

THE
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY



APRIL, 1938

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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

VOL. II.

VICTORIA, B.C., APRIL, 1938.

No. 2

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FUR AND GOLD IN SIMILKAMEEN.

Fur-traders pioneered Similkameen before men were attracted thither by reports of rich placer deposits. The search for gold has continued to the present, but the story of the fur-traders has long been a closed chapter in the history of the valley. These two strands in local history have been linked with parallel strands in Provincial and Dominion history: the fur-trade with the great fur-trading companies, and with the International Boundary settlement; the search for gold with the "making of a province," and with the Royal Engineers. Both have played a part in exploration and development. But before tracing the history of fur and gold in Similkameen, we must learn something of the country itself, and about the native tribes who first called it "Similkameugh."

The original name has been forced into the same phonetic groove as Tulameen by the white people of the valley, in much the same way as Kitsilano, in Vancouver, has been made to rhyme with Capilano. Father LeJeune, for many years a missionary at Kamloops, gives "Tsemel-ka-meh" as a word descriptive of the people, or of the land in which they lived.¹ Teit describes them as "Eagle People," said to have been so named because eagles were formerly plentiful in the valley, and their tail-feathers an item of export.² Tulameen means "red earth," but there is no sufficient authority for any of the numerous meanings assigned to the word Similkameen.³

The name Similkameen denotes a variable area, according to whether it refers to Provincial, Dominion, electoral, or mining divisions. Charles Camsell, of the Geological Survey, has defined it as "the country from the Okanagan valley to the Hope mountains, and from the International Boundary northward for

(1) Letter dated Kamloops, September 9, 1927.

(2) J. A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribe of the Western Plateau," *45th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-28*, Washington, 1930, p. 136.

(3) On the meaning of place names in the Similkameen see J. C. Goodfellow, "Princeton Place Names," in *Seventh Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1937, pp. 10-16.

a distance of about forty-five miles.”⁴ It is a land of creeks and rivers, of bench lands, rolling hills, and mountains; and even to-day man’s activities are confined to the valleys of the rivers and their tributaries. The most important of these is the Similkameen River, which is brought into being by the junction of several small streams near the International Boundary, and after flowing in a northerly direction for some 30 miles turns first eastward and then south-eastward in a great curve which brings it back to and across the Boundary, about 15 miles south of Keremeos. Soon after it enters the United States it twists sharply to the east and joins the Okanogan River, which in turn flows almost due south to meet the Columbia. The principal tributary of the Similkameen is the Tulameen, which rises farther north and west, but which follows a similarly curved course, first to the north, and then east and south-east, until it joins the Similkameen at the point known as Vermillion Forks, where the town of Princeton now stands. Of the many tributaries of the Tulameen the most important is Otter Creek, which flows from the north, passes through Otter Lake, and joins the Tulameen at its most northerly point, where the town of Tulameen is to-day.⁵

The country is well wooded. Travellers on the trail during the summer months are constantly delighted with the profusion of wild flowers. Lupin and paint-brush, sunflower and fireweed give vivid touches of colour, and from the last week in June till the middle of July the rhododendrons are at their best along the Dewdney Trail, where it overlooks the Skagit and Sumallo Valleys. There is abundance of wild animal life in the hills, and the whole area between the Hope Road and the Dewdney Trail has been set aside as a game reserve.

The natives of the Similkameen Valley were a border people; that is to say, they were a buffer tribe between the Thompsons and the Okanagans. The Interior Salish Indians have five main tribes—Lillooet, Thompson, Arrow Lake, Shuswap, and

(4) Charles Camsell, *Preliminary Report on a part of the Similkameen District*, Ottawa, 1907, p. 7.

(5) It should be borne in mind that the Tulameen River was formerly known as the North Fork of the Similkameen River. The South Fork is now known simply as the Similkameen, as is the united stream formed by the coming together of the two branches at Princeton.

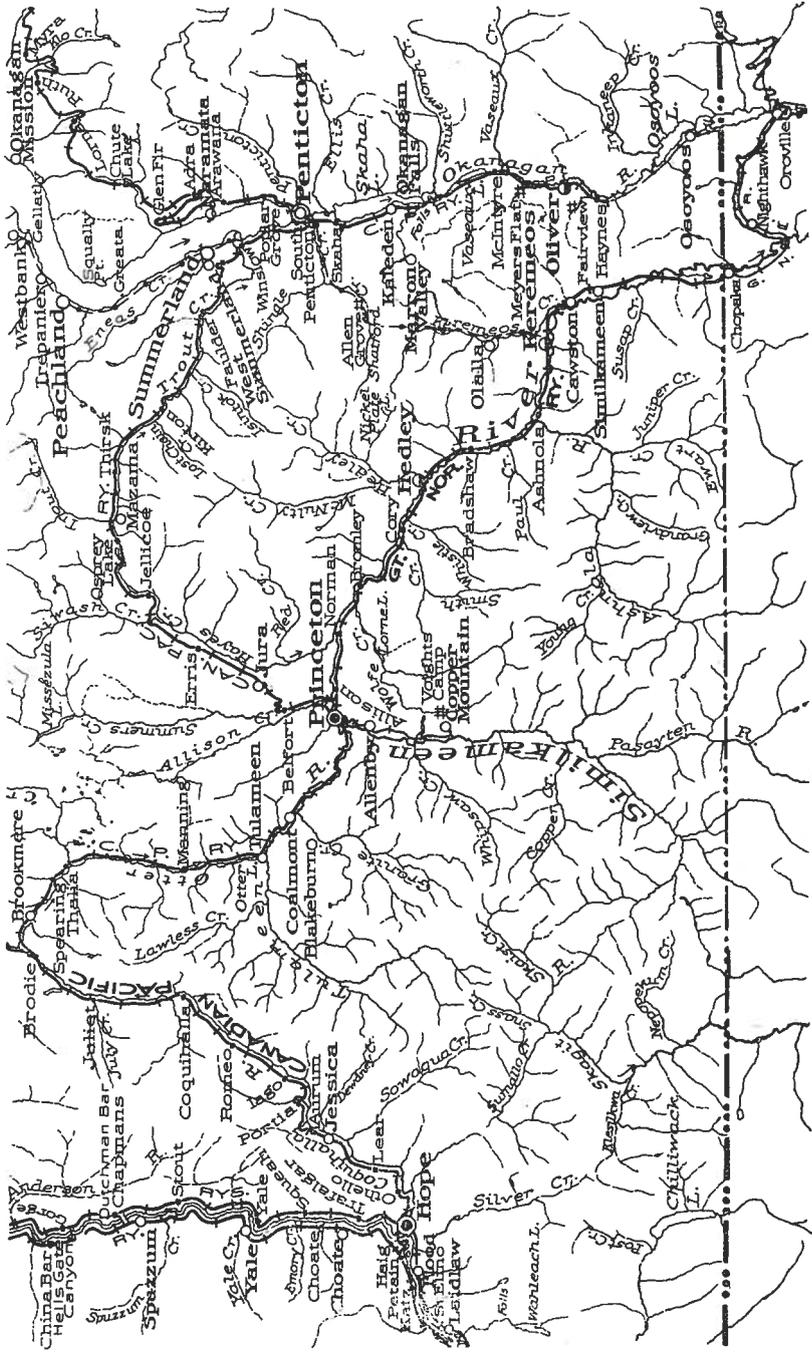
Okanagan. The Similkameens were drawn partly from the Okanagans and partly from the Thompsons, with various unrecorded intrusions from elsewhere. The Similkameens were not behind other Indians in their ability to fashion implements of peace and war out of wood and stone and other materials. Rock paintings were common. Between Princeton and Hedley many pictographs can still be seen. Religious belief in a multitude of spirits, good and evil, explains many of their customs. The medicine man was a real power for good or evil, or both. Superstitions centred around the rainstone, the blackstone, the ghoststone, the lovestone, and around monsters inhabiting land and lake. The rainstone, when prayed to, caused rain to fall. The blackstone caused smoke by day and fire by night. The ghoststone was a centre of votive offerings. The lovestone, and strange monsters, were objects of local legend.⁶

The fragments of local history that have come down to us are insufficient to suggest the pattern of the whole. War and peace seem to have alternated with monotonous regularity. In 1912 the late Mrs. S. L. Allison wrote of the coming of a band of Chilcotins "about 150 years ago." These intruders could neither defeat the natives nor be overcome by them; so they settled in the valley, and all learned to fish and hunt together. There seems to have been less friction between natives and newcomers in Similkameen than across the boundary, in Washington Territory; and Mrs. Allison attributes this largely to the influence of the early priests.⁷

The earliest journey by a white man in Similkameen of which we have record was made by Alexander Ross, a clerk in the employ of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. Early in January, 1813, Ross left Kamloops bound for Fort Okanogan, at the junction of the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers, and made the journey by way of Similkameen. He chose that route in order to satisfy a natural curiosity and to "spy out the land." After incredible hardships, Ross and his party descended from

(6) See Stratton Moir (Mrs. S. L. Allison), *In-cow-mas-ket*, Chicago, 1900; and Clive Phillipps-Wolley, *A Sportsman's Eden*, London, 1888.

(7) See Mrs. S. L. Allison, "Early History of Princeton," in the *Princeton Star*, January 5, 1923, and succeeding issues; *Vancouver Sunday Province*, February 22, 1931, and succeeding issues.



Similkameen District.

the highlands on the north side of the Similkameen River, and came to the valley at a point near Keremeos.

Ross had set out on December 20, 1812, to visit David Stuart at Kamloops, and he arrived there on the last day of the year. The rest of the story is told in his own words:—

. . . with Mr. Stuart I remained five days, and in coming home I took a near and unknown route, in order to explore a part of the country I had not seen before; but I chose a bad season of the year to satisfy my curiosity: we got bewildered in the mountains and deep snows, our progress was exceedingly slow, tedious, and discouraging. We were at one time five days in making as many miles, our horses suffered greatly, had nothing to eat for four days and four nights, not a blade of grass appearing above the snow, and their feet were so frightfully cut with the crust of the snow that they could scarcely move, so that we were within a hair's breadth of losing every one of them.

Here follows an account of an accident caused by using too much powder to kindle a fire. Both Ross and his companion, Jacques, were stunned by the explosion. The narrative continues:—

We hastened next morning from this unlucky encampment, and getting clear of the mountains, we descended into a low and pleasant valley, where we found the Indians I had been in search of, and something both for ourselves and our horses to eat. At the Indian camp we remained one day, got the information we required about the country, procured some furs, and then, following the course of the Sa-milk-a-meigh River, got to Oakinacken at the forks; thence we travelled almost night and day till the 24th of January, when we reached home again.⁸

In maps printed prior to 1878, the Trepanege River, which flows into Lake Okanagan just north of Peachland, is shown as Jaques [*sic*] Creek. Mr. Leonard Norris connects this name with the explosion at the "unlucky encampment." He thinks it probable that the incident occurred near the headwaters of this creek, and that it was so named for this reason.⁹ It is likely that when Ross left Kamloops he followed the string of lakes south as far as Nicola Lake, then turned south-east, passing Douglas Lake. From here he would journey in a southerly direction across the high plateau which dips to Osprey Lake. It is not possible to determine the exact spot where he descended

(8) Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, London, 1849, pp. 206-208.

(9) *Second Annual Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, Vernon, 1927, pp. 33-34.

into the "low and pleasant valley," but there can be no doubt that it was in the vicinity of the present town of Keremeos. Here he would find the Indian camp referred to, and here he would come to the Similkameen River, which he followed to the Okanogan.

The next record we have is contained in Archibald McDonald's map of the Thompson River district. This map is dated 1827, and indicates a journey made by McDonald in October of the previous year. This also covers the ground between Kamloops and the Similkameen-Okanogan Forks, but follows only in part the route taken by Ross in 1813. As nearly as can be ascertained from his map, McDonald followed a more westerly course after coming to Nicola Lake, and came to the "Schimilicameach" at a point apparently near the present town of Princeton. His Red Water River may be the Tulameen, which is the north branch of the Similkameen River. Thereafter he followed the left, or north bank, as he journeyed eastward.¹⁰

After 1826 we have no records until 1846, the year in which the Oregon Treaty established the 49th parallel as the boundary between British and United States territory west of the Rocky Mountains. This was an event of critical importance to the Hudson's Bay Company, in view of the fact that the treaty placed its headquarters in the West, Fort Vancouver, in American territory. The Company had anticipated the award, and had founded Fort Victoria, on Vancouver Island, in 1843. But before the headquarters could be removed thither, it was imperative that new travel routes between the northern interior and the coast should be discovered, which lay wholly within British territory. Hitherto goods had been transported from Fort Vancouver to New Caledonia by the Columbia River as far as Fort Okanogan, thence by pack-train to the junction of the Similkameen and Okanogan Rivers, and then across country to Okanogan Lake. The brigade trail led along the west side of this lake, and then crossed over to Kamloops. What was now required was a route practicable for pack-horses from Kamloops to Fort Langley, on the lower Fraser River. The Fraser Canyon, which

(10) The original map is preserved in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. A photostat is on file in the Provincial Archives.

was considered impassable, was the great problem involved, and the search for a new route quickly developed into a search for a detour around this obstacle.

Following a conference with Sir George Simpson, in 1845, Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden requested that Alexander Caulfield Anderson, who was then in charge of Fort Alexandria, be appointed to carry these plans for exploration into effect. Anderson had volunteered his services, and Ogden felt that he was well equipped for the task, by reason of his natural ability and "his active habits and experience in Caledonia."¹¹ Along with five men, Anderson set out from Kamloops on May 15, 1846, and travelled to Fort Langley, where he arrived May 24, by way of Harrison and Lillooet Lakes. It is in the return journey that we are interested. This began on May 28. Anderson and his men were accompanied by several Indians, including a chief who had undertaken to guide him to the headwaters of the Similkameen River. From this point he hoped to cross country to the Forks, where Princeton is now situated. He had arranged to be met there by guides and horses from Kamloops. As this would indicate, the valley of the Similkameen was well known to fur-traders at this time; and there was a well-established trail from the International Boundary north to Kamloops, which followed the Similkameen and Tulameen Rivers and Otter Lake and Creek, or much the same route McDonald seems to have followed in 1826. Anderson's task was to find a way through the Hope Mountains and the country beyond which would link the Fraser River below the canyon with this Kamloops trail.

Anderson ascended the Fraser to the vicinity of Hope, and after a false start up the Tlae-Kullum (now Silver Creek), entered the valley of the Coquihalla River, which opens into the Fraser a few miles higher up. On this journey Anderson travelled east for 23 miles, on a route which closely paralleled that later followed by the Dewdney Trail. Leaving the Coquihalla on his left, he followed first the Nicolum, and then the Sumallo, as far as its junction with the Skagit. In his journal he comments upon the slow progress made, "owing to the miserable travelling of our Indian assistants," and records that at this point the party

(11) Ogden to Chief Traders Tod and Manson, October 22, 1845.

Fell in . . . with an Indian from the Forks of Thompson's River [Kamloops] who is hunting Beaver in this neighbourhood. As he appears to possess a knowledge of the Country superior to our other pseudo-guides (who are miserably at a loss) I have engaged him under the promise of some Ammunition and Tobacco to accompany us for a day or two.¹²

Although it was only the first week in June, the rhododendrons were already in bloom.

Near this point the Sumallo forks with the Snaas, and Anderson had to choose between following the eastern fork or the northern one. The Thompson Indian recommended the latter, and this was followed. They soon came to the summit of the mountain pass, not far beyond which the Indians, except three, turned back, according to agreement. The journal continues:—

There is a small lake here, bearing a marvellous similitude in some respects to the Committee's Punch Bowl in the Rocky Mountains. It is still covered with ice, save in one small spot, where through the limpid water, the bottom is seen shelving off, apparently to an immense depth. . . . We have no one who knows anything of the country beyond this point. The water must guide us.

Three hours later Anderson encamped on the right bank of a "descending stream," which he correctly took for granted was "one of the tributaries of the Similkameen." It was, in fact, the South Fork of the Tulameen; and, following it, the party ploughed through deep snow. Night frosts formed a crust over which they could make good time, but when the snow was soft, travelling was difficult. The Indians had no idea of their location, but as the river bent round eastward in advance of him Anderson had no anxiety. The hardships of the journey were telling severely on the men when, on June 6, they found a beaten road and tracks of horses. The same day they met two Indians, "who proved to be old Black-eye, the Similkameen, and his Son-in-law, on their way to visit their deer snares." Anderson learned that he was still about 20 miles from the appointed rendezvous at Red Earth Fork, where Princeton stands to-day. The son-in-law was sent to fetch the horses, and Black-eye

(12) A. C. Anderson, *Journal of an Expedition under the command of Alex. C. Anderson of the Hudson's Bay Company, undertaken with the view of ascertaining the practicability of a communication with the interior, for the import of the annual Supplies.* (Original manuscript in Provincial Archives.) I am indebted to His Honour Judge Howay for the loan of a transcript of this and other journals and letters, references to which are cited hereafter as F. W. Howay MSS.

guided the party from Otter Lake to the Kamloops trail. Black-eye's lodge was at the north end of the lake, and the party enjoyed a meal of fresh carp. Their own provisions were exhausted. Anderson learned that the beaten road which he had struck led straight across the bend of the river. Had it not been for the depth of snow, he would have seen it at the divide, and saved himself the painful circuit. It was used by the Indians during the summer when they went hunting. Anderson never lost sight of the main purpose of his journey, which was to discover a feasible route for the brigade trail from Kamloops to Fort Langley; and in his journal he makes ample references to sites with good pasturage for horses, and to the suitability of the country for pack-trains. At the same time he appreciated the beauty of the land through which he travelled. The horses from Red Earth Fork arrived on June 7, and Anderson left Otter Lake the same day. The following night he made this record of the land through which he passed:—

“ Our road to-day has lain, for the greater part of the distance, through a charming country. Beautiful swelling hills, covered with rich verdure, and studded at rare intervals with ornamental clumps of the Red Fir and the Aspen. This is the chief characteristic of the scenery; in some directions as far as the eye can reach.”¹³

Kamloops was reached on June 9, the whole journey having lasted twenty-six days. Anderson was satisfied that a brigade road between Kamloops and Hope, following in part the way he had travelled, was practicable.

In 1847 Anderson continued his explorations.¹⁴ A route by way of the Fraser “ Falls ” (or lower canyon) was thought to be practicable, and in November, 1847, upon this assumption, Ovid Allard and party were sent from Fort Langley to establish Fort Yale. This route was used to bring the returns to Fort Langley in the spring of 1848, and to take in the outfits to New Caledonia in the fall. It was again used in the spring of 1849, but proved difficult.¹⁵ It had already been determined to seek a more feasible route, as we learn from the following passage in

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) A. C. Anderson, *Journal of an Expedition to Fort Langley via Thompson's and Fraser's Rivers, Summer of 1847.* (F. W. Howay MSS.)

(15) James Douglas to John Tod, October 30, 1848. (F. W. Howay MSS.)

a letter from James Douglas to John Tod, dated at Fort Langley October 30, 1848:—

. . . In consequence of the very unfavourable report we have received from Messrs Manson and Anderson of their last summer's route we have come to the determination of opening a new road recommended by Mr. Peers after a very careful survey. Leaving Fraser's River it follows successively the valleys of the Quiquialla, Peers and the Sosqua Rivers, from thence the crossing of the dividing ridge into the Similkameen Valley, where it falls upon Mr. Anderson's track of 1846 and follows it to the Thompson's River. Mr. Peers will be despatched with ten men in a few days hence to commence operations at the mouth of the Quiquialla, where we intend to establish a small Post . . . and enable us to complete [the road] in time for the Brigade of 1849.

The main objection to this route had been the heavy snow-falls, but Chief Trader James Murray Yale had sent a party from Fort Langley to visit the area during the summer, and they had reported favourably. The road was completed "according to plan," and used in the fall of 1849.

This road, which became the brigade trail, had five stopping-places between Hope and Otter Lake. The first was Manson Camp, at the head of Peers Creek, 15 miles from Hope. The next was Encampement du Chevreuil (Deer Camp), 19 miles farther on. It was here that Chief Trader Paul Fraser was killed by a falling tree in July, 1855. The third camp was at the bend of the Tulameen, on the east side of the river, and 49 miles from Hope. The fourth was on the plateau near Lode-stone Mountain, a distance of 12 miles from Camp 3. Another 12 miles brought the brigade to Encampement des Femmes, near Otter Lake. It was so called because the Indians used to leave their women and children there when going on the summer hunt.

In October, 1937, in company with W. A. ("Podunk") Davis, the writer travelled from Otter Lake, past Camp 5, and up Jackson Mountain. Very little of the old trail is apparent now, but at one or two places the switchbacks are still to be seen. At one point we came across an old stump, from which, near the base, a piece of wood projected, making a triangle with the trail and the tree. This was one of the little devices the brigade man used to keep the horses from rubbing their packs against the tree. The horses had to go around the projection. This road, used for many years, has long since fallen into dis-

repair, and now it is difficult to follow. But to old-timers in Similkameen it is still *the* Brigade trail.

These explorations in the western part of Similkameen were all made to discover transportation routes within British territory, from the northern interior to the coast. By the time the brigade trail from Kamloops to Hope was an accomplished fact, servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were surveying the eastern part of Similkameen. The purpose of this latter exploration was trade rather than transportation. When Robert ("Bobby") Stevenson visited Fort Okanogan on June 17, 1860, he found a great number of Indians at the fort. They were assisting the factor to pack up the goods, preparatory to moving the post to Keremeos, where it had been decided earlier in the year to establish a farm and trading centre. The possibilities of stock-raising and horse-breeding were also kept in mind. The goods were being packed in Hudson's Bay *parflèches*, made of rawhide, and loads were arranged for 150 horses. At the time, Stevenson was a member of the John Collins Expedition, and had gone to the fort to purchase supplies. But no supplies were on sale, as the post was to be abandoned the next day.¹⁶ The name Keremeos is said to mean "wind channel in the mountains." The name is descriptive. The town of to-day lies not far from the river, and the sage-brush slopes beyond the orchard lands are often swept by the winds that course through the valley. The rolling bunch-grass hills made an ideal range, and the servants of the Company were quick to see its possibilities.

The first factor at the Keremeos post was Francis Deschiette. He came from the nearest post across the line. Soon after his arrival he erected a small log building, and commenced farming on a small scale. Dying two years later, he was succeeded, in 1863, by Roderick McLean, who had been with the Boundary Survey party, and was considered one of their best axemen. Frank Richter, who planted the first fruit-trees in the valley in 1860,¹⁷ was in charge of the horses and cattle. By the spring of 1864 McLean had completed the log store, and

(16) R. Stevenson, "A Story of a trip through the Okanogan Valley in the summer of 1860," *Oroville Gazette*, Christmas, 1910. (F. W. Howay MSS.)

(17) Letter from J. Wesley Miller, Keremeos, dated December 14, 1937.

begun the erection of a dwelling-house.¹⁸ He made many journeys among the Indians, who traded furs for goods supplied by the Company. When Jason O. Allard was ordered to report at Fort Shepherd, on the Columbia River, just north of the boundary, in the summer of 1866, he went from Fort Yale to Fort Hope there to join the pack-train for the interior. At Hope he met McLean, who was preparing the outfit of fifty mules for the long journey. On this occasion McLean, though stationed at Keremeos, was to go right through.¹⁹ Furs collected by McLean were bailed, and shipped by pack-train to Fort Hope. From there they were taken by river steamer to New Westminster, then on to Victoria, and thence to London, England. After McLean left the Company in 1867, he opened a store at Rock Creek, later going to Cariboo, where he remained ten years. Following this he lived for a time in Kelowna, then took up land at Okanagan Falls.²⁰

McLean was succeeded by John Tait,²¹ who remained until 1872, when the post was closed. As a trading centre, Keremeos does not seem to have been very profitable. It was more important as a centre for wintering horses and putting up hay. It also had a strategic value, which was lost when the American trading-posts near the Boundary were closed. The store erected by McLean stood until 1914. The house belonging to the W. H. Armstrong estate now stands almost on the exact site of the vanished landmark.

A note regarding the Boundary and other surveys will serve to review what has been written, and also to introduce the second factor around which we have woven our story. Lieutenant Charles W. Wilson, Secretary to the British Boundary Commission, notes in his diary, under date August 14, 1860, fording the Similkameen River above Keremeos, and continues as follows:—

We travelled up the much talked of valley of the Similkameen & crossing it about 3 miles below the mouth of the Ashtnolon camped on the bank having made about 16 miles. The valley is very pretty but from having heard so much about it I was disappointed; the finest part of the valley was

(18) Letter from Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton, October 1, 1937.

(19) Jason O. Allard in *Vancouver Sunday Province*, September 19, 1926.

(20) Letter from Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton, October 1, 1937.

(21) Mrs. S. L. Allison, in *Princeton Star*, January 5, 1923; letter from Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton, October, 1937.

occupied this spring by the Hudson's Bay company & we found a [French] Canadian half breed in charge, he had some cows & a large number of oxen so that we had a good drink of milk a thing not to be despised in this part of the world. The Canadian had just gathered in his harvest; the wheat, the first grown in the valley, looked very well as also did the potatoes & other vegetables; from the farm an Indian hunter joined us & accompanied us into the mountains on his way to hunt; just where we forded the river we passed the wooden cross erected over the graves of our three men who were drowned when [Captain] Haig [Astronomer to the Commission] crossed over.²²

H. Bauerman, geologist to the Boundary Commission, did geological work in the southern portion of Similkameen, in 1859-61, when the boundary-line was being defined; but his report was not printed until 1884. He explored along the Hope and Pasayton trails. This latter trail, between the Roche (Similkameen) and Ashnola Rivers, long abandoned, has recently been made passable. Dr. G. M. Dawson covered much the same ground in 1877, and again in 1878. This was the last work done in the district by the Dominion Geological Survey till Charles Camsell made his survey in 1906. In 1901, W. Fleet Robertson, Provincial Mineralogist, examined and reported on Princeton and Copper Mountain district. The same year the International Boundary Survey Commission commenced a topographical map of the boundary belt. Dr. R. A. Daly was Canadian geologist to this Commission. Subsequent work is recorded by Camsell in his reports on Hedley and Tulameen, issued in 1910 and 1913 respectively.²³

In his report covering the years 1859-61, Bauerman notes the presence of Chinamen panning for gold along the Similkameen River; but he adds that the diggings were abandoned at the beginning of the winter of 1861-62.²⁴ This marked the end of an episode which had commenced in October, 1859, when a sergeant attached to the United States Boundary Commission had discovered gold in the "Big Bend" region, where the Similkameen turns eastward, just south of the 49th parallel.

(22) Quoted from the original diary, in the Provincial Archives.

(23) See Charles Camsell, *Preliminary Report on a part of the Similkameen District*, Ottawa, 1907, pp. 17-18.

(24) H. Bauerman, *Report on the Geology of the Country near the 49th Parallel* . . . Geological Survey of Canada, 1884, p. 37B.

Some of the early reports stressed the fact that the area known to be auriferous was very small, and that experienced miners doubted if the diggings would prove to be extensive; but exaggerated reports of rich discoveries were soon noised abroad and considerable excitement followed.²⁵

Just previous to this the valley of the Similkameen had been traversed by Lieutenant H. Spencer Palmer, one of the officers of the detachment of Royal Engineers which had been sent out by the British Government to assist Douglas to govern the new mainland Colony of British Columbia. He was instructed to make as careful a survey of "the country lying between Fort Hope and the 49th parallel of latitude, where it meets the route to Fort Colville," as circumstances permitted; but it is clear that two points were regarded as of special interest. The first of these was a site for a post which "would command the routes to British Columbia from Washington Territory"—in other words, a strategic point at which customs officers could intercept persons bound for the Fraser River gold diggings who had chosen an overland route to the mines, instead of ascending the river itself. In the second place, Palmer was to pay particular attention to the "adaptability to settlement" of the Similkameen Valley.²⁶

Palmer left Hope on September 17, 1859, and on the 22nd "struck the Similkameen a mile below the Forks," where the Tulameen joins the Similkameen. "The junction of the two rivers," he notes in his journal, "is named the 'Vermillion Forks,' from the existence in its neighbourhood of a red clay or ochre, from which the Indians manufacture the vermilion face paint. . . ." ²⁷ From this we learn the origin of one of the early names of Princeton. Vermillion Forks and Red Earth Forks are both derived from the translation of Tulameen, which means "Red earth." It is probable that there is also some connection between this and the Red Water River on McDonald's map of 1827. On the banks of the Tulameen not far west of

(25) *Further Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia, Part III.*, London, 1860, pp. 74-75.

(26) *Ibid.*, p. 80. (Palmer's instructions in full; dated September 8, 1859.)

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 84. Palmer's report is printed in full on pp. 80-89. His original manuscript report is preserved in the Provincial Archives.

Princeton is a large outcrop of red ochre, which was formerly highly prized by the Indians of Similkameen.

Following the Similkameen River, Palmer crossed the International Boundary on September 27, and soon after met a party attached to the United States Boundary Commission. The discovery of gold was made just ten days later, and Palmer duly noted the fact in his official report, which is dated November 23. With reference to the prospects for successful settlement in Similkameen, he had this to say:—

The present undeveloped state of British Columbia, and the absence of any good roads of communication with the interior, would probably render futile any attempts to settle the Similkameen and other valleys in the vicinity of the 49th parallel.

Extensive crops, it is true, might probably be raised, but the emigrant would have to depend for the other necessities of life either on such few as might from time to time find their way into the country from Washington Territory, or on such as might, during four months in the year, be obtained from Fort Hope and other points on the Fraser River, and either of which could not be obtained but at prices too exorbitant for the pocket of the poor man.

It would seem therefore that the Buonaparte and Thompson River valleys are the natural starting points for civilization and settlement. . . .

Starting from these points civilization would gradually creep forward and extend finally to the valleys of the frontier.²⁸

Settlement could wait, if need be, but gold-seekers are proverbially impatient, and Douglas was faced with an insistent demand for a good trail to the new diggings. In April, 1860, he reported to the Colonial Secretary in London that "he was daily expecting a report from a surveying party employed at Hope, in examining . . . the passes leading from that place to the 'Shimilkomeen' Valley. These routes," he added, "may, without exaggeration, be severally compared to the passage of the Alps."²⁹ He was determined to "use every exertion to connect the Shimilkomeen with Fort Hope by means of a convenient road."³⁰ About June 1 Douglas visited Hope, and at a public meeting there urged the miners to assist financially in the construction of a road to the interior. The extent of the gold deposits was still very uncertain, however, and Douglas therefore

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 88.

(29) *Further Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia*, Part IV., London, 1862, p. 4.

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

recommended that they should at once form a party, selected by themselves, and composed of experienced miners, and of men on whose energy and judgment they could rely, to prospect the Shimilkomeen country, and I agreed on the part of the Government to furnish the party with food, and to allow a bonus of 4 l. sterling in money to each of the men employed in prospecting, provided they succeeded in finding gold.

The proposal was received with evident marks of satisfaction by the whole company of miners, and they proceeded at once to select a party of nine men, out of a large number of those present who volunteered for the service; and this choice band will start in a few days time . . .³¹

The leader of this party was John Fall Allison, who had been in British Columbia since 1858, and ranks as the Similkameen's best-known pioneer. His report on the trip to Similkameen, which was dated July 27, 1860, was, in Douglas's words, very favourable but "not conclusive." Gold had been found on the South Fork, however, and the specimens forwarded with the report for assay proved rich and promising.³²

Late in September, 1860, in the course of an extended tour of the interior, Douglas visited Similkameen, and in a despatch to London, dated October 25, described conditions there as follows:—

After five days' travel in a fine open country we reached the main branch of the Shimilkomeen River, a few miles below the lately discovered gold diggings, where 80 or 100 miners were at work, all seemingly in high spirits, pleased with the country, and elated with their prospects and earnings. Many of them were engaged in putting up log huts, and making other preparations, as they intend to winter there if they succeed in having supplies of flour and other necessaries brought from Hope before the mountains become impassable from snow. As that was clearly impossible without greater facilities of communication, it was evident they would have no alternative but to desert their claims and leave the country, at a serious loss to themselves and to the Colony.³³

Thus impressed once again with the importance of building trails and roads, Douglas proceeded to Hope, where he arrived October 3. Much more than the prosperity of a hundred miners in Similkameen was involved in the road problem, however. Gold had been discovered on Rock Creek, in the boundary country some 35 miles east of the Similkameen River, and Douglas had found nearly 500 miners at work there. The pressing necessity was now a road not merely to the South Fork, but a road

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

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

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

carried on eastward to Rock Creek, where lack of trails in British territory had thrown the trade of the area into the hands of the Americans. After this date, indeed, Rock Creek overshadows Similkameen in importance, not only in dispatches and newspapers, but also in the eyes of miners, traders, and road-builders.³⁴ As is their custom, the miners pressed on to the spot where rumour told of richer diggings; and although there were reported to be 200 miners in Similkameen in August of 1861, 150 of them were Chinese.³⁵ By the fall of the year glowing accounts from Cariboo completed the eclipse which Rock Creek had commenced, and the Similkameen diggings, as noted by Bauerman, were practically deserted.

It should be noted in passing that the earliest community formed by the gold-seekers in the district was at Blackfoot, on the South Fork of the Similkameen, about 6 miles south-west of Princeton of to-day, and 2 miles past Allenby. In 1861 the flat and its immediate neighbourhood contained forty houses, including miners' cabins. For many years this remained one of the ghost towns of the Province; then it became not even a memory. In September, 1935, the site was relocated, and identified with Kruger's Bar.³⁶ According to J. Jameson, iron spikes in a river boulder indicated until recently where a bridge crossed to a store and hotel on the south side of the river. Theodore Kruger, who gave his name to the place, was born in Hanover in 1829, and came to British Columbia in 1858. Like J. F. Allison, who arrived the same year, he had tried mining on the Fraser before coming to Similkameen. In 1868 he moved to Osoyoos, as store manager for the Hudson's Bay Company.³⁷

The detailed history of the building of trails and roads in Similkameen cannot be related here, but it is possible to give the story in outline. In 1860 Sergeant W. McCall, of the Royal Engineers, located a trail as far east as the lake which A. C.

(34) For an interesting account of this episode see L. Norris, "The Rise and Fall of Rock Creek," *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1936, pp. 233-241.

(35) *Victoria Colonist*, August 31, 1861.

(36) See *Seventh Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1937, pp. 14-15.

(37) Mrs. C. Kruger, "Early Days at Osoyoos," *Third Annual Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1929, pp. 7 ff.

Anderson had christened the "Punch Bowl." This followed, in part, Anderson's own trail. The Allison (or Yates) trail was farther to the south, and is being followed, in part, by the road now under construction from Princeton to Hope. The 1860 trail, on which Edgar Dewdney worked, avoided the Manson Mountain route, and followed the Anderson track of 1846 as far as the Punch Bowl, going by way of the Nicolum and Sumallo Rivers to the head of the Skagit, then turning north. From the Punch Bowl the trail crossed over to the source of the Whipsaw. This led over a summit nearly 6,000 feet in altitude, but avoided the painful switchbacks which became necessary when the trail was later straightened out between Mile 23 from Hope and the summit. There seems to have been considerable trouble during the trail construction of 1860. Prospectors coming in were unwilling to be detained by work in progress. The result was that much of it had to be done over again. Also there seems to have been division of authority among those in charge, and Dewdney for a time left the Engineers to follow their own surveys.³⁸

In 1861 Governor Douglas decided to build a wagon-road from Hope to Rock Creek. In charge of this undertaking was Captain J. M. Grant, whom Judge Howay describes as "the greatest roadbuilder of them all."³⁹ This road was completed as far as 25 miles from Hope. Although over seventy-five years have passed since its construction, it is still being used and remains the best monument, east of Hope, to the lasting work of the Engineers. A dispute arose over tolls proposed by Douglas. Money was scarce, and more promising gold discoveries lured miners elsewhere. The result was that road-building was stopped, and trails already constructed were widened. Three separate parties continued this work under Sergeant L. F. Bonson, Corporal William Hall, and Sergeant J. McMurphy.

Walter Moberly tells us that in the spring of 1860, at New Westminster, he "entered into a contract, in partnership with Mr. Edgar Dewdney, to build a trail from Fort Hope on the Fraser River to the Shemilkomean River on the east side of the

(38) See H. T. Nation, "The Dewdney Trail," *Fourth Report and Proceedings* of the B.C. Historical Association, Victoria, 1929, pp. 30-33.

(39) F. W. Howay, *The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia 1858 to 1863*, Victoria, 1910, pp. 6-8.

Cascade range of mountains, to reach the gold-diggings on the latter river, where gold of a very fine quality had been discovered."⁴⁰ Later, in 1861, he and Dewdney continued road-making, and the trail which they finally completed has ever since been known as the Dewdney Trail. From 1861 till 1885 there was no excitement in Similkameen, such as accompanied the first gold discoveries, but the trail was continually in use.

Dr. W. N. Sage describes the trail as a link in a grand scheme cherished by Douglas for connecting the coast with Edmonton. This is understandable, but Douglas's decision that goods could be brought overland from Hope to Vermillion Forks and taken down the Similkameen River by boat is not so easy to understand.⁴¹ The wish must have been father to the thought. The truth is that neither in 1860, nor at any time since, has the river been suitable for this purpose. On October 2, during his visit to the interior, Douglas instructed Sergeant McCall "to continue the road to Vermillion Forks or as far as requisite . . . and to mark out the lower townsite at Vermillion Forks and to push on over the watershed without delay before winter sets in."⁴² The original survey of the town of Princeton, carried out in October, 1860, was *below* the forks. The name Princeton was chosen in honour of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII., who had just visited Eastern Canada. A number of the Engineers pre-empted land in the vicinity, and some of them are remembered in such place names as Moody's Prairie, and Luard Lake.

We have already noted the community of gold-seekers at Blackfoot. The only other "rush" in Similkameen was to Granite Creek. Here, in 1885, a large community sprang up. This was at the mouth of the creek, where it enters the right bank of the Tulameen, 12 miles west of Princeton. W. H. Holmes, recalling his arrival there soon after the rush began, tells that it was full of life, and every hundred feet on the river was a wooden wheel, all turning to a different tune. The rush was started by the

(40) Walter Moberly, *The Rocks and Rivers of British Columbia*, London, 1885, pp. 33-34.

(41) W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, p. 318.

(42) *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

discovery of a nugget by cowboy John Chance. The date of the discovery is given as July 5, 1885. Chance and some other cowboys were taking some horses through to the Fraser River. He stopped to water his horse at the creek, and discovered the nugget which started the rush. Within a few months a tent town covered the flat near the mouth of the creek. By the end of October, sixty-two companies had creek claims, averaging 300 feet each. From July 5 to October 31 gold to the value of \$90,000 was reported.⁴³ In December, Henry Nicholson, the Mining Recorder, estimated the population at 600 whites and 300 Chinese. Tents were soon replaced by log buildings. In January, 1886, G. C. Tunstall, Gold Commissioner, reported forty homes, six saloons and hotels, and seven stores. The peak production was in 1886, when gold and platinum to the value of \$193,000 were taken, chiefly from Granite Creek.⁴⁴ By 1900 Granite Creek was another ghost town. Hugh Hunter, who had been appointed Mining Recorder in August, 1899, was in March, 1900, moved to Princeton as Government Agent.

Gold officially reported at Granite Creek represented only a percentage of what was actually taken. Chinese were regarded as the worst offenders in not reporting amounts taken.⁴⁵ If Government Agents were unable to report correct returns, others were able to overstate them. The truth lies somewhere between what was actually reported, and what was stated in the following quotation:—

F. P. Cook, the pioneer merchant of Granite Creek was to Princeton last Friday. In 1885 when Mr. Cook walked into Granite Creek carrying his blankets it was with difficulty that he made his way along the crowded main street. Twelve saloons did a flourishing business and closing hours were unknown. The town had a population of about 2,000 inhabitants, and was the third largest city in B.C., being only exceeded by Victoria and New Westminster. Kamloops then would probably come next in size. Placer miners in 1885-1886 took \$800,000 in gold and platinum out of Granite Creek.⁴⁶

(43) *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for the Year . . . 1885*, Victoria, 1886, p. 492.

(44) Charles Camsell, *Geology and Mineral Deposits of the Tulameen District, B.C.*, Ottawa, 1913, p. 8.

(45) *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for the Year . . . 1885*, p. 494.

(46) *Similkameen Star*, Princeton, September 10, 1915.

There is little to-day to suggest the former glory of what was possibly the third largest town in the Province in 1886. To-day it is "just another ghost town." Coal has superseded gold as the main source of industry in the Tulameen Valley. Early in the 20th century coal was discovered near the present site of Blakeburn, and in 1909 at Collin's Gulch. Coalmont was so named because of the belief that there was a mountain of coal which could be stripped and operated by steam-shovels.

It remains to carry the story of gold in Similkameen, in brief outline, down to the present day.

Hedley is the largest settlement in Similkameen now dependent on gold-mining. Placer-mining, which began at the mouth of Twenty Mile Creek, now Hedley Creek, in the early sixties, was soon exhausted. The period of lode-mining began in 1896. George Allison and Jim Riordan had staked three claims for Edgar Dewdney, in 1894, and one had been recorded by J. Coulthard. These four, however, were allowed to lapse. Peter Scott located the Rollo in 1897, and three claims the following year. That same August (1898) Albert Jacobson and C. Johnson, two Swedes who had been grub-staked by W. Y. Williams, of Phoenix, located two claims, and four were staked by F. I. Wollaston and C. H. Arundel. Samples from these last claims came to the notice of M. K. Rodgers, who represented the mining interests of the late Marcus Daly, of Butte, Montana. At the time Rodgers was on his way to the Cassiar district. He cancelled his sailing from Victoria, and next morning started out for Similkameen. The first samples to be assayed carried values so high that Rodgers suspected salting. With this in mind he returned by himself and resampled the properties. The results were equally promising. With the bonding of the group, permanent work was started in January, 1899. In October, 1902, a tramway was constructed, flume work undertaken, and the erection of a stamp-mill and cyanide plant commenced. Milling of ore began in May, 1904.⁴⁷ By the time that the Nickel Plate holdings of the Daly estate were sold on August 12, 1909, to the Exploration Syndicate of

(47) Charles Camsell, *The Geology and Ore Deposits of Hedley Mining District, British Columbia*, Ottawa, 1910, pp. 16-21.

New York, over two and a half millions in gold had been taken.⁴⁸ During the war, and again during the depression, operations were suspended. Since then other companies have entered the field, and Hedley continues to be one of the best-known camps in the Province. Elsewhere in Similkameen the search for gold continues by the time-honoured methods of hydraulicking, sluicing and panning. The prospector has outlived the fur-trader.

It is now eighty years since the first gold-seekers came to Similkameen. It was the presence of prospectors and the discovery of gold that decided Douglas to have trails completed from Hope through Similkameen to Rock Creek. It was also the search for gold which brought to light the presence of other minerals, and of coal. These are being mined to-day on a large scale.

It is now 125 years since the first journey through the Similkameen was made by a fur-trader. The Hudson's Bay trading-post at Keremeos, opened in 1860, was closed in 1872; but the farming, fruit-growing, and stock-raising which were begun there are to-day the mainstay of the lower end of the valley.

The fur-traders and the seekers after gold who pioneered Similkameen have left a goodly heritage.

J. C. GOODFELLOW.

PRINCETON, B.C.

(48) Statement to the writer by the late Frank Bailey. See the chapter on "Camp Hedley" in his *Nicola, Similkameen and Tulameen Valleys*, Vancouver, n.d., pp. 56-65.

IN MEMORY OF DAVID DOUGLAS.

Shortly before his death in 1886 my grandfather, John Goldie, planted a Douglas Fir in the grounds of a new residence of his son. After the ceremony he was asked by his grandchildren why he had chosen to plant this British Columbian tree. In reply he told us that the man after whom it was named had been a friend and fellow-student in Glasgow, when they were both working under the direction of Sir William Jackson Hooker, then Professor of Botany at Glasgow University. When questioned further he recounted the life-history of David Douglas, and told of his tragic death in Hawaii in 1834. On finishing the story, he said: "Should any of you boys visit the Sandwich Islands, look up the burial place of my college mate." Forty-four years later it fell to my lot to carry out the suggestion made by my grandfather, during a winter's stay in Honolulu in 1930.

John Goldie was born near the village of Kirkoswald, in Ayrshire, Scotland, on March 21, 1793. He received a thorough training in the science of botany and in practical gardening, and became connected with the Botanic Gardens at Glasgow. It was here that he met David Douglas. Recommendations from Sir William Hooker enabled both young men to make scientific expeditions abroad; but as John Goldie was Douglas's senior by five years, he was naturally the first to embark on his travels. In 1817 he set sail for America, where he spent two years in Nova Scotia, Quebec, and the eastern United States. He taught school for a time, but his primary occupation was botanizing. He gathered a rich harvest of specimens, but suffered a heart-breaking disappointment as the three large collections which he forwarded to Great Britain were all lost in transit. However, upon his return in 1819 he was able to introduce many new and rare plants into Europe, a list of which appeared in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, in 1822. Sir William Hooker, following the same practice he afterwards did with David Douglas, named plants after the men who had discovered and classified them.

About the time John Goldie returned to Scotland the Emperor of Russia established a botanical garden at St. Petersburg, and he was employed to make a collection of plants for it. During

his residence in Russia he made extensive botanical explorations, and was able to introduce many rare plants into England. About the year 1830 he visited Russia a second time, and travelled in Siberia, following his favourite pursuit. Finally, in 1844, having formed a favourable opinion of Canada as a place of residence during his visits in 1817-19, he brought his family out and settled near the village of Ayr, Ontario, where he continued to reside until his death in July, 1886, at the ripe age of ninety-three.

Meanwhile David Douglas had commenced his scientific travels. In 1823 he made an expedition to the eastern United States for the Royal Horticultural Society, and in 1824 sailed for the Columbia River, again under the auspices of the Society, aboard the Hudson's Bay Company's annual supply ship *William and Ann*. He arrived at Fort Vancouver in April, 1825, and spent the next two years in exploring the region now known as the Pacific Northwest. In 1827 he travelled overland to Hudson Bay and sailed thence to England. In 1829 he returned to the Pacific Coast, and resumed his botanizing expeditions, which took him over large sections of the present states of California, Oregon, and Washington. Finally he travelled to the Sandwich (now the Hawaiian) Islands, and undertook the survey of their flora which was to cost him his life. On July 12, 1834, he wandered from a path, though he had been warned of the danger of so doing, and fell into a pit intended to trap wild cattle. There he was trampled to death by a bullock which was either in the pit at the time or fell into it soon after.

News of this tragedy was sent to England by Richard Charlton, British Consul in the Sandwich Islands, in a letter dated August 6, 1834. One sentence reads as follows: "I have caused his grave to be built over with brick, and perhaps his friends may send a stone to be placed (with an inscription) upon it." This would seem to have been a reasonable expectation, as the President and Council of the Royal Horticultural Society had been highly gratified by the results of his expeditions, and Douglas had achieved considerable fame during his stay in Great Britain in 1827-29. For some reason, however, nothing was done, possibly because Douglas was not actually in the employ of the Society at the time of his death; and more than twenty years passed before any effort was made to mark his resting-place.

Then, in 1855, one Julius L. Brenchley purchased a white marble monument in San Francisco, and shipped it to Honolulu for erection in the cemetery of the Kawaihauo Church—the Westminster Abbey of Hawaii—where Douglas lies buried.

When I reached Honolulu in 1930, nothing seemed to be known about Brenchley, or about how he came to erect a monument to David Douglas. At my request, Mr. A. P. Taylor, the late Archivist of Hawaii, made an exhaustive search through the very numerous letters of Robert Crichton Wyllie, a Scotsman who for over twenty years was Minister of Foreign Relations for the Royal Family of Hawaii. He was a poor penman as well as a voluminous writer, which made it doubly difficult to find anything that might refer to Douglas and his burial in the Hawaiian churchyard; but in the end Mr. Taylor unearthed an exchange of letters between Wyllie and Brenchley with reference to the monument.

It seems that the Rev. Julius Brenchley noticed that Douglas's grave was unmarked when he visited Hawaii in the early fifties. The rest of the story is told in a letter from Brenchley to Wyllie, dated San Francisco, July 11, 1855, which reads in part as follows:—

I have had a tombstone prepared for your compatriot Douglas I take the liberty of asking you if you will do me the favor to have it erected in the grave yard of the stone church where he was buried in Honolulu.

Knowing the profound interest you take in science and scientific men, is my excuse for requesting you to see to the erection of this humble tribute to the memory of a man of science, genius and integrity. It was my wish and intention long since to have done this but not being able to get it done in Honolulu I was obliged to defer it until my arrival in San Francisco. I have ordered the stone to be shipped to day on board the *Vanquero* and have written to Mr Montgomery requesting him to defray for me any expenses that may attend its erection. I should like the grave to be enclosed within a neat fence which you will much oblige me by having done for me. Also I take the liberty of having the case addressed to you.

In a letter dated Honolulu, July 26, 1855, Wyllie replied as follows:—

In concurrence with Mr Montgomery I shall do all that you request in regard to the tombstone for the grave of the unfortunate Mr Douglas.

It is much to your honour that you bethought yourself of so honouring his memory and thereby leaving a vestige of your presence on these islands.

Difficulties developed, however, which Wyllie explained to Brenchley in a second letter, dated January 31, 1856:—

I have lost much time here in endeavors to get the grave of the late Mr Douglas identified, but I find that no one can do it exactly. They point out a place the space of 12 yards square where it was, but as the bricks which covered it have been removed no one can indicate the precise spot. Mr Armstrong and the Rev Mr Clark have tried all the missionaries and other old residents. Under these circumstances I have obtained permission to put the tablet on the wall inside the church, near which Mr Douglas was interred and of this I hope you will approve.

Although this letter states distinctly that the monument was being placed *inside* the church, it was, in actual fact, set in the outside wall nearest the grave. Through the years the soft stone of which it was composed began to crumble; and some ten years ago this attracted the attention and interest of W. H. Baird, the British Vice-Consul in Honolulu. He took up the matter with the church authorities, and they agreed to place the memorial in the right vestibule of the building. Mr. Baird also communicated with the Royal Horticultural Society, with the result that the Society bore the cost of erection inside the church, and also placed two bronze tablets under the stone. The smaller of these, measuring 10 by 6 inches, gives the original Latin inscription, and the following translation:—

Here lies Master David Douglas, born
in Scotland A. D. 1799. An indefati-
gable traveller, he was sent out by
the Royal Horticultural Society of
London, and gave his life for science
in the wilds of Hawaii, July 12, 1834.

“ E'en here the tear of pity springs
And hearts are touched by human things.”

Virgil

The larger tablet, 24 by 10 inches, has the following inscription:—

The Royal Horticultural Society, grateful
for his services to Horticulture and
Botany, caused this copy of the crumbling
inscription to the memory of David Douglas
to be recorded in 1929.

This belated action of the Society which had sent Douglas to botanize in the Pacific Northwest seems very strange. Even though he was not actually in its service at the time of his death,

ninety-five years is a long time in which to show gratitude for distinguished service performed.

One point remains to be considered. Who was the Rev. Julius Brenchley? Careful search of old records and newspapers by the writer in Hawaii, San Francisco, and Sacramento failed to give any clue as to his identity; but through Mr. John Forsyth, former Provincial Archivist, I was able finally to secure a sketch of his career from William F. Wilson, of Honolulu, author of a pamphlet entitled *David Douglas Botanist at Hawaii* (1919).

Julius Lucius Brenchley was born in Maidstone, England, on November 30, 1816. He was educated at the Maidstone Grammar School, and subsequently entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as an M.A. He was ordained to a curacy at Shoreham, Kent, and in 1845 travelled with his parents on the continent of Europe.

In 1847, on the death of his father, Brenchley entered on the career of a traveller, which he followed without intermission until 1867. In 1849 he visited the eastern United States, where for a time he lived a forest life amongst the Indians. This was followed by a journey in 1850 up the Mississippi and Missouri to St. Joseph, and thence to Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, by way of the Rocky Mountains. Thence he proceeded to the Hawaiian Islands, where he discovered the neglected condition of David Douglas's grave. In Hawaii he met another traveller, M. Jules Remy, and in his company journeyed to California. From San Francisco he and Remy undertook an adventurous expedition to Utah and Salt Lake City, and upon their return crossed the Sierra Nevada to New Mexico. In 1856 they visited Panama and Ecuador, and later went to Peru and Chili. The year 1857 saw Brenchley and his companion again in the United States where, after visiting the Canadian Lakes, they descended the Mississippi from its source to St. Louis. Ultimately they reached New York and embarked there for England.

So far as we know, Brenchley did not again visit North America; but in the ten years 1858-1867 he roamed over the vast extent of Africa, Asia, New Zealand, and Australia, arriving finally in St. Petersburg in January, 1867. After visiting Poland and Austria he went to Marseilles. Going thence to Paris, he was in that city when it was first beleaguered by the Prussians,

in 1870. Subsequently he settled at Milgate House, near Maidstone, but in consequence of ill-health moved to Folkestone in 1872, where he died on February 21, 1873, aged fifty-six years.

Brenchley was buried in the family vault at All Saints, Maidstone. He bequeathed the bulk of his large collections in ethnology, natural history, oriental objects, paintings, and library to the town of Maidstone, leaving also an endowment for their preservation. He was the author of at least two books, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, published jointly with Jules Remy in 1861, and *The Cruise of the Curacoa Among the South Sea Islands in 1865*, a copy of which the writer presented to the Provincial Library in 1937.

From this sketch it is apparent that Brenchley can have had no personal acquaintance with David Douglas. He was only eighteen when Douglas was killed. His action in securing a monument to mark his grave was due entirely to his desire that the resting-place of an eminent scientist should neither be neglected nor forgotten.

JOHN GOLDIE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

EARLY LUMBERING ON VANCOUVER ISLAND.

PART II.: 1855-1866.

MUIR & COMPANY OF SOOKE.

It will be recalled that when John Muir acquired the estate of Captain Grant at Sooke, in 1853, the property included the remains of a water-power sawmill, at the north-east corner of Sooke Basin. Though John Muir's sons, and in particular Michael Muir, were engaged in the timber trade at the time, no effort seems to have been made to repair and operate this mill. Exports from Sooke were confined to spars, squared timbers and piles, all of which could be produced by hand.

Early in 1855, however, an accident enabled the Muirs to secure cheaply the machinery required for a steam sawmill. On February 10, the small steamship *Major Tompkins*, which had just commenced to run between Victoria and Puget Sound, ran ashore on Macaulay Point, at the entrance to Victoria Harbour. On March 1 the wreck was sold at auction to Robert Laing, and from him the Muirs purchased the vessel's machinery. The curious old diary of Robert Melrose, which is preserved in the Provincial Archives, records that on March 29 the "Yankee Scow sailed [for] Soack, with the Major Tompkin's boiler and engine."¹ There they were placed in a new sawmill, which was built near the entrance of Sooke Harbour, in the district now called West Sooke. Old notes indicate that a saw or saw-frame from Grant's original mill was moved to this new plant.

Though it is known that the Muirs were active in the timber and lumber trade during the next few years, no details of their operations are available. Even the early newspapers are silent on the point, and the first item giving any information of value did not appear until the autumn of 1859, when the *Victoria Colonist* reported that the bark *Euphrates* had sailed for London from Sooke on October 6, carrying 157 spars and 40,000 feet of lumber.² In 1860 Michael Muir announced that he was opening

(1) Robert Melrose, *Royal Emigrants Almanack* (MS.). The diary covers the period from August, 1852, to July, 1857.

(2) *Victoria Colonist*, October 10, 1859.

a lumber yard in Victoria, where he would "keep constantly on hand a full assortment of Lumber and Shingles, suitable for this market, at the corner of Government and Humboldt streets."³ In December, 1862, the Prussian bark *Dove* was at Sooke, loading a cargo of spars and lumber for Shanghai.⁴ The following March the schooner *Industry* brought 32,000 feet of lumber from Sooke to Victoria; and Macfie states that a total of 100,000 feet were received at Victoria from the Sooke mill during the year 1863.⁵

In 1864, during the Leech River gold excitement, the mill was advertised for sale, and on August 25 it was sold at auction to a Mr. Seeley, for \$4,500.⁶ The auctioneers were Messrs. Duncan & George, of which firm James Duncan, former owner of the Albert Head sawmill, was a partner; and it is probable that Seeley purchased the mill on his behalf. In any event, we know that in December Duncan was in the market for two million feet of sawlogs, to be delivered at the Sooke sawmill,⁷ and that lumber consigned to him was reaching Victoria from Sooke a few weeks later. The schooner *Matilda* arrived with 50,000 feet early in January, 1865, and she brought another 40,000 feet in February.⁸

Just when the Muirs resumed possession of the mill is not clear, but a list of sawmills printed in 1867 indicates that ownership had reverted to them by that date. The same list states that the cost of the plant was \$8,000, that it was equipped with a steam-engine and two saws, and that its capacity was 8,000 feet per day.⁹ Subsequently it was enlarged, and a number of substantial export shipments were made from Sooke in 1869. In April, for example, the bark *Cecrops* loaded 300,000 feet of lumber for Valparaiso, while in September the brig *Orient* sailed

(3) *Ibid.*, February 28, 1860.

(4) *Ibid.*, December 20, 1862; April 14, 1863.

(5) *Ibid.*, March 19, 1863; Matthew Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1865, p. 135.

(6) *Victoria Evening Express*, August 25, 1864.

(7) *Victoria Colonist*, December 31, 1864.

(8) *Ibid.*, January 12, February 27, 1865.

(9) Arthur Harvey, *A Statistical Account of British Columbia*, Ottawa, 1867, p. 16.

with 320,000 feet for the same destination, and the ship *Old Dominion* carried no less than 670,000 feet to Australia.¹⁰

As its only predecessor was the unfortunate Albert Head venture, the Muir mill deserves to rank as the first successful steam sawmill on Vancouver Island. For this reason a word may be added about its later history. All went well until the early morning of June 17, 1875, when a bush fire, fanned by a high wind, set the mill afire. The blaze spread to "the well-stocked granaries of the Muir Brothers, which, with the mill and contents, were leveled to the ground in an incredibly short space of time."¹¹ The loss was estimated at \$20,000. No insurance was carried, but the sawmill was rebuilt at once, and this time both steam- and water-power machinery were installed. In the winter of 1878-79 the mill was moved and again rebuilt on a site near the old Government wharf, on Sooke Harbour.¹² It was closed down finally in 1892.

CAPTAIN EDWARD STAMP.

The third steam sawmill on Vancouver Island was the Stamp or Anderson mill, at the head of the Alberni Canal. The timber resources of that region were first drawn to the attention of the Government of the Colony by William E. Banfield, a British sailor who had taken his discharge from H.M.S. *Constance*, on the Esquimalt station, in 1849. In later years he traded with the Indians on the West Coast, and in the spring of 1859 was appointed Agent for the Colonial Secretary in that region. He lived at Barkley Sound, and forwarded a number of reports on the country thereabouts to Victoria. In the fall of 1859 he informed the Colonial Secretary, W. A. G. Young, that although he had formerly considered the timber there "unable to compete either in quality or quantity with the timber on Puget Sound," he was now convinced that the stands in the district were both extensive and valuable. ". . . The places I have remarked merely at hazard, sir," he wrote on October 24, "will I think warrant me in stating that ere long it will cause Barclay Sound to be noticed and must eventually become an article of export,

(10) *Victoria Colonist*, April 16, September 30, 1869.

(11) *Ibid.*, June 18, 1875.

(12) *Ibid.*, January 23, 1909 (obituary of John Muir).

and an important item in the prosperity and peopling of the Southern end of the Island . . . "13

It is at least possible that Banfield's report influenced the decision to locate the Anderson sawmill at Alberni. This mill was by far the largest lumbering enterprise undertaken on the Island in the Crown Colony period, and owed its initiation to Captain Edward Stamp, an English shipmaster and commission agent. Stamp visited Vancouver Island as early as 1857, and was contracting for spars and lumber on Puget Sound, on behalf of English purchasers, the following year. He seems always to have been engaged in a variety of enterprises, and in 1859 spent much of his time endeavouring to organize a British steamer line between San Francisco and Victoria. His plan almost succeeded, as the contract with the British Government for the service had been drawn up and printed when the collapse of the Derby administration put an end to the matter.¹⁴ This point is germane to the present subject because the negotiations for the contract took Stamp to England; and it was during his sojourn there that a group of London capitalists entrusted him with the task of establishing a large sawmill somewhere on the Northwest Coast.

Stamp arrived in Victoria late in 1859, and on December 21 addressed a letter to Governor Douglas which read, in part, as follows:—

I take the liberty of waiting on your Excellency to lay before you, on behalf of myself and persons in England with whom I am connected, certain plans which I would wish to carry out, if possible in the colony of Vancouver Island.

It is our intention to establish a first class Saw Mill, capable of delivering 50,000 feet of lumber per diem, a fishery and fish curing establishment, a patent slip—capable of accommodating vessels up to 2000 tons burthen; and other projects—which we hope will materially conduce to the welfare of the colony. The whole of the saw mill machinery is already bought and paid for, and on its way to this port, on board a vessel belonging to ourselves, expressly built for the purpose of bringing it out. Considerable preparations have been made for the fish curing establishment, several skilled artisans and their families were engaged before I left Great Britain and are now also on their way.

(13) W. E. Banfield to W. A. G. Young, October 24, 1859. Unless otherwise indicated, the original or a copy of all correspondence quoted is in the Provincial Archives.

(14) Stamp to A. N. Birch, April 19, 1865.

The establishment will involve an outlay of several thousand of pounds, and the employment of probably not less than 200 laborers. And the only question is, where the establishment is to be fixed.

I have been entrusted with the selection of the locality, and although as Englishmen, I and all my friends would regret to be compelled to invest our capital and our industry in the United States, yet the advantages and facilities in that Country are as your Excellency is aware, so great, that unless the land system of this Colony present somewhat equal advantages, I shall be compelled, however reluctantly, to advise my friends, in justice to their pecuniary interests, to decide upon some point on the opposite coast of Washington Territory. . . .

The result of my inquiries has been that one particular locality in Washington Territory affords me such facilities as to counterbalance the inconvenience of the additional navigation of the Straits; which would be imposed upon us beyond what would be necessary if we were established at some point near the South West end of Vancouver Island; and we would also have San Francisco market open to our lumber, which we cannot have if we decide to establish on British Territory.

I have found it impossible to ascertain with sufficient confidence whether our requirements can be legally and sufficiently met in this Colony.

These requirements, as outlined in this and subsequent letters, were three in number. The first essential was a site for the saw-mill and a tract of land suitable "for living and cultivation . . . say 2000 acres." The second was an assured supply of logs, to secure which Stamp wished to acquire "a much larger tract of land . . . absolutely or with an exclusive right of cutting timber on it say, 10,000 or 12,000 acres." In the third place, Stamp asked that his settlement should be made a port of entry, as a convenience to shipping.

This letter placed Douglas in a quandary, as Young, the Colonial Secretary, explained to Stamp in a letter dated January 2, 1860. Douglas was most anxious to see the mill established in the Colony, but at the moment was "actually without the power to give any perfect title or make a complete conveyance of any land in the Colony." The British Government was expected to resume direct control of Vancouver Island, which it had granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1848, at any moment, and in view of this the Company was no longer prepared to negotiate land sales. On the other hand, Douglas had received no authority from London to take over the management of Colonial lands. In spite of this, Douglas and Stamp managed to come to an agreement, though of necessity it was expressed in very general terms. Stamp was authorized to take possession

of 2,000 acres for purposes of settlement, and not more than 15,000 acres of timber limits. Douglas guaranteed that Stamp would not have to pay for his own improvements, if and when these lands were placed on the market, and that the sale price would not exceed one pound per acre. On his side, Stamp agreed to make "permanent improvements" to the property to the extent of £7,500 before the end of 1860.¹⁵

Stamp himself owned a share in the syndicate on whose behalf he was negotiating, but the major portion of the capital involved was supplied by two London firms—James Thomson & Company and Thomas Bilbe & Company. The former was established in 1797, and "as shipowners and shipbrokers sent sailing ships to the West Indies, to Australia, and to the Far East. They were also part proprietors of a shipbuilding yard and dock known as Nelson Dock at Rotherhithe on the River Thames, and were thus interested in the supply of timber for shipbuilding."¹⁶ Thomas Bilbe & Company were associated with them in the ownership of this shipbuilding business. According to Captain Walbran, Thomson & Company became interested in the Northwest Coast because they felt that civil war was imminent in the United States. They were accustomed to purchase spars and ship-timbers in the South, and considered it prudent to secure

(15) The important letters relating to these negotiations are the following: Stamp to Douglas, December 21, 1859; Stamp to Young, December 30, 1859, January 6 and 13, 1860; Young to Stamp, January 2 and 10, 1860.

Douglas reported the agreement to London in a despatch dated January 26, 1860, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies gave his approval on April 6. Meanwhile on March 21, Douglas transmitted copies of the correspondence to the House of Assembly, and a lively debate followed. Alfred Waddington contended that "all the profits would go to England; everything required, from nails down to shoestrings, would come from the mother country. Victoria, would not be benefitted." In the end a resolution was passed which approved the land grant for settlement, but which contended that the timber limits should be defined as the timber lands necessary "for maintaining Capt. Stamp's saw-mills for twenty years, at a rate per square mile, licensed." See *Victoria Colonist*, April 5, 1860.

The ubiquitous James Duncan appears momentarily in the picture as a rival applicant for a land grant for lumbering purposes at the head of the Alberni Canal. (James Duncan to W. A. G. Young, January 10, 1860.)

(16) From a memorandum dated April 23, 1936, kindly furnished by Sir Alan Garrett Anderson, G.B.E., of Anderson, Green & Company, London.

an alternative source of supply, in view of the contracts they had made with several European governments.¹⁷

As the sawmill at Alberni is usually referred to as the "Anderson mill," it may be added that James Anderson, who had entered the employ of Thomson & Company as a boy, had become a partner in 1842. Three of his nephews joined the company in 1863-70, and the firm became successively Anderson, Thomson & Company, and Anderson, Anderson & Company. It continues to flourish to-day as Anderson, Green & Company, managers of the Orient Line of passenger and mail steamers between England and Australia.

THE ANDERSON MILL AT ALBERNI.

On June 29, 1860, the schooner *Meg Merrilies*, Captain Pamphlet, landed nine workmen at the head of the Alberni Canal, to make preparations for the new settlement.¹⁸ Two months later the schooner *Woodpecker* arrived from England, after a passage of 140 days, bringing six additional workmen, the machinery for the mill, and general merchandise.¹⁹ She was the specially-built craft to which Stamp referred in his correspondence with Douglas. On September 1, the *Meg Merrilies* returned with two important passengers—Captain Stamp and Gilbert Malcolm Sproat. Sproat had been in the London office of James Thomson & Company, and had been sent out to be their direct representative on Vancouver Island.²⁰ The next day, to avoid possible trouble with the Indians, Stamp and Sproat purchased from them the land selected for the settlement. The price paid was about £20 in goods, and the natives withdrew within a few days.²¹ "The first house that was built," Sproat has recorded, "was made of logs, with split wood for the roof—rather a plain-looking hut, but nevertheless a comfortable house in all weathers. It was the kind of house that woodmen build

(17) John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, Ottawa, 1909, p. 469.

(18) W. E. Banfield to W. A. G. Young, Colonial Secretary, July 3, 1860.

(19) Banfield to Young, September 6, 1860.

(20) See T. A. Rickard, "Gilbert Malcolm Sproat," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 21-32.

(21) Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, London, 1868, p. 3.

with the axe alone."²² In addition to Stamp and Sproat, the *Meg Merrilies* had brought "twelve Mechanics, oxen and merchandise"; and when she returned to Victoria she carried a report from W. E. Banfield, which stated that the settlement then numbered some forty white people. Buildings, he added, were "progressing rapidly and the place assuming quite a civilised aspect."²³ In November, Stamp was sworn in as a Justice of the Peace and left Victoria to take personal charge of building operations. By that time construction of the sawmill itself, the site of which is now part of the townsite of Port Alberni, had commenced. "Capt. Stamp has one large store, five dwelling houses and several out-buildings erected," the *Colonist* reported in December. "The foundation of the mill is almost completed, but it is very strong and a tedious piece of work." Logging had commenced, and a gang of men were employed getting out spars.²⁴

Five months later, on May 22, 1861, the new sawmill got up steam for the first time.²⁵ H.M. survey ship *Hecate* was then lying in Barkley Sound, and a letter from Banfield to the *Colonist* newspaper dated May 23 records that "Capt. Stamp's place" had been "named Alberni by the survey."²⁶ Lieutenant Mayne, who was on board the *Hecate*, describes the new settlement in his well-known book, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*. Like Captain Brotchie before him, Stamp was eager to interest the British Admiralty in his spars; and Mayne notes that when the *Hecate* sailed for Esquimalt she had "in tow a main topmast for the *Bacchante*, which Mr. Stamp sent as a present and specimen to the Admiral."²⁷

Though not in all respects completed, the mill was in full operation by the end of May. The first shipment of lumber from Alberni consisted of 30,000 feet, and was carried to Victoria by

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

(23) Banfield to Young, September 6, 1860. Bishop Hills arrived at Alberni aboard H.M.S. *Grappler*, in October. His account of his visit is found in the *Report of the Columbia Mission*, London, 1860, pp. 86-88.

(24) *Victoria Colonist*, December 8, 1860.

(25) Banfield to Young, May 23, 1861.

(26) *Victoria Colonist*, May 30, 1861.

(27) R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, London, 1862, p. 231.

the schooner *Meg Merrilies* early in July.²⁸ The same month the first vessel to load for the export market, the brigantine *Marcella*, arrived at Alberni to load for Callao, Peru. In August Alberni was made a port of entry, in accordance with Stamp's agreement with Douglas, and Stamp himself was appointed Collector. By that time the settlement had become a veritable hive of industry. "Captain Stamp's mill," Banfield reported to the Colonial Secretary, "works with 6 gang of saws cutting about 14,000 feet per day, but every day improvements are making, much of the machinery that came from England has been entirely altered and in some parts superseded wholly. When they get a large circular saw at work they anticipate cutting about 50,000 feet per day."²⁹ Stamp made a trip to San Francisco to charter ships to carry lumber to that port and the Sandwich Islands, and while in Victoria complained that labour was scarce, and that although he needed twenty men he had only been able to secure three. The wages offered were \$20 to \$130 a month, according to ability. In addition to the sawmill, Stamp was operating a fishing station on Barkley Sound, and 250 acres of peas, barley, and oats were harvested on the farms near the settlement in 1861. The industries represented also included shipbuilding, as an 87-foot schooner, later named the *Alberni*, was under construction at this time.³⁰ She was intended to replace the *Woodpecker*, which had been wrecked on Peacock Spit, at the mouth of the Columbia River, in May.

No complete record of the output of the Alberni mill in 1861 has yet come to light. Coastwise shipments seem to have been limited to those brought to Victoria by the schooner *Meg Merrilies*. She made five trips with lumber, and carried in all a total of 146,000 feet. In the export trade the *Marcella*, already mentioned, was followed by the ship *Starr King*, which loaded 700,000 feet of lumber for Australia; and the brig *Sheet Anchor*, which carried the pioneer shipment from Alberni to the Sandwich Islands.

The winter of 1861-62 was unusually severe, and for several weeks the weather brought operations at Alberni to a standstill.

(28) *Victoria Colonist*, July 11, 1861.

(29) Banfield to Young, August 10, 1861.

(30) *Victoria Colonist*, August 23 and 27, 1861.

Late in January, W. E. Banfield reported that it was impossible for a vessel to get within four miles of the mill, because of the ice in the Alberni Canal.³¹ On the whole, however, 1862 was a busy year for the sawmill. Mention of fourteen vessels which loaded lumber or spars for export can be found in contemporary letters and newspapers, and the steam tug *Diana*, which Stamp had purchased in San Francisco, was kept busy towing ships in or out, or making coastwise trips to Victoria. She was joined presently by the new schooner *Alberni*, which was employed at first in the coastwise trade, but which later made a number of voyages to the Sandwich Islands.

The official return for 1862 states that export shipments from Alberni for the year amounted to 7,804,000 feet of rough lumber, valued at \$11 per thousand feet, and 270,000 feet of dressed lumber, valued at \$20 per thousand, or a total of 8,074,000 feet in all, valued at \$91,244. To this must be added four cargoes of spars, one of which went to Batavia, and the other three to Great Britain. These were valued officially at \$28,673. Spars and lumber together were thus estimated to be worth \$119,917.³²

Not content with his lumbering and fishing activities, Stamp had added copper-mining to his enterprises, in the spring of the year. Prospecting parties financed by him, and in some cases directed by his sons, investigated various spots both on the banks of the Alberni Canal, and on Santa Maria Island and Copper Island. No mines of importance were developed, though a few tons of ore were shipped to Victoria.³³ Stamp seems to have engaged in mining on his own account, and not on behalf of the sawmill company. Indeed, he may have turned to it as a possible alternative occupation, for relations within the mill-owning syndicate were becoming strained. The first public indication of this came in November, 1862, when Stamp & Company, the name under which the syndicate had operated both the sawmill at Alberni and a prosperous commission agency in Victoria, was

(31) Banfield to Young, January 30, 1862.

(32) *Victoria Colonist*, January 9, 1863.

(33) For details see Banfield to Colonial Secretary, March 2 and April 30, 1862; Stamp to Colonial Secretary, February 10, 12 and 13, and April 10, 1862. Banfield lost his life on October 20, 1862, and the supposition is that he was murdered by Indians. The last of his interesting and valuable letters in the Archives is dated August 24.

succeeded by Anderson & Company. This move was followed presently by Stamp's retirement from the firm. The original partnership was dissolved in January, 1863, upon the application of James Thomson & Company, and Gilbert Malcolm Sproat succeeded Stamp as manager both of the sawmill and the commission-house.³⁴ It is only just to add that Stamp seems to have been highly popular amongst his workmen, and that upon his departure the sawmill crew presented him with a gold watch which cost \$250.³⁵

Activities at Alberni reached their height in August, 1863, when no less than ten vessels were loading lumber and spars simultaneously. Four of these were bound for Australia, three for China, and the remaining three for Callao, Manila and London.³⁶ Included in the number was the *Fusi Yama*, of 994 tons gross, the only tramp steamer which ever visited the Anderson mill. She loaded lumber for Shanghai. Just previous to this a flurry of excitement had been caused by the report that a Confederate warship had arrived in the Pacific. Sproat applied to Governor Douglas for "official certificates of production to accompany the shipping documents of cargoes of lumber and spars which, owing to the scarcity of British tonnage in this quarter, we are obliged to ship from Alberni in American bottoms." These he hoped "would be useful in saving the cargo in the event of capture of the American vessel in which it was shipped."³⁷ Douglas expressed his willingness to comply with this request,³⁸ but whether any certificates were actually issued does not appear.

Export shipments from Alberni in 1863 totalled 11,273,000 feet of sawn lumber—an increase of almost 40 per cent. over 1862—and 1,300 spars. In addition to this, 1,000,000 feet of lumber were shipped coastwise to Victoria.³⁹ This coastal trade,

(34) *Victoria Colonist*, November 18, 1862; January 9, 1863.

(35) For an account of Stamp's subsequent activities in the lumbering industry on the Mainland see F. W. Howay, "Early Shipping on Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 8-16.

(36) *Victoria Colonist*, August 29, 1863.

(37) Anderson & Company to Young, July 7, 1863.

(38) Young to Anderson & Company, July 14, 1863.

(39) Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1865, p. 135.

in which timber was carried in one direction and supplies for the sawmill and settlement in the other, was now carried on by the schooner *Alberni* and by the *Thames*, a steamer which Sproat had secured to replace the *Diana*. Including these coastwise sailings, a total of fifty-nine vessels of 20,077 tons net were entered at the port of Alberni in 1863.⁴⁰

Lumber Exports from Alberni, 1864.

Destination.	BOARD-FEET.		
	Rough Lumber.	Dressed Lumber.	Squared Timber.
China:			
Shanghai.....	1,821,199	-----	130,560
Hong Kong.....	207,345	-----	60,097
Australia:			
Sydney.....	239,528	-----	61,168
Melbourne.....	652,307	50,754	293,006
Adelaide.....	448,016	73,034	134,315
New Zealand:			
Dunedin.....	258,666	-----	39,815
South America:			
Callao.....	2,088,427	346,244	632,888
Coquimbo.....	719,404	44,000	-----
Iquiqui.....	427,529	176,407	-----
Valparaiso.....	942,043	-----	721,989
Sandwich Islands:			
Honolulu.....	269,563	94,450	15,184
Total.....	8,074,027	784,889	2,089,040

Both the sawmill and the port were busy during the greater part of 1864. "The large number of vessels now loading at the Alberni Mills causes a great stir at the Settlement," the *Colonist* reported in June; "the mills are working night and day, and every body is as busy as possible."⁴¹ News items indicate that throughout the summer and autumn there were always at least five vessels in port loading spars or lumber. It so happens that complete statistics of the Alberni exports for the year have been

(40) *Return of Vessels . . . Entered at the Port of Alberni during 1863* (MS.).

(41) *Victoria Colonist*, June 28, 1864.

preserved; and the accompanying table gives these returns arranged according to destination. Exports totalled 10,947,956 board-feet, or about 325,000 feet less than in 1863. Local shipments to Victoria consisted of 702,118 feet of rough lumber and 184,882 feet of dressed lumber, or 887,000 feet in all. The spar trade had fallen off heavily, and only fifty-four spars were shipped during the year—eighteen to Shanghai and thirty-six to Callao. Other products included 3,054 running feet of piles, 796 bundles of laths and 120 bundles of pickets.⁴²

There is nothing in the newspapers of the day to suggest that it was generally known that the Anderson mill was nearing the end of its tether in the autumn of 1864; but Sproat's letters show that he was much concerned about its future even at the time that he took over its management. As early as February, 1863, he was worrying about timber limits, and informed the Government that "to protect our large investment of capital in this place, it will be necessary for us to take up more land under our Land Grant than was thought necessary by our late Manager here Capt. Edward Stamp."⁴³ By November 1, 1864, matters had reached a crisis; and on that date Sproat addressed a long letter to the Colonial Secretary which reviews the whole situation in detail. He starts by declaring that Stamp's decision to place the sawmill at Alberni, instead of on Puget Sound, which was considered as an alternative site, "has proved disastrous to the proprietors for there is no wood in the district to supply the wants of a large mill, and the business in fact is now being carried on simply from an unwillingness to wind it up until forced, but without yielding any profit and with the certainty of having to abandon the place at an early date after having sunk and lost over £50,000." He explains that the trees within the timber limits selected by Stamp "only lasted about a year and a half" and that "the mill must have stopped had we not found that by making a dam we could get logs from a Lake on the sides of which we fortunately found some timber. With these we are now supplying the Mill, and on their exhaustion we do not know where to look for more."⁴⁴

(42) From the Customs return as printed in the *Victoria Colonist*, January 4, 1865.

(43) Anderson & Company to J. D. Pemberton, February 18, 1863.

(44) Sproat to the Colonial Secretary, November 1, 1864.

The reference is to Sproat Lake, then known as Kleecoot Lake, at the outlet from which the dam was constructed. Thence the logs travelled down the Kleecoot River, a name which seems to have designated both the Sproat and Somass rivers of to-day, to the Alberni Canal and the sawmill.⁴⁵ Continuing, Sproat explains his problem at some length:

It requires a large tract of land anywhere to furnish 20 million feet of logs every year for the use of a Mill, but especially in a country so totally unsuitable for large Sawmills as this Island owing to the broken character of the country and the Smallness and Shallowness of the Streams. At Alberni there are roads from 6 to 8 miles in length for the purpose of transporting hay and bulky articles to the logging camps; a water course of two miles long, dams, piers and abutments constructed at a great cost to raise a lake and river and at any time if the mill can exist much longer, we may have to make a railway to convey logs for many miles. Good trees grow in this Island only in Sheltered patches, and the greatest difficulty is experienced in getting supplies for man and beast to these places, and in removing trees from the rough hillsides and benches into the Lakes and out of these over waterfalls and down narrow winding Shallow Streams; Our arrangements are liable at any time to be upset by the weather. I have known a river to rise 14 feet in two nights and undo the labor of months.

In conclusion, Sproat commented upon the value of the industry to the Colony, and stated that "during the last four years [1860-64], without any return or advantage to the proprietors," he had "paid in cash more than \$300,000 to traders and laborers in this place for supplies and wages, exclusive of supplies obtained from San Francisco." He was convinced that the obstacles to financial success were so great that the Alberni sawmill was "the largest and probably the only industrial enterprise of the kind" that would ever exist on Vancouver Island.⁴⁶

In view of the scale upon which the timber resources of the Alberni district are being exploited to-day, this makes surprising reading; but it must be remembered that in 1864 the only way to convey a log to the mill was to drag it with oxen or float it down a stream. Sproat's failure does not prove that he was incompetent; it simply reveals the extent to which the lumbering industry of the present is the product of modern logging methods and machinery.

As Sproat was convinced that the sawmill's days were numbered, he proposed to the Government that a settlement project

(45) *Ibid.*, May 18, 1865.

(46) Sproat to the Colonial Secretary, November 1, 1864.

should be planned immediately, under which selected immigrants would be placed upon land in the neighbourhood of Alberni. If this were done, he pointed out, they would have a chance to become established before the mill was abandoned. While the mill settlement existed, Alberni possessed

many advantages which no other place in the Island can offer to Settlers viz; effective protection, communication with Victoria; Sawn lumber and blacksmith's work; labour in Slack times; means of Storage; a good wharf for Shipment; partially cleared land; and the manure from 65 work cattle to be had for the taking away.

Additionally, Settlers would have a local market while the Mill lasted; for instance we consume at Alberni 250 Tons Hay p. annum, 9000 lbs Butter; 150 Tons Barley; besides potatoes and vegetables for the use of, on an average, 150 men. The Ships that go there also require supplies of fresh provisions of all kinds.⁴⁷

In the present connection this scheme is of interest chiefly because of the information it gives regarding conditions at Alberni. There was no opportunity to carry it into effect, as the sawmill closed down even earlier than Sproat had anticipated. The exact date upon which it ceased operations does not appear, but it was either in December of 1864, or early in January, 1865. The settlement was practically abandoned three months later. "The only white people now at Alberni," the *Colonist* reported at the end of March, "are Mr. and Mrs. George, left in charge of the mills, Mr. Taylor, on the farm, and Mr. Reid, who intends going to Se-shat to engage in cod fishing."⁴⁸ As late as June, 1865, Sproat was still corresponding with the Colonial Secretary with reference to new timber limits, but nothing came of these negotiations.⁴⁹ Meanwhile the lumber left on hand was gradually finding its way to market. In April the schooner *Alberni* loaded for the Sandwich Islands, and in July the bark *Fray Bentos* sailed for Callao.⁵⁰

In August, 1866, H.M.S. *Scout* visited Alberni, and a diary of the cruise describes conditions there as follows:—

It was distressing to see the lately prosperous little settlement of Alberni fast becoming a heap of ruins; one white man by the name of Drane is

(47) *Ibid.*, supplementary letter.

(48) *Victoria Colonist*, March 30, 1865.

(49) Sproat to the Colonial Secretary, June 16, 1865. Incidentally, this letter is interesting because it contains a discussion of the timber royalty, which shows that the modern board-feet measurement was in use in 1865.

(50) *Victoria Colonist*, April 20, July 25, 1865.

there, who takes care of the machinery connected with the saw mill. The pretty little gardens of the settlers are overgrown with weeds and the houses falling to decay. We afterwards visited the farm up the river, there is some excellent land farmed by a man named Taylor, a Scotchman, who pays a nominal rent of \$1 a year. He has some very fine looking stock.⁵¹

Matters continued thus until June, 1868, when it was announced that the machinery in the sawmill had been sold to the Puget Mill Company.⁵² The next month the last of the lumber remaining was brought to Victoria, and the machinery was removed to Puget Sound, where it was sold at Teekalet in February, 1869, for \$4,500.⁵³ For another ten years the empty mill and other buildings stood derelict; and then on September 4, 1879, H.M.S. *Rocket* returned to Esquimalt from a cruise with the news that they had been destroyed by fire.

"The gunvessel," a contemporary account reads, "ascended the Sound to Alberni, where they found that the extensive range of buildings owned by the Alberni Sawmill Company had been burned a few days before. The conflagration originated in the camp-fire of a party of Cape Flattery Indians which spread to the brush and thence communicated with the buildings, which burned like tinder. There are only two white men at Alberni—Taylor and Clark. These exerted themselves to save the buildings, but to no purpose. The destruction was complete. The *Rocket* found only the great chimney of the mill standing like a monument to mark a spot that was once an animated scene of busy life."⁵⁴

So ends the story of the first attempt to establish the lumbering industry on a large scale on Vancouver Island. Export shipments in the three years 1862-64 had totalled 30,294,956 board-feet; and when allowance is made for earlier and later shipments, and the coastwise trade to Victoria, it is apparent that the total output of the Alberni mill was approximately 35,000,000 feet. Contrary to the usual story, there is no evidence that the course of the American Civil War exercised any determining influence upon its fortunes. Sproat's letters make it clear that it was closed simply because it did not yield a profit, and because the available supply of logs was exhausted.

Though Captain Stamp had made a first payment of £400, in October, 1860, upon the lands to be taken up at Alberni by Anderson & Company, under the terms of the agreement with

(51) *Ibid.*, August 21, 1866.

(52) *Ibid.*, June 10, 1868.

(53) *Ibid.*, July 17 and 23, 1868; February 10, 1869.

(54) *Ibid.*, September 6, 1879.

Governor Douglas, no survey of the property was made for many years. Indeed, Sproat declared in 1864 that no Government officer had ever even visited the settlement.⁵⁵ In May, 1865, Sproat endeavoured to straighten out the land situation, and proposed that in return for the £400 already paid the Government should grant Anderson & Company a title to the site of the saw-mill and village, consisting of about 1,750 acres, and to two farms, consisting of about 125 acres each.⁵⁶ Nothing came of this, however, and it was only in 1871 that the property was officially surveyed.⁵⁷

OTHER VANCOUVER ISLAND SAWMILLS, 1858-1866.

Before dealing with new enterprises, a word may be said regarding the later history of the Island's pioneer sawmills.

(55) Sproat to the Colonial Secretary, November 1, 1864. Official appointments at Alberni, such as that of the collector of the port, were held invariably by employees of Anderson & Company.

(56) Sproat to the Colonial Secretary, May 18, 1865.

(57) The later history of Anderson & Company's lands at Alberni is given in the memorandum dated April 23, 1936, kindly furnished by Sir Alan G. Anderson. It may be summarized as follows: In 1886 it was decided to lay out a small townsite on the land, which became known as the Old Townsite. Later the site of Port Alberni was laid out in lots. Sites were given from time to time for churches, schools, public buildings, recreation grounds, etc. In 1902 Mr. Alan G. (now Sir Alan G.) Anderson visited Alberni, and upon his return to England advised that the ownership of the property there, which had gradually passed to the trustees of the estates of deceased partners, should be transferred to a limited company. This company, known as the Alberni Land Company, was accordingly formed in 1905, just in time to enable its local agent, Mr. Herbert Carmichael, to negotiate what seemed to be an excellent arrangement with the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway. By the extension of the railway to Alberni, in 1911, that point became the western terminus of the railway system of Canada, and its future seemed assured. A municipality was formed, public works were pushed ahead, and an active demand developed for townsite lots. Then, at a most inconvenient moment for the Alberni Land Company, there descended first depression and then the Great War. After 1914 land-sales ceased, and the Company found itself once more owner of many lots which had been sold, but whose sales had not been completed, and which in the interval had become liable for heavy taxes. Taxes on the unsold lots were met for a time, in the hope that demand for the land would revive; but they were abandoned finally, and the Alberni Land Company was wound up in 1929—just seventy years after Captain Stamp had first opened negotiations with Governor Douglas, in 1859.

Though it was repaired in 1855, after being damaged by a freshet, the original Hudson's Bay mill at Esquimalt does not seem to have been operated for long. It is probable that some at least of its saws and saw-frames were transferred to the Craigflower Farm, where it was planned to build a combined steam sawmill and grist-mill. Financial difficulties intervened, and in May, 1860, the sawmill machinery at Craigflower—"Comprising upright Saw Frame, Mill Saws, Planing Machine, Moulding and Grooving Machine, [and a] Morticing Machine"—were advertised for sale.⁵⁸ Some machinery was either retained or remained unsold, however, as a Craigflower Farm inventory dated October 19, 1861, lists saws and other mill equipment valued at \$610.75.

The Hudson's Bay mill at Nanaimo was included in the property taken over by the Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company, in 1861. Its activities were still confined to the local market. "The saw-mill of the company cuts lumber for the town and mines, and nothing more," a description of Nanaimo published in 1863 states. "The greatest quantity ever yet cut in one month being about 70 M feet; but some improvements now being made, when finished, will cause a considerable increase in the above quantity."⁵⁹ The list of sawmills published in 1867 indicates that the daily capacity of the Nanaimo mill had been raised to 15,000 feet by that date. It was then equipped with three saws, and was said to have cost \$7,000.⁶⁰

So far as is known, only the Nanaimo mill and the Muirs' steam mill at Sooke were running when the gold-rush commenced, in 1858; but in spite of the sudden growth in population, lumber could be obtained so easily from Puget Sound that only one new plant was erected on Vancouver Island. Its advent was announced in the *Victoria Gazette*, in July. "Thomas Donahoe [*sic*]," the notice reads, "of the well-known firm of Donahoe [*sic*] & Co., San Francisco, Iron Founders, takes this method of informing the public, that he has imported into this colony, the machinery for a large and complete Saw-Mill, and is erecting the same on the harbor of Victoria, one mile and a half northwest

(58) *Victoria Colonist*, May 1, 1860.

(59) *Ibid.*, January 31, 1863.

(60) Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

of the town, and about an equal distance in a south-easterly direction from Esquimalt, and that in the course of a couple of weeks he will be prepared to manufacture lumber of all description on short notice. Will also keep a constant supply on hand for sale at the lowest rates."⁶¹ Evidently Donahue's venture did not prosper, for in the spring of 1859 he moved the mill to a new site on the Mainland, near New Westminster. By the end of that year his health was failing, and he was trying to sell the mill and leave the country. It was sold finally in February, 1860, for the sum of \$2,400.⁶²

The next sawmill erected on Vancouver Island was a small plant built late in 1859 by James Murray Yale on the Colquitz Farm, the home of his son-in-law, H. N. Peers. Yale, who had been Chief Trader at Fort Langley for many years, was then on the point of retiring from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. When he was pensioned, in 1860, he purchased an estate not far from the Colquitz Farm and there built a second small sawmill, driven by water-power, for his own use. One of the foundation timbers of this mill can still be seen in the bed of the Colquitz River.⁶³

Late in this same year, 1860, negotiations commenced which were to lead eventually to a much more important enterprise. On December 17, 1860, Henry S. Shepard wrote to the Government asking for a five-year lease of a site on the Shawnigan River, then known as Mill Stream, a short distance above the point at which the river empties into Mill Bay, in the Cowichan district. Terms were settled early in 1861,⁶⁴ and construction of a sawmill commenced in the spring. In June it was reported that the new mill was "nearly completed" and that it would

(61) *Victoria Gazette*, July 18, 1858.

(62) Thomas Donahue to Colonel Moody, December 26, 1859; Donahue to Governor Douglas, February 2, 1860; *Victoria Colonist*, February 28, 1860.

(63) Most of these details come from a letter from Yale to Sir George Simpson, dated July 15, 1860, for a copy of which I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Grant. See also *Victoria Colonist*, December 3, 1859.

(64) H. S. Shepard to W. B. Pearse, December 17, 1860; Pearse to Acting Colonial Secretary, December 19, 1860; Shepard to Pearse, February 21, 1861.

"be placed in running order in the course of a few weeks."⁶⁵ At this point William Parsons Sayward appears on the scene. Sayward, who was born in Maine in 1818, had prospered as a carpenter and lumber merchant in California, and moved north about the time of the gold-rush, in 1858. By degrees he centred his interests in and around Victoria, where he opened a lumber-yard; and on July 1, 1861, he acquired from Shepard his new sawmill at Mill Bay and the leasehold of its site.⁶⁶ Presumably the mill was completed soon after, but no details of its production either in 1861 or 1862 have come to light. The first recorded shipment of lumber to Victoria consisted of 14,000 feet of scantling, which arrived in the scow *Hannah*, on January 16, 1863. A few days later the *Eliza* brought 47,000 feet, and a total of at least 141,000 feet arrived within a month.⁶⁷ Macfie states that 1,666,000 board-feet were carried coastwise to Victoria from Sayward's mill in 1863,⁶⁸ and the total rose to 2,000,000 feet in 1864.⁶⁹ In 1867 the daily capacity of the mill, which had two saws, was stated to be 10,000 feet, and its cost was said to have been \$14,000.⁷⁰ Two years later Sayward entered the export trade, and the bark *General Cobb* loaded the first shipment, which was sent to San Francisco, in April, 1869.⁷¹ Other vessels followed; but the large-scale development of the Sayward firm did not come until after a new sawmill was built in Victoria, in 1878.

Sayward had a logging camp at Chemainus, and by 1864 there were two sawmills in that district as well. One of these, which was on Chemainus Bay, then known as Horse Shoe Bay, was owned by T. George Askew. H. Guillod at one time owned a one-third interest, but this was purchased by Askew, who thereby became sole owner, in May of 1864. The original cost of this

(65) *Victoria Colonist*, June 18, 1861. The item states that the daily output of the new mill was expected to be "from 30,000 to 40,000 feet"—probably ten times its actual capacity.

(66) W. P. Sayward to W. B. Pearse, July 22, 1870 (marginal note by Pearse).

(67) *Victoria Colonist*, January 17 and 20; February 11 and 16, 1863.

(68) Macfie, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

(69) *Victoria Colonist*, January 4, 1865.

(70) Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

(71) *Victoria Colonist*, April 16, 1869.

mill was about \$3,000. The second mill, which was owned by a Mr. Kennear, was built on a lagoon about two and a half miles south of Ladysmith.⁷² Both mills were driven by water-power and were equipped with a single saw.⁷³

A number of other mills, and projected mills, deserve passing notice. In 1862, W. E. Stronach, then a prominent lumber merchant in Victoria, planned to erect a sawmill on Victoria Arm, but this came to nothing. In 1863 a sash and door factory, which has been referred to as a "mill," was built on Rock Bay by a Mr. Sadusky. Howard and Barnett's *Directory*, published the same year, refers to a steam sawmill at the corner of Government and Wharf streets, owned by D. O. Stevens; but it is probable that this was only a second wood-working establishment.⁷⁴ In 1864 Dr. John Ash planned to build a mill at Sooke, during the Leech River gold excitement, but the scheme was never carried through. Of much greater interest than any of these is the Spring Vale sawmill, in Esquimalt, which was advertised for rent in September, 1862. "It is driven by Water," the notice states, "of which there is a good supply at all seasons, the power being equivalent to that of about twenty horses. The Saws are a 7 foot muley and a 40 inch circular. The Mill is connected with the shipping wharf in the Salt Water Lagoon, at the entrance of Esquimalt Harbor, by a substantial tramway. There is on the estate about 400 acres Land, heavily Timbered, much of which is suitable for Spars, and which the Lessee will have the privilege of cutting."⁷⁵ In addition to these details, we know that the cost of the mill was \$20,000, and that its daily capacity was 15,000 feet;⁷⁶ but when it was built, or by whom, and even its exact location, remains a mystery. In 1867 it was owned by the Hon. David Cameron, former Chief Justice of Vancouver Island; and this fact, coupled with the reference to the Esquimalt lagoon, would indicate with some certainty that it was

(72) T. G. Askew to the Colonial Secretary, October 5, 1864; Askew to B. W. Pearse, October 21, 1871. The earlier letter is accompanied by an interesting manuscript map of the district.

(73) Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

(74) On these several mills see *Victoria Colonist*, November 21, December 17, 1862; January 25, 1863.

(75) *Victoria Colonist*, September 27, 1862.

(76) Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

situated on property which now forms part of Hatley Park. The stream passing through the Park is the only one in the vicinity, and Cameron owned part of the land comprising the estate. Beyond these facts, nothing is known about the history of the Spring Vale sawmill.

As this survey is intended to sketch the history of lumbering on Vancouver Island until 1866, the year in which the old Crown Colony was merged with the Crown Colony of British Columbia, it may be added that at the time of the union there were six sawmills operating on the Island—the Muirs' mill at Sooke, the Sayward mill at Cowichan, the Vancouver Coal Company's mill at Nanaimo, the Spring Vale mill, owned by Cameron, and the two small pioneer mills at Chemainus. To this list should be added the deserted Anderson mill at Alberni, which was idle but not yet dismantled at the time.

THE LUMBER MARKET: 1855–1866.

The gold-rush boom in California reached its height in 1853; and by 1855 both California and the Puget Sound area were in the depths of a depression. The sawmills on the Sound were particularly hard hit. "The very low price of lumber, the great stagnation in trade, and the heavy failures in San Francisco within the last twenty months have very materially depressed our lumber business," a report dated October, 1855, states; "but it is capable of a rapid and almost indefinite enlargement, should the wants of commerce on the coast to the southward, or across the ocean to Japan, Australia, China, &c., authorize it."⁷⁷ Like most serious depressions, the slump of 1855 was followed by important realignments in markets and industries, and lumbering was no exception. It was clear that the spacious days when the California market could absorb almost anything sent to it were over; and when the sawmills on Puget Sound once more got into their stride they were concerned with world markets, in which the demands of the Pacific Coast were only a minor consideration.

These circumstances exercised an important influence upon the lumbering industry on Vancouver Island. San Francisco had

(77) *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey* . . . 1856, Washington, 1856, p. 294.

been the chief export market for the sawmills on the Island in early days—it will be recalled that eighteen of the nineteen vessels which sailed with timber products from Sooke and Victoria in 1853 had been bound thither. San Francisco was sufficiently near, and its market had been sufficiently active, to make small shipments by small vessels possible and profitable; but all this was changed by the collapse of the boom in California. Though the trade in spars continued on a modest scale, it was not until the Anderson mill was completed at Alberni, in 1861, that exports of sawn lumber from Vancouver Island again became even of local importance.

The gold-rush to the Mainland in 1858 made surprisingly little impression upon the lumber market. In March, before the rush commenced, the wholesale price of fir lumber at the mill at Steilacoom was \$11 to \$12 per thousand feet, and it remained unchanged during the turbulent months which followed. Late in August, when the gold excitement had passed its peak, it rose one dollar, in response to the state of the world market.⁷⁸ As this would indicate, production in the Puget Sound region had become so great that the demand arising from the rush was satisfied without causing any dislocation in ordinary trade.

Even in Victoria prices can have soared only temporarily, if they soared at all. Lumber-yards, supplied from the Sound and San Francisco, were established very early in the gold excitement; and the scarcity and cost of labour presented more serious problems to the builder than the supply of material. Unfortunately, specific details of lumber prices are not available until late in 1858. In December, the current wholesale quotation was \$20 to \$22 per thousand feet. In January the base price dropped to \$18, where it remained all spring.⁷⁹ Population was then declining, and by June of 1859 economic activity had fallen to a low level. Business on Vancouver Island was dependent upon conditions on the Mainland, and it was estimated that the mining population there had fallen to 2,500, one-fifth of whom were Chinese. A single steamer sufficed to handle all the traffic between Victoria and the Fraser River.⁸⁰ The *Victoria Colonist*

(78) *Puget Sound Herald*, March 12, August 27, 1858.

(79) *Victoria Colonist*, December 25, 1858; January 15, 1859.

(80) *Victoria Gazette*, June 2 and 9, 1859.

contended that the only way to mend matters was to develop home industries, and thereby prevent money from leaving the country. "At present," it declared in an editorial in July, "San Francisco is the chief or only gainer by the discovery of gold in British Columbia."⁸¹ In December it welcomed the news that a sawmill was to be built on Colquitz Farm, and added: "This is the right kind of enterprise to benefit the country. At present every foot of lumber used here is cut on foreign soil, although we have an abundance of good timber convenient. We trust that this example will inspire others to invest in similar enterprises. Until such time as we render our own resources available,—our gold will be sent away, and the colony impoverished."⁸²

The year 1860 brought a revival in trade. In February, Michael Muir opened his lumber-yard in Victoria, presumably to sell the product of the mill at Sooke; but sales of locally produced lumber were negligible compared with the volume of foreign imports. A total of 3,930,000 feet, valued officially at \$55,250, or about \$14 per thousand, were received at Victoria from Puget Sound in 1860; and shipments of laths, pickets, shingles, doors, windows, ship-knees, and spars raised the total value of the timber products imported to \$71,231. In addition, lumber valued at \$300 was sent from the Sound to Alberni, where the Anderson mill was under construction.⁸³

Complete details of Vancouver Island imports in 1861 are not available, but we know that during the first four months of the year 1,044,894 feet of lumber were received from Puget Sound.⁸⁴ It was valued officially at \$13,086; and this caused the *Colonist* again to comment bitterly upon the needless outflow of money from the Island which it represented. "Why," it asked, "should we continue to be dependent upon our neighbors in Oregon and Washington Territory for the building material we require, the

(81) *Victoria Colonist*, July 15, 1859.

(82) *Ibid.*, December 3, 1859.

(83) *Ibid.*, February 15, 1861 (official return of imports for 1860). No doubt the spars, which numbered 101 and were valued at \$3,812 were for re-export.

(84) Unless otherwise indicated, particulars of lumber imports from Puget Sound, British Columbia, etc., are taken from the official statements, which usually appeared each month in the newspapers.

produce we consume, and the hay and grain to feed our cattle?" It contended that the Government gave no encouragement to local industry and pursued a policy which "established our American neighbors a profitable market for their surplus productions."⁸⁵ Nevertheless, prospects became brighter later in the year, especially after the completion of the Alberni mill. It was also in 1861 that the first important shipments of lumber were received at Victoria from the Mainland. A total of 288,650 feet arrived that year. This total fell to 208,600 feet in 1862, but rose to 325,900 feet in 1863.⁸⁶

Meanwhile the rush to the Cariboo had brought a wave of prosperity to Vancouver Island. The population of Victoria jumped from about 3,000 to 6,000 in 1862. The demand for lumber lagged at first, and only 650,000 feet were imported from Puget Sound in the first six months of the year. During the last six months, however, lumber imports jumped to 2,664,000 feet, or nearly 80 per cent. of the 3,314,000 feet received in the whole year. Importation continued at this high level for many months, and 1863 ranks as the peak year of the Vancouver Island lumber trade in the Crown Colony period. Fortunately it is also the year concerning which most information is available. In all, 4,319,000 feet of lumber, officially valued at \$49,838, or about \$11.50 per thousand, were imported from Puget Sound; while another 744,000 feet, valued at \$11,407 or about \$15.33 per thousand, arrived from San Francisco. The latter included a considerable quantity of redwood. The lumber imported from the United States in 1863 thus totalled 5,063,000 feet, valued at \$61,245. To this total must be added the shipments received coastwise from Vancouver Island and Mainland sawmills. These included 1,666,000 feet from the Sayward mill at Cowichan, 1,000,000 feet from Alberni, 100,000 feet from the Muir mill at Sooke, and 325,900 feet from the Mainland, or 3,091,900 feet in all. In 1863 the local market thus absorbed more than 8,000,000 feet of lumber; and for the first time home products made up a substantial proportion of the whole.

(85) *Victoria Colonist*, March, 1861.

(86) *British Columbia. Report of the Hon. H. L. Langevin, C.B.* . . . Ottawa, 1872, pp. 5-6.

It so happened that the world lumber market was expanding rapidly in 1862-63, and as the sawmills on Puget Sound were unable to load all the deep-sea vessels offering, the smaller craft which traded to Victoria sometimes found it difficult to obtain cargoes. The result was a rise in prices. From \$16 per thousand feet in May, 1862, quotations advanced to \$20 in August, and were as high as \$24 in November, when a number of builders in Victoria were forced to suspend operations for want of material.⁸⁷ In January, 1863, the price eased to \$20 and remained at that figure for several months; but too much significance must not be given to this fact. As the *Colonist* explained in April, it had become "impossible to give a wholesale quotation for lumber in this market, as nearly all the dealers are supplied from their own mills."⁸⁸ It would have been more correct to say that they were supplied from their own mills, or direct from those on Puget Sound, which amounted to the same thing so far as the retail purchase of lumber was concerned. Three or four dealers controlled the market at this time. The most important was W. P. Sayward, who owned the sawmill at Cowichan, and also imported large quantities of lumber from the Sound. Anderson & Company usually confined their interests to the product of their own mill at Alberni. W. E. Stronach and J. G. Jackson, partners in T. G. Jackson & Company, a third important firm, dealt almost exclusively in lumber imported from Puget Sound. A little later the firm of Duncan & George, auctioneers, established a lumber-yard which handled shipments from the Sooke mill, and in 1864 they became agents in Victoria for the Burrard Inlet Mills, then owned by John Oscar Smith.⁸⁹

The boom days of 1862-63 did not last for long. Though the Cariboo mines continued to produce heavily for several years, much of the gold came from relatively few rich claims. The number of miners at work declined rapidly, and trade with the Mainland fell with the population. By 1864 this state of affairs was affecting the lumber business. The most interesting consequence of the realignments which came with this new depression was that lumber from the mills on the Island itself, or on the

(87) *Victoria Colonist*, November 4, 1862.

(88) *Ibid.*, April 21, 1863.

(89) See F. W. Howay, "Early Shipping on Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), p. 5.

Mainland, at last ousted the Puget Sound product from its dominating position. In 1864 imports from the Sound totalled 1,797,000 feet, valued at \$19,722, whereas Sayward alone brought 2,000,000 feet to Victoria from his mill at Cowichan. An additional 887,000 feet arrived from Alberni, and about 1,350,000 feet were imported from the Mainland. Details of shipments from Sooke are not available, but even if these are ignored, it will be seen that out of a total of 6,034,000 feet known to have reached Victoria, less than one-third came from the American side.⁹⁰ Statistics for 1865 are incomplete, but we know that the lumber received from the Mainland that year was valued at \$15,891, whereas imports from San Francisco, Portland, and Puget Sound totalled only \$3,957. The former consisted of some 1,254,000 feet.

The story of lumbering in the old Crown Colony of Vancouver Island ends in a period of stress and depression. The Alberni mill was closed, permanently as it proved, and lumber exports had fallen to negligible proportions. Burrard Inlet, on the Mainland, where S. P. Moody had taken over the Burrard Inlet Mills, was destined for some years to be the only important lumber exporting centre in the new united Colony of British Columbia. But it could at least be said that the Island had placed its local market in order; and modern methods and machinery were later to enable it to re-enter and develop the export trade upon a scale far beyond the dreams of the most optimistic of the Island's lumbering pioneers.

W. KAYE LAMB.

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES,
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(90) Lumber imported from San Francisco in 1864 was valued at only \$1,120.

COAL FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST, 1848-1850.

The letters which follow are of interest because they throw light upon the circumstances under which coal-mining was first undertaken in what is now the Province of British Columbia. Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company learned from the Indians of the presence of coal at Beaver Harbour, on the north-east coast of Vancouver Island, as early as 1835, and the Company's steamer *Beaver* was sent thither in 1836 in order that the surface outcroppings known to the natives might be examined. But more than eleven years passed before any attempt was made to develop the mine commercially.

In November, 1847, William Henry Aspinwall, a New York merchant, secured a contract from the United States Navy Department to transport mail in steamers between Panama and the coast of Oregon. The service was required to begin on October 1, 1848, and therefore the construction of three steamers to undertake it was begun immediately. These were the *California*, *Oregon*, and *Panama*, ships of about 1,000 tons burden and 200 feet in length, with side paddle-wheels driven by side-lever engines. The financial backing for the venture was provided by the great firm of Howland & Aspinwall, but a separate corporation, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was chartered in New York in April, 1848, to operate the service.

In addition to ships, provision had to be made for stores and fuel on the sparsely settled Northwest Coast. To furnish the coal which the Pacific Mail steamers would require, Howland & Aspinwall arranged for colliers to come from ports in Wales to Panama, Acapulco, San Blas, and San Francisco. They were aware, however, that coal had been discovered on Vancouver Island, and hopes were entertained that this might provide a less expensive and more convenient supply of fuel than the mines of Wales.

Negotiations between Aspinwall and the Hudson's Bay Company regarding Vancouver Island coal began in the first part of 1848, and continued until 1850, when the coal had been proven by experience to be unsatisfactory for use in steamers. In the

fall of 1848 Captain William C. Stout, general agent for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company on the Pacific Coast, made a trip to Vancouver Island to arrange in person for the coal supply expected from there.¹ In the spring of 1849 the Hudson's Bay Company commenced the construction of a new post, which was named Fort Rupert, on Beaver Harbour, and serious mining operations started. Indian labour was used to begin with, and mining of necessity was confined to the surface outcroppings. The sinking of shafts could not begin until the party of English miners, to which reference is made in one of the letters here printed, reached Fort Rupert in September.

In spite of the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company, coal was not ready for the Pacific Mail Company until the fall of 1849, and a report on its qualities was not available to Aspinwall before the summer of 1850. By September of that year it had been determined to discontinue its use. It may be added that the mines at Fort Rupert were never a success, and that they were abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company when a substantial seam of coal of much better quality was uncovered at Nanaimo, late in 1852.

The letters are quoted from a letter-book which contains the correspondence between the President of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the San Francisco agent of the line. The volume, which covers the period between December 5, 1848, and November 26, 1850, is owned by Mr. Daulton Mann, of New York. A photostat copy is in the collection of the Henry E. Huntington Library, at San Marino, and from this quotation has been made. The letters are all from William Henry Aspinwall, President of the Pacific Mail, except during the period of his absence in England, when they were signed by Samuel W. Comstock, Vice-President. Alfred Robinson was San Francisco agent until June, 1850, when he joined with G. W. P. Bissell in the firm of Robinson & Bissell. Prior to that time, Gilmor Meredith had been Robinson's partner, and letters were addressed to him during Robinson's absence from San Francisco. A few of the letters in the book were written to Captain Stout, John Van Dewater, Superintending Engineer on the Pacific Coast, or to Cleveland Forbes, agent for the steamers at Panama. Only the portions

(1) *California Star and Californian*, December 7, 1848.

of the letters relating to Vancouver Island coal have been quoted here. Spelling and punctuation have been reproduced as in the original throughout.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE.

POMONA COLLEGE,
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA.

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO ALFRED ROBINSON.

New York, December 8, 1848.

Having explained my views to you verbally, as to your agency for the Steamers, I write this mainly to record our agreement that you are to receive Two Thousand dollars a year from the Company, as their Agent on the Coast of California, commencing from the 1st of January [1849]. . . .

The mails for Oregon you will forward [from San Francisco] by the *Belfast* or *Cayuga* to the mouth of the Klamet river & if no one is there to receive them let them go on to Astoria—directing the Brig to return to you either with Coal from the Cowelitz river as a specimen or else a freight from Oregon City, as you may think best—choosing her consignees after making enquiries at San Francisco. From what I hear of the Cowlitz Coal it is very similar to the Vancouver's Island now on board the *Belfast*—but I wish much a cargo for trial. . . .

I send you an extract from the recent letter of Govr. Simpson showing the arrangements with the Hudson Bay Company for our future supplies of Coal & also one from him dated 13th April [1848]—containing information about Puget Sound which I promised to Gen: Smith. . . .
Copy.

Hudsons Bay House.
Lachine 13. October 1848.

My dear Sir

By last Mail, I received from the Governor & Committee copy of your letter to them of 30 Aug. (Duplicate of which you sent to me under date 2d. September) with their reply of 22d. September. The Governor & Committee by the same conveyance informed me, that a headsman and six miners are to be forwarded by a ship to sail for the N. W. Coast in the course of this month, but as it appears by your letter to the Govr & Committee, that you hope we may be in a condition to deliver a quantity of Coal at the mine earlier than it can be raised by the labor of the miners about to be sent out, I have addressed the Board of Management under this date to take the necessary steps, either by the formation of a post at the mine or by the employment of Indians, to provide with the least possible delay, deliverable at the mine from 500. [to] 1000 Tons of Coal, or as much more as can be collected.

.
As it seems to be important to your interests that these instructions should be received by the Board of Management, as early as possible, I take the

liberty of forwarding my letter to those Gentlemen under cover to you to the end that you may transmit it by the most direct conveyance.

For your further information, I beg to annex an extract from the letter in question on the subject, and from the Knowledge those Gentlemen already possess of the Company's desire to meet your wishes and promote the important service you have in hand, I feel assured they will do everything in their power to forward your views.

Believe me

My dear Sir

very faithfully Yours

(Sign) G. Simpson.

William H. Aspinwall Esqr.
New York.

Extract from a letter Sir George Simpson to the Board of Management of the Hudsons Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, Columbia River, dated, Lachine 13 October. 1848:—

By a chartered vessel, which is to sail from London in the course of this month, are to be forwarded a headsman and six miners, for the purpose of being employed on the coal mine at Mc. Neills Harbour, or any other more advantageous situation on Vancouver's Island, but as the U. [S.] Mail steamers from San Francisco may require coal earlier than it can be provided by the operations of the miners about to be sent out, I have to beg, you will use your utmost endeavours, by the formation of a post, the employment of Indians or otherwise to provide with the least possible delay and have placed in the most convenient spot for shipment from 500. [to] 1000 Tons of Coals, or as much more as can be collected. As surface coal which has been exposed to the action of the elements may not be well adapted for steaming purposes, it is desirable, it should be dug from as great a depth as may be consistent with the little knowledge you possess of mining and the want of proper implements for the purpose. If you have a sufficient number of men disposable to form a post at the mine, that, I think should be done; but if you cannot spare hands for that purpose the next best mode I can suggest would be to station the steamer [*Beaver*] as near the mine as possible with a view to affording protection to the people there employed, and in that case you would have to depend more on Indian labor than on the work of your own people. I must however have [*sic*. probably mis-copied from "leave"] the mode of carrying on the operations, to be determined by yourselves on the spot, feeling satisfied that no effort will be wanting on your part to carry out the wishes of the Govr & Comittee on this point. The Governor in a communication with Mr. Macrae, an agent of Mr. Aspinwall's the Mail contractor, give him to understand that if he sent for a Cargo or two, the price should not exceed 20/ p[er]-Ton; but it is expected, when the mine is brought into full operation, that we shall be able to provide it, deliverable on the spot, at a lower price. It will be necessary to advise the agents of Mr. Aspinwall at San Francisco of the

quantity they may count on receiving at the mine and the time it will be forthcoming.

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO ALFRED ROBINSON, OR IN HIS
ABSENCE CAPT. FORBES.

New York, December 22, 1848.

. . . We trust that the *Belfast* will have returned to San Franco. by the time you reach that port—& instead of taking a fr[igh]t from Oregon City you will direct her [to] load with coal at the Cowlitz or at Vancouvers island. We would also like to order at once another vessel sent from the Columbia River or Oregon City or any other point in that neighborhood, to the new post at the mines on Vancouvers island consigning her to the agents of the Hudson Bay [Co.] to be loaded to your address. From a letter from Sir George Simpson on the subject dated 12h. inst. I understand that a considerable amount of coal will be ready for us at an early [*sic.* earlier date] than we expected. . . .

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO ALFRED ROBINSON.

New York, February 3, 1849.

I have written to Capt Stout to leave the steamers for a trip or two & attend to getting down supplies of coal from Vancouvers Island to the depot at your port or San Diego as with your advice may be selected as the best place for the steamers to touch at. . . .

SAM W. COMSTOCK TO ALFRED ROBINSON.

New York, December 13, 1849.

. . . The action of the Hudson's Bay Co. is very remarkable in regard to the Vancouver Coal & I do not see how you could have pursued a course different from the one taken with any propriety. It will be decided & in season for the next mail whether or not the *Anahuac* shall be despatched there to wait for a cargo. . . .

SAM W. COMSTOCK TO ALFRED ROBINSON, OR IN HIS
ABSENCE G. MEREDITH.

New York, January 14, 1850.

Noticing your advice of the readiness of the Vancouver Coal, I have instructed Captn. Stout to despatch the *Anahuac at once* with passengers to San Francisco—& with orders after landing them under your instructions to proceed with all possible despatch first taking a Mail & delivering it at Kalamet River—to Victoria for the purpose of obtaining a cargo of Coal—& on her return again stopping at Kalamet River for a Mail to make the best of his way to San Francisco. I also direct him to authorize her visiting should there be no Coal at Victoria—a neighboring port say Newport—for lumber—provided she be not detained too long thereby. . . .

SAM W. COMSTOCK TO ALFRED ROBINSON.

New York, January 16, 1850.

. . . The news is very gratifying of the readiness of the Factors to deliver Vancouver Coal & on another sheet I write regarding the employment of the *Anahuac*. . . .

SAM W. COMSTOCK TO ALFRED ROBINSON, OR IN HIS
ABSENCE G. MEREDITH.

New York, February 16, 1850.

. . . In my orders for the employment of the *Anahuac* Newpport was named instead of Portland as a place for procuring lumber, which please note—Stringent reasons have since compelled the Company to revoke the orders to her and she must avoid San Francisco at all hazards.² Sir Geo Simpson confirms your information regarding the readiness of Vancouver Coal communicating advices recd from his factors up to Septr. 24 [1849] which name 750 tons as ready for shipment. From a letter I have since seen from Capt Crosby of Portland, the quantity would seem to exceed this amt. . . .

SAM W. COMSTOCK TO ALFRED ROBINSON, OR IN HIS
ABSENCE GILMOR MEREDITH.

New York, March 15, 1850.

. . . I omitted to mention in the proper place that on sending a ship up for Vancouver Coal you will endeavour to secure from the Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company the refusal of any Coals on hand beyond those held under Contract with this Company. We are now in treaty with Sir George Simpson for their purchase and I hope to write you definitely on the 28th. It will be well for you to explain this as the ground on which you claim such a refusal. . . . [The agent sent north] will require funds for the purchase of Coal & supplies which you will please deliver. The latter will probably call for an outlay of Cash but I think it would be preferable for the Hudson's Bay Company to take your *Bill on the Company payable in London* for the amount. This you will endeavor by all means to secure and I do not think you will have much difficulty. . . .

SAM W. COMSTOCK TO ALFRED ROBINSON, OR IN HIS
ABSENCE GILMOR MEREDITH.

New York, March 28, 1850.

. . . No Contract has as yet been concluded with Sir Geo. Simpson for the Vancouver Coal which may be on hand—but I think you can easily obtain the refusal until the next Mail when I will write you. I think a portion at least of that embraced in our present Contract should be landed as a reserve stock at San Diego—but of this you will decide after consulting Mr Bissell. . . .

(2) Because of claims against the ship there.

SAM W. COMSTOCK TO ALFRED ROBINSON, OR IN HIS
ABSENCE GILMOR MEREDITH.

New York, April 13, 1850.

. . . I am not yet prepared to speak more definitely with regard to the extra Supply of Vancouver Coal, but I trust you will have secured the refusal of it—until I may be enabled to give positive instructions. . . .

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO ALFRED ROBINSON, OR IN HIS
ABSENCE GILMOR MEREDITH.

New York, May 13, 1850.

. . . We are not prepared to speak definitely with reference to the Vancouver Coal. It seems strange that after so long a delay in providing the 2000 tons contracted for, a stock of 4 to 5000 tons should be so soon accumulated by the Hudson Bay Compy. . . .

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO JOHN VAN DEWATER.

New York, June 13, 1850.

. . . I write the Agents to have the Sydney³ and Vancouver coals tested if possible before you leave, the result being brought by you to the Company. The difference in price of the former is very great, but I do not think its strength will bear comparison with the Welsh Coal. . . .

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO MESSRS. ROBINSON, BISSELL & CO.

New York, June 13, 1850.

. . . I have endeavored to arrange a personal interview with Sir Geo. Simpson that we might come to an understanding about the Vancouver Coal. He has however gone to the Interior and will not return until August—Meanwhile I hope to receive an official report from Mr. Van De Water of its qualities for steaming.

It looks as if your stock [of coal] would be small for a few months apart from the supply expected in the England, and you must of course purchase if necessary on the best terms obtainable. An early opportunity must be taken to test the Sydney Coal. You will however bear in mind that it possesses little more than two thirds the strength of the Welsh Coal—should you arrange a supply for trial in either of the steamers—Cannot Mr. Van Dewater bring on his return a report on both the Vancouver & Sydney Coals? . . .

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO MESSRS. ROBINSON, BISSELL & CO.

New York, August 13, 1850.

. . . I confirm my instructions for you to purchase coal—if there is any probability of scarcity—Four cargoes bound for Acapulco have been lost so that not much dependence can be placed on that depot. We order

(3) Coal was discovered near Sydney, Australia, in 1797, and mining was carried on there increasingly after that time.

Capt Forbes to spare the Northern ports as far as possible. Sir Geo Simpson is again at Lachine & as soon as I can have an interview with him some definite arrangement will be made in regard to the Coals at Vancouver. I will direct Mr Bill to keep you well posted as to his supplies—& meanwhile purchase at heavy rates will be preferable to running any risk. . . .

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO MESSRS. ROBINSON, BISSELL & CO.

New York, September 13, 1850.

. . . I have seen Sir George Simpson & mentioned to him the matter of the Vancouver Coal—I feel assured that the whole matter will be properly adjusted by him when we receive further papers from you. You will therefore take no steps in the matter except to furnish me with the necessary evidence—The paragraph on the subject of Captn. Stout's contract which you quote referred to an understanding had with Sir Geo: Simpson that the price of a cargo for trial should (I think) [be] 20/ per ton—and it was in ignorance of this that he made his agreement for 50/—I mention this only for your satisfaction not wishing you to take any further steps. . . .

WM. H. ASPINWALL TO MESSRS. ROBINSON, BISSELL & CO.

New York, September 28, 1850.

. . . Our reports of the Vancouver Coals are altogether unsatisfactory—If your supply of fuel permit it & you can obtain the price paid you will not hesitate to sell the supply on hand. No measures need be taken at present to obtain the balance of our supply from the Mines. . . .

WM. ASPINWALL TO MESSRS. ROBINSON, BISSELL & CO.

New York, November 26, 1850.

. . . Your purchases of Coal are approved—My orders heretofore will instruct you as to Vancouver Coal & I trust you have not made any purchases of Sydney without thorough tests previously. . . .

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The attached letter, dated January 20, 1855, from Sir George Simpson, Canadian chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, to Andrew Colville, Governor of the Company, in London, is an important document in the history of a troublesome international dispute that plagued the Department of State and the British Foreign Office for a quarter of a century. The text of the letter, taken from the archives of the Company, is published with the permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹

By the Anglo-American treaty of June 15, 1846, commonly known as the Oregon Boundary treaty, the United States Government recognised the "possessory rights" of the Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiary, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, in the Pacific Northwest, south of the 49th parallel. But the treaty failed to define the term "possessory rights," and beginning in 1850 the United States authorities made determined and continuing efforts to prevent the Hudson's Bay Company from engaging in the fur trade upon American soil.² The Department of State developed an ingenious theory that "possessory rights" were "rights appertaining directly and immediately to the land and other property."³ In defence of the corporation's treaty rights, Sir George Simpson journeyed to Washington, D.C., several times, to protest in person to American Secretaries of State. One of his visits was made early in 1855, and in the letter printed below Simpson describes two conferences held at the Department of State on January 15 and 16 of that year.

Throughout the dispute the British firms sought to sell their rights to the United States. Successive American administra-

(1) H.B.C. Archives, D 4/83, folios 333/338.

(2) For an account of this episode see Frank E. Ross, "The Retreat of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific North-west," in the *Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII. (1937), pp. 262-280.

(3) Ms. Dispatch, Secretary of State W. L. Marcy to I. I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory, June 3, 1853. (In *Domestic Letters*, Volume XLI., pp. 405-409, in the Department of State, Washington, D.C.)

tions favoured the proposed sale, but the plan was balked by Congress. After many years the United States Government bought the "possessory rights" of the two British companies for \$650,000. It will be noted that this was the exact sum proposed by Simpson in 1855. The money was paid in two instalments, in 1870 and 1871.

FRANK E. ROSS.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Hudsons Bay House
Lachine 20. January 1855.

A. Colville Esquire

My dear Sir,

I left this for Washington on the 11. and arrived there on the evening of the 13. inst.

I had several interviews with Mr. Crampton,⁴ who was unfortunately confined to the house from the effects of a fall which prevented his accompanying me to Mr. Marcy's;⁵ he, therefore, gave me a note of introduction, with which I presented myself & was immediately admitted to an audience. My first visit was purely preliminary, as Mr. Marcy had not then time to discuss the question of the Company's negotiation, but he gave me to understand the Government had decided that \$300,000 was the utmost they would offer both Companies. I stated that under present circumstances, but more particularly in consequence of the hostility [*sic*] the Company experienced from all classes within the American Territory—the press, the Courts the Government officials and the public at large—they were more anxious than ever to come to an arrangement with the U/S Government it being now almost impossible for them to maintain their footing in the country. I said further they were prepared to meet the Government as to the amount of compensation & suggested that the difference between the Company's demand of \$1,000,000 & the offer of \$300,000 should be halved & the amount fixed at \$650,000. Mr. Marcy replied the Government would be firm in adhering to the basis of \$300,000.

I had another interview with Mr. Marcy next day, at which were present General Lane,⁶ formerly Governor & latterly delegate for Oregon. Mr. C. Lancaster⁷ the delegate for Washington Territory (late Northern Oregon) and the chief officer of the Land Office at Washington, a lawyer.⁸ Senator Cushing⁹ also looked in but being unable to stay had a private conference, I presume on the business in hand, with Mr. Marcy & then left. I need not repeat, even in outline, the long conversation that took place, which em-

(4) John F. Crampton, British Minister to the United States.

(5) William Learned Marcy, Secretary of State in the administration of Franklin Pierce.

(6) Joseph Lane.

(7) Columbia Lancaster.

(8) The Commissioner of the General Land Office at this time was John Wilson.

(9) This refers to Caleb Cushing, Attorney-General of the United States in the cabinet of President Pierce.

braced a general review of the whole negotiation. The two important points were the interpretation of the Treaty adopted by the U/S Government and the terms they are willing to offer the Company. On the first point Mr. Marcy said it was necessary to consider what the "possessory rights" of the Company really are. The lawyer (of the Land Office) present then defined them to be the right of occupancy of such lands as were actually held & possessed (by enclosure) by the Company at the date of the Treaty, *during the unexpired term of the Licence of Trade*.¹⁰ He argued that the Company held their position in Oregon, not by virtue of their Charter, but under the License of trade, consequently when the Territory passed from the dominion of Great Britain that Government could not longer assume authority within it by renewing the Company's License, the utmost they could do being to secure for them under the U/S Government the continuance of their privileges during the then unexpired term for which they had been granted. Mr. Marcy said this was the interpretation entertained by the U/S Government; it was no new light but was the view of that Government when making the Treaty, who then carefully considered the difference between the Company's Charter and License of trade, as he could state from personal knowledge, having been consulted respecting it. He would not look at the right of navigation, as there was no anxiety for its extinction, as it would prove rather beneficial than otherwise to American citizens if British Subjects availed themselves of it and carried on their trade by that channel. Under these circumstances the U/S Government did not consider the question of so much importance as the Company appeared to do, nor did they expect to derive much advantage by purchasing, a few years in advance of the date they would determine by effluxion of time, the Company's rights; especially as all persons in possession of their lands whether rightfully or wrongfully, would claim them & had in fact a squatter's or "pre-emption" title to them. I referred to the legal opinions which had been printed, as establishing much larger claims for the Company;¹¹ Mr. Marcy replied that no weight whatever was attached to those opinions, which were obtained by Sanders¹² for the special purpose of operating on Congress by means of "lobbying;" and then asked me to define what the Company considered the

(10) The Royal License, granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by Queen Victoria on May 30, 1838, for a period of twenty-one years, gave that Company a monopoly with reference to British subjects. Properly speaking it had no bearing upon the Anglo-American treaty of 1846 and in the end the United States Government had to forego its unilateral interpretation. The text of the Royal License is printed in "Hudson's Bay Company," *Parliamentary Papers* (Great Britain), *House of Commons Return No. 547*, 1842, pp. 9-11. For a discussion of the License and the exchanges of the two governments thereto, see the article in the *Canadian Historical Review*, September, 1937, cited above.

(11) This refers to a pamphlet entitled *Extent and Value of the Possessory Rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, South of the 49th Degree* (no date), which was published for the Company and contained the opinions of American and Canadian counsel. The pamphlet and the subject of British claims is discussed at some length by Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory, in *Senate Executive Document No. 37*, 33 Congress, 2 Session.

(12) George Nicholas Sanders was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company to lobby in Washington, D.C., with a view to persuading Congress to abandon opposition to the purchase of the "possessory rights" by the United States Government.

extent of their rights, whereupon I referred him to the Memorandum¹³ I handed Mr. Everett on the Subject, when Secretary of State, in December 1853 [1852].

Some discussion ensued on minor points and Messrs. Lane & Lancaster gave their opinion that the citizens of Oregon and Washington Territories were anxious for the removal of the Company, after which, Mr. Marcy came to the question of terms, & said that, although he thought little advantage would be derived from the purchase, the U/S Government were willing to offer the Company \$300,000, provided Congress made the necessary appropriation, in order to get rid of a troublesome question, which led to constant appeals for the interference of both the British & American Governments. I asked if he was prepared then and there to close a bargain, but he said the appropriation must be made first to which point he would give immediate attention & push the bill through Congress. He suggested the necessity of sending an Agent to the country to receive delivery of the Company's property, but abandoned the idea on my pointing out the delays and trouble to which such a commission might lead.

Thus the matter rests. Intimation is to be sent me through Mr. Crampton as soon as the Appropriation Bill passes, in order that I may again repair to Washington, my presence there at this time being quite unnecessary. Some weeks will probably be required to get the Act passed, so that I trust, before I am called on to accept or reject the offer of \$300,000, to receive your opinion on the subject. I believe they are the best terms we are ever likely to get & that unless we obtain them now, we shall not do so well hereafter.

On looking over my powers of Attorney from the Hudsons Bay and Puget Sound Companies, Mr. Marcy considered them defective and at my request made a Memm. of what further was required, of which a copy is appended. To save delay when the business comes to a point, I think it would be advisable that there should be sent me forthwith new powers from both Companies, embodying a Resolution of the Board (or Agents) authorizing me to sell & transfer the property, to give releases and receive the compensation.

I remain

My dear Sir

Yours very faithfully

[Signed] G SIMPSON.

Memorandum by Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State of the United States, relative to the powers of Attorney to be given by The Hudsons Bay and Puget Sound Companies for effecting the Sale of their property in the Oregon and Washington Territories:—

Should there be an agreement between the United States and the Hudsons Bay Company to Sell the possessory rights of the Company in Oregon

(13) The text of this memorandum, dated December 3, 1852, which was presented to Secretary of State Edward Everett, is printed in *Evidence for the United States* (Washington, 1867) IV., 247 ff.

and Washington Territory, there should be a Resolution of the Board of that Company authorising the sale by such officers or persons as it shall name and to give such releases &c. as may be required to give effect to the Bargain and to receive the compensation.

The same should be the case with the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

Washington

16. January 1855

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Rev. John C. Goodfellow, of Princeton, has been Secretary of the Historical Committee of the British Columbia Conference of the United Church for several years, and has written many articles and pamphlets on historical subjects. He has also been Secretary of the Similkameen Historical Association since its organization in 1932.

John Goldie lived for many years in Ayr, Ontario, where his grandfather planted the Douglas Fir tree, in memory of David Douglas, in 1886. He was an active member of the Waterloo Historical Society, and is now Vice-President of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association.

John Haskell Kemble is Instructor in History at Pomona College, Claremont, California. He is the author of *The Genesis of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company*, published by the California Historical Society in 1934, and of other studies in the field of maritime history. The most recent of these is a paper on "The Panama Route to the Pacific Coast, 1848-1869," which appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review* for March, 1938.

Frank E. Ross, of Washington, D.C., was for some years on the staff of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He is the author of two recent articles of more than usual interest: "The Retreat of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific North-west," which appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September, 1937, and "American Adventurers in the early Marine Fur Trade with China," published in the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* last July.

DATE OF PUBLICATION.

The Editor regrets that the present issue of the *Quarterly* will be at least a fortnight late in reaching subscribers. As no special staff is available to assist in the preparation of the magazine, this work must be done when time and routine duties permit, and delays are often unavoidable.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The paid-up membership of the Association on March 31 was 391. The corresponding total on March 31, 1937, was 323. This total rose to 414 by the end of the year, and it is hoped that the membership will reach 450 by the end of 1938.

Victoria Section.

Those attending the meeting held on January 25, at which the Vice-President, John Goldie, presided, had the pleasure of hearing three speakers. The first paper, entitled *In Memory of David Douglas*, was delivered by Mr. Goldie. His choice of this subject was most fitting, as his own grandfather, also John Goldie, was a close friend of David Douglas, they being associated while both were students under Sir William Hooker. The paper is printed in this issue of the *Quarterly*. Sir Joseph Banks, for many years President of the Royal Horticultural Society, and prominent in many other

learned societies, was the subject of the second paper, read by W. H. Warren, Superintendent of Parks for the City of Victoria. In his interesting outline Mr. Warren spoke of the aid Sir Joseph had given to many early scientific expeditions, and touched on many of the highlights of his distinguished career. Mr. T. W. Eastham, Plant Pathologist for the Department of Agriculture, dealt with the naming of plants, and with many interesting sidelights of the careers of individual naturalists. David Douglas, he pointed out, was too often regarded merely as a botanist, whereas he was in reality an outstanding general naturalist, interested in birds, animals, and other natural phenomena. He urged that our flowering dogwood be referred to as Nuttall's Dogwood. It was not given a specific name until 1840, when Audubon, the great bird specialist, named it after his friend Nuttall, the botanist. Discussion followed the reading of the papers, and Mr. Donald Fraser told the story of the first broom-seeds, which were brought to Vancouver Island by Captain Colquhoun Grant.

On February 22 a meeting was held at which the society had the pleasure of hearing Dr. David Hunter Miller, Historical Adviser to the Department of State, Washington. Dr. Miller spoke on the negotiations which culminated in the Oregon Boundary Treaty of June 15, 1846. He vitalized the personalities involved in the long drawn out controversy, and his brilliant analysis of the maze of negotiations which led up to the final settlement was most illuminating.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Hamber graciously extended an invitation to the members of the Section to be their guests at a reception on the evening of March 11, Blanshard Day, to commemorate the arrival of Richard Blanshard, first Governor of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, in 1850. A large number of members and their friends responded to the invitations, which were issued from Government House. They were received by His Honour and Mrs. Hamber, assisted by the President, Dr. T. A. Rickard, and Mrs. Rickard, and the Committee, which consisted of Mrs. Fitzherbert Bullen, Mrs. Curtis Sampson, and Mrs. M. R. Cree.

The programme followed immediately the cordial greetings extended by His Honour. It consisted of a paper read by the President, a brief address by Dr. Kaye Lamb, Provincial Archivist, who exhibited the original commission appointing Governor Blanshard, and an address by Dr. W. N. Sage, President of the Provincial Council of the British Columbia Historical Association. Old-fashioned songs by Mrs. Rickard and the Georgian Singers, and old-time dances in costume were given, after which the guests and performers united in reviving dances such as the polka, schottische, mazurka, and Sir Roger de Coverley, which brought the evening to a close. The Section deeply appreciates the interest and great kindness of His Honour and Mrs. Hamber.

Policing British Columbia was the subject chosen by Assistant Commissioner T. W. S. Parsons, of the Provincial Police, who addressed the Association on the evening of April 12. The growth of the force from early days was sketched in a most interesting manner, and Mr. Parsons explained

the wider field which the police were now called upon to cover, and the developments in equipment and personnel which modern conditions made imperative. [MURIEL R. CREE, Secretary.]

Vancouver Section.

The second annual dinner of the Vancouver Section was held on Friday, March 25, 1938, in the Aztec Room of the Hotel Georgia. One hundred and five members were present; this is fifty more than a year ago.

Dr. Robie L. Reid, the President, spoke of the growth of the organization and of the keen interest which members took in the *Quarterly*. He thanked those present for the way in which they had co-operated with the executive, and asked for assistance in the campaign for more members.

In a brief report the Secretary, Miss Helen R. Boutilier, stated that there were now 245 names on the mailing-list, and that of these 190 had renewed their memberships. Letters were then read from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Honourable G. M. Weir, and Mayor George C. Miller.

Greetings from the Provincial Executive and from the Victoria Section were brought by Mrs. M. R. Cree, Honorary Secretary. Mr. W. H. Evans spoke for the members of the Pioneers' Association who were present, and Miss Madge Hampton for the Native Daughters. Mr. T. L. Thacker, President of the Fraser Canyon Historical Society, spoke of the work being done around Hope and Yale.

During the evening musical numbers were provided by Miss Louie Stirk, accompanied by Miss Melita Woods.

Dr. Reid introduced the speaker of the evening, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Provincial Archivist. Dr. Lamb chose as his subject *Why British Columbia was Discovered*. Taking as his text "The key to history lies in men and their motives," the speaker sketched the events leading up to the first discoveries and colonization on the coast, and explained why British Columbia was one of the last important coastal areas in the world to be charted.

Mr. J. M. Coady, a member of the Councils of both the Provincial Association and local section, expressed the thanks of the audience to Dr. Lamb for his interesting address. Mr. Coady bespoke the co-operation of all members in the attempt which Dr. Lamb and his associates are making to preserve the history of the Province.

The meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem. [HELEN R. BOUTILIER, Secretary.]

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Graduate Historical Society. Under the general title *Nationalism in the Far East*, the Graduate Historical Society of the University of British Columbia heard a series of papers on conditions in the Orient during the 1937-38 season. The programme, in detail, was as follows:—

Orientalism in British Columbia. Mr. Charles Woodsworth.

The Evolution of the Kuomintang. Mr. Vernon Hill.

The Conflict of National Policies in Manchuria. Mr. Robert McKenzie.

Siam. Miss Helen Ferguson.

The Philippines. Miss Rose Whelan.

The Conflict of Religions as a Barrier to Indian National Unity.
Miss Marian Root.

The Decline of the British Raj. Mr. F. Hardwick.

All papers have been of exceptional interest and followed by lively discussions. With the exception of that contributed by Mr. Charles Woodsworth, all were given by members of the Society.

The annual banquet, held in David Spencer's Dining-room on March 5, was the occasion of a brilliant address by Professor Henry F. Angus on *Canada and the Pacific*. [MARIAN E. ROOT, Corresponding Secretary.]

The North Kootenay Pioneers' Association held six well-attended meetings during the past year. The Association is much interested in the possibility of constructing a cabin encampment, or pensioners' colony, within the Revelstoke city limits. Aged pioneers have expressed a desire for such a scheme in preference to spending the twilight period in official institutions. Details of the scheme and the problem of a site have been dealt with, and the idea may be brought to fruition by the new executive, which is composed as follows: Honorary President, Mr. Harry Johnston, M.L.A.; President, Mr. Horace Manning; Vice-President, Mrs. C. B. Hume; Secretary, Mr. David Orr; Treasurer, Mrs. W. Leslie. Social gatherings of a public nature are held quarterly, and special attention is devoted to one featured annual event. Regrettably, interest in things historical is slight, but biographical sketches of the members are being kept for future reference.

Similkameen Historical Association.—James Armstrong Schubert, who died on March 17, was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, on March 7, 1860. His parents moved to Fort Garry, and joined the famous Overland expedition of 1862. In October of that year the Schuberts, with other members of the party, arrived at Kamloops. From that time Mr. Schubert lived in various parts of Cariboo, Okanagan, and Similkameen. In recent years he made his home at Tulameen, near Otter Lake. His brother August, in Armstrong, is the only surviving member of the Overland party.

Following the death of Mrs. S. L. Allison, in February of last year, Mr. Schubert was elected Honorary President of the Similkameen Historical Association. At the annual meeting held last fall he told us that he was responsible for suggesting the place-name Vernon. Speaking of the Overland expedition, he remembered vividly hanging on to a strong man's neck while a river was being crossed. That river was the Saskatchewan, and the man who swam it, with young Schubert on his back, was Peter McIntyre. McIntyre was buried at Okanagan Falls in 1925, and J. A. Schubert was one of the pall-bearers.

Mr. Schubert was widely known in business circles, and is kindly remembered by all who knew him. The simple service which marked his passing was conducted by Rev. E. E. Hardwick, and attended by members of the family circle and many friends. [J. C. GOODFELLOW, Secretary.]

Thompson Valley and District Historical and Museum Association.—Following its official opening by His Honour Judge Howay, on July 1,

hundreds of Kamloops citizens and visitors viewed the Association's museum, in the re-erected Hudson's Bay fort building, in Riverside Park. The building was open free to the public two evenings a week and on Sunday afternoons throughout the summer. Scores of interesting exhibits are now on display. Mr. Burt R. Campbell has arranged and catalogued over five hundred photographs, some of which are on loan, but most of which have been presented to the Association. The manuscripts, books, Indian relics, and donations received from the Hudson's Bay Company have in turn been arranged and catalogued by Mr. J. J. Morse, with the assistance of Mr. David Power, who, it will be recalled, was instrumental in saving the old building which now houses the collection. The thanks of the Association are also due Mr. T. S. Keyes, taxidermist, who has gathered birds and animals for the museum. Ways and means in which to raise funds to secure more exhibition cases are now under consideration, and the Association intends to open the museum to the public during the present season, as was done last year. Visitors are always welcome. [GEORGE D. BROWN, Jr., Secretary.]

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION REPORTS.

Inquiries are received from time to time regarding the series of reports published some years ago by the British Columbia Historical Association. The *First Annual Report and Proceedings*, published in 1924, and the *Second Report*, which appeared in 1925, are out of print, but the two later numbers are still obtainable. The papers which appear in the latter include the following:—

Third Annual Report and Proceedings (66 pp., 1926) :

Monuments erected in British Columbia by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie. By His Honour Judge Howay.

The Building of the Cariboo Road. By The Hon. Mr. Justice Murphy.

Juan de Fuca and his Strait. By His Honour Judge Howay.

The Beginnings of the Pacific Station and Esquimalt Royal Naval Establishment. By Major F. V. Longstaff.

The Colonial Postal Systems of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849-1871. By A. Stanley Deaville.

Fourth Report and Proceedings (64 pp., 1929) :

The Hydrographic Survey of the North-west Coast of British North America. By H. D. Parizeau.

The Opening of the Pacific. By V. L. Denton.

A Brief History of the Queen Charlotte Islands. By W. A. Newcombe.

The Dewdney Trail. By Major H. T. Nation.

The Discovery and Naming of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. By C. C. Pemberton.

The Site of Leechtown. By John Hosie.

Mackenzie's Expedition to the Pacific Ocean. By F. C. Swannell.

James Charles Stuart Strange and his Expedition to the North-west Coast of America in 1786. By John Hosie.

What I Remember of Amor de Cosmos. By Beaumont Boggs.

Copies of these reports may be obtained from the Provincial Archives, Victoria, price 50c. each.

HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY.

The following announcement has been received from the Canadian Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg:—

"The formation of the Hudson's Bay Record Society has been announced by the Hudson's Bay Company. The classification of the Company's Archives has been proceeding for several years with a view to publication. One volume, independently edited, will be published each year in association with the Champlain Society. Membership in the Hudson's Bay Record Society will be limited and the subscription will be Five Dollars per annum. The subject of the first volume, to be published in 1938, is Sir George Simpson's Athabasca Journal and Report, 1820-1821. Inquiries with regard to membership in the Society should be directed to The Secretary, Canadian Committee, Hudson's Bay Company, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada."

It is requested that no money be forwarded at the present time, as the organization of the Society, which is, of course, a non-profit-making venture, is still in its early stages. Members of the Champlain Society will receive the volumes issued each year, in addition to the publications of their own organization.

VICTORIA, B.C.:

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



BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

PATRON.

Honour ERIC W. HAMBER, *Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.*

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OBJECTS.

To encourage historical research and stimulate public interest in history; to promote the preservation and marking of historic sites, buildings, relics, natural features, and other objects and places of historical interest, and to publish historical sketches, studies, and documents.

MEMBERSHIP.

Ordinary members pay a fee of \$2 annually in advance. The fiscal year commences on the first day of October. All members in good standing receive the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* without further charge.

All correspondence and fees should be addressed in care of the Secretary, Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.