Colony period, to 1871; but work was discontinued during the depression, following staff reductions. It was finally resumed in November, 1936, and completed in September of this year. The index has had to be rechecked and to a great extent remade

from the beginning; and the whole of the work has been done by Miss Inez Mitchell, who has discharged her task with the most painstaking care.

Some idea of the scope of the index may be gained from the fact that it extends to over 24,000 cards and at least 75,000 entries. References are arranged chronologically under proper names and subjects. Only some one who has had occasion to consult old newspaper files can realize what an immense saving in time and labour the existence of the index makes possible.

It is hoped that before long it will be possible to supplement the *Colonist* index with an index of the *Victoria Gazette*, the first newspaper published in what is now British Columbia. The latter first appeared in June, 1858, and thus chronicles the six extraordinarily interesting and eventful months which preceded the founding of the *Colonist*. To this should be added, as soon as circumstances permit, the earliest newspapers published on the Mainland—the *New Westminster Times* (1860) and the *British Columbian* (1861), the latter of which is still flourishing at the age of 76.

For over twenty years the daily newspapers published in Victoria and Vancouver have been indexed by the Provincial Library, as part of its Legislative Reference service. Though an immense work remains to be done upon the 1871–1915 period, the Library and Archives in combination have now advanced almost half-way to their mutual objective—a newspaper index covering the whole period from 1858 to the present day.

MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS.

THE MAYNE AND WILSON JOURNALS.

Few accounts of early days in this Province are as interesting or valuable as that given by Commander R. C. Mayne in *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, which appeared in 1862. Lieutenant Mayne, as he then was, arrived at Esquimalt in H.M.S. *Plumper*, a survey ship, in 1857, and served in her until she was relieved by H.M.S. *Hecate*, at the end of 1860. Thoughout that period Mayne kept a journal; and this most interesting record of his work and adventures, later used as the basis of his book, was recently acquired by the Provincial Archives. It contains considerable material not included in the printed narrative, some of which at least is worthy of publication. The manuscript is bound in a single volume of nearly 400 pages, and is in a perfect state of preservation.

In his journal Mayne records the arrival of the British Boundary Commission, in 1858, the members of which were conveyed to the Mainland in the *Plumper*. By a curious coincidence the diaries of Lieutenant C. W. Wilson, R.E., who served as Secretary of the Commission, were presented to the Archives only a few weeks after the receipt of Mayne's journal. The two volumes were the gift of Wilson's son, Major-General Francis A. Wilson, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., of Farnham, Kent. They cover the entire period of his service in British Columbia, which extended from 1858 to 1862, and give an absorbing account of conditions and events as the Commission saw them in the boundary country, from the Gulf of Georgia to the Rockies. Lieutenant Wilson was born at Liverpool in 1836, and was therefore only 22

when he came to British Columbia. Following his return to England he served with distinction in Asia Minor and Egypt, and as Director-General of the Ordnance Survey. He was knighted and retired with the rank of Major-General in 1898, and died in 1905.

HELMCKEN AND BLANSHARD.

Through the kindness of his daughter, Mrs. Edith L. Higgins, the Archives recently acquired a collection of the personal papers of the late Dr. J. S. Helmcken, first Speaker of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island. Dr. Helmcken entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as long ago as 1849 as medical officer, and in 1850 was stationed at Fort Rupert, then the centre of coal-mining operations. The same year he was appointed Magistrate by Governor Blanshard; and perhaps the most interesting papers in the present collection are the personal letters from Blanshard which he received following this appointment. These are supplemented by contemporary letters from Captain Robert Brown and others, and also by much later correspondence with Blenkinsop, whose memory of events at Fort Rupert was stirred by the publication of Bancroft's *History of British Columbia*, in 1887. The collection also includes letters received by Dr. Helmcken when Confederation was the great issue of the day, and notes and memoranda upon the question compiled by him.

NAVAL AND RAILWAY SURVEY RECORDS.

The British Admiralty has generously deposited in the Provincial Archives three large volumes of original *Records of the Senior Naval Officer stationed at Esquimalt*. These relate to the period from 1866 to 1898, and consist in all of nearly 1,200 manuscript pages. The earlier volume especially will be of great interest and use to students of local history.

Much light is thrown upon the history of the surveys which preceded the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a series of fifteen diaries recently presented to the Provincial Archives. These were compiled by the late Marcus Smith, while in charge of various survey parties, and were the gift of his son, Arthur G. Smith, of Vancouver. The first diary is dated 1872, and those which follow carry the narrative to within a few months of the driving of the last spike, in 1885. Though the diaries are the property of the Archives, a reserve has been placed upon their use by the public before 1939.

OTHER ACCESSIONS.

It is impracticable even to list all the manuscripts which have been received, but a number of items call for special mention. Copies of records in the Hudson's Bay Archives relating to the history of Kamloops were courteously furnished by the Company some time ago to Mr. F. Henry Johnson, who in turn has deposited these transcripts and photostats in the Archives. Mr. Barrie Goult has likewise presented the copies of records relating to the *Princess Royal* sent to him by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Miss Aurora Hunt, of Banning, California, has presented transcripts of a series of letters received by her father, the late George Hunt. Eleven of

these are from his friend Richard Wells, and were written from Cedar Creek and Barkerville in 1866–68. Mr. D. Lay, Resident Mining Engineer at Hazelton, has sent to the Archives an interesting record from another mining district—the ledger kept in the general store of Ezra Evans at Manson Creek, in 1872–1882.

A most interesting gift was received from Mr. L. H. Borde in the form of a large manuscript volume entitled *General Notes relating to the Victoria Fire Department.* It contains minutes, records of fires and fire alarms, and annual reports dating from November, 1872, to September, 1885. In those days the Department consisted of three volunteer brigades—the Deluge Engine Company, the Tiger Engine Company, and the Union Hook and Ladder Company. The Fire Chief was elected by the rank and file and bore the title of Chief Engineer.

Rev. George Cockburn, who has spent much time investigating early church history in British Columbia, has compiled a manuscript entitled *Some Persons and Places in Anglican Church History*, and deposited it in the Provincial Archives. It is a most useful work of reference, for it is arranged alphabetically, and a summary of the history of any church or clergyman, in so far as it has been ascertained and relates to British Columbia, can be turned up in a moment. Of kindred interest is a series of extracts from the records of the Colonial Church, Victoria (1856–68), and of Christ Church Cathedral (1874–75), which have been carefully copied from the originals and presented to the Archives by Mr. Hollis Slater.

A copy of the diary of James Cran, who travelled from Vancouver to Dawson in the Klondyke rush of 1898 in the interests of the Bank of British North America, has been made by kind permission of Mrs. Cran. Gifts of collections of miscellaneous papers have been received from Mrs. Hugo Beaven and Mrs. J. D. Seymour, and transcripts of an interesting series of early letters have been presented to the Archives by Dr. R. L. Reid.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

A Checklist of Crown Colony Imprints.

The checklist which follows is intended to be the first of a series which together will constitute, as nearly as possible, a complete bibliography of printing and the press, in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. This first list includes no newspapers, and likewise omits many documents issued more or less regularly by the Governments of the Colonies, such as the journals of the House, the estimates, etc., as well as the official *Gazettes*. Proclamations, ordinances, bills, and acts have also been excluded. The intention has been to list all known individual publications and fugitive items, whether sponsored directly by the Government or not. It is highly improbable that the list as here presented is complete, and it is hoped that libraries and collectors possessing additional items will communicate with the Provincial Archives, in order that these may be noted in a supplement.

In the preface to *The Fraser Mines Vindicated,* Alfred Waddington characterises it as " the first book published on Vancouver Island," and a word should be said regarding the controversy to which his statement has given rise. Conclusive evidence is available that it was the third, and not the first book (or, more correctly, the first pamphlet) published on the Island. Waddington's preface is dated November 15, 1858, and the *Victoria Gazette* for November 13 announced in an advertisement that David Cameron's *Rules of Practice* was just off the press. Later in the month the *Gazette* printed a pamphlet giving the text of the various proclamations issued in connection with the formal establishment of the Crown Colony of British Columbia on November 19; and though the exact date is not known, it seems to be clear that *The Fraser Mines Vindicated* did not appear until early in December.

1. *Addresses and Memorials,* together with Articles, Reports, &c., &c., from the Public Journals, upon the occasion of the retirement of Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., from the Governorship of the Colonies of Vancouver's Island, and British Columbia. Deal: Edward Hayward, Victoria Printing Office, Broad Street, 1864.
   74p.O.

Printed cover.

The significance of the word "Deal" is not clear. There is every indication that the booklet was printed in Victoria, but it is possible that it was printed in Deal, England.

2. Batterton, J. H.

Facts and Acts, what has been done and what is going on in British Columbia. A Letter to the people of British Columbia, by One of Themselves. Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1860. Price 25 Cents.

16p.sq.S.

Cover lacking.

An attack upon the Government of the Colony.

3. Bentinck Arm and Fraser River Road Company.

Prospectus of the Bentinck Arm and Fraser River Road Company, Limited . . . Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1862.

7,[2]p.Q.

Printed cover.

Includes a report upon the proposed road dated January 1, 1862, and signed by Ranald McDonald and John G. Barnston.

4. Blanshard, Richard, 1817–1894.

Vancouver Island. Despatches. Governor Blanshard to the Secretary of State. 26th December, 1849, to 30th August, 1851. New Westminster: Printed at the Government Printing Office.

15 numb.1.F.

Probably not printed earlier than 1863.

5. British Columbian Investment & Loan Society.

The British Columbian Investment & Loan Society . . . [Prospectus]. Victoria, B.C. David W. Higgins, Printer. 1869.

8p.nar.O.

Printed cover.

6. Brown, Robert, 1842–1895.

Vancouver Island. Exploration. 1864. Printed by authority of the Government, by Harries and Company. Victoria, Vancouver Island.

1 p.1.ii, [28]p.nar.Q.

The report is dated November 6, 1864, and signed by Robert Brown as "Commander and Government Agent of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition." The expedition was organized by a committee of which Selim Franklin was chairman, with the co-operation and financial help of Governor Kennedy. It left Victoria on June 7, 1864, and arrived back on October 21, having explored the Cowichan and Comox country and the West Coast as far as Barkley Sound, as well as much of the interior of the southern half of Vancouver Island.

7. Brown, Robert Christopher Lundin.

British Columbia. An essay. By the Rev. R. C. Lundin Brown, M.A., Minister of St. Mary's, Lillooet. New Westminster: Printed at the Royal Engineer Press. 1863.

2 p.l.64, xxxiip.D.

This essay was adjudged the best of those submitted in 1862 in competition for a prize of fifty pounds offered by the Government of British Columbia. A similar contest was sponsored by the Government of Vancouver Island (*cf.* item 16, *infra*).

8. Cameron, David, 1804–1872.

[*Order in Council, constituting the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island and Rules of Practice and Forms to be used therein.* Victoria, 1858.]

vii,74,v p.F.

No covers, no title-page.

No copy of this first edition complete with title-page or cover is known to exist. The advertisement in the *Victoria Gazette*, November 13, 1858, gives the title as *The Rules of Practice and the Forms to be used in the Superior and Inferior Courts of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island.* The price was $10.00. The book was published by the *Victoria Gazette* (*cf. Victoria Gazette*, January 11, 1859, p. 2).

9. Cameron, David, 1804–1872.

Order in Council, constituting the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island; and Rules of Practice and Forms to be used therein. Victoria, Vancouver Island: Printed by Authority of the Government, by The Vancouver Printing and Publishing Company, (Limited) 1865.

cover-title, vi,90,v p.F.

Contains additional matter not in the 1858 edition.

10. Coleman, Edmund T.

Prize Essay and Poem of the Literary Institute, Victoria, V.I. On the Beauties of the Scenery Surveyed from Beacon Hill. Victoria, V.I. J. E. McMillan, Printer, Morning News Office. 1868.

15p.O.

Printed cover.

The essay is signed " E. T. Coleman " and is followed by a *Prize Poem* signed " W. H. Parsons."

11. Cridge, Edward, 1817–1913.

Pastoral Address on the occasion of the Consecration of Christ Church, Victoria, December 7th, 1865 by the Rev. E. Cridge, Rector.

With statement of facts respecting the Church Reserve. Printed at the Daily Chronicle Office, Victoria, V.I.

7p.O.

Cover lacking.

12. Dashaway Association of Victoria.

Constitution and by-laws of the Dashaway Association of Victoria, V.I. Printed by Amor De Cosmos, At the Colonist Office, Victoria, V.I. [1860 or 1861].

8p.S.

Date supplied from *Colonist* files.

The Association was a temperance organization.

13. Deluge Engine Company, no. 1, Victoria.

Constitution and by-laws of Deluge Company, no. 1, Victoria, Vancouver Island. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1863.

18p.T.

Printed cover.

The constitution of one of the early volunteer fire companies.

14. Douglas, Sir James, 1803–1877.

Despatches and Correspondence transmitted to the House of Assembly in Governor Douglas' Message of 3rd September 1863. Victoria, V.I.: Printed at the " Daily Chronicle " Office, Government Street, 1863.

cover-title, 64,ii p.Q.

Comprises two parts. Part 3 bears title:

Correspondence upon the subject of the conveyance to the Crown of certain Lands by the Hudson's Bay Company, Subsequent to Correspondence upon the same Subject laid before the House of Assembly, by the Governor, on 15th September, 1863. Victoria, V.I.: Higgins & McMillan, Printers, " Daily Chronicle " Office Government Street, 1863.

cover-title,4p.Q.

15. *The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, and Cape Horn Chronicle.*

Published originally on manuscript forms . . . during the voyage, from Gravesend to Vancouver Island, of the Detachment of Royal Engineers selected for service in British Columbia, Between the 10th November, 1858, and the 12th April, 1859. Edited by Second-Corporal Charles Sinnett, R.E., assisted by Lieut. H. S. Palmer, R.E. Printed by John Robson, at the Office of the " British Columbian," New Westminster, British Columbia, 1863.

unp.illus.Q.

The *Gazette* ran to 17 numbers, which here occupy 68 pages. The original manuscript is preserved in the Provincial Archives. The *Gazette* was printed a second time in 1907.

16. Forbes, Charles.

Prize Essay. Vancouver Island: its resources and capabilities, as a Colony. By Charles Forbes, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S., Eng., Surgeon, Royal Navy. Published by the Colonial Government [of Vancouver Island], 1862.

2 p.l.[1]-63,[1]-18, 1 p.O.

Printed cover.

In October, 1861, the Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island announced that a premium of fifty pounds would be awarded by the Government to the author of the essay "adjudged to set forth in the clearest and most comprehensive manner the capabilities, resources and advantages of Vancouver's Island as a Colony for settlement." The prize was awarded to Dr. Charles Forbes in 1862 for the essay here printed.

17. Gosset, William Driscoll, & Seddall, J. Vernon.

Industrial Exhibition. Circular respectfully addressed to the inhabitants of British Columbia, by Captain W. Driscoll Gossett, R.E. F.R.S.E., and J. Vernon Seddall, Esq., M.D., Staff Assist. Surgeon, Honorary Secretaries. Printed at the Royal Engineer Camp, New Westminster, B.C., by Corporal R. Wolfenden, R.E., April, 1861.

20p.D.

Gives details of the exhibits which it was proposed to send on behalf of the Colony to the Industrial Exhibition to be held in London in 1862, and appeals for help in their preparation.

18. Harnett, Legh.

Two lectures on British Columbia, by Legh Harnett, Esq., of California. Victoria, Published by Higgins & Long, 1868.

50p.nar.O.

"Lecture II. On the Agricultural, Commercial, Geographical, Political and National Resources, Advantages and Aspects of the Country."

No cover.

The lectures were delivered at New Westminster in 1867, and published in the spring of 1868. The first, which appears without a title, is devoted almost entirely to mining in the Cariboo.

19. Hills, George, 1816–1895, Bishop of Columbia.

The "Occasional Paper." Two letters from the Bishop of Columbia to the Rev. E. Cridge and Bishop Demers. Printed at the British Colonist Office, Victoria, V.I. 1860.

8p.D.

Printed cover.

The reference is to *An Occasional Paper on the Columbia Mission with Letters from the Bishop, June, 1860,* published in London "for the benefit of the mission." The *Paper* quoted a private letter from Bishop

Hills containing remarks upon Roman Catholicism and the election of 1860 which he found it necessary to explain and excuse.

20. Hills, George, 1816–1895, Bishop of Columbia.

Pastoral Address of George Hills, D.D., Bishop of Columbia, to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Columbia, March 26, 1863. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1863.
10p.O.

Printed cover.

21. Kennedy, Sir Arthur Edward, 1810–1883.

Message from His Excellency Governor Kennedy, C.B., to the Legislative Assembly, 27th November, 1865, enclosing Despatch No. 39, 14th August, 1865, from the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, upon the Crown Lands of the Colony. Printed at the Daily Chronicle Office, Victoria, V.I.
8p.Q.

Apparently issued in 1865.

22. Kingcome, John.

Station regulations and Port Orders for the Squadron in the Pacific. 1863. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1863.
3p.1.[2]73p.O.

Interleaved with blank pages at irregular intervals.

Rear-Admiral John Kingcome was Commander-in-Chief on the Pacific Station, 1863–1864.

23. Mallandaine, Edward.

First Victoria Directory, Second Issue, and British Columbia Guide . . . including a large portion of the Mainland of British Columbia . . . 1868. By Edwd. Mallandaine, Architect. Victoria, V.I., Published by E. Mallandaine . . . April MDCCCLXVIII.
82,[2]p.O.

Printed cover reads: Higgins & Long, Printers, Victoria, B.C.

24. Mallandaine, Edward.

First Victoria Directory, third issue, and British Columbia Guide . . . including a large portion of the Mainland of British Columbia . . . 1869. By Edwd. Mallandaine, Architect. Victoria, V.I., Published by E. Mallandaine . . . June MDCCCLXIX.
79,[1]p.O.

Printed cover reads: British Colonist Print, Victoria, B.C.

The first issue of the *First Victoria Directory* appeared in March, 1860. Though published by Mallandaine in Victoria, it was actually printed by the Commercial Printing Establishment, San Francisco.

25. Palmer, Henry Spencer, 1838–1893.

British Columbia. Williams Lake and Cariboo. Report on portions of the Williams Lake and Cariboo Districts, and on the Fraser River, from Fort Alexander to Fort George. By Lieutenant H. Spencer Palmer, Royal Engineers. Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster, British Columbia 1863.

[2],25p.3 maps, tables, fold. diagrs.O.

Printed cover.

26. Palmer, Henry Spencer, 1838–1893.

Report of a Journey of Survey, from Victoria to Fort Alexander, via North Bentinck Arm. By Lieutenant H. Spencer Palmer, Royal Engineers. Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster, British Columbia. 1863.

2 p.1.[1],30,[3]p.2 maps, tables,O.

Printed cover.

27. Park, Joseph.

A Practical View of The Mining Laws of British Columbia by Joseph Park, of the Middle Temple, Esq., barrister-at-law. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1864.

xii,64,lxv–lxxp.S.

An exposition of the mining laws of the Colony intended for the use of miners.

28. Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company.

Prospectus and report, with Articles of Association of the Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company, "Limited" . . . Printed at the British Colonist Office, Government Street, Victoria, V.I. [1865].

14p.O.

Printed cover.
Date supplied from press notices in the *Colonist.*

29. Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company.

Memorandum of Association of the Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company Limited. N.p.n.pub.[1865].

12p.O.

No title-page.

30. Sparshott, Edward C.

A Military Manual of Infantry Drill: including the Manual and Platoon Exercises. Designed for the use of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Volunteer Forces of Vancouver Island

and British Columbia. Compiled by 1st Lieut. E. C. Sparshott, Royal Marines, (Lt. Infantry.) Printed for the Compiler, 1861.
viii,103p.D.

Dedicated to Sir James Douglas, and inscribed "R.M. Camp, San Juan Island, August, 1861."

No place of publication is given, but it is surmised that the book was printed at New Westminster.

31. Tiger Engine Company, no. 2.

Constitution and by-laws of the Tiger Engine Company no. 2, of Victoria, V.I. Victoria, V.I. Printed for the Company. 1861.
20,[1]p.T.

Printed cover.
The constitution of one of the early volunteer fire companies.

32. Vancouver Club.

By-laws of the Vancouver Club. Victoria, V.I.: Printed by Harries & Co., British Colonist Office 1864.
13p.D.

Printed cover.
This club was in Victoria, and must not be confused with the Vancouver Club in Vancouver, B.C.

33. Victoria Chamber of Commerce.

Progress of British Commerce under Free Trade showing the effects of the Free Trade Policy recently inaugurated in England as indicated by its practical results . . . Published for Distribution, by order of the Victoria, V.I., Chamber of Commerce. Printed at the Vancouver Times Office, Victoria, V.I. 1865.
16p.D.

Printed cover.

34. Victoria Chamber of Commerce.

Reply of the Victoria, V.I. Chamber of Commerce to His Excellency Frederick Seymour, Governor of British Columbia, forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. October 1st, 1866. [Victoria] Daily Colonist and Chronicle Print.
cover-title, 47p. tables, O.

35. Victoria Jockey Club.

Rules and regulations of the Victoria, V.I., Jockey Club. Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1861.
7p.S.

Printed cover.
Cover-title used.

36. Victoria Typographical Union.

Constitution and by-laws of the Victoria Typographical Union, including the scale of prices and list of members. Victoria, V.I., Printed at the British Colonist Office. 1863.
30,[1]p.T.

Printed cover.

37. Waddington, Alfred Penderill, 1800?–1872.

The Fraser Mines Vindicated, or, The History of Four Months by Alfred Waddington. Price, Fifty Cents . . . Victoria, Printed by P. De Garro, Wharf Street, 1858.
cover-title,49,[1]p.O.

An exceedingly valuable contemporary account of Vancouver Island and the gold-rush to the Mainland by one of the few middle-aged, experienced, and well-educated men who arrived with the great immigration of 1858.

38. Waddington, Alfred Penderill, 1800?–1872.

Overland Communication by land and water through British North America. June, 1867. Victoria, V.I., Higgins, Long & Co., Printers. 1867.
cover-title, 22p.O.

Signed Alfred Waddington and dated June 7, 1867. The earliest of the pamphlets by Waddington which advocate the construction of a transcontinental railway.

The following additional title is known to have been published, but no copy has yet come to light:—

39. Waddington, Alfred Penderill, 1800?–1872.

The Necessity for Reform. Victoria, 1859.

Bancroft evidently saw this pamphlet, for he states that it was "merely a tirade against the restricted franchise, and the petty infelicities of the day." (*History of British Columbia,* San Francisco, 1887, p. 769.) There is no copy in the Bancroft Library, at the University of California.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by CHARLES F. BANFIELD, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1937.

525-937-8224

INDEX.

ERRATA.

Page 15, line 25. William Evans brought the first transcontinental *passenger* train to *Port Moody*, not the first train to Coal Harbour, as stated.

Page 61, line 37. For *1927* read *1827*.

Page 67, line 13. For *on* read *in*.

Page 92, line 37. The *Kaslo* was a large passenger and freight steamer, not a tug, as stated.

Page 124, line 19. For *1858* read *1859*.

Page 124, line 20. For *Chestleham* read *Cheltenham*.

Page 129, line 29. For *was* read *has*.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
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