THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1938

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

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

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

VOL. II. VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY, 1938. No. 1

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INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE GOLD DISCOVERIES.

Numerous descriptions of the early gold discoveries in British Columbia have made the story familiar to those interested in the subject. No episode in the history of the American Northwest has been recounted so often, because its romantic aspect has appealed irresistibly to our people. Nevertheless there remains an important feature of the gold-rush in 1858 that has been overlooked, namely, the part played by the indigenes of the region, the Indians, in the discovery of the gold and in the mining operations that ensued.

The search for gold in our Province was incited by the successful exploitation of auriferous river-beds in California. The critical discovery, by James W. Marshall, at Coloma, on January 24, 1848, caused a tremendous rush to the diggings along the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, and aroused the belief that other rich deposits of gravel might be found elsewhere in the region adjacent to the Pacific Coast. It is interesting, therefore, to note how the extensive occurrence of gold-bearing alluvium was signalized by successive discoveries that served to link the productive diggings at Coloma, on the south fork of the American River, with those on the Thompson and Fraser Rivers in British Columbia. The first advance was to Oroville, on the Feather River, in 1848; then to Reading's Bar on the Trinity River in 1849; next came Scott's Bar on the Klamath in 1850. Gold was found in the sea-beach off Gold Bluff in the same year, and in the sand at the mouth of the Coquille River, in southern Oregon, in 1853. Meanwhile the diggings on Jackson Creek, also in Oregon, marked another step northward. In 1853 George McClellan found gold plentifully when engaged in surveying a military road in what is now northern Washington, through the Cascade Mountains from Walla Walla to Fort Steilacoom, on the coast near Admiralty Inlet. Gold was discovered also at that time during the exploration of a route for the Northern Pacific Railway, on the Similkameen River, which rises not far from Hope, on the Fraser River, and joins the Okanagan at the Inter-

national Boundary. Then, in 1855, gold was found by a "servant" of the Hudson's Bay Company near Fort Colville,[1] in the valley of the Columbia River, just south of the Canadian border.

James Cooper, testifying before the select comittee on the Hudson's Bay Company, in London, in 1857, linked this discovery of gold at Fort Colville with the subsequent finding of it on Thompson's River.[2] George M. Dawson, the distinguished Canadian geologist, was of the same opinion. Writing in 1889, he says: "It seems certain that the epoch-making discovery of gold in British Columbia, was the direct result of the Colville excitement. Indians from Thompson River, visiting a woman of their tribe who was married to a French Canadian at Walla Walla, spread the report that gold, like that found at Colville occurred also in their country, and in the summer or autumn of 1857, four or five Canadians and half-breeds crossed over to the Thompson, and succeeded in finding workable placers at Nicoamen, on that river, nine miles above its mouth. On the return of these prospectors the news of the discovery of gold spread rapidly."[3]

Thus it is evident that information derived from the Indians lured the prospectors northward into British Columbia; but before proceeding with the sequential story of gold discovery in our Province it must be noted that an unheralded find of gold was made by the famous botanist, David Douglas, at a date long precedent to the epochal discoveries in California and Australia, in 1848 and 1851, respectively. Captain W. Colquhoun Grant, of Sooke, in a paper presented to the Royal Geographical Society in 1859, says: "There can be little doubt that it [gold] exists in the mountains of New Caledonia, to the northward of where men are now looking for it, and also a little to the southward, where several years ago David Douglass [*sic*], the eminent botanist, found enough whereof to make a seal. This occurred on the

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(1) Formerly spelled Colvile, after Andrew Colvile, a Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(2) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, London, 1857, pp. 205, 207.

(3) George M. Dawson: *The Mineral Wealth of British Columbia*, Montreal, 1889, p. 18R (Geological Survey of Canada).

shores of Lake Okanagan . . ."[4] No doubt the discovery was made at the mouth of a creek that entered the lake. Douglas was there in 1833.[5] He was killed in July of 1834, when in the Hawaiian Islands, and, as he did not go to England during the interval, no word of the discovery reached the outside world. At that date, moreover, even to a scientist such as Douglas, the finding of gold would not suggest the portentous consequences that might ensue from the successful development of profitable mines. The same inability to foresee such consequences was shown by officials in California and Australia when the finding of gold was made known in those regions several years before the discoveries that started the world-wide stampedes to the diggings.

The earliest gold discovery in British Columbia that aroused public interest was made by an Indian on one of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Richard Blanshard, the first Governor of Vancouver Island, reported to Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, in August of 1850, that he had seen "a very rich speciman of gold ore, said to have been brought by the Indians of Queen Charlotte's Island."[6] In the following year, 1851, an Indian woman found a nugget on the beach of Moresby Island. After a part of it had been cut off, it was taken to Fort Simpson, where it passed by trade into the hands of the Hudson's Bay factor at that place. The nugget, as received, weighed about 5 ounces. Later it was sent to the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Victoria. On March 29, 1851, Governor Blanshard informed Earl Grey: "I have heard that fresh specimens of gold have been obtained from the Queen Charlotte islanders; I have not seen them myself, but they are reported to be very rich."[7] The Hudson's Bay Company sent the ship *Huron* to Mitchell Harbour for the purpose of investigation. Some gold-quartz was brought back to Fort Victoria and stimulated further interest in the discovery. In July and again in October, 1851,

(4) W. C. Grant: "Remarks on Vancouver Island," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXXI. (1861), p. 213.

(5) *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1905), p. 309.

(6) *Correspondence relative to the Discovery of Gold in Queen Charlotte's Island*, London, 1853, p. 1. (Cited hereafter as *Queen Charlotte's Island Papers*.)

(7) *Ibid.*

the brigantine *Una* was sent thither by the Hudson's Bay Company and returned with information concerning a quartz vein that was 7 inches wide and traceable for 80 feet. It was reported to contain "twenty-five per cent. of gold in some places,"[8] which indicates specimen stuff, goodly to look upon. Some of this quartz was blasted and then shipped, despite the interference of the Indians. The *Una* was lost on her second return voyage. Then the *Orbit*, an American ship, which was on the rocks off Esquimalt, was bought by the Company, repaired, and renamed the *Recovery*. She was sent north with thirty miners in addition to her crew, these miners having agreed to share their luck. Three months were spent in getting a cargo of ore, which was taken to England and eventually yielded a sum of money giving the miners $30 per month for their labour.

When these facts were noised abroad, not only at Fort Victoria but at San Francisco, several vessels sailed from that Californian port for Mitchell Harbour. The deposit had been nearly exhausted and the Americans soon left, disappointed. Later the American ship *Susan Sturges* arrived and the captain collected some of the ore discarded by the *Una* expedition. This shipment was sold for $1,400 at San Francisco. A second voyage by the same ship ended in disaster, for she was captured and the crew made prisoners by the Indians at Masset, on Graham Island. The American gold-seekers were rescued by a party sent thither on the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Beaver*. Altogether about $20,000 was taken from the little quartz vein at Mitchell Harbour, known also as Gold Harbour and Mitchell Inlet.[9]

We have seen how soon the miniature rush to these northern islands came to a dismal end, because but little gold was found and the occurrence of the precious metal proved to be extremely patchy; nevertheless, the event is of historic importance because it made the few people then on our western coast aware of the possibility of developing profitable mines. It made them gold-conscious. Moreover, it was the means of establishing an important precedent, for, in 1853, James Douglas, the second Governor of Vancouver Island, asserted the regalian right to any

(8) Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 17R.
(9) *Ibid.*, p. 18R.

gold deposits that might be discovered. This action on his part proved deeply significant.

The regalian right, or royal claim, to deposits of precious metal is traditional; it is a kingly perquisite that comes from the days of the Roman emperors. In the sixteenth century the Spanish king's share was fixed at a fifth of the gold or silver obtained by his subjects, chiefly in Mexico and Peru. In England the doctrine of *fodinae regales,* or mines royal, was revived by Henry III. (1216–1272) and was well established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is sustained by Blackstone in his *Commentaries,* under date of 1765.[10] In modern days, the regalian right was asserted when gold was discovered in Australia, and was therefore well fortified by precedent when invoked by Governor Douglas.

At that time James Douglas had become the Governor of Vancouver Island while still the Chief Factor, at Victoria, of the Hudson's Bay Company. The proclamation in 1853, which asserted the rights of the Crown and exacted a licence fee from the gold-miners, was instigated by Sir John Pakington, the Colonial Secretary in London. He, in September, 1852, instructed Douglas " to take immediate steps for the protection of British interests against the depredations of Indians, or the unwarranted intrusions of foreigners, on the territory of the Queen,"[11] and forthwith issued a commission making Douglas Lieutenant-Governor of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Whereupon, in March of 1853, Governor Douglas issued the proclamation asserting the right of the Crown to any gold found in " the Colony of Queen Charlotte's Island," and followed this action in April by fixing a miner's licence fee of ten shillings per month, payable in advance, and to be obtained only at Fort Victoria.

We may note that the earliest gold to come within the cognizance of the Hudson's Bay officers was brought to them by the Indians. This is not surprising. Gold was usually the first metal to become known to primitive man. He saw the shining substance on the edge of the river-beds that were his highways through the wilderness. Gold does not corrode or tarnish, it is beautiful, and it is so soft as readily to be shaped by hammering

(10) T. A. Rickard: *Man and Metals,* New York, 1932, pp. 606, 617.
(11) *Queen Charlotte's Island Papers,* p. 13.

with a stone. Primitive man at an early stage of his existence began to use the metal for making ornaments, such as ear-plugs and bangles. When the European came among the Indians on our western coast, he wore rings and watch-chains, his women wore ear-rings and bracelets, all made of gold; the natives therefore saw readily that the white people set a high value on gold, and they inferred correctly that if they brought it to the trader he would be willing to barter his goods for the precious metal. This led the Indians to search for it and to bring it to the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. Moreover, the natives resented the trespass upon their domain, strange as it may seem to some people, and annoyed the gold-seekers that came to the Queen Charlotte discovery; they stole the tools of the miners, and the gold as well. Chief Trader W. H. McNeill, who accompanied the *Una* expedition, reported to Douglas:—

I am sorry to inform you that we were obliged to leave off blasting, and quit the place for Fort Simpson, on account of the annoyance we experienced from the natives. They arrived in large numbers, say 30 canoes, and were much pleased to see us on our first arrival. When they saw us blasting and turning out the gold in such large quantities, they became excited and commenced depredations on us, stealing the tools, and taking at least one-half of the gold that was thrown out by the blast. They would lie concealed until the report was heard, and then make a rush for the gold; a regular scramble between them and our men would then take place; they would take our men by the legs, and hold them away from the gold. Some blows were struck on these occasions. The Indians drew their knives on our men often. The men who were at work at the vein became completely tired and disgusted at their proceedings, and came to me on three different occasions and told me that they would not remain any longer to work the gold; that their time was lost to them, as the natives took one-half of the gold thrown out by the blast, and blood would be shed if they continued to work at the digging; that our force was not strong or large enough to work and fight also. They were aware they could not work on shore after hostility had commenced, therefore I made up my mind to leave the place, and proceed to this place [Fort Simpson].

The natives were very jealous of us when they saw that we could obtain gold by blasting; they had no idea that so much could be found below the surface; they said that it was not good that we should take all the gold away; if we did so, that they would not have anything to trade with other vessels should any arrive. In fact, they told us to be off.[12]

McNeill had with him only eleven men, a force much too small to discipline the Indians; moreover, it was the policy of

(12) *Ibid.*, second series, London, 1853, p. 8.

the Hudson's Bay Company not to antagonize the natives, with whom they traded for furs. Therefore any sort of lethal contest was avoided.

The discoveries of gold on the mainland, like the one made on Moresby Island, must be credited to the Indians; it was they, and not any canny Scot or enterprising American, that first found the gold on the Thompson and Fraser Rivers, or first proceeded to gather it for the purpose of trade. The Hudson's Bay agent at Kamloops, on the Thompson River, obtained gold dust from the Indians as early as 1852, and similar gold came, in course of trade with the natives, to other posts of the fur company. In the records of the fur trade, as kept at Fort Victoria, it is stated that 3¾ ounces of gold were included in the takings at Fort Kamloops in 1856.[13] "Gold," says Douglas in his memoranda under date of 1860, "was first found on Thompson's River by an Indian, a quarter of a mile below Nicoamen. He is since dead. The Indian was taking a drink out of the river. Having no vessel he was quaffing from the stream when he perceived a shining pebble which he picked up and it proved to be gold. The whole tribe forthwith began to collect the glittering metal."[14] This probably was in 1852. Roderick Finlayson, Chief Factor at Fort Victoria, says that gold was discovered by the Indians in crevices of the rocks on the banks of the Thompson. Donald McLean, the trader in charge at Kamloops, inspected the gold-bearing ground and then sent down to Victoria for some iron spoons to be used by the Indians for the purpose of extricating the nuggets from the crevices in the rocky beds of the creeks. The spoons were sent, as requested, and McLean was instructed to encourage the natives in searching for gold and using it for trade.[15]

News of the important discovery at Colville reached Douglas in the spring of 1856. He was not at all secretive about the finding of gold, and on April 16 reported to the Colonial Secretary as follows: "I hasten to communicate for the information of

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(13) *Columbia District and New Caledonia Fur Trade Returns* (MS. in Archives of B.C.).

(14) James Douglas: *Private Papers, First Series*, p. 78 (transcript in Archives of B.C.).

(15) Roderick Finlayson: *History of Vancouver Island and the Northwest Coast*, p. 43 (transcript in Archives of B.C.).

her Majesty's Government a discovery of much importance, made known to me by Mr. Angus McDonald, Clerk in charge of Fort Colvile, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's Trading Posts on the Upper Columbia District. That gentleman reports, in a letter dated on the 1st of March last, that gold has been found in considerable quantities within the British territory, on the Upper Columbia, and that he is moreover of opinion that valuable deposits of gold will be found in many other parts of the country; he also states that the *daily earnings* of persons then employed in digging gold were ranging from £2 to £8 [$10 to $40] for each man. . . . Several interesting experiments in gold washing have been lately made in this colony, with a degree of success that will no doubt lead to further attempts for the discovery of the precious metal."[16] In October, 1856, Douglas reported further that the extent of the gold deposits was as yet undetermined, but that he took a sanguine view of their possible value. The amount of gold produced was not known, but some 220 ounces had been received at Victoria from the Upper Columbia.[17]

Definite information was still lacking in the summer of 1857; but by that date mining operations on the Thompson River, as on the Queen Charlotte Islands, had led to friction with the Indians. In a dispatch to the Colonial Secretary dated July 15, 1857, Douglas reports:—

> A new element of difficulty in exploring the gold country has been interposed through the opposition of the native Indian tribes of Thompson's River, who have lately taken the high-handed, though probably not unwise course, of expelling all the parties of gold diggers, composed chiefly of persons from the American territories, who had forced an entrance into their country. They have also openly expressed a determination to resist all attempts at working gold in any of the streams flowing into Thompson's River, both from a desire to monopolize the precious metal for their own benefit, and from a well-founded impression that the shoals of salmon which annually ascend those rivers and furnish the principal food of the inhabitants, will be driven off, and prevented from making their annual migrations from the sea.[18]

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(16) *Correspondence relative to the Discovery of Gold in the Fraser's River District*, London, 1858, p. 5. (Cited hereafter as *Gold Discovery Papers.*)

(17) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Later dispatches indicate that for a considerable time the Indians retained a virtual mining monopoly in the Couteau, or Thompson, River region. Thus on December 29, 1857, Douglas described conditions, as reported to him by correspondents resident there, as follows:—

It appears from their reports that the auriferous character of the country is becoming daily more extensively developed, through the exertions of the native Indian tribes, who, having tasted the sweets of gold finding, are devoting much of their time and attention to that pursuit.

They are, however, at present almost destitute of tools for moving the soil, and of washing implements for separating the gold from the earthy matrix, and have therefore to pick it out with knives, or to use their fingers for that purpose; a circumstance which in some measure accounts for the small products of gold up to the present time, the export being only about 300 ounces since the 6th of last October.[19]

Even in the spring of 1858 white miners were few and far between; and on April 6 Douglas reported at some length upon this aspect of the situation:—

The search for gold and "prospecting" of the country, had, up to the last dates from the interior, been carried on almost exclusively by the native Indian population, who have discovered the productive beds, and put out almost all the gold, about eight hundred ounces, which has been hitherto exported from the country, and who are moreover extremely jealous of the whites, and strongly opposed to their digging the soil for gold.

The few white men who passed the winter at the diggings, chiefly retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, though well acquainted with Indian character, were obstructed by the natives in all their attempts to search for gold. They were on all occasions narrowly watched, and in every instance when they did succeed in removing the surface and excavating to the depth of the auriferous stratum, they were quietly hustled and crowded by the natives, who, having by that means obtained possession of the spot, then proceeded to reap the fruits of their labours.

Such conduct was unwarrantable and exceedingly trying to the temper of spirited men, but the savages were far too numerous for resistance, and they had to submit to their dictation. It is, however, worthy of remark, and a circumstance highly honourable to the character of those savages, that they have on all occasions scrupulously respected the persons and property of their white visitors, at the same time that they have expressed a determination to reserve the gold for their own benefit.[20]

Douglas was well aware that this state of affairs could not continue. Already, on December 29, he had warned the Colonial Secretary that a rush to the diggings was impending:—

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(19) *Ibid.*, p. 8.
(20) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

> The reputed wealth of the Couteau mines is causing much excitement among the population of the United States territories of Washington and Oregon, and I have no doubt that a great number of people from those territories will be attracted thither with the return of the fine weather in spring.[21]

The menace inherent in this coming stampede was twofold. In the first place, it was obvious that most of the miners would be Americans, and their arrival might well threaten British sovereignty over what is now the southern mainland of British Columbia. In the second place, Douglas was convinced that, in the event of a sudden influx of miners, "difficulties between the natives and whites" would occur frequently, and that, unless preventive measures were taken, the country would "soon become the scene of lawless misrule."[22]

The manner in which Douglas warded off the first danger need not be considered in detail. It is sufficient to record that he acted promptly, and in December, 1857, issued a proclamation and accompanying regulations, in his capacity as Governor of Vancouver Island, which declared "all mines of gold, and all gold in its natural place of deposit, within the district of Fraser's River and of Thompson's River" to be the property of the Crown, and imposed a licence fee of ten shillings per month, payable in advance, upon all gold-miners. The wording of this proclamation follows closely the text of that issued by Douglas in 1853, at the time of the Queen Charlotte Islands excitement; and it is clear that he regarded the first proclamation, which had met with approval in London, as indicative of the policy that the authorities would expect him to follow when an analagous situation arose on the mainland. Owing to the fact that Douglas had no legal jurisdiction over the mainland until late in 1858, and other circumstances, certain of his acts and declarations were disallowed by the Colonial Office; but there is no doubt that his prompt assumption of authority on behalf of the Crown, as well as of the Hudson's Bay Company, was chiefly responsible for the fact that the question of sovereignty never became a serious issue.

On April 25, the steamship *Commodore* arrived at Victoria with 450 miners on board. The overwhelming character of the

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 8.
(22) *Ibid.*

immigration which followed will be appreciated when it is stated that with the arrival of her passengers the white population of Vancouver Island was almost doubled. Scores of ships followed in the wake of the *Commodore*, and it is estimated that as many as 30,000 persons flocked to the Fraser River mines during the late spring and early summer of 1858.

In the latter part of May, before this immigration reached its peak, Douglas paid a visit to the gold diggings in the vicinity of Hope and Yale, the district to which the majority of the newcomers had gone. His diary of the journey has survived and many entries therein refer to the mining activities of the Indians, and the possibility of trouble between them and the white miners. Amongst other news, Douglas notes that he is informed from Fort Hope that "the Indians are getting plenty of gold and trading with the Americans." That means that they were bartering their gold, probably for tobacco, with the newcomers. The same informant stated that "Indian wages are from three to four dollars a day." This indicates that the natives were employed by the American miners. The same thing happened in the early operations on the American River in California, where also the Indians were employed by the diggers. At Hill's Bar, on the Fraser, Douglas was informed that "80 Indians and 30 white men are employed. It is impossible [for the Hudson's Bay Company] to get Indian labor at present, as they are all busy mining, and make between two and three dollars a day each man."[23]

It was at Hill's Bar, too, that Douglas became aware of dangerous friction between the Indians and the whites, as he had all along anticipated would result from the gold-rush. The Americans, who had suffered from Indian attacks when crossing the plains to California, were inclined to think that the only good Indian was a dead one. They had fought with the natives when coming northward through the Oregon country, and they had therefore no patience with the Indian desire to monopolize the gathering of the gold. Naturally they were overbearing in their attitude to the natives, who, in return, resented their aggression, and resented also their maltreatment of the squaws.

(23) *Private Papers, First Series*, p. 58.

In a dispatch to the Colonial Secretary dated June 15, 1858, Douglas described the conflict, and the steps he had taken to deal with it, as follows:—

> On the arrival of our party at "Hill's Bar," the white miners were in a state of great alarm on account of a serious affray which had just occurred with the native Indians, who mustered under arms in a tumultuous manner, and threatened to make a clean sweep of the whole body of miners assembled there.
>
> The quarrel arose out of a series of provocations on both sides, and from the jealousy of the savages, who naturally felt annoyed at the large quantities of gold taken from their country by the white miners.
>
> I lectured them soundly about their conduct on that occasion, and took the leader in the affray, an Indian highly connected in their way, and of great influence, resolution, and energy of character, into the Government service, and found him exceedingly useful in settling other Indian difficulties.

Douglas "also spoke with great plainness of speech to the white miners" and warned them "that no abuses would be tolerated; and that the laws would protect the rights of the Indian, no less than those of the white man."[24] Some sort of order was restored, but Douglas returned to Victoria in a pessimistic mood, due in part to the news that a detachment of United States troops had been defeated recently by the Indians in Oregon. This victory had "greatly increased the natural audacity of the savage, and the difficulty of managing them," and he feared that it would require "the nicest tact to avoid a disastrous Indian war."[25]

He was correct in his opinion that the Indian problem was not yet solved. Friction with the white miners continued; and a German traveller mentions the interference of the Indians as noted by him near the junction of the Fraser and the Thompson, somewhat later in 1858:—

> When . . . a few adventurers from Oregon went into the District of Great Forks and began washing gold, the Couteau Indians, who lived in the vicinity, soon followed their example. But when larger numbers of gold miners arrived in the land in 1858 trouble began between the natives and the new arrivals. The Indians took their tools away from the newly arrived miners declaring that they would not permit any further invasion of their

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(24) *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia, Part I.*, London, 1859, p. 16.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 17.

country; but the new comers streamed into the country in such numbers that there could be no longer any question of resistance.[26]

It was too much to expect that this change from Indian to white domination would be entirely peaceful. In the Fraser Canyon region tension rose in July, as the number of miners and others crowding to the diggings reached its peak, and August saw the outbreak of actual hostilities. Numerous small affrays had occurred previously; but on the 14th a pitched battle took place near Boston Bar in which about 150 whites participated. At least seven Indians were killed, and the natives were completely routed. It is significant that the letter which brought this news to Victoria criticized the Government severely. "It is very singular," the writer observed, "that after Gov. Douglas has taken from each miner five dollars for a license, he does not give those paying it the least protection."[27] In actual fact, causes beyond Douglas's control, at least for the time being, were aggravating the situation. For one thing, an age-old hostility separated the Indians dwelling below the canyon of the Fraser from those above it; and when the white miners sought to ascend the river the Indians tried to stop them, and several fights ensued. Moreover, the difficulty of maintaining good relations with the Indians was increased greatly when "ardent spirits" were sold to them by certain of the diggers. On July 27, a public meeting held at Fort Yale voted to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, but this was more easily said than done. In addition, the Chinese were accused of being in league with the natives, and of supplying them with arms and ammunition.[28]

The progress of events can be traced in the columns of the *Victoria Gazette*. By the middle of the month it was estimated that 500 miners had deserted their diggings above the canyon and descended the river to Yale and Hope, where they felt secure against attack from the Indians. On August 17, Captain H. M. Snyder organized a punitive force of 167 men, all well armed, and started up the Fraser from Yale. He was prepared to fight

(26) Dr. Carl Freisach: *Excursion through British Columbia, 1858*, Graz, 1875. The quotation is from a manuscript English translation in the library of Dr. R. L. Reid, who also possesses a copy of the book.

(27) *Victoria Gazette*, August 24, 1858.

(28) *Ibid.*, August 4 and 10.

if necessary, but hoped that a resolute display of force would suffice to bring the natives to terms. This proved to be the case, and, thanks to his moderation, the advance to the junction of the Fraser and Thompson, where he arrived on August 22, was marked by a series of parleys and peace treaties with the natives instead of the bloody battle that might easily have ensued. Meanwhile, in his absence, and before the fate of his expedition was known down the river, an appeal was sent to Governor Douglas by the residents at Fort Hope, begging him to take steps to maintain order in the mining district. At Victoria the force of this appeal was increased tenfold by a report, circulated on August 25, that forty-two miners had been massacred by the Indians. It was known within twenty-four hours that the rumour was untrue, and that only two men had been killed; but Douglas left for the mainland on August 29, accompanied by the only military force he could muster, which consisted of thirty-five sappers and marines recruited from the troops accompanying the Boundary Commission, and from H.M.S. *Satellite*.

Douglas arrived at Hope on September 1. Captain Snyder had returned to Yale on August 25, and all was quiet in the Fraser Canyon region. The pause in hostilities might well have been only momentary, however, and Douglas set about placing it upon a permanent basis. His report to the Colonial Secretary, dated October 12, is illuminating:—

> My first attention was devoted to the state of the Indian population. I found them much incensed against the miners; heard all their complaints, and was irresistibly led to the conclusion that the improper use of spirituous liquors had caused many of the evils complained of.
>
> I thereupon issued a proclamation, of which I have transmitted a copy, warning all persons against the practice, and declaring the sale or gift of spirituous liquors to Indians a penal offence, and I feel satisfied that the rigid enforcement of the proclamation will be of great advantage both to the whites and Indians.
>
> I also received at Fort Hope visits from the Chiefs of Thompson's River, to whom I communicated the wishes of Her Majesty's Government on their behalf, and gave them much useful advice for their guidance in the altered state of the country. I also distributed presents of clothing to the principal men as a token of regard.[29]

(29) *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia, Part II.*, London, 1859, p. 4.

More interesting, because it shows the consideration with which Douglas treated the Indians, is the following paragraph, descriptive of his parley with the natives at Hope:—

> The Indians were assembled, and made no secret of their dislike to their white visitors. They had many complaints of maltreatment, and in all cases where redress was possible it was granted without delay. One small party of those natives laid claim to a particular part of the river, which they wished to be reserved for their own purposes, a request which was immediately granted, the space staked off, and the miners who had taken claims there were immediately removed, and public notice given that the place was reserved for the Indians, and that no one would be allowed to occupy it without their consent.[30]

Undoubtedly there were two sides to the controversy; and an American pointed this out, indicating several of the grievances suffered by the Indians, in a letter written to the *Victoria Gazette* from Yale, several days before Douglas arrived there.[31]

The settlement made between Douglas and the Indians in September, 1858, virtually ended the threat of war between the natives and the miners. Isolated clashes and murders did occur thereafter, but for the most part peace and a new sense of security reigned on the Fraser. Difficulty with the Indians continued to a somewhat later date on what is known as the Harrison–Lillooet route to the upper Fraser and Thompson. The contemporary letter from C. C. Gardiner that was published in a recent issue of this *Quarterly* describes the manner in which he and his comrades were robbed and bullied by the natives near Anderson Lake, 1858.[32] Items in the newspapers show that trouble was still experienced by travellers there even at the end of the year; but here, as on the Fraser, danger of a serious clash decreased rapidly.

There were a number of reasons for the coming of peace. In the first place, the Indians saw that the whites had come to stay, and realized that they had become too numerous and well entrenched to be dislodged even temporarily, let alone to be driven from the country. Secondly, the Crown Colony of British Columbia was formally proclaimed in November, with Douglas

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 5.

(31) *Victoria Gazette*, September 1, 1858. On the general course of events see *ibid.*, August 20, 24, 25, 26, 31; September 3, 7, 14, 16, and 28, 1858.

(32) *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 250, 251.

as Governor, and the new government, though still consisting of little more than a skeleton crew of magistrates and gold commissioners, was nevertheless making its authority felt. This authority was greatly strengthened at the end of the year by the arrival of a detachment of Royal Engineers under the command of Colonel Moody. It is probable, too, that the pressure of the whites upon the Indians decreased after the month of September in a number of ways, owing to the fact that many disappointed miners left the country.

There can be no possible doubt, however, that the dominant influence was the character and ability of Governor Douglas. The American miners, and Captain Snyder in particular, deserve commendation for their moderation; but it seems obvious that their attitude was determined to a large extent by the law-abiding and orderly atmosphere which Douglas, in spite of the slender resources at his command when the rush to the mines commenced, somehow managed from the first to create upon the mainland. Quite as significant was the fact that he had risen to a post of high responsibility in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Legally, Douglas may have exceeded his powers upon occasion, and the controversy as to whether he placed the service of the Crown below or above that of the Company will doubtless be revived from generation to generation. But even the barest outline of the part played by the Indians in the gold-rush, such as it has been possible to give in this paper, makes it clear that it was a happy circumstance for Crown and Company alike that, when the great immigration of 1858 swept up the Fraser, a man with his great knowledge of Indian character, and long experience in dealing with the natives, was responsible for the administration of the country.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

THE FUR TRADE AND THE FUR CYCLE: 1825–1857.

It has long been realized by those interested in the history of the fur trade that the number of furs reaching the fur sales from year to year varied considerably. Much interesting light is shed upon these fluctuations by the note-book, now in the Provincial Archives, in which James Douglas, with characteristic thoroughness and care, tabulated year by year, from 1825 to 1857, the fur returns of the posts and trading districts in the area west of the Rocky Mountains.

Besides the summarized returns from New Caledonia (roughly the area now known as the Omineca district, northern British Columbia), the Columbia district, and the Northern Department, there are detailed figures from Fort Langley, Fort Victoria, Fort Vancouver, Fort McLoughlin, Fort Rupert, Thompson's River (Kamloops), Fort Colville, Fort Nez Perces, Fort Nisqually, Fort Simpson, Fort Durham, and Stikine, as well as a statement of the furs collected by the steamship *Beaver* along the coast of what is now British Columbia, and the results of the Snake River expeditions.

Due to unsettled conditions in the West, many of the returns are not complete throughout the full period mentioned. Several of the posts, such as Fort Victoria and Fort Rupert, were founded subsequent to 1825; while others were only maintained for a short time and then for various reasons abandoned and dismantled. Of those for which the longest unbroken series of records are available, I have summarized the figures from Forts Nez Perces, Colville, Thompson's River (included in New Caledonia subsequent to 1841), Fort Vancouver, Fort Langley, and New Caledonia. From these data the accompanying graphs have been prepared.

With certain minor exceptions, we are probably safe in assuming that the fur traded at each of these posts was drawn, for the most part, from a more or less circumscribed area in its vicinity.

Few have given much thought to the cause of these fluctuations. Some have accepted them as a matter of course and not paused to analyse. Others have perhaps blamed changes in per-

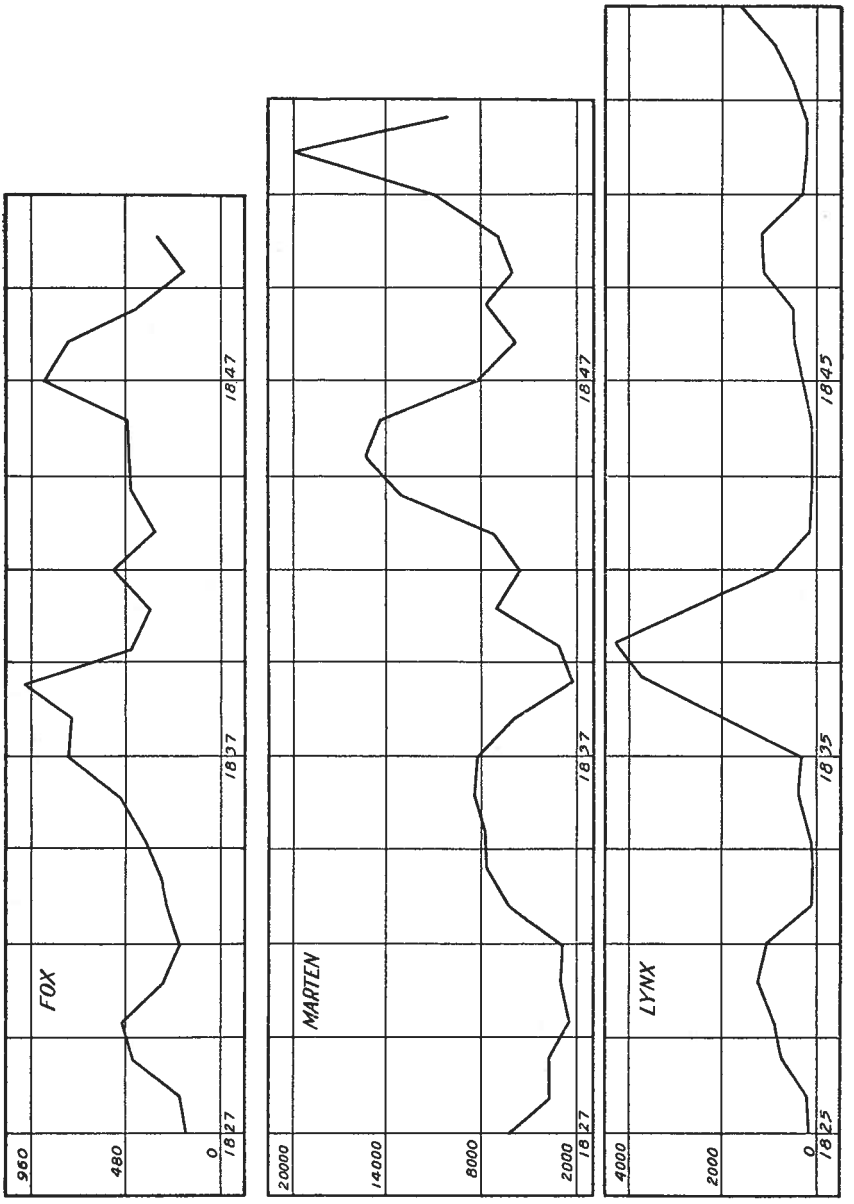

Fig. 1.

Graphs illustrating abundance of fox, marten, and lynx, animals which exhibit the 9–10 year periodicity.

sonnel within the Hudson's Bay Company, rising or falling fur prices, the dictates of fashion, or perhaps abnormally severe or open winters, for the rise or fall in the tide of furs reaching the metropolitan centres of the world. While it is doubtless true that these factors did exert an influence of sorts, the fundamental mechanism rests in the animals themselves.

In so far as the fur returns have been the only records kept of the abundance of any kind of North American mammal over a period of years, we are more cognizant of the features of the pulse of abundance in fur-bearing animals than in other types. However, precisely the same phenomena are found in almost all, if not all, of the mammals inhabiting the temperate regions of the world, from the mouse to the moose. In fact, to the casual observer the alternating periods of scarcity and abundance are oftentimes much more evident in the case of certain of the smaller types of animals than in the larger, more elusive fur-bearers. Any orchardist in the rural districts can vividly recall certain winters in which the field-mice existed in hordes, and did considerable damage to his fruit trees by removing the bark around the butts. Similarly, any one familiar with the region generally referred to as the Great Northern Forest—which, to be specific, extends south in our Province well into the Cariboo district—will tell you of years in which rabbits were everywhere, of years in which rabbits were completely absent.

In 1932, for instance, in 4 miles along the Cariboo Highway a few miles north of Quesnel, I counted upwards of 150 rabbits feeding on the edge of the road, and these conditions obtained throughout the entire northern section of the Province. Two years later, in the same district, not a rabbit was to be seen. Four years later a week's trapping produced but four individuals. The casual observer, trusting to his memory alone, does not appreciate the periodicity involved in these fluctuations. To the biologist, however, it is well known that mice, especially of the group generally known as the voles or field-mice, reach a period of abundance on the average about every 4 years. It so happens that rabbit conditions have been recorded over a period of 174 years in Canada; and it has been shown by R. Macfarlane, D. A. MacLulich, Ernest Thompson Seton, C. G. Hewitt, and others,

that they reach a period of abundance on the average every 9.7 years.[1]

The basic mechanism of this rhythm of periodic abundance and scarcity is simple. Animals increase in geometrical progression. A pair of snowshoe rabbits, for instance, having two litters of 4 young each per year will, in 5 years, have increased to 31,250 individuals—neglecting deaths in the meantime. Actually the number of young per litter may be double that we have postulated, with corresponding effect on the rapidity of increase of the population.

Both environmental factors and others within the animal are involved in this cycle. For instance, it has been shown by Hamilton[2] that, in field-mice, with numerical increase the litters come more frequently, the litters become larger, and the breeding season is prolonged. Favourable weather conditions may also contribute by eliminating the heavy winter-kill, or by reducing the juvenile death-rate which may result from wet weather when the young are very small. All these factors serve to build up, in a short space of time, the vast hordes of animals we have remarked upon.

Under the conditions of acute overcrowding attendant upon this saturation point, disease spreads rapidly, and in the short space of a few months the animal may become almost absent. No single disease accomplishes this cataclysmic decrease. In the rabbit, tularæmia has been identified as one cause of death; there is a high incidence of infection with the pus bacillus *Staphylococcus aureus*, which, accompanied by almost complete absence of Staphylococcus antitoxin in the blood of the snowshoe rabbit, often becomes fatal; and there is frequently heavy infestation with tapeworms of at least two species—notably *Multiceps serialis*. MacLulich finds that the most serious parasite is a

(1) Macfarlane, R.: "Notes on mammals collected and observed in the northern Mackenzie River district, etc.," *Proceedings*, U.S. National Museum, XXVIII. (1905), pp. 673–764. Seton, Ernest Thompson: *The Arctic Prairies*, New York, 1911. Hewitt, C. G.: *The Conservation of Wild Life in Canada*, New York, 1921. MacLulich, D. A.: "Sunspots and abundance of animals," *Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada*, XXX. (1936), pp. 233–246.

(2) Hamilton, W. J., jr.: "The Biology of Microtine Cycles," *Journal of Agricultural Research*, Vol. 54, No. 10, May 15, 1937, pp. 779–790.

threadworm, probably *Obeliscoides,* which lives in the stomach by sucking blood.[3] These worms were the apparent cause of death in six out of seven captive animals that died of " natural causes."

The rabbit-tick *Hæmaphysalis leporis-palustris* and the wood-tick *Dermacentor andersoni* are often extremely abundant on the head, neck, and ears of the rabbits, and probably act as vehicles for the spread of some diseases. In mouse plagues, mouse septicæmia (*Bacillus murisepticus*) and a toxoplasm infection of the brain have been found to be the most important, if not the sole diseases responsible. Similar ailments may yet be found in rabbits, as the story is as yet largely untold.

Some authors have sought to establish correlation between periodicity in the rabbits and lynx with periodicity in sun-spots. A recent examination by MacLulich of the records of these mammals for a term of 174 years has conclusively shown that no such correlation exists. Between 1751 and 1925 there were 18 rabbit cycles, averaging 9.7 years, and in the same years 15½ sun-spot cycles, averaging 11.1 years. Even if fortuitous coincidence had suggested correlation between these cycles, the 3- to 4-year cycle of smaller rodents, such as the field-mouse, would remain to be explained.

Inasmuch as the smaller mammals, such as mice, squirrels, and rabbits, between them supply the bulk of the food of our carnivorous fur-bearers—and all the Canadian fur-bearers except the beaver and muskrat fall into this class—it is only to be expected that such great increases would have an effect on the numbers of the fur-bearers dependent upon them.

Such has been shown to be the case by Seton, Hewitt, and many others. During periods of abundance of rabbits, food is easily obtained and the carnivores are well fed, have larger litters of young, avoid the trappers' baits, and do not succumb to starvation during the winter. Their numbers show a corresponding annual increase. However, when the rabbits disappear in one of the periodic epidemics, which kills them by the million, the predator fur-bearers are hard put. Those most closely dependent upon a particular food source are of course the first to

(3) MacLulich, D. A.: " Fluctuations in the number of snowshoe rabbits," Univ. of Toronto, *Forestry Chronicle,* 1935, pp. 283–286.

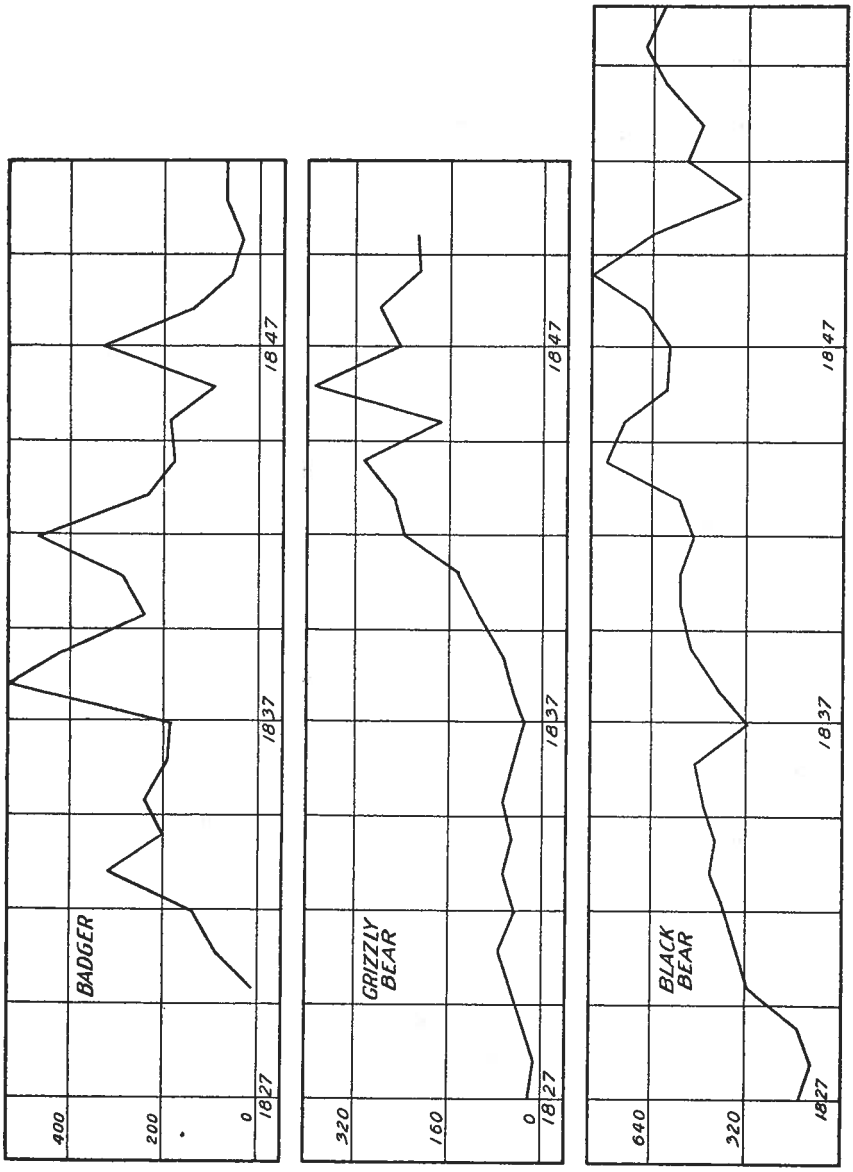

Fig. 2.

Graphs illustrating abundance of the badger, grizzly bear, and black bear. The first exhibits a 4–5 year periodicity, the two latter show no periodicity.

suffer. The more adaptable, more omnivorous types will be affected later or not at all. The dependent species wander widely, and often migrate to new territory in search of food. In the meantime many of them die of starvation, many others fall victim to the trappers' baits. Those that survive are ill-nourished and either fail to breed, or at best produce very much smaller litters. In many of the fur-bearers, then, an increase in the fur returns indicates not merely a larger animal population, but also an acute food shortage which makes the animals easier to trap.

It follows that the rapidity of onset of this shortage, subsequent to the disappearance of the rabbit, will naturally indicate the extent of the dependence of any carnivorous fur-bearer upon the rabbit for its food supply. Proof of this is seen in the fact that the marten and lynx have been shown to be the most closely dependent upon the rabbit for food; and fluctuations in the numbers of these animals follow most closely those of the rabbit.

All the biologists above mentioned, in studying the fluctuations in numbers of fur-bearers, have worked with figures compiled at the fur sales. These figures comprise the returns for Canada as a whole, and represent accordingly but average conditions over the thousands of square miles of terrain involved. Inasmuch as the furs came from varying distances under widely different conditions of transportation, those appearing in one sale not only represented in many instances the fur-catch of two winters back, but often included furs resulting from two or more trapping seasons, and the figures have to be discounted accordingly. Therein lies the value of Douglas's note-book. To my knowledge this is the first instance in which authentic annual returns for specific forts over a more or less homogeneous area have been available for study. It is consequently of interest to examine these, not alone for evidence of the basic truths already outlined, but also to investigate the local nature of the attendant phenomena.

Unfortunately there are no figures available representing the rabbit years in our region. However, as there is conclusive evidence that a close association exists between these and the fluctuations of lynx and marten, we can approximate the dates of such with a fair degree of accuracy. Judging by the lynx

and marten returns, it is safe to assume that rabbit peaks occurred in British Columbia in or near 1827, 1835, 1845, and 1853.

Having derived our rabbit years thus, it is of little avail to compare them with the years of abundance of lynx and marten. Suffice it to say that the lynx was most abundant in 1828, 1836, 1846, and 1855 in British Columbia as a whole. However, the Hudson's Bay Company returns did not distinguish between the true lynx (*Lynx canadensis*) and the bobcat (*Lynx fasciatus*), two animals which live under totally different conditions. The lynx, a dweller in the northern forest, is closely dependent on the rabbit. The bobcat, a southerner frequenting the heavy coastal forests and the sage-brush plains alike, lives on rabbits when such are abundant, but has a variety of alternative food sources to fall back upon. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the returns from Fort Langley and Fort Vancouver, where "lynx" would be largely bobcat, shows a different series of peaks than those of New Caledonia; *viz.*, 1831, 1840, 1850, and 1856 at Langley, and 1833 and 1854 at Fort Vancouver. In these two localities the rabbits never undergo the extreme fluctuations in numbers characteristic of the north. Correspondingly, we note that the lynx population is more stable, ranging from a low of 2 in 1833 to a high of 46 in 1845 at Fort Vancouver, and a low of 8 and a high of 423 at Fort Langley, in contrast with a low of 43 and a high of 4,246 in New Caledonia. This same series of figures illustrates nicely the change that takes place as one proceeds from the colder to the warmer regions, progressing as one does so from the violently fluctuating populations of the north (where lynx increase 100 times from lowest ebb to highest), through an intermediate increase of 50 times in the intermediate latitude of Langley to a relatively stable population (an increase of but 20 times) at Fort Vancouver, 300 miles farther south.

In Canada as a whole it has been found that the marten does not respond to a period of rabbit scarcity as rapidly as does the lynx, which indicates that the marten is a more versatile hunter. Yet for some reason, over the short period of years covered by the present returns, there is a closer correlation between marten and rabbit than between lynx and rabbit. In other words, the

highest number of marten were trapped in the winter prior to that in which the greatest number of lynx were trapped, *i.e.*, in 1826, 1836, 1845, 1853. The intervals between peaks are here 10, 9, and 8 years, with an average of 9 years duration.

With the disappearance of rabbits in the northern woods, the marten, as do the lynx, undertake extensive mass movements. That these are motivated by lack of food can hardly be controverted. In the case of the lynx, the earlier lean years of each rabbit depression are often marked by their appearance in territory not usually inhabited by them. It is of passing interest to note that the "no-rabbit" years see a wave of horned owls and goshawks sweeping out of the north over the rest of North America, birds which under better food conditions would have wintered in the boreal forests.

Though the mink feeds aquatically to a greater or less degree, depending on local conditions, the parallelism between its peak years, 1825–26, 1837 (as the mean of two minor peaks), 1845, and 1855, and those of the marten already given, would suggest a common dependence on a single food source—the rabbit. The above peaks for mink show an average interval of 9.7 years—precisely that demonstrated for the rabbit.

The fur returns from Fort Victoria, while including a small percentage of furs from the mainland, as evinced by the presence on the list of fisher, fox, lynx, and badger, species not occurring on Vancouver Island, are no doubt largely indicative of conditions on this extensive and effectively isolated island.

We have here the opportunity of examining the pulse of abundance in mink and marten independent of the influence of rabbit fluctuations, as Vancouver Island has these fur-bearers but no indigenous rabbit population. Fort Victoria returns show marten peaks in 1842, 1852, 1855, and 1857, a rhythm entirely independent of that on the adjoining mainland. The fluctuations in the number of marten on Vancouver Island are very possibly correlated with corresponding changes in abundance of mice and squirrels, their chief food. Though figures are lacking, it is well known that these forms of mammal life undergo waves of increase and decrease similar to those of the snowshoe rabbit, but with a shorter period, averaging about 4 years. On the other hand, the mink on Vancouver Island is largely an

aquatic feeder, so that parallelism between the mink and marten suggests something more abstruse than mere fluctuation of food supply as the controlling agent.

The red fox, with its colour phases, the cross-fox and silver fox, undergoes marked periodic fluctuations. Though the fox feeds on almost any animal matter, and even under certain conditions eats quantities of berries and other vegetation, it is dependent upon the rabbit to a sufficient degree that its cyclic behaviour parallels that of the rabbit. Periods of maximum abundance appear in 1829, 1838, 1846, and 1857—average periods of a little over 9 years.

The fisher is one of the largest of the weasel family, and is of particular interest to the fur-trader because it possesses the most highly valued pelt within that family. It is never as abundant as its smaller relative, the marten, and by reason of its larger size and certain special psychological adaptations, it has a wider choice of food. For instance, this animal is famed as one of the few daring regularly to kill and eat the lowly porcupine. As a result of its scarcity, the fisher did not display the pronounced fluctuations seen in the more abundant species. Nevertheless, 1829, 1838, and 1847 appear in the fur returns as years of greatest abundance. These, it will be noticed, display a 2- to 3-year lag when compared with our computed rabbit years of 1827, 1835, and 1845. Hewitt, comparing the records over a much longer period, found 9.7 years to be the cyclic period for the fisher, running 4 years after the peak rabbit years. He thought that this indicated a rhythm independent of that of the rabbit, and consequently an inherent periodicity quite apart from any food source; but this has yet to be demonstrated in any of our carnivores. It is more logical to conclude that the fisher represents the maximum lag of any animal sufficiently dependent upon the rabbit to be affected by its disappearance. It takes from 2 to 4 years for the fisher to deplete the other available food sources, and the effect of the rabbit depression is therefore deferred rather than immediately operative.

The food of such animals as the wolf, wolverine, and bear may include large numbers of rabbits during peak years; but no relation can be traced between fluctuations in their numbers and the rabbit cycle. They feed upon rabbits simply because

the latter are easily obtainable, but are so omnivorous that other food sources are adequate to tide them over the lean period between " rabbit years " without material decrease in their numbers. It is true that more wolves and wolverine are taken in the " no-rabbit " years than at other times; but that is largely because, in their search for alternative food, they take the trappers' bait more readily.

The returns covering black, brown, and grizzly bear are of interest, not because they exhibit periodicity, for they do not, but because of the extraordinary degree of correspondence between the number of black and brown bear taken, and the number of grizzlies taken in the same years. It is hard to visualize the co-ordinating mechanism of such a correspondence between animals of such entirely different habits. It may simply be a reflection of weather conditions as they influence hunting conditions.

Living as it does for the most part on ground-squirrels, mice, and insects, the 5-year cycle of abundance of the badger (peak years 1832, 1837, 1841, 1846) may quite plausibly be regarded as governed by the periods of maximum and minimum abundance of the small rodents which provide the mainstay of its existence.

In the muskrat we encounter quite a different rhythm of abundance. This marsh-dwelling rodent is very much at the mercy of weather conditions—low water in the fall accompanied by little snowfall and hard frosts, or extensive spring floods, decimate the muskrat colonies. Nevertheless, there does seem to be an indication of periodicity in its numerical fluctuation. Records show years of abundance to have been 1827, 1833, 1838, 1842, 1845, and 1852. Periods of 6, 5, 4, 3, and 7 years, averaging 5 years, are suggestive of the 3- to 4-year cycle characteristic of many of the smaller rodents.

The record of beaver trapped depicts a sad story of extermination—so much so that any normal periodicity which might have been reflected in the fur returns was completely eliminated. In the high year of 1832, 21,290 beaver were trapped. From that year, however, the take fell steadily downward to a low point in 1840, when but 4,474 pelts were traded in the entire area now comprising British Columbia, Washington, and parts of the Yukon Territory and Oregon.

My data for otter and racoon give no indication of periodicity. This is only to be expected. The otter, largely an aquatic feeder, has a constant and more or less assured food supply. Especially is this the case on the coast. The racoon, like the bear, is an omnivorous feeder, and as such is not calculated to exhibit a periodicity activated by any one food supply.

I have examined the present data carefully for any evidence of a regular sequence in the succession of peak years associated with geographic location. By reason of the varied nature of the fauna and flora in the region under consideration, the marten and the mink are the only fur-bearers which are found throughout the area, and which at the same time exhibit a 9- to 10-year periodicity. In these two animals there is a tendency for the maximum to be reached one to two years earlier in the northern interior than in the Great Basin. Except in this instance there seems to be no regular sequence.

To conclude, it is evident from the fur returns recorded by Douglas that at least three main types of biological influence were involved in the early fur trade. In the first place, there was the influence of certain rodents, some of which themselves yielded furs of considerable value, which fluctuated violently in numbers, with a periodicity of about 4 years in some species, about 10 years in others. Secondly, associated with these were dependent flesh-eaters, whose numbers fluctuated in response to the scarcity and abundance of their rodent prey. Lastly, there were other fur-bearers, whose diet, while preferably carnivorous, nevertheless was flexible enough to make them independent of any one source of food. The latter underwent numerical fluctuations from year to year, but these did not conform to any regular cycle.

Though much undoubtedly depended upon the skill and industry of the individual fur-trader and trapper, it is thus clear that fundamental biological factors, beyond man's control, did much to determine the success or failure of their enterprise.

IAN MCTAGGART COWAN.

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM,
VICTORIA, B.C.

EARLY LUMBERING ON VANCOUVER ISLAND.*

PART I.: 1844–1855.

So far as is known, Captain Cook was the first European to make use of the timber on Vancouver Island. His two ships, the *Resolution* and *Discovery,* were badly in need of repairs when they reached the shelter of Nootka Sound in March of 1778, and a number of new masts and spars were fashioned and fitted during the four weeks they remained there.

Cook's men cut these spars for their own use, and not for sale; and almost all the exploring and trading ships which swarmed to the coast in later years made good their storm damage, and ordinary wear and tear, in the same way. Very early in the history of the maritime fur trade, however, there developed a supplementary trade in spars and timber. Even a rich cargo of furs occupied relatively small space, and the traders were therefore interested in other products which would fill their holds and which could be disposed of to advantage elsewhere. Thus the instructions which Captain John Meares received from his Merchant Proprietors in December, 1787, before he sailed from China on his second trading voyage across the Pacific, included the following note: "Spars, of every denomination, are constantly in demand here:—Bring as many of those as you can conveniently stow."[1] Meares, in turn, gave the following instructions to Captain Douglas, who commanded the second of the two ships comprising the expedition: "During the time you remain in port, your carpenters may be employed in cutting down spars, and sawing plank; particularly boats' knees and timbers,—all which bear a good price in China."[2] So far as spars were concerned, Meares's account of the departure of the *Felice* from Nootka in September, 1788, shows both that these instructions were carried out, and that Meares was im-

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* The revised text of the presidential address to the British Columbia Historical Association, October 8, 1937.

(1) John Meares: *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America,* London, 1790. Appendix.

(2) *Ibid.*

pressed by the possible future of this trade. "We also took on board a considerable quantity of fine spars," he states, "fit for top-masts, for the Chinese market, where they are very much wanted, and, of course, proportionably dear. Indeed the woods of this part of America are capable of supplying, with there [*sic*] valuable materials, all the navies of Europe."[3]

No doubt other fur-traders followed Meares's example, but it is not possible even to estimate the extent of these early timber exports. Their volume was certainly not great, and there was no such thing as a timber trade for its own sake. Prospects for the latter seemed to brighten in 1837, when the British Admiralty established a Pacific Station, based upon Valparaiso. As British commercial and colonial interests in the North Pacific developed, and the ships of the Pacific squadron spent more and more of their time there, it seemed only logical that they should secure their masts and spars on British territory; and the obvious source of supply was the remarkable stand of timber on Vancouver Island.

In 1847, while Rear-Admiral Sir G. F. Seymour was in command of the Pacific Station, sample spars and timber were secured from the Island and sent to England in the ship *Palinurus*. In December, tests were carried out at the Portsmouth dockyard to determine the comparative strength of Vancouver Island and Riga spars—the latter being those in common use in the British Navy at the time. Test pieces of wood 7 feet long and 2 inches square were used, and it was found that the mean breaking weight of the Vancouver Island samples was 747 pounds, whereas that of the Riga samples was only 715 pounds. Moreover, the latter broke off short, whereas the former broke

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 224.—In 1816 the owners of the ship *Mentor* suggested, in their instructions to her captain, that "When leaving the coast it would be well to take a large number of spars between decks, which will find a good market in China. . . ." Judge Howay states that this is "the earliest reference that has been met, to the export of spars from the coast since the days of John Meares, thirty years before; the next mention of spars is in 1819, when the ship *Arab*, Lewis master, sailed from the Hawaiian Islands to the coast to obtain them for the Chilean market." *See* Judge F. W. Howay: "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1815–1819," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Section II., XXVII. (1933), pp. 121, 122.

in long splinters. "It hence appears," the report on the tests stated, "that in so far as strength is concerned the Pine [fir] from Vancouver's Island, is the superior Wood,—its durability must be decided by experience."[4]

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BROTCHIE.

As early as 1844 a Captain E. Swinton, of London, had written to the Admiralty upon the subject of purchasing spars; and on April 23 of that year the Storekeeper-General informed him in reply that the Lords Commissioners "would be disposed to give the prices mentioned in the enclosed statement for Spars from the North West Coast of America if of approved quality for Top Masts." The prices quoted varied from £45 for a 62-foot spar 20 inches in diameter to as high as £100 for a 74-foot spar 23 inches in diameter.[5] At this point negotiations seem to have languished, for it was not until June 10, 1847, that the Admiralty finally agreed to receive a cargo of spars of specified sizes and prices from Swinton. The original contract required delivery by December 31, 1849; but in December, 1848, this time limit was extended to December 31, 1851.[6]

In 1849 steps were taken to fulfil this contract, and on March 23 the ship *Albion* sailed from London, in command of Captain Richard O. Hinderwell. She went first to Sydney, Australia, and from there proceeded to the North Pacific.[7] As supercargo she carried Captain William Brotchie, who knew the coast well, as he had served aboard the *Dryad*, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. In spite of this the *Albion* early encountered misfortune, for late in the year she struck the reef which has been known ever since as Brotchie's ledge.[8] Brotchie himself had secured licences both from the Admiralty and the Hudson's Bay Company to cut spars on Vancouver Island; but in spite of this the *Albion* crossed the Straits of Juan de Fuca and on January 5, 1850, anchored off New Dungeness, in American waters. For

(4) Report dated Portsmouth Yard, December 27, 1847. The original or a copy of all official correspondence quoted is in the Provincial Archives.

(5) Storekeeper-General to E. Swinton, April 23, 1844.

(6) Storekeeper-General to Rear-Admiral David Price, October 24, 1854.

(7) Captain Hinderwell to Governor Blanshard, May 21, 1850.

(8) John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, Ottawa, 1909, p. 64.

the next three months her crew were busy felling trees and cutting and loading spars. Meanwhile news of her presence reached the United States customs officials at Astoria, and as she had neither reported to them nor secured any authorization to cut timber, she was seized on April 22 and taken to Steilacoom.[9] By that time she had "cut forty-two spars, from sixty to ninety-six feet in length, and from eighteen to twenty-six inches square at the but [*sic*], part of which were on board the vessel, and the others were lying by her side."[10] At Admiralty prices her cargo was probably worth £3,000.

In an effort to save his ship, Captain Hinderwell appealed to Richard Blanshard, who had recently been proclaimed Governor of the new Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. He contended that he had not known that a United States customs house or port of entry existed in the region; but Blanshard replied that Brotchie, his supercargo, was well acquainted with the coast and must have known that he was trespassing on American territory and that, in any event, the matter was beyond his jurisdiction.[11] John Lidgett, owner of the *Albion*, carried an appeal to Washington, where he was able to enlist the support of the British ambassador. The latter's intervention was successful; and in January, 1851, the Secretary of the Treasury instructed the Collector of Customs at Astoria to restore the *Albion* to her owner, complete with "such timber as she may have had on board at the time of the seizure," providing the costs of the seizure were paid and she had not been condemned and sold before these instructions arrived.[12] Unfortunately the *Albion* had been sold in the autumn of 1850; but the matter was referred eventually to the Commission of Claims set up under the convention of February, 1853, and the referee awarded the sum of $20,000 to Lidgett "on account of the hardship of the case."[13] That the customs officers had acted legally but with undue severity seems clear to-day. The period of joint

(9) Hinderwell to Blanshard, May 21, 1850.

(10) *Report of Decisions of the Commission of Claims under the convention of February 8, 1853* . . . Washington, 1856, pp. 376, 377.

(11) Blanshard to Hinderwell, June 15, 1850.

(12) F.O. 115, Vol. 117 (transcript in Provincial Archives).

(13) *Report of Decisions*, p. 381.

occupation of the Northwest Coast had ended as recently as 1846, and both British and American vessels had long been accustomed to resort to all parts of the region without formality. Even ships of the Royal Navy had anchored regularly in Port Discovery, near Port Townsend, on the south shore of the Straits, and it was not until 1848 that the first British man-of-war entered the harbour of Esquimalt.

In spite of the loss of the *Albion*, Brotchie did not abandon hope of selling spars to the Admiralty. Taking advantage of his licence from the Hudson's Bay Company, he went to Fort Rupert, at the northern end of Vancouver Island, and began cutting timber there. Though Indian labour only was available, he made remarkable progress, as is shown by a report submitted to Rear-Admiral Moresby, then in command of the Pacific Station, by Captain Kuper, of H.M.S. *Thetis*, which called at Fort Rupert in 1852. "I went with the Master to examine the spars," Kuper wrote, "and can confidently bear testimony to their superior quality. Mr. Brotchie deserves great credit for the patience and perseverence he has displayed in teaching the Indians to square and trim spars of such large dimensions, and it is much to be regretted that having exhausted all his means, he has not been left in a position to enable him to get them conveyed to England in completion of his contract with the Admiralty, as I feel satisfied that the introduction of spars from Vancouver's Island for the purposes of Her Majesty's Navy would be most desirable."[14] Kuper enclosed a letter from Brotchie dated June 26, and particulars of 107 spars which were then ready for shipment at Fort Rupert and Nimkees.

This was only the first of a whole series of appeals made to various authorities on Brotchie's behalf. In August, 1852, Governor Douglas, when reporting to the Secretary of State for

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(14) Kuper to Moresby, June 20, 1852, Hudson's Bay Papers, Colonial Office, Vol. 726, p. 57 (transcript in Provincial Archives). In this connection the following quotation is of interest: "At the end of January, 1853, our stay of eight months at Vancouver came to an end. We left for San Francisco, taking with us some immense spars to be sold there for the benefit of the ship's fund; and a goodly sum they brought, for the city was mainly one of wood in those days, and timber precious." *Two Admirals*, by Admiral John Moresby, London, 1913, p. 114. Moresby was then gunnery lieutenant of the *Thetis*.

the Colonies upon the export trade of Vancouver Island, pointed out that the award of a new spar contract to Brotchie by the Admiralty, "besides rescuing a worthy and enterprising man from ruin would give an impulse to industry and be the means of calling into exercise a branch of trade which may lead to very important results, as concerns the future interest of the Colony."[15] In May, 1853, Captain Prevost visited Fort Rupert in H.M.S. *Virago*, and reported to Admiral Moresby regarding Brotchie's spars as Captain Kuper had done the year before. "I can only add my testimony to that of others, already transmitted to the authorities at home in praise of these spars," he wrote; "the longest I measured was 116 feet long to the first branch without a knot, 30 inches square at the root to 20 inches at the head, a Menzies Pine, none of which have yet been imported to England."[16] When it is remembered that the longest spar ever used by the Royal Navy measured 106 feet, the unusual quality of Brotchie's cut becomes apparent.[17]

Brotchie told Prevost that "he had contracted with a company at Liverpool about to send a ship in February next [i.e., in 1854], and that it was their Intention to offer them [the spars] to the Government when they arrived."[18] But no ship came; and Brotchie found himself once again without any means of transporting his spars to Europe. In 1855 he went to San Francisco in an effort to dispose of them, and while there wrote to Rear-Admiral Bruce, who had succeeded Moresby on the Pacific Station, giving him particulars of 193 spars ready for shipment, and asking if any of Her Majesty's ships could make

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(15) Douglas to Sir John Pakington, August 2, 1852.

(16) Prevost to Moresby, June 7, 1853.

(17) The spar was secured from Port Gamble, Washington, for H.M.S. *Tribune*, in 1859. "This magnificent spar of 106 ft. length (the finished mast 101) and 32 inches diameter, faultless, and virtually knotless, was the longest mast of a single spar ever seen in the British Navy; so exceptionally beautiful indeed was it, that on our arrival at Portsmouth even the dockyard people acknowledged its merits, although it was not of their workmanship, and kept it as a 'show mast' in the sheds, where it lay for years, visited and admired by thousands." Commander F. M. Norman: *"Martello Tower" in China and The Pacific in H.M.S. "Tribune," 1856–60*, London, 1902, p. 258. I am indebted to Major F. V. Longstaff for this quotation.

(18) Prevost to Moresby, June 7, 1853.

use of or transport a portion of them.[19] Roderick Finlayson, Chief Factor for the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, endeavoured to assist Brotchie by writing to Commander Curtis, of H.M.S. *Brisk*, and Curtis duly forwarded the letter to Rear-Admiral Bruce.[20] In September, 1855, the latter reported to the Admiralty upon the whole question of Vancouver Island spars for the Navy, and expressed the opinion that they could be secured there to great advantage both to the Service and the Colony.[21] The previous month Governor Douglas, who was making every effort to interest the Admiralty in Esquimalt, had renewed his appeal for a spar contract through the Colonial Secretary.[22] As late as September, 1856, Brotchie once again went to San Francisco in an unsuccessful attempt to sell his spars, and in November Admiral Bruce again sent full particulars to London.[23] This second dispatch at length elicited a reply from the Admiralty, dated February 28, 1857, which stated that the Lords Commissioners deemed it " unnecessary at present to make any arrangement for the supply of Spars from Vancouver's Island, the Store of Spars in the several Dock Yards, being ample."[24] Six weeks before, the Lords Commissioners had decided not to establish a depot on Vancouver Island, and had instructed Admiral Bruce to enter into contracts for supplies in San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands instead; and their decision on the spar question merely reflected this larger policy.

For Brotchie this decision meant ruin, for he was never able to raise sufficient money to charter a ship. The very size of his spars proved a disadvantage, for it made them difficult to handle; and so far as is known none of them ever reached a market. Captain Brotchie himself was appointed harbourmaster for Vancouver Island by Douglas in 1858; but his health failed and he died at Victoria on February 28, 1859, aged 60.[25]

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(19) Brotchie to Bruce, July 30, 1855.

(20) Roderick Finlayson to Commander A. J. Curtis, July 31, 1855.

(21) Bruce to Storekeeper-General, September 5, 1855.

(22) Douglas to Lord John Russell, August 21, 1855; also the succeeding dispatch, dated September 13, 1855.

(23) Bruce to Storekeeper-General, November 28, 1856.

(24) Storekeeper-General to Bruce, February 28, 1857.

(25) *Victoria Gazette*, March 1, 1859.

Though it is a tale of frustration and failure, Brotchie's story has a place in the history of the lumbering industry, for his was the first definite attempt to start an export trade from Vancouver Island.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

The historic report in which James Douglas informed Dr. McLoughlin, in July of 1842, that he had selected the "port of Camosack" as the site for the new post to be established on Vancouver Island, indicates that the Hudson's Bay Company intended to erect a sawmill there, and enter the timber trade. "As a harbour," the report states, "it is equally safe and accessible, and abundance of timber grows near it for home consumption and exportation. There being no fresh-water stream of sufficient power, flour or saw-mills may be erected on the canal of Camosack [i.e., on Victoria Harbour], at a point where the channel is contracted to a breadth of 47 feet by two narrow ridges of granite projecting from either bank into the canal, through which the tide rushes out and in with a degree of force and velocity capable of driving the most powerful machinery, if guided and applied by mechanical skill."[26] The reference is, of course, to the spot which has been known as the Gorge for many years. Later in his report Douglas returns to the point: "I mentioned in a former part of this letter that I proposed to erect any machinery required for the establishment at the narrows of this canal, about two miles distant from the site of the fort, where there is a boundless water power, which our two millwrights, Crate and Fenton, think might, at a moderate expense, be applied to that object. A fresh-water river would certainly be in many respects more convenient, as the moving power could be made to act with greater regularity, and be applied to machinery at probably less labour and expense than a tide power; . . . But I saw no stream that would fully answer these purposes . . ."[27]

Fort Victoria was built in 1843, upon the spot Douglas had selected the preceding year; but when construction of a saw-

(26) *Vancouver Island. Copy of Correspondence between the Chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Secretary of State for the Colonies.* . . . [Return, British House of Commons.] London, 1848, p. 5.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

mill was planned, in 1847, the site chosen was not at the Gorge, but on Millstream, at the head of Esquimalt Harbour, about a quarter of a mile above the present Parsons Bridge. According to notes compiled many years ago from the Fort Victoria Journal, this location was selected in August, 1847, and construction of the mill—the first sawmill ever erected in what is now British Columbia—commenced in January, 1848. No doubt the inconvenience of tide-power and lack of experience in its use led to this change of plans; but rivers, too, can pose problems, and it was disconcerting to discover, when the mill was completed, that there was insufficient water in Millstream to operate it. There had been plenty of water the preceding August, when the site was chosen, possibly because the previous winter had been unusually severe; but all through the summer of 1848 the new mill stood idle. In September, Roderick Finlayson, then in charge of Fort Victoria, and Fenton, the millwright, made a survey of the surrounding country in an effort to find a river or lake which could either be diverted into Millstream or furnish a more satisfactory mill-site, but none could be found.

At long last autumn rains made operation possible and on November 24 the first lumber was sawn. It is said to have been used to build a threshing floor in a barn at the North dairy farm. On April 27, 1849, a shipment consisting of 8,238 feet was sent to Fort Langley—the first lumber to be sent to the Mainland, so far as we know. The same month Fenton, the millwright, left to seek his fortune in the gold-rush in California. His place was taken presently by Parsons, after whom the bridge across Millstream was named. The small plant on Millstream was not intended to engage in the export trade, but owing to the gold-rush, and the pressing demand for lumber in which it resulted, some shipments were sent abroad. In October, 1849, the American brig *Coloney* carried a pioneer shipment of 42,270 feet to San Francisco. In January, 1850, the brig *Cayuga* arrived at Esquimalt to load the second cargo of lumber sent to California. The price paid was $80 per thousand feet, and the captain deposited $7,000 in gold dust as security.

Stray items and entries indicate that a considerable number of shipments were sent to San Francisco and also to Hawaii during the next few years. Then in 1854–55 a freshet washed

out the water-wheel and did serious damage both to the sawmill and to a grist-mill which had been erected beside it. The wheel was replaced, and Bancroft states that remains of it were still visible when he visited Vancouver Island in 1878.[28] A number of iron bars and eyes inserted in the rock to anchor the sawmill survive to-day.

A second sawmill was built by the Hudson's Bay Company at Nanaimo. It was driven by water-power and the site chosen was on the Salt Spring River, about 600 yards from the original location of the bastion. Construction had commenced when Captain Prevost visited Nanaimo in May of 1853.[29] A few months later, water in the mines made the installation of a pump and engine necessary, and J. W. McKay, the officer in charge, suggested that the latter might be made to serve two purposes. "A circular saw," he wrote to Douglas, "may be worked by the steam engine with apparently very little extra trouble . . . As a great deal of Lumber is required for building, the circular saw would be a great acquisition, the more so as our sawyers with three pit saws,[30] are barely able to supply the increasing demand for sawn lumber in the coal mines."[31] Douglas approved of the suggestion,[32] but for some reason it was not carried out.

The water-power mill was completed in October, 1854, and oxen were brought from Victoria to haul logs. Judging from an entry in the post journal, most of the latter were supplied by the natives. "The Nanaimo Indians," it reads, "bring us large quantities of saw logs—none less than fifteen inches in diameter at the small end and fifteen feet long, at the tariff of eight for a blanket delivered at highwater mark where required.

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(28) H. H. Bancroft: *History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, p. 251. James Deans: *Vancouver Island* (transcript in Provincial Archives).

(29) Captain Prevost to Rear-Admiral Moresby, June 7, 1853.

(30) Before sawmills were built sawn lumber was obtained by whip-sawing. A staging was built, sufficiently high for a person to walk under, and a log, two sides of which had been flattened with a broad-axe, was lashed to this. Boards were sawn from the log by two men, one on top of the staging and the other underneath (i.e., in the "pit"), who operated a long saw with handles at both ends.

(31) *Nanaimo Correspondence* (Provincial Archives), McKay to Douglas, September 24, 1853.

(32) *Ibid.*, Douglas to McKay, September 27, 1853.

If an occasional one arrives under that size it is bought by us at the tariff of sixteen for a Blanket."[33] The mill was stopped occasionally by lack of water or logs, but the need for lumber was so great that it was kept running with as few interruptions as possible, and upon occasions ran night and day.[34]

About this time the Hudson's Bay Company contemplated entering the spar trade. Governor Simpson submitted the suggestion to the Governor and Committee in London, and in reply received a dispatch dated April 5, 1854, containing the following passage: " The importation of Spars from Fort Rupert, noticed in your 13th paragraph, would we think be a profitable branch of trade provided outward cargo could be obtained for the vessel sent to bring them home, but at present we see no prospect of that—With the view however of testing the market here, and of being prepared for operations on a large scale should that be deemed expedient, we have, in constructing the *Princess Royal,* which is to replace the *Norman Morison* [as an annual supply and fur ship sailing between England and Vancouver Island] made provision for her taking in spars of a large size, with which we intend that any room there may be over and above that required for the furs shall be filled up."[35] The objection was well taken, and the project was not carried further.

THE VANCOUVER'S ISLAND STEAM SAWING MILL AND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY.

Though the Vancouver's Island Steam Sawing Mill and Agricultural Company accomplished nothing, it deserves passing notice because it advanced the first plan under which it was proposed to apply steam-power to lumbering on the Island, and develop the industry upon a considerable scale. The only document concerning it at hand is a prospectus dated London, June 10, 1850, intended for the consideration of the Board of Trade. The first two paragraphs read as follows:—

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(33) *Nanaimo Journal,* August 29, 1855.

(34) *Ibid.,* August 8, November 1, 1855; November 21, 1856; February 24, 1857.

(35) H.B. Archives, A.6/31. p. 5. This and all subsequent references from the Hudson's Bay Archives are quoted by kind permission of the Governor and Committee.

This Company has been established under the sanction of the Hudson's Bay Company [to which the Island had been granted in January, 1849] with a view to carry out the desire of the Government, that Vancouvers Island should be colonized, and it is their intention (should it meet with the sanction of the Legislature) to form a large trading establishment there. It may, here, be proper to mention that the design originated in a report which has been furnished to the Promoters, by a Captain Cooper who has been some time engaged under the Hudson's Bay Co. & who has within the last few weeks only arrived in this Country from Vancouvers Island, & it is intended by the Co. to entrust the full carrying out of the design to that Gentleman but the distance & consequent difficulty of communication renders it imperatively necessary that the persons here forming the Company & who are almost without exception connected in business or otherwise with the Hudsons Bay Co. should be limited in their responsibility it is therefore proposed that a Company should be formed with a Capital (to commence with) of £10,000 to be raised by shares of £250 each, with a power to increase the Capital to £15 or even £20,000 provided the scheme should become a prosperous one.

The object of the Co. will be in the first instance to purchase in this Country of large & expensive Machinery consisting of a Steam Engine & the other necessary Machinery of Saw Mills for the purpose of being transmitted to Vancouvers Island to enable the Company to carry out their Trade in Sawing Timber (of which there is great abundance) for exportation.[36]

More will be heard of Captain Cooper, but the Company disappears from sight; and, in spite of the similarity of name, it seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the Vancouver's Island Steam Saw Mill Company, whose fortunes we must next consider.

VANCOUVER'S ISLAND STEAM SAW MILL COMPANY.[37]

This Company was a private venture, and was in no way connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, although the latter acted as its bankers, and all those who subscribed its initial capital were Hudson's Bay employees. The decision to form it was made at a meeting held in Victoria on December 28, 1851. It was agreed that the capital should be £2,000, in £100 shares. The original subscription list has survived, and it indicates that

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(36) The prospectus is printed in full in the *Report of the Provincial Archives Department . . . 1913*, Victoria, 1914, p. 79.

(37) Unless otherwise noted, documents and details relating to this Company are quoted by permission from the original minute and record book, which is preserved in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company (H.B.C. Arch. Old No. 136).

James Douglas, David D. Wishart, J. D. Pemberton, and Roderick Finlayson took two shares each, while one share each was taken by Charles Dodd, John Work, W. F. Tolmie, John F. Kennedy, J. W. McKay, George Simpson, jr., W. H. McNeill, W. A. Mouat, Robert Clouston, and James Sangster. Dr. Helmcken attended the first meeting and was expected to subscribe, but failed to do so. Sea captains took a prominent part in early lumbering on Vancouver Island, and it is interesting to note that the fourteen subscribers included five shipmasters.

No time was lost in completing preliminaries, and on January 17, 1852, Roderick Finlayson, as Vice-Chairman, wrote to Messrs. Albert Pelly & Company, of London, appointing them agents of the new Company and asking them to purchase the machinery required for a mill. They were also requested to engage a man capable both of building a sawmill and supervising its operation when completed.

Late in the spring of 1852 the Hudson's Bay ship *Norman Morison* reached England. Her master, Captain Wishart, was one of the shareholders in the Company; and he was distressed to find upon his arrival that no order for the machinery had yet been placed. Though the record does not so state, there can be no doubt that the Company hoped to profit from the boom arising from the California gold-rush; and Wishart impressed upon Pelly & Company the need for immediate action. The consequence was that on July 6, 1852, the latter reported to the Vancouver's Island Steam Saw Mill Company as follows:—

> . . . Capt. Wishart having explained to us the great importance that no time should be lost . . . we have been actively engaged in enquiring about & inspecting such Saw frames as might be for sale ready made either new or slightly used.—We have succeeded in procuring a Saw frame efficient, strong and well made (not highly finished) which has been hardly at all used, which we think will quite do the work you require. The price delivered alongside the "Norman Morison" is £450—in addition to which there will be the cost of a few duplicates & extras which we thought necessary.
>
> We have likewise purchased a new portable 20 horse power steam engine complete to work the saw mill for the sum of £250 and a circular saw frame for the sum of £20. We are now having a few alterations made in the drums &c. to allow of its being applied to haul timber from the Water. This engine as well as the Saw Mill has been carefully examined by a practical engineer of high standing who pronounces them perfectly efficient and well suited for the purposes for which they are intended.

The saw-frames, the engine, and a boiler were on board the *Norman Morison* when she sailed from London in August, 1852. Her passengers included John Hall, who had undertaken to serve the Vancouver's Island Company for five years as millwright, engineer, and sawyer.

The vessel arrived at Victoria on January 16, 1853, and from that date troubles crowded upon the Company. The original site chosen for the mill was on Cordova Bay; but before the *Norman Morison* arrived this had been rejected in favour of the north shore of the lagoon at Albert Head. When the machinery was landed there, it was found that part of it had been damaged. The Company claimed compensation and Douglas duly submitted their case to the Governor and Committee in a letter dated May 19, 1853. But to the facts of the case he added the following significant comment: ". . . I may however observe, that the Steam Saw Mill Company have so far been unfortunate in their affairs, in consequence of the want of proper superintendance the shareholders being all engaged in the [Hudson's Bay] Company's service, and having no opportunity of attending to the business of the Saw Mill, which is left to the Engineer Hall, who has shewn neither zeal nor uprightness in serving them."[38] In August, the shareholders met and decided to discharge John Hall. Giles Ford was chosen as his successor, and Captain James Sangster was urged to take up residence at Albert Head and assume sole charge of the mill. Whether Sangster did so does not appear.

In January, 1854, the shareholders met to consider their financial troubles. The original capital had proven to be insufficient "to set the Mill going," and most of them agreed to advance further sums to the Company. Giles Ford was sent to San Francisco to purchase an additional boiler and other equipment, which was secured at a cost of $1,852.46; but matters did not improve. In March Douglas reported that the Company was "a most signal failure" which had "not made a penny of return."[39] In January, 1856, the shareholders were again called upon to advance funds to meet a debt of £579 due the Hudson's

(38) H.B.C. Arch. B. 226/b/6.

(39) Douglas to the H.B. Co., London, March 16, 1854. (H.B.C. Arch. B. 226/b/11.)

Bay Company; but instead of complying they decided instead " that the Mill & premises appertaining thereto [should] be sold by public auction in order thereby to recover the Debts owed by the same." For some reason this resolution was not acted upon; and the last entry in the old minute book of the Company is an incomplete record of a second resolution, passed at a meeting of the shareholders held in March, 1857, apparently empowering Roderick Finlayson to sell the mill.[40]

In any event, later in the year the mill was sold to James Duncan, of Victoria, for whom James Yates went security. The price was £2,000, which was to be paid in four instalments. Duncan claimed later that " the machinery having been out of order, it prevented him from fulfilling all the terms of his agreement."[41] He stated further that he had expended $3,712 upon improvements to the plant.[42] But his payments fell in arrears, and in June, 1858, the matter was taken to court. The jury found for the defendant, but the case was put in Chancery and remained unsettled for several years. Meanwhile, on August 29, 1859, the mill was burned to the ground. " The fire," according to the *Victoria Gazette,* " is supposed to have originated in the spontaneous combustion of a heap of sawdust lying at the works. Another report is that a party of Indians who encamped there recently, had caused the conflagration by their camp fires."[43] This excerpt has a certain interest, because the reference to the " heap of sawdust " is the only evidence which has come to light which proves that Vancouver Island's first steam sawmill ever produced a foot of lumber.

The case in Chancery was finally settled in March of 1862, when there was nothing left of the mill but its ruins and site.[44] Duncan regained possession of the latter, only to lose it again in 1863, when payments due the Government fell in arrears.[45] Meanwhile the £579 owing to the Hudson's Company was being

(40) This concludes the portion of the text based upon the old minute book.

(41) Victoria *Press*, March 21, 1862. An account of the settlement of the case in Chancery which gives its history in some detail.

(42) James Duncan to Colonial Secretary, August 20, 1863.

(43) *Victoria Gazette*, September 3, 1859.

(44) Victoria *Press*, March 21, 1862.

(45) Duncan to Colonial Secretary, August 20, 1863.

repaid by degrees. The Grand Ledgers show that it was partly paid off in 1858 and 1859, but it was not settled finally until as late as April, 1864.[46]

THE LUMBER MARKET: 1849–1855.

It may be well to consider next the general character and extent of the lumber trade of which the pioneer mills were endeavouring to secure a share.

At first the local demand for lumber on Vancouver Island, and the British portion of the Mainland, was very limited. Even in 1854 the population of Victoria was only 300, and that of Nanaimo 125. So far as this local market was concerned, the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company erected two small water-power mills merely indicated that the requirements of the Company's posts had risen above the modest level at which they could be supplied efficiently by whip-sawing.

The gold-rush in California changed the situation completely. It not only provided a highly profitable market for the surplus product of the Hudson's Bay mills, but led to the organization of the unfortunate Vancouver's Island Steam Saw Mill Company, and the initiation of other happier enterprises. What happened on Vancouver Island, however, only reflected what was taking place on a much larger scale across the Straits, in the Puget Sound area. Though the first mill on the Sound was built in 1847, before the gold-rush, it was the boom market in California which led to the rapid growth of the industry. Some ten mills seem to have been in operation in 1853, and by 1855 the number had risen to sixteen, with a normal daily capacity of 85,000 feet.[47] In 1858 the Port Gamble mill alone could cut 50,000 feet in twenty-four hours.[48]

The Puget Sound mills thus far outstripped the Vancouver Island plants in size and importance; and in addition the latter were handicapped by the 20-per-cent. duty levied upon all lumber

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(46) H.B.C. Arch. A. 14/51, f. 26; A. 14/58, f. 62; A. 14/64, f. 94.

(47) *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey . . . 1856*, Washington, 1856, p. 293.

(48) Iva L. Buchanan: "Lumbering and Logging in the Puget Sound Region in Territorial Days," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXVII. (1936), p. 39. See also the valuable notes in Bancroft's *History of Washington*, San Francisco, 1890, pp. 337–339.

imported into the United States. When the negotiations which resulted in the reciprocity treaty of 1854 between Canada and the United States were in progress, Governor Douglas did his best to convince the Colonial Office that Vancouver Island should be included in the agreement. In dispatch after dispatch he pointed out how much free access to the San Francisco market would mean to the Colony, but his representations were disregarded.

The part played in the lumber export trade by the Hudson's Bay Company has already been noted. Its first shipment was made in October, 1849, and others followed in 1850 and later years. In 1852 a new participant entered the trade in the person of Captain James Cooper. Cooper had been in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, as master of one or other of their annual supply ships, from 1844 to 1850. In the latter year it will be recalled that he was associated with the group of London capitalists who attempted unsuccessfully to organize the first Vancouver's Island Steam Sawing Mill and Agricultural Company. When this scheme was abandoned, Cooper decided to emigrate to Vancouver Island as an independent settler, and sailed from London in the ship *Tory* in September, 1850. He formed a partnership with a fellow-passenger, Thomas Blinkhorn, and when they reached Victoria, in May, 1851, they took up land at Metchosin. Cooper intended to be a trader as well as a farmer, and had brought with him, in sections, a small iron schooner which he assembled at Victoria. She was the first vessel registered there, and the certificate of examination states that she was of 45 tons burthen and had " One deck, Two Masts, Standing Bowsprit, Shield Head & Iron Built."[49] In spite of her small size, the *Alice*, as she was christened, ventured as far afield as San Francisco and the Hawaiian Islands. Cooper and Blinkhorn were both active and enterprising, and they traded in all manner of goods, from coal on the one hand to potatoes and cranberries on the other. Of more immediate interest is the fact that they also traded in piles, spars, and squared timbers, most of which seem to have been secured in the vicinity of Sooke for the California market.

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(49) Dated January 7, 1852; signed by Charles Dodd and William Mitchell (original in Provincial Archives).

The association of Sooke with lumbering goes back as far as 1849, when the original settler there, Captain W. C. Grant, arrived and took up land. About 1850 Captain Grant installed a small water-power sawmill at the mouth of a stream at the north-east end of Sooke Basin—the second mill to be built on Vancouver Island. In 1853 he left the Colony, after having disposed of his property to John Muir and his sons. The Muirs were coal-miners, who had been brought out in 1849 by the Hudson's Bay Company to develop the coal deposits at Fort Rupert. Later they were at Nanaimo for a time, when the mines were being opened there; and John Muir, sr., first went to Sooke to test a seam of coal for the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1852, however, the Muirs secured a contract to supply piles, which were then in great demand in San Francisco. Thereafter the sons devoted all their time to the lumber trade and the farms at Sooke; though John Muir, sr., retained his position as foreman of the miners at Nanaimo for some time.

The year 1853 saw the California boom reach its height; and it was in this same year that lumber exports from Vancouver Island first became of some importance. Late in 1852 Douglas appointed a collector of customs, whose chief duty was the entering and clearance of ships which visited the Island; and in May, 1853, he reported at some length to the Hudson's Bay Company upon the prospects of the Colony's export trade. The passage upon the lumber business, and the difficulties and competition which it was facing, reads as follows: "The export of timber to California, is now beginning to attract attention, several American vessels having lately called here for cargoes of Piles—i.e., round and hewn timber, for the California market, a branch of trade which requires careful nursing, as the timber at Nisqually [at the southern end of Puget Sound], is of fully better quality, than that of this Island, but the advantage gained by loading here, is a great saving of time, equal to the voyage to and from Nisqually, which seldom occupies less than 15 days; that advantage is in some measure counterbalanced by the duty of 20 per cent, charged in the Ports of the United States on foreign timber . . ."[50] A sentence in a second letter to London, written

(50) James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, May 16, 1853.

two months later, shows that this trade was having its effect upon general conditions in the Colony: "There is at present a great demand, for squared and round timber in California which affords highly remunerative employment to the labouring classes, and adds both to the scarcity and price of labour, as a good axe-man can make from 4 to 6 dollars a day in that line."[51]

Neither Captain Cooper nor the Muirs possessed sufficient capital to develop their business upon a large scale; but their prospects were sufficiently promising to attract the notice of a Mr. Webster, whom Douglas described as "a crafty American Adventurer, who was striving to secure a monopoly of the timber exports from Soke District."[52] In June, 1853, by taking advantage of the incompetence of a Justice, Webster managed to secure the arrest of two ships which were then loading spars at Sooke, and their masters were forbidden, in the Queen's name, to receive any further timber on board. The latter appealed to Governor Douglas, who at once ordered the vessels released from custody; but in September Webster brought an action against the Muirs and was awarded damages to the sum of $2,213 and costs. Douglas's response to this second assault was prompt and drastic. He decided that the time had come when something more than a Justices' Court was essential in the Colony, and on September 23 the Legislative Council met, established a Court of Common Pleas, and appointed David Cameron its first Judge. It is significant, as Douglas informed the Colonial Secretary with obvious satisfaction, that "after that addition to the bench, Mr. Webster decamped" and never returned to Vancouver Island.[53] At the same session, the Legislative Council took the further precaution of passing a series of timber regulations, the important provisions of which were two in number. In the first place, a duty of tenpence per load of 50 cubic feet was imposed upon all timber cut on the public lands; and section 3 provided "That no person, not being a subject of Her Majesty the Queen and a resident of Vancouver's Island, shall cut timber on the public lands under

(51) Douglas to Barclay, July 12, 1953.

(52) Douglas to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, December 11, 1854.

(53) *Ibid.*

LUMBER VESSELS WHICH SAILED FROM VICTORIA OR SOOKE, 1853.

Date.	Vessel.	Nationality.	Tonnage.	Destination.	Cargo.	Value.
1. Jan. 13	Aurelia	Chilean	252	Valparaiso	16,000 ft. spars	$1,500
2. Jan. 13	Honolulu Packet	British	92	San Francisco	2,000 ft. timber	500
3. Jan. 14	Triumph	American	188	San Francisco	Salmon, lumber, etc.	2,500
4. Jan. 15	William	British	204	San Francisco	Coal and piles	1,800
5. Feb. 19	Honolulu Packet	British	92	San Francisco	Timber	——
6. Mar. 23	William	British	204	San Francisco	Coal and lumber	——
7. Apr. 25	Honolulu Packet	British	92	San Francisco	Squared timber	500
8. June 21	Rose	German	200	San Francisco	Piles and squared timber	1,100
9. June 26	Joseph Warren	Chilean	250	San Francisco	Piles	1,400
10. July 4	William	British	204	San Francisco	Piles	1,000
11. July 20	Honolulu Packet	British	92	San Francisco	Salmon, squared timber	2,600
12. Sept. 3	Rose	German	200	San Francisco	Piles, squared timber	1,000
13. Sept. 6	Honolulu Packet	British	92	San Francisco	Salmon, squared timber	1,500
14. Sept. 10	William	British	204	San Francisco	Piles	1,000
15. Oct. 5	Senator	——	300	San Francisco	Coal, squared timber	5,000
16. Oct. 22	William	British	204	San Francisco	Salmon and piles	——
17. Oct. 26	Lord Western	British	530	San Francisco	Salmon, piles, and squared timber	4,000
18. Nov. 5	Rose	German	200	San Francisco	Piles	1,000
19. Nov. 30	Duchess of San Lorenzo	——	——	San Francisco	Piles and spars	1,300

a penalty not exceeding £20."[54] When reporting this legislation to the Colonial Secretary, Douglas explained that its purpose was "altogether protective, it being thereby intended to prevent the waste and destruction of timber on the public Lands, and to throw the timber trade, as much as possible into the hands of the actual Colonist."[55]

The original registers of the port of Victoria, dating back to November, 1852, are still in existence; and from this and other sources, notably Captain Grant's well-known *Description of Vancouver Island*,[56] the accompanying list of lumber ships which sailed from Victoria or Sooke in 1853 has been compiled. Of the nineteen sailings, the most interesting is the first, that of the Chilean bark *Aurelia*, which left Sooke for Valparaiso on January 13, laden with spars secured from the Muirs. This is the earliest known shipment of any size to be sent to South America. Grant states that the total lumber exports from Vancouver Island in 1853 were as follows: Piles, 128,800 running feet; squared timber, 16,500 cubic feet; spars, 22,000 running feet; sawed lumber, 10,000 superficial feet.[57] Unfortunately it seems impossible to reduce these figures to a single total expressed in terms of board-feet. Most of this timber came from limits owned by the Muirs and others. Douglas notes in a revenue statement dated October 24, 1853, that duty had then been paid upon 563 loads of timber, but adds: "That return shews the quantity of timber only which was cut for exportation, on the public lands, but a far greater quantity has been exported by persons who have purchased tracts of wood land, on which no duty is levied."[58]

Few details are available regarding the lumber trade in 1854 and 1855. An old entry states that in the latter year the brig *Recovery*, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, made four voyages to Hawaii, with full cargoes which included 18,000 feet of

(54) *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island* (Archives Memoir No. II.), Victoria, 1918, p. 22.

(55) Douglas to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, January 7, 1854.

(56) *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXVII. (1857), pp. 268–320. The shipping list, which is on pp. 312, 313, was apparently compiled in great part from the port register. The latter is in the Provincial Archives.

(57) *Ibid.*, p. 313.

(58) Douglas to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, October 24, 1853.

lumber and 421,000 shingles. No doubt the latter were what we know to-day as shakes.[59] By the summer of 1855 Captain Cooper had cut a total of 1,200 spars for the San Francisco market,[60] and a statement by John Muir, sr., summarizes the business done by the Muirs up to July, 1855, as follows: "I beg to state that for the last two years I have been engaged in the Spar trade in which time I have loaded fourteen vessels (four of the said vessels belonging to Messrs. Barrows & Sons, San Francisco.) carrying from 200 to 800 Tons and shipped to the San Francisco, Valparaiso, and China Markets, the said Spars being allowed by competent Judges to be superior to the New Zealand Spars the largest ones yet shipped are 32 inches in Diameter at the partners & 93 ft long, down to studding Sail Booms . . ."[61] To this may be appended Michael Muir's statement to Bancroft, in 1878, that "Sooke was the first place from which piles and spars were exported. San Francisco, Shanghai, Australia, Hong Kong, Sandwich Islands, South America, and England, were points of exportation."[62]

Grant states that piles were "sold to the shipping at six cents per foot, squared timber at twelve cents," presumably in 1853.[63] The profit to the ship-owner at the height of the gold-rush boom must have been great, as Bancroft notes that "skippers paid eight cents a foot for piles delivered alongside the vessel, and sold them in S[an] F[rancisco] for a dollar a foot."[64] In 1855, John Muir, in speaking of his trade in spars, stated that he had received three shillings per foot for the large ones, "and the smaller ones in proportion delivered afloat." At this rate the price of an 80-foot spar would be £12; and at the same date Captain Brotchie, despairing of finding a market for the mag-

(59) Incidentally the *Recovery* has a place in lumbering history, as she was originally the American brig *Orbit*, and carried the first cargo of lumber ever exported from Puget Sound. Bancroft: *History of Washington*, p. 15.

(60) Rear-Admiral Bruce to Storekeeper-General, Admiralty, September 5, 1855.

(61) John Muid to Commander A. J. Curtis, July 30, 1855.

(62) Bancroft: *History of British Columbia*, p. 255.

(63) Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 311. He also states that spars were sold at 12 cents a foot, but this must surely be an error.

(64) Bancroft: *History of Washington*, p. 337.

nificent spars lying at Fort Rupert, was prepared to supply a similar spar for as little as £7.9.1.[65] Comparison with the prices originally quoted by the Admiralty to Captain Swinton indicates the determining influence which remoteness from markets, and dependence upon vessels owned by other interests, exercised upon the cash return actually secured by the exporter of timber on Vancouver Island in early days.

W. KAYE LAMB.

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

(65) Commander A. J. Curtis to Rear-Admiral Bruce, August 9, 1855.

A NOTE ON THE CHANGE IN TITLE OF FORT ST. JAMES.

Fort St. James on Stuart Lake is one of the oldest settlements in British Columbia. Father Morice, in his History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, has recorded the traditional history of the Carrier Indians and told the story of the founding of the fort by Simon Fraser and John Stuart on a site marked out by James McDougall.[1] Although called by Fraser in his letters by the native name Nakazleh, the post was usually known as Stuart Lake. After the Union of the North West and the Hudson's Bay Companies the name was changed to Fort St. James.

In the Hudson's Bay Archives in London is preserved the correspondence book of the "New Caledonia Department" from 1821–23. Access to it was graciously permitted by the Governor and Committee and from it the following facts have been obtained.

John Stuart dates his letters from Stuart Lake from November 3, 1821, to February 16, 1822. From February 25, 1822 on, he uses the new title varying it from Fort Saint James to Saint James. On October 14, 1822, he returns in a letter to James McDougall to the older title, but also includes the new one, the entry reading "Stuart's Lake, Saint James, 14th Oct. 1822."

In the Minutes of Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land held at Norway House on August 11, 1821, and adjourned till August 12 and 13, there is no reference whatever to any authorization of a change in name for the post on Stuart Lake.[2] It has been conjectured that the title Fort St. James was suggested by Fort St. John, which in accordance with the Minutes of Council of 1823 was to be removed to Rocky Mountain Portage.[3] There is no certainty as to the reason for the change

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(1) Morice, Rev. A. G., O.M.I.: *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia,* Toronto, 1905 (2nd edition), pp. 55, 63–65.

(2) Minutes of Council, 1821–31. Hudson's Bay Archives B 239 K—pp 1–9; citation made with the permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 27.

in title, but it is evident that it was sudden. Unfortunately, the Fort St. James journal for the year 1821–22 is missing from the Hudson's Bay Company's collection, so it is impossible to settle this point. The Journal of Fraser Lake kept by John McDonnell commencing April 20, 1822, calls the post Fort St. James, but does not mention any change of name.

One thing is certain; the suggestion that Fort St. James was named for James Douglas is absolutely contrary to fact. James Douglas in 1822 was in the Churchill or English River district and remained at Isle à la Cross until 1825, when he proceeded to New Caledonia. The change in name came in February, 1822. The reason for it is not yet apparent.

W. N. SAGE.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Contributors to this Issue.

T. A. Rickard, D.Sc., A.R.S.M., is the author of many books, including *Man and Metals* and *Through the Yukon and Alaska*. His autobiography, *Retrospect*, has just been published. He was formerly editor of the *Mining Magazine* (London) and the *Mining and Scientific Press* (San Francisco).

Ian McTaggart Cowan, Ph.D., Assistant Director of the Provincial Museum, has contributed many papers to scientific journals, and is an authority upon the wild life of the Province.

Walter N. Sage, Ph.D., is Head of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia. He is the author of the standard life of Sir James Douglas, and of other books and papers relating to the history of the Province.

V. L. Denton, B.A., is Principal of the Provincial Normal School, Victoria, and is well known to students of history as author of *The Far West Coast*.

Index to Volume I.

The title page and index to the first volume of the *Quarterly* are being distributed to subscribers with this issue. It is hoped that in future it will be possible to publish the annual index in the October number, instead of in separate form.

The January and April, 1937, issues of the *Quarterly* have been out of print for several months. A number of libraries and collectors that entered their subscriptions late in the year were as a consequence unable to secure copies. An appeal is therefore made to subscribers who do not wish to preserve the *Quarterly* to return their copies of these issues to the Provincial Archives, in order that libraries and others who wish to bind the magazine may secure a complete file. If desired, payment will be made at the rate of 50 cents each for the copies returned, provided they are complete and in good condition.

British Columbia Historical Association.

Victoria Section.

The annual meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on October 28, 1937. Dr. T. A. Rickard, the President, was elected by acclamation to a second term of office. Other officers elected were as follows: Vice-President, John Goldie; Hon. Secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; Hon. Treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden; Members of the Council: Dr. J. S. Plaskett, Dr. Kaye Lamb, E. W. McMullen, G. S. McTavish, J. B. Munro, T. W. S. Parsons, Mrs. Curtis-Sampson, Major H. T. Nation, and Major G. Sisman; Auditor, G. H. Harmon.

The Secretary prefaced her report by the announcement that it was just fifteen years since the Association had its birth. For the first ten years the average membership was 40; this year the membership of the Section

was 133. A brief account of the eight lectures which had been given during the season followed.

The retiring Treasurer, Mr. G. S. McTavish, gave a detailed report, showing a satisfactory bank balance. Conveners of Standing Committees submitting reports were as follows: Mrs. George Phillips, Necrology; Major Nation, Mining; C. C. Pemberton, Historic Landmarks; Miss Wolfenden, Bibliography.

Following the business session, Dr. Rickard presented an interesting paper on *Early Gold Discoveries in B.C.* He traced the work of the Indians in first finding and exploiting the precious metal, and linked the subsequent development of mining in the Province to the gold discoveries in California.

Before the adjournment the Association honoured the retiring Treasurer, Mr. McTavish, with a life membership, which he declined with thanks, saying that he preferred to remain an ordinary member.

On Tuesday, November 16, the Society met to see the beautiful coloured cinema pictures taken by Mr. R. H. B. Ker, grandson of Robert Ker, Auditor-General of British Columbia in the early days of the Colony. After a few remarks with regard to his visit in England, he proceeded to entertain the large gathering, showing pictures he had taken of the Coronation and Naval Review. These were followed by views of Victoria, including the Military Tattoo held in July, and the pioneers at the garden party held by the Section at the home of Mrs. Curtis-Sampson. Mr. W. M. Halliday, for thirty years Indian Agent at Alert Bay, until his retirement in 1933, was the speaker at the meeting of the Section held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday, December 21. The President, Dr. T. A. Rickard, presided. Mr. Halliday, before becoming Indian Agent, was school-teacher at Alert Bay for seven years, and police magistrate and coroner for a large section of territory. He is senior Justice of the Peace for British Columbia, and during his term of office was known to the natives as the " White Father."

His address to the Society consisted of reminiscences of early and later days in and around Alert Bay, his personal experiences with the Indians, and numerous interesting side-lights on the habits and characteristics of his native charges.

Dr. R. L. Reid, of Vancouver, a guest for the evening, received a warm welcome from the President. He spoke briefly, and brought greetings from the Vancouver Section.

Mr. B. A. McKelvie also spoke, giving a short account of a trip made by Mr. Halliday and himself up the coast of Vancouver Island to Nigei Island in search of relics left by James Strange, the fur-trader, in 1786. Much careful research had been made for years into the records of Strange's voyage by Mr. McKelvie, who had secured from India a copy of his journal. The searchers were rewarded by finding a round fragment of copper which, in their opinion, was originally buried beneath the stump by Strange.

Vancouver Section.

Dr. Robie L. Reid, K.C., was elected President of the Section, by acclamation, at the annual meeting held in the City Archives, City Hall, on Thurs-

day, October 28, 1937. Other officers for the coming year are: Vice-President, Reginald Tupper, K.C.; Secretary, Helen R. Boutilier; Treasurer, Kenneth A. Waites; Members of the Council, Dr. W. N. Sage, Major J. S. Matthews, J. M. Coady, Mrs. Thomas Kirk, D. A. McGregor, J. R. V. Dunlop, S. W. Mathews, and W. C. Ditmars.

In accepting the office of President, Dr. Reid appealed to the members for support in an attempt to raise the membership to 500. If this were done, he explained, it would be possible to increase the size and scope of the *Quarterly*.

The annual report of the Secretary showed that four meetings of the Section had been addressed by outstanding students of the history of British Columbia, and that the membership had increased from 95 in October, 1936, to 195 in October, 1937. The Treasurer reported a balance of $37.29, after all expenses had been met.

British Columbia's position among the Five Canadas was the subject chosen by Dr. Sage, the retiring President, for his presidential address. Dr. Sage spoke of the geographical and cultural divisions of Canada, and then confined his remarks to the Pacific Province. Even within this division the speaker showed that there was considerable diversity, and that each section of the Province has a history of its own which the Association should endeavour to preserve. The varied racial and cultural backgrounds of the citizens of British Columbia provide a wealth from which our own distinctive contribution to Canadian life will be made, but exactly what form this will take remains to be seen. As Dr. Sage expressed it, " British Columbia is a part of Canada and yet apart from it."

His Worship Mayor Miller attended the meeting, the first to be held in the City Archives, and spoke briefly. He indicated some of the changes which had taken place in Vancouver during the time he has lived there, and stated that he felt that an organization such as the Historical Association had a very real place in the life of the community.

On Wednesday, December 15, the Section met in the old Hastings Mill Store. The speaker of the evening was Mr. Kenneth Waites, who has made a special study of responsible government in British Columbia, and who chose as his subject, *How Self-government Came to B.C.* He paid particular attention to the influence of a reform press, and to such men as John Robson and Amor de Cosmos. In expressing the thanks of the audience to Mr. Waites, Dr. R. L. Reid, who presided, gave an amusing description of the meetings of the early legislators in the old Parliament Buildings at Victoria; of how members would watch patiently to see if " Waddy "—Alfred Waddington—or some other of their number was coming along Bird Cage Walk to the " Goose Pen." When the late-comers finally arrived and a quorum assembled, business would proceed.

Members of the Section were much interested in the collection of early pictures and relics which the Native Daughters of British Columbia, Post No. 2, have brought together in the old store building.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Fraser Canyon Historical Association has had an active and interesting year. The tenth quarterly meeting of the society was held at Hope on May 14, 1937. The President, Mr. T. L. Thacker, read a paper entitled *Memories of the Construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Fraser Canyon*, by W. H. Holmes, of Granite Creek, B.C., which described the writer's experiences in 1880 and subsequent years. The annual meeting was held at Yale on July 2. The Secretary presented a report upon the year's activities, and the following officers were elected for the year 1937–38: President, T. L. Thacker; Vice-Presidents, E. Barry and F. Creighton; Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. Heber H. K. Greene; Editor, L. A. Gibbs. The third meeting of the year was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Flood, at Flood, B.C., on October 26. There were about twenty persons present, and many incidents and aspects of the early history of the district were discussed by the members. Amongst those who contributed to the programme was Mrs. Starret, who gave a vivid description of her first journey from the Coast, in 1882. She travelled part of the way by steamer and the rest of the trip was made in a box car.

In the course of the year Dr. W. N. Sage drew the attention of the society to the fact that very little information was on record relating to the history of the Fraser Canyon region for the period from 1875 to 1900. The society has therefore decided to concentrate its attention on this period, in an endeavour to gather as much material as possible while pioneers who have a personal knowledge of those years are still available to assist in the work. A number of valuable contacts with old-timers have already been made, and there is every reason to believe that the project can be carried through successfully.

The society's collection of photographs is growing steadily, and many gifts have been received during the year. In addition, a number of exceptionally interesting early photographs have been borrowed and copied. An index of the collection is now badly needed, and indices of the notes and papers and news clippings which have been gathered should also be made as soon as possible.

During the year the society suffered the loss by death of two valued members—H. V. Cottrell and A. E. Raab. Mr. Raab was Treasurer of the Association and took a great interest in its activities. At the time of his death he had in his possession a most interesting sun-dial, which was originally a gift from the Royal Engineers to the people of Hope, in 1860. The society is endeavouring to have the sun-dial itself deposited in the Provincial Archives and a replica erected at Hope.

At the October meeting of the *Similkameen Historical Association* Mr. C. R. Mattice read an interesting paper on *The History of the Great Northern Railway in Similkameen.* Mr. Goodfellow told of a trip he had made with W. A. ("Podunk") Davis to the top of Jackson Mountain, and of finding at one point the old Hudson's Bay Company brigade trail, where it switchbacked up the mountain-side.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S. By Vice-Admiral Gordon Campbell, V.C., D.S.O. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1936. Pp. 320. Ill. and maps. 15s.

An Introduction to the Bibliography of Captain James Cook, R.N. By Maurice Holmes, C.B. London: Francis Edwards, Ltd., 1936. Pp. 59.

Any one interested in a reasonable account of the life and services of Captain Cook will find Admiral Campbell's book to be authoritative and interesting. From the mass of material available the author has made a careful and satisfying selection.

The introduction of four pages gives a " rough outline of the voyages of his [Cook's] precursors." Another four pages might well have been used in giving a clearer view of the state of Pacific exploration prior to Cook's first voyage. No mention is made of the length of voyage, the scurvy problem, or the control of large areas by the Dutch, Spanish, and Russian governments.

Chapters 1 and 2 (25 pages) deal with Cook's early life and stress his training in the coal trade, and, after enlistment, his friendship with Sir Hugh Palliser. This part is well done.

Six chapters (90 pages) are devoted to the first voyage, and six chapters (96 pages) to the second voyage. This is the best portion of the book. The inclusion of the Admiralty sailing orders is an admirable feature.

The account of the third voyage (five chapters, 71 pages), which is of particular interest in British Columbia, practically ends with the death of Captain Cook and a character eulogy. Better balance would have been secured if the efforts of the expedition to find a north-east passage in 1779 had been described. This would have shown that the organization Cook left behind was sound and able to function—one more point of greatness in the man. Nor is any reference made to the highly important fact that, on the voyage home by way of Macao, the sale of sea-otter skins secured at Nootka Sound led to the advent of the maritime fur-traders on the north-west coast of America, to the breaking-down of the Russian monopoly in Alaska, and to the Spanish occupation of the Nootka region. The book is lamentably weak in its treatment of the results of the third voyage.

The inclusion of a list of logs and journals pertaining to the three voyages was an excellent idea, but it is to be regretted that no attempt has been made to annotate the entries, nor even to indicate the whereabouts of the original manuscripts. The maps of the three voyages are well designed, and the inclusion of two of them as end papers makes for easy reference.

The *Bibliography of Captain Cook,* which has been issued in a small edition by Francis Edwards, who is known the world over as a dealer in Americana, is a very timely and worth-while book. The author, Maurice Holmes, states his aim clearly, " to provide an elementary guide with the aid of which the collector and the student may be enabled to find their way

through the labyrinth of literature which surrounds the man and his voyages." No doubt the book will be of considerable value to collectors of material relating to Cook. Possibly that is why the edition was limited to 200 copies.

The book opens with a concise chronology of Cook's life, a feature that might well be copied by other works of a like nature. This is followed by biographical notes on twenty of Cook's men, which make interesting reading. The list might have been extended with profit.

Section 1 of the bibliography " gives the titles and collations, with such notes as appear to be called for, of the first editions of those contemporary books and pamphlets which may be regarded as of primary importance." It shows that the author is well informed and that his work is the fruit of diligent and exhaustive search.

Section 2 is of doubtful value, comprising " less important books and pamphlets by contemporary authors." Of the 43 titles listed, 19 are of no historical value and are only of interest to one who wishes to examine some of the literary sewage of the 18th century.

Section 3 consists of a selective list, with notes, of more recent titles, beginning with Ellis's *Narrative of a tour through Hawaii*, 1826, and concluding with Vice-Admiral Campbell's *Captain James Cook*, 1936. This chronological arrangement is used throughout the book, and it is regrettable that an author index was not included.

A total of 108 titles are listed in the three sections. The notes appended are short, condensed, and readable, and will be of great interest and value to libraries and collectors interested in books relating to Cook. They possess that admirable quality which leaves one with the desire for more and disclose the wide range of the author's reading and research.

V. L. DENTON.

PROVINCIAL NORMAL SCHOOL,
VICTORIA, B.C.

A Monograph of the Totem-Poles in Stanley Park, Vancouver. By Rev. G. H. Raley. Vancouver, 1937. Pp. 24. Ill.

By long residence among the native peoples of our coast, and by patient study of their life and art, Dr. Raley is well qualified to write this *Monograph*. As a young man in the Methodist ministry he was stationed at Kitimat in 1893 and at Port Simpson in 1906. In 1914 he was appointed Principal of the Coqualeetza Residential School for Indian children, at Sardis. Since his retirement in 1934 he has continued to take an active interest in Indian life and art.

This booklet is " a monograph of the Totem Poles in Stanley Park, Vancouver, British Columbia." It is intended as an inexpensive guide for tourists. Within 24 pages all the totems are illustrated, and their stories told briefly. A chapter on totems in general precedes descriptions of the poles in the park. Of these there are at present six, the Thunderbird pole at Prospect Point, and five near the Lumbermen's Arch—the Wakius, Sisakaulus, Dsoo-kwa-dsi, Nhe-is-bik, and Skedans poles. The booklet is attrac-

tive, the illustrations are good, the totems are faithfully described, and their stories well and authoritatively told. Previous guides have omitted any mention of the gifted men who carved the poles. These were master-craftsmen who interpreted, in totemic art, family histories and tribal legends of our coast Indians. From Dr. Raley we learn that the Thunder-bird pole was carved by Chief Mattias Joe Capilano, and that See-wit of Blunden Harbour carved the Nhe-is-bik pole in 1892.

J. C. GOODFELLOW.

PRINCETON, B.C.

By Juan de Fuca's Strait. By James G. McCurdy. Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press, 1937. Pp. vi., 312. $3.

Though its first chapters deal with the reputed voyage of Juan de Fuca, and the exploration of Puget Sound two centuries later by Captain Vancouver, this book is almost exclusively a history of the city of Port Townsend, Washington. The narrative proper commences with the story of Alfred A. Plummer, who was born in Maine in 1822, started westward in the late forties, reached San Francisco in May, 1850, and arrived at Steilacoom in the last days of that year. Later he proceeded to Port Townshend (as the name was then spelled), where he filed a land claim on April 24, 1851. He was the first white settler upon what became in time the site of the city; and Port Townsend folk are proud of the fact that his claim was filed six months before the founding of Seattle.

Mr. McCurdy's father arrived in 1857, and his book thus represents the accumulated lore of two generations of Port Townsend pioneers. It is filled to the brim with local details, and the ability of the author is revealed by the fact that, in spite of this, it will interest the general reader. He has managed to make his story colourful and dramatic without sacrificing his sense of proportion. Almost every aspect of the life and development of the community is dealt with at some length; and though only some one familiar with local history can judge its accuracy, it has every appearance of having been written with care. The only error noted by this reviewer was some confusion between the Fraser River gold excitement and the later rush to the Cariboo. On two occasions (pages 127, 136) the Cariboo rush is dated 1858, when a reference to the Fraser River excitement is evidently intended.

The author has set an example which might well be followed elsewhere. In the words of the Portland *Oregonian*, "Every community needs such a book. . . . It would provide a marvellously rich library if every city or every county in the Pacific northwest had its elderly resident who was sufficiently interested and accomplished to do what Mr. McCurdy has done for Port Townsend."

The story touches British Columbia at several points. It adds an interesting account of the voyage of the *Georgiana* to the story of the gold excitement in the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1852, and local repercussions of the 1858 rush are indicated. Considerable space is devoted to marine

history, much of which relates to British Columbia as well as Washington. The author obviously has a special interest in things maritime, possibly because his father, William A. McCurdy, was by profession a ship-joiner, and had received his training in the famous MacKay shipyard in Boston.

There are a few misprints, which should be corrected in later editions (*see* pages 145, 165, 198, 199). The index adds greatly to the value of the book as a work of reference, and the 18 illustrations are well-chosen and of great historic interest. The end papers and frontispiece consist of a useful outline map of Clallam and Jefferson counties, but it is a pity that in one place or the other a map of the city itself was not substituted.

W. KAYE LAMB.

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A short history of the Shaughnessy Heights United Church, Vancouver, entitled *The First Ten Years* (pp. 15), has just been published by the congregation. The text was prepared by Mrs. R. E. Jamieson and Dr. W. H. Smith, and is a model of its kind. The circumstances which led to the founding of the church are outlined, and its construction and activities are then described concisely, but without the omission of any pertinent fact or figure. The events described are so recent that the value of the booklet may be overlooked; but its interest and importance will become apparent as the years slip by. Every congregation would do well to follow this example and place its recent history on record, while the information required can be obtained readily at first hand.

A special issue of the *Kamloops Sentinel* dated September 3, 1937, contains two valuable articles upon the history of early missions and churches in the Kamloops-Okanagan region. *The Catholic Church in Kamloops* was contributed by Sister Mary Stella, and the article entitled *Glimpses of Protestant Church History* is by Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Secretary of the Historical Committee of the B.C. Conference of the United Church. A most interesting paper consisting of *Biographical Notes on Joseph LaRocque who founded Fort Shuswap* appears in the same issue. The original French text was supplied by Mr. Alfred LaRocque of Montreal, and the translation was prepared by His Honour Judge J. D. Swanson.

Mention should also be made of a special 82-page edition of the *Vernon News*, published on October 21, 1937, which reviews the history of practically the whole of the Kamloops-Okanagan district.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by CHARLES F. BANFIELD, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1938.

550-1237-9557

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