# THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1939

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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VOLUME III.

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## ERRATA.

Page 155, line 20. For *reprint* read *report.*
Page 158, line 32. For *reach* read *reached.*
Page 169, line 8. For *correct* read *corrected.*
Page 173, line 24. For *to* read *to be.*
Page 177, line 17. For *note 7* read *note 16.*

The

# BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. III. VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY, 1939. No. 1

CONTENTS.

# FROM COLONY TO PROVINCE.*

## The Introduction of Responsible Government in British Columbia.

The years from 1866 to 1871 have been termed the "Critical Period of British Columbian History." The two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united at the *fiat* of the Imperial Parliament. The union of 1866 was unpopular, especially upon the Mainland, and it did not succeed in solving the economic problems of the united colony. After the gold-supply had ceased to flow from Cariboo British Columbia sank deeper into debt. Three courses lay open to the colony: British Columbia might remain an isolated colony, having as her nearest British neighbours Red River on the east and Hong Kong on the west; she might follow what was alleged to be her "manifest destiny" and join the United States; or she might enter the Dominion of Canada. After much discussion and agitation and not a little heart-searching, British Columbia decided to join with the Canadian federation. Canada was desirous to extend her Dominion from sea to sea. The Imperial Government was most anxious to have British Columbia a part of Canada. After the death of Governor Frederick Seymour, Governor Anthony Musgrave was sent from Newfoundland to British Columbia to make certain that the necessary steps were taken so that British Columbia might secure entrance into the Dominion on mutually advantageous terms.

Amongst the problems discussed between the three representatives of British Columbia and the Dominion Government two stand out: The building of a transcontinental railway to join British Columbia and Eastern Canada, and the demand of the people of British Columbia for responsible government. The railway clause, number eleven, was finally inserted into the Terms of Union and mutually agreed upon by the British Columbia delegates and the Dominion Government. The other, responsible government, was much more thorny.

* The presidential address to the British Columbia Historical Association, November 18, 1938.

To put the matter in a phrase—responsible government did not exist in British Columbia prior to confederation. A Legislative Assembly had been set up in Vancouver Island in 1856 and had ceased to exist when the union of the colonies took place in 1866. During these ten years the members of the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island had obtained the rudiments of a political education, but neither they nor Governors Douglas and Kennedy had succeeded in solving the constitutional problems which beset them. James Douglas in his dispatch of May 22, 1856, to Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies, admitted that he possessed but "a very slender knowledge of legislation." It was true; and the remark might apply rather well to the constitutional development of British Columbia prior to federation. Sir James Douglas was an "old colonial governor" who never progressed far beyond personal rule. The Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island had only a limited control over finance and no control whatever over the actions of the executive. Under Governor Kennedy the Assembly battled with the Governor over the question of the Civil List. British Columbia did possess a Legislative Council after 1864, but two-thirds of its number were composed of officials and magistrates, and the five popularly elected members could never hope to dominate the Council. The Legislative Council of the United Colony was in the main opposed to confederation. Amor De Cosmos, former member for Victoria District, ably assisted by John Robson, member for New Westminster, championed the cause of confederation, but it was only the timely death of Governor Seymour in 1869 which gave federation its chance.

A long debate on the Terms of Union with Canada took place in the Legislative Council of British Columbia beginning on Wednesday, March 9, 1870, and lasting until April 6. A deputation of three, all members of the Executive Council—Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, from Victoria; Joseph W. Trutch, Chief Commissioner for Lands and Works; and Dr. R. W. W. Carrall, from Cariboo, a Canadian by birth—was appointed by Governor Musgrave to go to Ottawa and there discuss and, if possible, draw up mutually acceptable terms of union. At length success crowned the efforts of the British Columbian delegation and also of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada. After the necessary steps

had been taken and addresses had been forwarded to Her Majesty from the Parliament of Canada and the Legislative Council of British Columbia, Queen Victoria signed at Windsor Castle on May 16, 1871, an Order in Council admitting British Columbia as a Province of the Dominion of Canada. The date set for the formal admission was July 20, 1871.[1]

In the Confederation Debate of the Legislative Council of British Columbia in March–April, 1870, a long discussion occurred on the subject of responsible government.[2] The Attorney-General, Hon. Henry P. P. Crease, afterwards Sir Henry Crease, stated that responsible government did not form part of the Terms of Union, but claimed that " the question of the change of the Constitution of this Colony is one that lies between this Colony and the Imperial Government . . ."[3] T. B. Humphreys, of Lillooet, and John Robson, of New Westminster, spoke strongly in favour of responsible government. Humphreys laid down the proposition " no Responsible Government, no Confederation; no Confederation, no pensions."[4] Since the pension clause was vital to the officials, Humphreys' proposition carried weight. John Robson maintained that the people of British Columbia were fit for responsible government, and continued his argument as follows:—

Look at the position this Colony would occupy under Confederation without the full control of its own affairs—a condition alone attainable by means of Responsible Government. While the other Provinces only surrender

(1) " And whereas Her Majesty has sought fit to approve of the said terms and conditions [of Union], it is hereby ordered and declared by Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, in pursuance and exercise of the powers vested in Her Majesty by the said Act of Parliament [The British North America Act, 30 and 31 Victoria, cap. 3.], that from and after the twentieth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, the said Colony of British Columbia shall be admitted into and become part of the Dominion of Canada, upon the terms and conditions set forth in the hereinbefore recited Addresses." The full text of this order in council is given in the *Revised Statutes of British Columbia*, 1871, appendix, pp. 193–216.

(2) *British Columbia. Legislative Council. Debate on the subject of Confederation with Canada*, Victoria, 1870, pp. 91–124. Reprint, Victoria, 1912, pp. 95–128. The page citations which follow are from the 1912 reprint.

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

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Federal questions to the Central Government, we would surrender *all*. While the other Provinces with which it is proposed to confederate upon equal and equitable terms retain the fullest power to manage all Provincial matters, British Columbia would surrender that power. Her local as well as her national affairs would virtually be managed at Ottawa. Could a union so unequal be a happy and enduring one? The compact we are about to form is for *life*. Shall we take into it the germ of discord and disruption? The people desire change; but they have no desire to exchange the Imperial heel for the Canadian heel. They desire political manumission.[5]

Robson offered as an amendment to clause 15 of the proposed Terms of Union:—

Whereas no union can be either acceptable or satisfactory which does not confer upon the people of British Columbia as full control over their own local affairs as is enjoyed in the other Provinces with which it is proposed to confederate; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, earnestly recommending that a Constitution based upon the principle of Responsible Government, as existing in the Province of Ontario, may be conferred upon this Colony, coincident with its admission into the Dominion of Canada.[6]

Robson's amendment, however, met with serious opposition. The question at issue was not whether responsible government, in itself, was superior as a form of government to rule by a governor and council, but whether or not responsible government should be included in the Terms of Union. Governor Musgrave was convinced that responsible government should not be introduced into British Columbia until after confederation. He had made his position quite clear in the following passage from the speech from the throne read at the beginning of the seventh session of the Legislative Council of British Columbia on February 15, 1870:—

The form of the local Constitution must be to some extent modified in Confederation with the other Provinces; and even in anticipation of that event, I think that an enlarged application of the principle of Representative Government to the composition of your Honourable House would be expedient. I have already, by Her Majesty's permission, reconstituted the Executive Council by the addition of two Unofficial Members representing populous Districts, from whose advice I receive valuable assistance. I shall go further in the same direction, and on the same principle. I shall ask for authority so to reconstitute the Legislative Council as to allow the majority of its Members to be formally returned for Electoral Districts. And to a Council so reconstituted I should look for a final decision upon any terms to

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 101.
(6) *Ibid.*, p. 103.

which the Government of Canada may express readiness to agree. Further than this I frankly admit I do not think that it would be wise to go. I have had experience of several forms of Colonial Government, and I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that the form commonly called "Responsible Government" would not be found at present suited to a community so young and so constituted as this. It is not known in any of the neighbouring States or Territories. Experience has shewn that the system is expensive in its results, and its operation is not successful except in more advanced communities, with population of more homogeneous character than ours. But it will of course, after Union, be open to the Local Legislature, with the concurrence of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, to adopt what modification it shall choose of the existing Constitution. I have declared my opinion to you with candour. I think you will appreciate my motive. I wish to aid only in what I believe will conduce to the welfare and prosperity of the Colony.[7]

His Excellency's views were supported by the "official" members of the council and also by some of the popular members. Joseph W. Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and subsequently the first Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, spoke against Robson's amendment and stated that "Responsible Government is not desirable, and is not applicable to this Colony at present; is practically unworkable."[8]

George A. Walkem, a Canadian, agreed with the Chief Commissioner, as did Frank J. Barnard, who summed up the situation in the following sentences:—

It is beyond a question that the intelligent portion of the community are [*sic*] in favour of Responsible Government, but there is a grave question in regard to its adaptation to the Colony. The words coming from His Excellency are worthy of careful consideration; they contain strong reasons against the introduction of Responsible Government.[9]

On division Robson's amendment was lost, and in the final Terms of Union as amended in Ottawa and presented to the reconstituted Legislative Council of British Columbia on January 5, 1871, the clause in question reads as follows:—

14. The Constitution of the Executive Authority and of the Legislature of British Columbia shall, subject [to] the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, continue as existing at the time of the Union until altered under the Authority of the said Act, it being at the same time under-

(7) *Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia . . . 1870*, Victoria, 1870, p. 4. The States of Oregon and California and Washington Territory had at that time representative but not responsible government.

(8) *Debate on Confederation*, 1912 Reprint, p. 109.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 116.

stood that the Government of the Dominion will readily consent to the introduction of Responsible Government when desired by the Inhabitants of British Columbia, and it being likewise understood that it is the intention of the Governor of British Columbia, under the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to amend the existing Constitution of the Legislature by providing that the majority of its Members shall be elective.[10]

The final wording of the above section was largely due to the presence in Ottawa of H. E. Seelye, a newspaper man who "accompanied the delegates as special correspondent of the *Daily Colonist* and in the interests of responsible government."[11] Sir Charles Tupper, in his *Recollections of Sixty Years*, records, as follows, the inclusion of responsible government in the Terms of Union:—

In the terms formulated by British Columbia there was no provision for responsible government; in fact, a clause which was attempted to be inserted by members of the Council was defeated by a majority vote of that body. The late Hon. John Robson, the late Mr. H. E. Seelye, and Mr. D. W. Higgins held a conference, and decided that in order to secure parliamentary government it would be necessary for one of their number to proceed to Ottawa and inform the Government there that unless responsible government was assured they would oppose the adoption of the terms altogether, and thus delay Confederation.

Mr. Seelye was selected as the delegate. He succeeded in convincing the Dominion Government that his contention that the province was sufficiently advanced to entitle it to representative institutions was correct. When the terms came back they contained a clause to that effect, and upon those lines the provincial government has ever since been administered.[12]

British Columbians can well afford to be grateful to Messrs. Robson, Seelye, and Higgins, and to Sir John A. Macdonald and his cabinet. It should be noted in this connection that Governor Musgrave asked John Robson to be a member of the delegation, but he refused because he felt he could not leave his business. He was then editor of the Victoria *Colonist*.[13]

During the months which elapsed between the formulation of the final draft of the Terms of Union, in the summer of 1870,

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(10) *Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, Session 1871*, Victoria, 1871, pp. 5–6.

(11) Howay, F. W., and Scholefield, E. O. S., *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, II., p. 293.

(12) Tupper, Sir Charles, *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada*, London, 1914, pp. 127–28.

(13) *See* the article entitled "Personal-Historical," in the *British Columbian*, July 8, 1882.

and the meeting of the Legislative Council in January, 1871, Her Majesty's Government had issued the Order in Council of August 9, 1870, whereby the constitution of the Legislative Council of British Columbia was altered so as to permit that the majority of the members should be elective. Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith, that eminent authority on constitutional law is therefore legally, though not absolutely historically, correct when he writes:—

> In the case of British Columbia self-government was granted on its entry into the Dominion of Canada, by the creation of a representative Legislature by an Order in Council of August 9, 1870, under the Act 33 & 34 Vict. c. 66 and by the local Act No. 147, 1871, and was continued by the instructions to the Lieutenant-Governor given by the Dominion Government . . .[14]

Of the three representatives sent by British Columbia to Ottawa, Dr. Helmcken had been opposed to confederation, but Trutch and Dr. Carrall had supported confederation but not responsible government. After the conclusion of negotiations Trutch went to England, Carrall remained one month in Ottawa and Helmcken and Seelye at once returned to British Columbia.

The next move now lay in the hands of the Dominion Government. The Order in Council, to which reference has already been made, issued at Windsor on May 16, 1871, provided for the incorporation of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada on the terms set forth in the Addresses from the Parliament of Canada and the Legislative Council of British Columbia. The Queen's Privy Council for Canada, the Canadian Cabinet, now had to provide for the setting-up of the provincial government of British Columbia. The first office to be filled was that of Lieutenant-Governor. Ottawa's choice fell upon Joseph William Trutch. In his life of Macdonald, Sir Joseph Pope records the esteem in which Sir John A. Macdonald held Trutch:—

> Sir John Macdonald considered Sir Joseph Trutch a man of high honour and integrity, whose advice was always dictated by a regard for the public interest.[15]

Dr. Helmcken, who knew Trutch well, states in his unpublished memorandum that he considered that Trutch was head

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(14) Keith, A. B., *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, Oxford, 1912, I., p. 24.

(15) Pope, Sir Joseph, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald*, Toronto, 1930, p. 505 n.

and shoulders above them all. This was high praise coming from Dr. Helmcken, whose political experience antedated that of Trutch by several years.

Joseph William Trutch was an Englishman, the son of William Trutch, solicitor, of Ascot, Somerset, and St. Thomas, Jamaica. He trained as a civil engineer and became a Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers. In 1849 he joined in the gold-rush to California, but later returned to the practice of his profession and was for several years employed by the United Government. When in England in 1858 he applied for the position of Surveyor-General of the new colony of British Columbia, but was unsuccessful. Next year he came out to British Columbia and for five years built roads and bridges. The Alexandra Bridge at Spuzzum was one of his ventures. In 1864 he was appointed Colonial Surveyor and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for British Columbia. This office he held till confederation. On July 1, 1871, he was gazetted as first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of British Columbia.

Governor Musgrave remained in British Columbia until after the formal entrance of the new Province into the Dominion. Trutch was on his way out from England, but was delayed. Musgrave accordingly left Victoria on July 26, 1871, and Trutch did not arrive until August 13. He was duly sworn in on August 14. During the intervening weeks British Columbia was officially without a government, although, as might be expected, the former colonial officials continued to function. The Victoria *Colonist* lamented the interregnum but there was really nothing to be done but to await the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Trutch was in rather a difficult position. Nearly three thousand miles from Ottawa, with no direct railway communication across Canada, in fact with no railway communication at all north of San Francisco, without money and with few precedents to guide him, he had to create the provincial government of British Columbia. On the whole he proved equal to the task.

Fortunately for Trutch, Sir John A. Macdonald was prepared to give him all possible assistance. Among the Macdonald Papers in the Public Archives in Ottawa, Trutch's letters to the Prime Minister are carefully preserved, and from them and from the letter-books in the Archives of British Columbia it is

possible to obtain the Lieutenant-Governor's own story of his efforts.

The first letter from Trutch to Macdonald introduces Captain Philip Hankin, former Colonial Secretary, and bears the date of August 15, 1871. Hankin was leaving Victoria for Ottawa on his way to England. The gist of the letter is contained in the sentence: "Captain Hankin is desirous to arrange personally with you the Exact amount of Pension to be paid him and the place and manner of its payment." Let us hope Hankin received his pension and found it adequate.[16]

Two days later, on August 17, Trutch dispatched the following enlightening telegram in cipher to Macdonald:—

No funds to meet outstanding debts and current liabilities of local Government. Please telegraph authority to bank to pay half years subsidy in advance, say, $100,000.

It was evident that Ottawa was to finance for the first year the cost of provincial government in British Columbia from the subsidies to be provided under the Terms of Union.

In his first lengthy dispatch to Sir John A. Macdonald, dated Victoria, August 22, 1871, Trutch records that he had been detained for a fortnight in San Francisco awaiting Governor Musgrave's arrival and had had "a protracted trip of eleven days up the coast in the *Sparrowhawk*." His reception in Victoria had been cordial and he had spoken freely as to his "position and intentions" when replying to an address of welcome. Amor De Cosmos, editor of the Victoria *Standard*, had "not found anything to take exception to" in the Lieutenant-Governor's programme, although he had cautiously abstained from approving it. Trutch also states that he is hurrying on the revision of the voters' list and expects to hold the first Provincial elections about the middle of October. The following passage explains his attitude towards the introduction of responsible government:—

Until the Election takes place I have determined not to attempt to establish a responsible Ministry for the reasons stated in reply to the Civic Address, but as it is absolutely necessary for the Conduct of Public business

(16) *Macdonald Papers*, Public Archives, Ottawa. The correspondence has been bound, and one volume is entitled, *Letters from Lt. Governor Trutch, Victoria, B.C., 1871–1873*. The citations which follow are all taken from the same volume.

that there should be an Executive Council I have appointed the Asst. Col. Sec'y. Mr. Good whom you saw at Ottawa and Mr. Pearse, the Surveyor General, Heads of their respective Departments and I have been fortunate enough to get Mr. McCreight the leading barrister here—a gentleman who commands the respect and confidence of the Community to a greater Extent than that of any other member of the profession—although he has hitherto consistently abstained from politics—to act as Attorney General on the clearly expressed understanding that their appointments are to remain only until the Election when I shall select and appoint a ministry from the Representatives then Elected.[17]

The Lieutenant-Governor also explains that all customs dues from July 20 had been paid into the Bank of British Columbia "to Dominion Account," and that as no moneys had been paid over by the Dominion to the Province he had accordingly found the local treasury nearly empty. For that reason he had sent his cipher telegram, but having received no reply had arranged for a loan from the bank without interest. The credit of the Dominion of Canada was evidently superior to that of the former colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. There were occasions when Governor Seymour had to pay 18 per cent. interest on advances from the Bank of British Columbia! Trutch adds that he had talked over the situation with the Honourable Hector Langevin, who was then visiting the new Province.

A telegram, dated August 28, 1871, brings up a rather important administrative problem. It runs, in part, as follows:—

Many of Colonial Office despatches to Govr. Musgrave which I am instructed by Secretary of State for Provinces to send to Ottawa relates [*sic*] to matters of importance under jurisdiction of local government and in some cases are directed to be laid before legislative council—ought I not to retain original if not certified copies or will such copies be returned to me from Ottawa.[18]

The *Government Gazette* of British Columbia, under the date of September 16, 1871, contains Trutch's proclamation for issuing writs calling the Provincial election. Returning officers were named for two various ridings. A revised list of returning officers was forwarded by Trutch to Macdonald on September 17.

On October 9 the Lieutenant-Governor penned a lengthy letter to Sir John A. Macdonald. He tells of his inability to persuade

(17) Trutch to Macdonald, August 22, 1871, *Macdonald Papers*, Trutch Correspondence 1871–73, pp. 14–16.

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

Dr. J. S. Helmcken to accept the office of Prime Minister of British Columbia. Dr. Helmcken had announced his intention of retiring from politics and devoting himself to his profession. Trutch was even doubtful as to whether he would accept a seat in the Canadian Senate. A few weeks later, when the good doctor was offered a senatorship, he refused it. He probably felt that he had done all he could for British Columbia when he went to Ottawa to arrange the terms of union. Dr. Helmcken really belonged, politically, as did Sir James Douglas, to the Colonial Period. He was to live on into the twentieth century —his death occurred in 1920—but he never again took an active part in politics.

Trutch continued his report to Macdonald on events since his swearing in as Lieutenant-Governor:—

> Since then, as Langevin has probably told you I have been getting on well enough, but the difficulty of forming a respectable Ministry is yet to come and until that is over I am not in a position to congratulate myself.
>
> However I think I can manage to get some decent men to take a hand in government—although most of our representatives will be *queer kittle cattle* I fear. A wild team to handle no doubt they will be but after kicking and plunging awhile they'll settle into their collars all right I trust.[19]

A later passage in this letter clearly shows that Trutch was still in doubt as to his position as Lieutenant-Governor. Responsible government was not yet a reality in British Columbia, and he seeks Macdonald's advice on the statement of government policy in the speech from the throne:—

> I wish you would also if you please give me a hint as to how far my speech in opening the House is supposed to express my own opinions or to be simply an Exposition of the policy of my responsible Ministers as I confess I am somewhat puzzled on this point. Of course I know how this would be in the House of Parliament at home—or at Ottawa, but are we under the same understanding here?[20]

The question of the defence of the Pacific Coast is next raised. Trutch has been informed that H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk* is to be recalled. That would leave only the *Boxer,* a gunboat totally inadequate for the protection of the coast. Trutch's comments are penetrating:—

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(19) *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54. The italics are Trutch's.

(20) *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59. Here Trutch is rather prematurely getting close to the crux of the question.

The Province will be at a great disadvantage—indeed I look upon it that if you cannot get the Imperial Gov't to continue the *Sparrowhawk* or send some similar ship in her place you will have to provide a Dominion cruiser for the purpose—and this will involve an annual expenditure of $70 or $80,000 I suppose. On the same subject I may remark that you will need one or more revenue cruisers to protect your Customs along the Coast—as well as for the purpose of visiting and keeping the Indians and outlying white settlers in order, if not to suppress entirely the sale of liquor to the tribes along the Coast of Vancouver Island and the N. West of the Mainland.

Deeming this a most important matter (in which I think Mr. Langevin will coincide) I have today telegraphed to you to the effect that the *Sparrowhawk* was ordered home and asking you to prevent her leaving B.C. if possible.[21]

In his dispatch of November 21, 1871, Trutch reports to Macdonald that he had "established a Responsible Cabinet" and adds that he hoped "soon to be relieved by them from the rather over amount of work" he had had of late.[22]

The first cabinet of British Columbia was constituted as follows: J. F. McCreight, Q.C., Premier and Attorney-General; A. Rocke Robertson, Q.C., Provincial Secretary; Henry Holbrook, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, President of the Council.

The Lieutenant-Governor thus comments upon his selection of ministers of state:—

Langevin very well knows the gentleman whom I called upon to form a Ministry—Mr. McCreight—and I am sure he will agree with me he was the man of all the Province for the post and that his selection of Mr. Robertson as Colonial Secretary is also unexceptionable. The other Member of the Govt as yet appointed Mr. Holbrook is only holding the office of Lands and Works temporarily until the Cariboo Election returns are received when a Member from that important district is to be substituted for him.[23]

With the creation of the first ministry, responsible government was legally introduced into British Columbia. But it was far from being responsible government in the fullest sense of the term. Lieutenant-Governor Trutch was still in control of the government and he remained so during the whole of the McCreight regime. Space forbids a full discussion of this important topic. Trutch realized that he was conducting an

(21) *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 98.

(23) *Macdonald Papers*, Trutch Correspondence 1871–73, pp. 98–99.

experiment in popular government and leaned heavily upon Ottawa. The concluding sentence of his dispatch makes this clear:—

I am so inexperienced and indeed we all are in this Province in the practice of Responsible Govt. which we are initiating that I step as carefully and guardedly as I can—and whilst teaching others I feel constantly my own extreme need of instruction on this subject which must account to you—if you please—for the trouble which I have put you to—and which I know ought not to have been imposed on you.[24]

Writing over forty years later R. E. Gosnell reviewed the introduction of responsible government by Trutch in the following penetrating passage:—

During the McCreight regime Joseph Trutch as Lieutenant-Governor, sat in the Executive Council, and discussed all matters submitted with the members. He was the dominating influence of the cabinet, so that it might be said that he was not only the Throne itself, but the power behind the Throne. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, who combined professional knowledge with practical business experience and capacity. From his former connection with the Government as chief commissioner of lands and works, he was familiar with all the details of governmental machinery. He had also a peculiarly practical mind, and possessed a sound and evenly-balanced judgment. To the members of his administration his advice and assistance were of great service.[25]

In the transition period from colony to province in the setting-up the machinery of responsible government Joseph William Trutch played a useful part. In the colonial period down to 1871 responsible government did not exist. The Confederation Debate made it clear that the official members, following the lead of Governor Musgrave, were unwilling to include responsible government as one of the terms of union. John Robson and T. B. Humphreys strove for its inclusion, but even Amor De Cosmos, that champion of popular rights, gave at that time only a qualified support. The Dominion Government was willing to have responsible government set up in the Province of British Columbia after federation. It fell to the task of Lieutenant-Governor Trutch to set up and put in motion the machinery whereby the new Province obtained responsible government. None the less some time had to elapse before the elected repre-

(24) *Ibid.*, pp. 101–102.

(25) Scholefield, E. O. S., and Gosnell, R. E., *British Columbia, Sixty Years of Progress*, Vancouver and Victoria, 1913, Pt. II., p. 15, n. I. Trutch not only sat in the executive council but presided at the meetings.

sentatives of the people of British Columbia had full control over provincial affairs. Even in 1871 the political education of British Columbians was far from complete.

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# FIRST AND LAST DAYS OF THE "PRINCESS ROYAL."

More than eighty-four years ago, on November 27, 1854, a party of Staffordshire miners set foot in what is now Nanaimo,[1] brought from their native land to work the coal-mines discovered in 1852, along the shores of Wintuhuysen Inlet.[2] The vessel that carried them to this coast was the *Princess Royal.*

The barque, and those original passengers, are held in high esteem by the pioneers of Nanaimo. Indeed, it is said by one of the descendants of Edwin Gough,[3] a miner, that when the party was put ashore from the steamer *Beaver* and the brig *Recovery*, about eleven o'clock of a cloudy November Monday morning, the sun broke through the clouds and shone cheerfully—a precedent which, tradition has it, once set by Nature, has been faithfully observed in the intervening years. In view of this anniversary it seems worth while to recall the circumstances under which the ship was constructed, and to chronicle, possibly for the first time, an accurate account of both her maiden voyage and her final destruction.[4]

The *Princess Royal* was designed in accordance with a recommendation made by Sir George Simpson and the Council for the Northern Department of Rupert's Land. He had suggested the importation of spars from Fort Rupert, and the Company, writing him from London on April 5, 1854, admitted that such commerce would "be a profitable branch of trade provided outward cargo could be obtained for the vessel sent to bring them home"

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(1) Then commonly called Colvile Town.

(2) "Wintuhuysen Inlet, commonly known as Nanymo Bay . . ." Chief Factor James Douglas, Fort Victoria, to J. W. McKay, August 24, 1852 (transcript in Provincial Archives).

(3) E. H. Gough, of Nanaimo, to the writer, March 20, 1936.

(4) This has been made possible through the courtesy of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have kindly granted permission to publish the excerpts from documents in the Company's Archives which are incorporated in this paper, and of Mr. H. M. S. Cotter, of Victoria, son of James Cotter, Factor at Moose Factory in 1885, who was then in residence at the post.

—but they saw "no prospect of that" at the moment. Nevertheless the letter continued:—

With the view however of testing the market here, and of being prepared for operations on a large scale should that be deemed expedient, we have, in constructing the *Princess Royal*, which is to replace the *Norman Morison*, made provision for her taking in spars of a large size, with which we intend that any room there may be over and above that required for the furs shall be filled up.

A later paragraph in the same communication reads as follows:—

The *Norman Morison*, from her great draught of water, being found ill adapted for the harbour of Victoria, which she could not enter until she had discharged part of her cargo, at the neighbouring harbour of Esquimalt, we have sold and replaced her (as already stated) by one built on purpose for the voyage between London and Victoria. . . . The new vessel, which we have named the *Princess Royal*, while she draws less water than the *Norman Morison*, will carry considerably more cargo, and will be able to Stow spars of the largest size.[5]

Tenders had been requested in June of the previous year for the building of a ship of 583 tons, and that of Messrs. Money Wigram & Sons, of Blackwall, was accepted July 6, 1853.[6] The work was to cost £10,200 and "was to allow her to class 13 years A. 1 in Lloyds Register of Shipping."[7] The vessel was of oak and teak construction, and was copper-bottomed.[8] She was 145 feet in length, 29.5 feet in breadth, and 18.2 feet in depth.[9] At her last survey, in 1885, her character was given as "A. 1."

In April, 1854, the Company informed Chief Factor James Douglas that the *Princess Royal* was scheduled to sail for Victoria in May, and the dispatch adds that

arrangements are being made to engage twenty Colliers from Staffordshire. These men will be accompanied by Mr George Robinson, also from that County, who has been engaged as Manager of the Coal and Brick works in Vancouver's Island.

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(5) H.B. Co., London, to Sir George Simpson, April 5, 1854. (H.B.C. Arch. A. 6/31, pp. 5, 13.)

(6) H.B. Co., London, to Money Wigram & Sons, July 6, 1853. (H.B.C. Arch. A. 5/18, f. 150.)

(7) Money Wigram & Sons to H.B. Co., London, July 4, 1853. (H.B.C. Arch. A. 10/32.)

(8) H. M. S. Cotter to the writer, September, 1938. According to Mr. Cotter the vessel had a magnificent figurehead.

(9) *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping*, for 1860–61, 1878–79 and 1885–86.

The party was to sail in the *Princess Royal*, and the Governor and Committee trusted that nothing would happen "to prevent these people being landed in Vancouver's Island in due course."[10]

Some delay in the vessel's departure occurred, but under the command of Captain David Wishart, and with Charles Gale as first mate, the *Princess Royal* was hauled out of the East India docks at four o'clock on the morning of June 3, 1854, and towed below Gravesend in charge of the pilot.[11] She carried more than a hundred passengers, as the following entries indicate:—

The Cabin passengers consist of Mr & Mrs. Clark, and Mr. & Mrs. Robinson with two children.—Mr Clark is the Schoolmaster about whom I wrote to Mr Douglas on the 21st April,[12] and Mr Robinson the intended Manager and Superintendent of the Company's Coal Mine and Brick works at Nanaimo.

Four females take their passage in the intermediate accommodation, three of them are the wives of men employed in the engineering department of the Steamer *Otter*, and the fourth the Servant of Mr Robinson.

The Steerage passengers consist of 23 Miners and their families (numbering together 83 persons)—10 Norwegians, & a Mrs. Laing and her family of 5 children, who are going out to join her husband on Vancouver's Island. The miners have been selected by Mr Robinson, & will accompany him to Nanaimo immediately on the arrival of the vessel, and the Norwegians have been engaged for general service, to be employed where they may be most required.[13]

The only chronicle of the voyage itself is the log of the first mate, Charles Gale.[14] It is a gloomy history of death, misery, and dissatisfaction. Probably it is just as well the landsmen

(10) H.B. Co., London, to Chief Factor James Douglas, April 21, 1854. (H.B.C. Arch. A. 6/31, p. 32.)

(11) Log of the *Princess Royal* for 1854–55, kept by Charles Gale, 1st Mate. (H.B.C. Arch. C. 1/975.)

(12) "W. G. Smith, Secretary of the Company in London, wrote to Chief Factor James Douglas on 21st April, 1854, and informed him that a Mr. Clarke had been engaged as a schoolmaster. He had been educated at Battersea Training College and intended to marry before proceeding to Vancouver Island. He was to be stationed in the neighbourhood of "Mr. McKenzie's farm." (H.B.C. Arch. A. 6/31)." (Note by Hudson's Bay Archives.) Clarke was the first teacher at the famous Craigflower School. *See* D. L. MacLaurin, "Education before the Gold Rush," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 254–263.

(13) W. G. Smith, Secretary, H.B. Co., London, to the Board of Management of the Western Department, June 1, 1854. (H.B.C. Arch. A 6/31, p. 52.)

(14) H.B.C. Arch. C. 1/975.

objected on occasion to the condition of the rice ration, for there was no list of passengers,[15] and their mild insurrection,[16] certainly not the last to take place aboard the *Princess Royal*,[17] caused Gale to list the names of the men who refused to work.

Mrs. Clarke, wife of the teacher who was to be stationed in the vicinity of "Mr. McKenzie's farm" (Craigflower) lost her baby July 1, and the child was buried at sea the evening of the same day.

Fourteen days later (July 16), all able to attend Divine Service did so. It is recorded that "Jhon [*sic*] Bakers Wife was taken with a Fit while in church [and] taken out."

Towards the end of the month there was a mild mutiny. The landsmen objected to the condition of the rice served out to them, and refused to work pending the outcome of an inquiry into the matter.

Thomas York and John Malpass were assigned to serve out stores with the third officer. William Harrison and Daniel Dunn assisted the cook, George Bull helped the steward, and Jesse Sage attended to the stock.

No such sinecures were the lot of the others. These men made their complaint and stood by it, returning to work the following day, when the matter was evidently cleared up to the satisfaction of all. The "Names of those that Refused," as given by Gale, are as follows: George Baker, John Baker, Matthew Miller, John Meaking [Meakin], William Incher, Joseph Webb, Richard Turner, Richard Richardson, John Richardson, Thomas Jones, Elijah Ganner, John Thompson, Thomas Lownds, Thomas Hawkes, Joseph Bevilockway, John Beggs, and Edward Gough.[18]

Early in August Mrs. Bull lost her child, and a third death, September 20, took one of the Malpass children.

Four days later a child was born to Mrs. John Baker—"in a Very great haste—at 10 AM the woman Was on Deck Washing

(15) J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, H.B. Co., London, to the writer, March 2, 1936.

(16) Gale's log, July 29, 1854.

(17) *See* Agnes Mackay, "Voyage on the Princess Royal," Victoria *Colonist*, August 15, 1937. Two mutinies occurred on the voyage in question, in 1879.

(18) Gale's log, July 30, 1854.

—at 3.30 PM she Was Confind . . ." The child lived two weeks; and there is a touch of infinite pathos in Gale's note recording its passing:—

October 14. . . . at 8 AM In consequence of the Surgion having Reported to Capt Wishart that John Bakers child was not expected to live & the parents Particularly requesting to have the child Christened the Capt did accordingly Christen The Child By the Name of Anne Maria With and by the Forms of the Church of England according to the parents Request.

October 15. . . . NB at 3.45 AM John Bakers Infant died, the same that was christened yesterday by the Capt. . . . at 11.25 AM Buried Bakers child that died Last Night the usual ceremoney performed By the Capt.

On September 30 a child was born to Mrs. Sage.

The *Princess Royal* was now safely round the Horn and beating northward, anchoring off Honolulu, October 20. The welcome landfall and sight of a pleasant land was tinged with tragedy. Thomas Lownds, one of the Staffordshire miners, "ill almost Ever Since We left London," died and was interred on shore, "With about 10 of his Mates to follow him to the Grave."

While the ship was still at anchor, October 28, Mrs. Incher passed away in childbirth, though the baby lived. One of the Ganner children died about the same time, and the two bodies were buried on shore. October 31 the *Princess Royal* left Honolulu.

Gale's gloomy chronicle of deaths continued to the very end of the voyage. He noted the death of the Incher baby on November 8, and the body, he says, and you can mark his disgust, "Was Throwen over board, and no more Notice taken of it then as if it Had been a ded Cat." On November 13 the Richardson baby passed away, and "the usual Cerimoney [was] performed by the Capt."[19]

The ship entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca November 20, to encounter one of the winter gales that are not unrare in these waters. It was three days before the *Royal* could anchor in Esquimalt Harbour. Chief Factor Douglas, writing of the arrival of the craft, speaks of seeing the vessel "safely at anchor, the weather being dreadful and they being glad of a shelter in any secure place." He added that she had made "a remarkably

(19) On these various occurrences, *see* Gale's log, August 8; September 21, 24, 30; October 14, 15, 20, 21, 28; November 8, and November 13, 1854.

expeditious voyage, having been little over 5½ months from Gravesend." The letter continues:—

She was detained 12 days at the Sandwich Islands, and has for the last three days been driving about the Straits, in consequence of thick stormy weather. The passengers are in tolerable health, and have all arrived here except two, a miner and one female passenger, who both died at the Sandwich Islands, and were there decently buried.

Captain Wishart reports that the *Princess Royal*, is now tight, and that the cargo is in good order, which I hope may prove to be the case.

I propose sending off the Miners immediately to Nanaimo, and gave Mr. Robinson directions to make his arrangements accordingly.

The *Otter* not having returned from Fort Simpson, the *Beaver* will be employed in that service.[20]

Gale relates on November 24, that the Robinsons and party had "been Busey packing up all the day—and getting all ready to leave To Morrow By the Steamer." On November 25, his entry reads:—

Landed Mr. Clarke and his Mr. Robinsons servant that was is gone with Mr. Clarke . . . at 4.30 p m the schooner *Recovery* was Brought alongside for the passengers put every Thing into her. At 7 PM she halled off and came to Anchor With the passengers for the cole mines on board. The Norwigens still Remains on board.[21]

Douglas, writing to London on November 28, speaks of the passengers from the *Princess Royal* leaving for Colvile Town in the *Beaver* and *Recovery*. They had, he noted, "a good supply of potatoes and fresh meat."[22]

While the Company can not throw any light upon the time of the arrival of the party at Nanaimo,[23] it has come to be an accepted fact amongst the pioneers of that city that the passengers landed about eleven o'clock on the morning of November 27, 1854.

There on a rocky prominence they saw the octagonal bastion, completed in June of the year by the French-Canadian axemen Leon Labine and Jean Baptiste Fortier, to protect the newcomers from possible violence at the hands of the Sne-ny-mo. Prepared for the settlers' occupancy were dwelling-houses of logs, four

(20) Chief Factor James Douglas, Fort Victoria, to H.B. Co., London, November 23, 1854. (H.B.C. Arch. B. 226/b/11.)

(21) Gale's log, November 25, 1854.

(22) Chief Factor James Douglas, Fort Victoria, to H.B. Co., London, November 28, 1854. (H.B.C. Arch. B. 226/b/11.)

(23) J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, H.B. Co., London, to the writer, March 2, 1936.

26 by 15 feet, and three others 30 by 20 feet. Filling-pieces had been raised for three more cabins which measured on completion 30 by 20 feet.[24]

The rigours of the voyage definitely ended any further consideration of the project of using the *Princess Royal* for carrying spars, "in consequence," says Douglas, "of the leaky state of her deck, and other causes."[25]

The barque continued her journeys between England and this coast until 1885. In that year, under command of Captain William Barfield, her master since 1879, the vessel made her last ill-fated voyage to Moose Factory, on James Bay.

Barfield is said to have been a good master, though irritable, and careless with his aspirates. He, too, had trouble with his crew on the voyage about the Horn in 1879. The men on that journey declared "their quarters were always wet, their blankets and clothes never dry, and that they wanted a stove. . . ." Barfield and his mate, Campbell, met the men with a revolver lying on the table between them, but agreed to their demands. The fact that the Captain had his wife aboard, then a bride of but a few weeks, may have had something to do with his passivity.[26]

In 1885 the *Princess Royal* was ordered to Moose Factory and had completed loading by October 3. On that Sabbath day the Factor, James Cotter, looked forward to some rest, for with her sailing the season's rush was over. He had been ill that autumn, and was pale from his indisposition. Outside the wind was rising, snow was falling fast, and visibility was difficult.

His son, H. M. S. Cotter, relates that his father had voiced his thanks that the *Princess Royal* had sailed for England. The Factor's anticipated relaxation was, however, of brief duration. There came a pounding on the door. Breathless from running, snow on his garments, Joe Taylor, a youth from the pilot's boat,

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(24) Details from data supplied by the late Mark Bate, many times Mayor of Nanaimo, who was a resident of Colvile Town at the date of the arrival of the passengers from the *Princess Royal*. *See* Nanaimo *Daily Free Press*, April 16, 1934.

(25) Chief Factor James Douglas to Captain Wishart, January 11, 1856 [1855?]. (H.B.C. Arch. B. 226/b/12.)

(26) Agnes Mackay, "Voyage on the Princess Royal," Victoria *Colonist*, August 15, 1937.

presented himself before the astonished Cotter and his friends. "Sir," he said, "the ship went ashore on the bar and is a total loss."[27]

The *Royal* had loaded 10 miles below the Factory on Moose River. She cleared for the north-east, and passed on beyond Moose River Bar, only to encounter a terrific snowstorm. She lost all her anchors and became unmanageable. Captain Barfield put about, and endeavoured to pass the bar, seeking the calmer water inside. But the ship "went ashore inside causing [a] total wreck and entire loss [of] cargo. . . ." The crew remained at Moose.

This information was sent by Cotter to the Company's Commissioner, Joseph Wrigley, at Winnipeg, who forthwith cabled it to London.[28]

About Moose Factory roved a tribe of Algonquins, the Swampy Crees, who were soon drawn to the hulk that lay with broken back on the Moose River Bar. They found the master's cabin had been pre-empted by a tribesman from Albany who made the wreck his headquarters. The Albany man welcomed the Crees. They broached a keg of tar for use on their canoes, and finding the stuff hard in the congealing cold of the northern winter (it was then January), they kindled a fire to start the pitch. The deck was soon ablaze. The frightened Indians threw snow on the conflagration, and might have extinguished it successfully had not the Albany native sent one of the Crees for water, which he thought he had seen in the Captain's cabin.

The Cree returned from his errand. He threw the liquid well and truly into the heart of the blaze—only to turn, to cry aloud in terror, and run from the blast, as the "water" exploded.

Thus it was that the Indians used paraffin intended for the *Royal's* lamps to make of the ship itself a torch whose light was seen for miles.

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(27) H. M. S. Cotter to the writer, September, 1938.

(28) Wrigley received the news October 31, and cabled to London on November 1. For his confirming letter *see* Commissioner Joseph Wrigley, Winnipeg, to H.B. Co., London, November 5, 1885. (H.B.C. Arch. Comr. Wrigley Out. L.B. (London) 1884–86, f. 283.)

It is related that Captain Barfield[29] took the trail from Moose Factory to look again on his old command, and that he returned in due course with the carven, charred, arms of the figurehead, and various pieces of oak and teak from the ship's structure. These, made into chests, are said still to grace Montreal households.

It is further related, that with the passage of winter, the ice carried with it all that was left of the skeleton of the *Princess Royal* that lay on Moose River Bar.

VICTORIA, B.C. BARRIE H. E. GOULT.

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## APPENDIX.

1. Alphabetical list of the colliers carried in the *Princess Royal*, 1854, compiled from the log of Charles Gale, master's mate. (H.B.C. Archives, C. 1/975):—

Baker, George
Baker, John
Beggs [*sic*], John
Bevilockway, Joseph
Bull, George
Dunn, Daniel
Ganner, Elijah
Gough, Edward
Harison [*sic*], William
Hawkes, Thomas
Incher, William
Jones, Thomas
Lowands [*sic*], Thomas.
Malpass, John
Meaking [*sic*], John
Miller, Matthew
Richardson, John
Richardson, Richard
Sage, Jesse
Thomson, John
Turner, Richard
York, Thomas
Webb, Joseph

Three persons who travelled to British Columbia as children, in 1854, in the *Princess Royal*, are still living—John Meakin, of Nanaimo, now 85 years old; J. York, in the Fraser Valley; and James Hawkes, now a resident of the United States. The names of their fathers appear in the list given above.

2. Chronological list of births and deaths aboard the *Princess Royal*, July 1 to November 13, 1854, compiled from the log of Charles Gale, master's mate:—

July 1. Mrs. Clarke's baby died and was buried at sea.
August 8. Infant of George Bull died and was buried at sea.
September 21. Malpass child died and was buried at sea.
September 24. Child born to Mrs. John Baker.

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(29) H. M. S. Cotter to the writer. Mr. Cotter relates that Captain Barfield, by then proficient in the use of snow-shoes, trekked the perilous 500 miles south to Canada, and returned to England, via Montreal. Gulland, Barfield's first mate, waited until spring, and came out by canoe.

September 30. Child born to Mrs. Jesse Sage.
October 15. Infant daughter of John Baker died and was buried at sea.
October 21. Thomas Lowands [*sic*] died and was buried ashore, in Honolulu.
October 28. Child born to Mrs. William Incher. Mrs. Incher died. Ganner child died. Both buried ashore in Honolulu.
November 8. Infant of William Incher died and was "thrown over board."
November 13. Richard Richardson's child died and was buried at sea.

3. Chronological list of voyages made by the *Princess Royal*, compiled from a Book of Ships' Movements covering the period 1719–1929 (H.B.C. Arch. C. 4/1) :—

| Year | Captain | Voyage to |
|---|---|---|
| 1854–1855 | David Wishart | Sandwich Islands, Fort Victoria |
| 1856–1857 | J. F. Trivett | Fort Victoria |
| 1857–1858 | „ | „ |
| 1858–1859 | J. L. Sinclair | „ |
| 1859–1860 | J. F. Trivett | „ |
| 1860–1861 | „ | „ |
| 1861–1862 | W. Kingcome | „ |
| 1862–1863 | „ | „ |
| 1864–1865 | J. N. Marshall | „ |
| 1865–1866 | „ | „ |
| 1866–67–68 | James Anderson | Fort Victoria, Burrard Inlet, Valparaiso, Havre |
| 1868–69–70 | „ | Fort Victoria, Valparaiso, Pisagua, Santa Cruz, Fort Victoria, Burrard Inlet, Fort Victoria |
| 1870–1871 | „ | Fort Victoria, San Francisco |
| 1871–1872 | „ | Fort Victoria |
| 1872–1873 | „ | „ |
| 1873–1874 | „ | „ |
| 1875–1876 | „ | Victoria |
| 1876–1877 | „ | „ |
| 1877–1878 | „ | „ |
| 1879–1880 | James Anderson [*sic*]* | „ |
| 1880–1881 | William Barfield | „ |
| 1881–1882 | „ | „ |
| 1882–1883 | „ | „ |
| 1884–1885 | „ | „ |
| 1885 | „ | Moose Factory |

* This is an error, either in the transcript or in the original itself, as we know that Captain Barfield was in command on the voyage from London to Victoria in 1879. *See* Victoria *Colonist*, September 14, 1879, confirming Miss Mackay's narrative in the *Colonist*, August 15, 1937.

# THE USE OF IRON AND COPPER BY THE INDIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.*

In 1778, when Captain James Cook landed at Nootka, on the western coast of Vancouver Island, he found the Indians in possession of iron knives and spears pointed with copper. They also had, strange to say, two silver tablespoons.[1] Whence came the iron and copper, and how did the spoons reach this remote spot?

Captain Cook made such inquiries as he could, by signs, among the Indians of Nootka Sound, and therefrom he came to the conclusion that no ships like his had ever been there before, disbelieving the report heard by him in England on the eve of his departure that in the previous year two Spanish ships had visited this part of the world. It was inferred, incorrectly, by him and his officers, that the indigenes of Vancouver Island had never before been in contact with Europeans, because they showed an ignorance of firearms.[2]

The facts were otherwise. In 1774 Juan Pérez, on the *Santiago*, sailed from Monterey up the western coast. He went as far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands, where he gave the inhabitants, the Haidas, some knives, cloth, and beads in exchange for the skins of beaver and otter. ". . . It was perceived that they had a great fondness for articles made of iron for cutting; but they did not want small pieces."[3] So they knew about the use of iron already! The friar Juan Crespi, who recorded the adventure, says: " We were interested also to see that the women wear rings on their fingers and bracelets of iron and copper, and the great value they set by them. Of these metals some were

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* The presidential address to the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, October 14, 1938.

(1) *The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World*, London, 1821, VI., p. 259.

(2) James Burney, *A Chronological History of North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery*, London, 1819, p. 215.

(3) Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769–1774*, Berkeley, 1927, p. 331.

seen, though very little."[4] On his return southward, Pérez stopped at Nootka, which he named San Lorenzo, and came in contact with the Indians, although he did not go ashore. It is recorded that " some pieces of iron and copper and pieces of knives were seen " in the hands of the Indians that came to the *Santiago* in their canoes.[5] Crespi saw an iron-pointed harpoon. The silver spoons found by Captain Cook were obtained by the Indians of Nootka from the Spaniards at that time.

In 1775 Bruno Hezeta, in command of the *Santiago*, and Juan de Ayala, in command of the *Sonora*, sailed northward from the Mexican port of San Blas on an exploratory voyage. The farthest point they reached was Cross Sound in latitude 58° north. They found the Indians of northern California in latitude 41° 18′ eager to obtain iron. Some of their arrows were pointed with copper or iron, which, they said, were procured from the north. " But what they chiefly value," says the record, " is iron, and particularly knives or hoops of old barrels . . ."[6] A few of the natives had curious ill-made knives of iron, like cutlasses, with wooden handles; these were sheathed in wood and hung by cords from the wrist or neck, by reason of their preciousness. It was understood by the Spaniards that the knives came from somewhere in the north, presumably the Russian settlements, but such a provenance was improbable. They were too valuable to be passed by intertribal trade for such a distance unless the Indians had plenty of them. It is equally unlikely that they were the " long knives," or *machetés*, as the Spaniards called them, that Drake gave to the natives on this part of the coast in 1579; because they could not have survived the hard wear of two centuries. Unfortunately, in their eagerness to get hold of iron, the Indians farther north, in latitude 47° 29′, on the coast of Washington, attacked a boat manned by seven Spaniards and killed all of them; then they smashed the boat, " carrying off with them every piece of iron it contained."[7]

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(4) *Ibid.*, p. 333.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 350.

(6) *Miscellanies by the Honourable Daines Barrington*, London, 1781, p. 489.

(7) " Fray Benito de la Sierra's Account of the Hezeta Expedition to the Northwest Coast in 1775," translated by A. J. Baker, *California Historical Quarterly*, IX. (1930), p. 228.

The Franciscan friar Miguel de la Campa accompanied Hezeta, and, in his diary, says: " A few of them had also some pieces of sword-blades about a span long which they told by signs came from the north. On our asking them if they obtained any from some other part they answered no and that they only obtained them from the north where there were larger ones. One of them [Indians on the Californian coast in latitude 41° 18′ north] gave us to understand by very expressive signs that he had made his [knife] from a nail which he had found in a piece of wreckage and had beaten out with a stone."[8] This statement is most significant, as we shall see.

In 1779 another Spanish expedition was organized at San Blas. This time Juan Francisco Bodega[9] and Ignacio Artega were in command of two ships. They explored the Gulf of Alaska and followed the northwestern coast as far as Cook Inlet. On Prince of Wales Island, in southeastern Alaska, the natives were wearing bracelets of copper, iron, and whalebone on their wrists, says Bodega, " and on their neck sundry rows of the beads they make of bone, and necklets of extremely fine copper; and in their ears, twisted wires of the same metal . . ."[10] Westward, in Prince William Sound, the natives had " large glass beads," probably of Russian provenance.

Bodega had his surmises as to the sources of the metals he saw in the possession of the Indians on this part of the Pacific coast. " Respecting the iron and copper they all wear," he says, " it must be concluded that they may be metals extracted by them from the ore, or that they were brought to this creek [harbour] by other ships, or that a trade must be kept up with people who can supply them; and in order to ascertain this we omitted no indications or experiments that seemed necessary, but we never got any further result than to fall into greater confusion, for sometimes it appeared to us that they had seen ships, at others

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 218, note 4.

(9) He is usually known as Quadra, but that was his mother's name, which, as is customary among Spaniards, was added to his patronymic, so he was named Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra.

(10) Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, *Expeditions in the Years 1775 & 1779 towards the West Coast of North America*, translated from *Anuario de la Dirección de Hidrografia, Año III., 1865*, p. 37 (p. 315 of original). MS. in Provincial Archives; translated by G. F. Barwick.

that there were places on the borders where people dwelt with whom they traded; and sometimes they pointed to the mountains to signify that they got it from there, which is most likely [unlikely?], though anything is possible."[11] Evidently the effort to extract information by means of signs was ineffective. The idea that the Indians knew how to obtain the metals by smelting of the ores was of course wholly unwarranted.

In none of these three expeditions of 1774, 1775, and 1779 did the Spaniards see any Russians or any signs of them, but the possession of large glass beads by some of the northern Indians suggested communication, probably intertribal, with the fur-traders from Kamchatka. Indeed, farther north, at the foot of Mount St. Elias, in the country of the Tlingits, it was said, so Bodega understood, that " other large vessels " had been seen by the natives. They may refer to Captain Cook's ships which had been thereabouts in May of 1778.

According to Antonio Maurelle, who was pilot for Bodega in 1779, the Indians in latitude 55° 18′, which would be near Prince of Wales Island, had long lances pointed with iron and some knives " longer than an European bayonet."[12] He confirms the statement of Bodega that the natives wore bracelets of copper and iron, or, for want of these metals, of whalebone, and some of them displayed collars of copper two fingers thick. " In some of the Indians," says Maurelle, " the desire of procuring iron, cloth, or other stuffs, was stronger than parental affection: they sold their children for a few yards of cloth, or pieces of iron hoops. The Spaniards purchased in this manner three boys . . . not to make slaves of them, but Christians."[13] The copper, with which their arrows were pointed, led the Spaniards to suppose that they had mines of that metal in the vicinity.

Captain Cook surmised that the copper and iron in the hands of the Indians had been brought thither by intertribal trade from Hudson Bay or from the northwestern parts of Mexico.[14] John Ledyard, an American from New England, who served as ser-

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 42 (p. 319 of original).

(12) J. F. G. de la Pérouse, *A Voyage Round the World Performed In the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 . . .*, London, 1799, I., p. 247.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 250.

(14) *The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World*, London, 1821, VI., p. 305.

geant of marines with Captain Cook, published an account of this voyage, at first anonymously, and then under his own name, in 1783. He said: "We found a few copper bracelets and three or four rough wrought knives with coarse wooden hafts among the natives of this place [Nootka], but could not learn from the appearance of either of those articles or from any information they could give us how they became possessed of them, but it was generally thought they came from a great distance and not unlikely from Hudson's-Bay. Commerce is defusive, and nothing will impede its progress among the uninformed part of mankind, but an intervention of too remote a communication by water, and as this cannot be the case with regard to the inhabitants of a continent, it seems entirely conclusive to suppose no part of America is without some sort of commercial intercourse, immediate or remote."[15] Barrington, who, in 1781, collected records of the early voyages, also believed that the iron and copper in the hands of the Indians of northern California had come overland from the forts on Hudson Bay by means of migrating Indians.[16] Both he and Ledyard were wrong, as will be shown in due course.

In 1786, eight years afterward, Jean François de la Pérouse, during a scientific expedition round the world, came to the Alaskan coast. He found that the Indians were eager to obtain iron. Copper was common among them, being used for necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments, as well as for pointing their arrows.[17] In considering the possible sources of the copper and iron in possession of the Tlingits on the coast of southeastern Alaska, La Pérouse said:—

> It was a matter of great question with us whence they procured these two metals. There was no improbability in supposing this part of America to contain native copper, which the Indians might reduce into sheets or ingots: but native iron perhaps does not exist, or at least is so rare, that it has never been seen by the majority of mineralogists. It cannot be admitted, that these people are acquainted with the method of reducing iron ore to the state of metal. Beside, the day of our arrival we saw necklaces of beads, and some little articles of brass, which, as is well known, is a composition of copper and zinc. Every thing, therefore, leads us to presume, that the metals we saw came either from the Russians, from the servants of

(15) John Ledyard, *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean in Quest of a North-West Passage*, Hartford, 1783, p. 77.

(16) Barrington, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

(17) La Pérouse, *op. cit.*, I., p. 369.

the Hudson's Bay company, from American merchants travelling into the interior parts of the country, or from the Spaniards: but I shall hereafter show that it most probably came from the Russians. We brought away many specimens of this iron, which is as soft and easy to cut as lead [an obvious exaggeration]: perhaps mineralogists may be able to point out the country and mine that produce it.

Gold is not an object of more eager desire in Europe, than iron in this part of America, which is another proof of it's scarcity.[18]

The editor of this account of La Pérouse's voyage adds a note saying that the softness of the iron indicated that it was " native or virgin."[19] These conjectures are interesting; the idea that the Indians had native iron was without the warrant of evidence; the iron was soft wrought iron; the beads suggest a Russian origin; the Hudson's Bay provenance will be disproved.

Here I may mention that native iron in large masses was discovered by Adolf Nordenskiöld in 1870 at Ovifak, on Disko Island, on the western coast of Greenland.[20] The largest mass was reported to weigh 23 tons; it lay, with several smaller lumps, on the shore at the foot of a basalt cliff, in which nodules of similar iron were found by Nauckhoff in 1871.[21] The basalt is in dyke form, and the presence nearby of a bed of lignite suggests that this carbonaceous substance may have been the means of reducing an iron compound in the magma to the metallic state. Since then telluric iron has been detected in many localities so far apart as Arizona and Bohemia, but only in small lumps. In a basalt near Kassel in Hesse Nassau, and at Spechthausen in Germany, there have been discovered nodules of such iron in basalt.[22] The native iron of Ovifak, however, is unique inasmuch as it only has been used by man for implemental purposes.

John Meares was at Nootka in 1788 and records the fact that "A present, consisting of copper, iron, and other gratifying articles, was made to [the two chiefs] Maquilla and Callicum, who, on receiving it, took off their sea-otter garments, threw them, in the most graceful manner, at our feet, and remained in

(18) *Ibid.*, pp. 369–370.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 370, note.

(20) *Geological Magazine*, London, IX. (1872), p. 516.

(21) Walter Flight, *A Chapter in the History of Meteorites*, London, 1887, p. 26.

(22) Carl Hintze, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, 1904, I., p. 161.

the unattired garb of nature on the deck."[23] Again we have evidence of the keen desire for iron and copper. The natives were much interested in watching the smiths at work in forging iron tools. "Their simple minds, in a state so distant from the knowledge of enlightened nature and the cultivated world, beheld, with all the extravagance of infantine delight, the mechanic skill of our artificers. Nor was their interest less engaged than their curiosity, in attending to those powers which fabricated the variety of articles that added so much to the pride, the pleasure, and the convenience of their lives. Indeed they were continually making application to have iron forged into forms of use or ornament; and so very fickle [like children] were they in the objects of their fancy, that it became a matter of considerable trouble to satisfy their varying inclinations."[24]

Meares makes reference to the copper he saw among the Indians. "The pure malleable lumps of copper ore seen in the possession of the natives, convince us that there are mines of this metal in the vicinity of this part of the Western coast. We once saw a piece of it, which appeared to weigh about a pound, through which an hole had been perforated sufficiently large for an handle to pass, in order to make a kind of hammer. On enquiring of the man in whose possession it was, from whence he procured it, he made us understand that he had received it in barter from some of the native people who lived more to the Northward. We had also occasionally seen necklaces and a sort of bracelets worn on the wrist, which were of the purest ore, and to all appearance had never been in the possession of an European."[25] The "pure ore" mentioned in the foregoing quotation is, of course, native copper. This, being soft, would be an unsuitable material for making a hammer. The tool may have been a scraper. The hole in it may have been intended for a thong wherewith it could be hung from the neck. Such copper ornaments were worn by the Indians. The suggestion of a northerly provenance is correct, as we shall see.

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(23) John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America*, London, 1790, p. 113.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 185.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 247.

The appreciation of copper is indicated by an Indian tradition, as related to Meares at Nootka, about an old man that entered the Sound in a copper canoe, with copper paddles, and everything else that he had was likewise made of copper. This old man said he came from the sky. The natives killed him, and took his canoe, " and from this event they derived their fondness for copper." Evidently an Indian from the north had come to them with pieces of native copper for the purpose of trading; and they had killed him in order to rob him of his precious freight. The Tsimshian Indians, on the Skeena River, in northern British Columbia, have a tradition of fire that fell from heaven and was transformed into copper.[26] This suggests the finding of copper in nugget form, like a drop of molten metal from the sky.

Etienne Marchand, commanding the *Solide*, in 1791, visited Norfolk Sound, in the Gulf of Alaska. He found copper in use among the natives. " Most of them are adorned," he says, " with a necklace, composed of copper wire interwoven; and this ornament appears not to be of European manufacture; it might be taken for a work of their own hands. They therefore possess mines, whence they extract this metal; and nothing contradicts this first supposition: but it would be necessary to suppose too that they possess the art of melting metal, of drawing it into wire, of working it; and what we have been able to learn of their industry, does not favour the idea that we can grant them this knowledge. What seems most probable, is, that these necklaces, fabricated in some of the European settlements of the interior, came to them ready made, from tribe to tribe, through the channel of the intermediate nations."[27] Thus he repeats Cook's guess. It is evident that he overlooked the probability that the copper was native metal, which the natives had hammered into thin sheets, cut into strips, and then rounded, by abrasion, into the shape of wire. No melting or wire-drawing was necessary.

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(26) Franz Boas, " Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1916, p. 467.

(27) Etienne Marchand, *A Voyage Round the World performed during the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792*, London, 1801, I., pp. 222–223.

Let us first consider the provenance of the copper that we have seen in the hands of these northwestern Indians; for copper was the first metal used by primitive man in the fabrication of useful implements. It was surmised by Captain Cook, as we have noted, that the metal came westward to the Pacific Coast by means of intertribal trade. This might point to the Coppermine River as the source, for Samuel Hearne in 1771 discovered that the Eskimos of that district, near Coronation Gulf, on the Arctic Coast, were using native copper to fashion their implements.[28] We have no evidence, however, that this copper was carried overland to the Pacific Coast, which is 900 miles distant; nor should we expect so extended a trade, because the Indians on the western coast had other and better sources of the metal much nearer to them. It has been suggested that this source was the Queen Charlotte Islands, the natives of which are known as Haidas.

Father Morice says that the Carriers, a tribe of Indians belonging to the Déné (meaning "men") race and living in central British Columbia, have a tradition that in times not very remote all the tribes, including their own, assembled at a certain place on the coast "around a tower-like copper mountain emerging from the depths of the water." They proceeded to decide which tribe was to possess this great mass of copper. "When all had united in shouting, the mountain began gradually to totter, and the Haidas, who are blessed with big heads and strong voices, caused it to fall on their side."[29] So they won the copper mountain, and ever since the other tribes have had to go to them for the copper needed to make bracelets for their wives and daughters. The putting of the metal to ornamental, rather than implemental, use is a characteristic of primitive metal culture. From this myth Morice concludes, too confidently, that it was from the Haidas that the coastal tribes derived their copper in prehistoric times. He says that "The copper came to them in small bars ["strips" would be a better word in this context] of which they made dog collars, arm-bands, bracelets and

(28) Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean In the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772.* Edited by J. B. Tyrrell. Toronto, 1911, p. 198.

(29) A. G. Morice, *The Great Déné Race*, Vienna, n. d., p. 224.

tweezers. They occasionally converted it into arrow-points. To this day native copper is highly prized even on the coast, especially when fashioned into the shield-like 'coppers,' which are the property of the hereditary chiefs."[30] The "coppers" were suspended from the neck and worn as decorations on the chest. All along the Pacific Coast of Alaska and British Columbia one finds these curiously shaped copper plates, formerly made of native copper, which, as Franz Boas says, is found in Alaska and probably also on the Nass River, near the Skeena. "These coppers have the same function which bank notes of high denominations have with us. The actual value of the piece of copper is small, but it is made to represent a large number of blankets and can always be sold for blankets."[31]

Alexander Mackenzie, an anthropologist of the same name as the famous Canadian explorer, tells us that when on Graham Island, one of the Queen Charlotte group, in 1890, he saw a carved copper bracelet that had been in the possession of a Haida family "for several generations." He gives some interesting information concerning the ornamental plates of copper, which the Haidas call *taow,* the Sitka Indians, *tinneh,* and the Tshimsians, *hy-y-etsk.* Among the Sitkans, *esk* was the word for copper; among the Tlingits, *ee-ek.* These "coppers" were made before the islanders obtained sheet copper from the Russians in the north; they were made, so says local tradition, from native copper that came from Alaska; and many of them have been in the possession of families "through a long line of chiefs who displayed them on festal occasions."[32] The size of these plates of copper varied from 7 or 8 inches to 4 feet in length, the upper part being engraved with totemic designs of the bear, eagle, crow, or whale.

John R. Swanton records a Haida myth that tells of an Indian who caught a copper salmon in a small stream and put it into a fire; then he took hold of the hot copper with a piece

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895,* Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1897, p. 344.

(32) Alexander Mackenzie, "Descriptive Notes on Certain Implements, Weapons, etc., from Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* IX. (1891), Section II., p. 52.

of cedar bark and cut off first one fin and then another, and lastly, the tail. These he " pressed," and when the copper became cold, he returned it to the fire, and then pressed it again. Thus he made five " coppers," or *tinnehs*, which he took home to his tribe, by whom he was acclaimed.[33] Here we have the tale of the finding of a piece of native copper, of the breaking of successive pieces, and the beating of the metal into the shape of plates. The repeated placing of the copper in the fire suggests the annealling, or softening, of the metal when it became brittle, and cracked, in consequence of being hammered excessively. It must be added, however, that the Indians on this coast do not appear to have understood how to anneal, therefore the prehistoric *tinnehs*, made of native copper, are small—from 5 to 7 inches long, and patched. The larger ones are of later date and were made out of pieces of copper sheathing derived from vessels that came to grief on the shores of Alaska and British Columbia.

These " coppers " were venerated as heirlooms and as evidence of great wealth; any chief that could afford to purchase one of them and cut it into pieces for distribution at a *potlatch*, or gift festival, was highly regarded. Such pieces were given to the chiefs among the guests, and, in turn, were highly prized by them. Occasionally a " copper " was fixed to a carved heraldic column or pole, and thus served as an ostentatious display of the owner's wealth; sometimes it was attached to a mortuary receptacle in honour of the deceased. The estimation in which the " coppers " were held is indicated by the fact that when they were sold they could be exchanged for ten slaves or for a thousand blankets. When, however, the Indians began to buy sheet copper from the Russians at Sitka and the English at Victoria, their value decreased promptly, and, subsequently they were completely debased when several natives on the coast began to manufacture spurious, or commercial, " coppers." These glutted the market, and, as Mackenzie says, " destroyed the romance of the idea that the copper was one of earth's rarest and choicest treasures, fit only to be purchased by great chiefs who desired

(33) John R. Swanton, " Haida Texts," *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, New York, 1908, X., Part II., p. 689 *et seq.*

to squander away their property for the sake of gratifying their self esteem."[34]

In the Provincial Museum at Victoria, B.C., there is a carved wooden figure of the man that first brought copper to the Indians. It was found at Bella Bella, on Denny Island. The figure bears a "copper."

In striving to display ostentation a chief would break a "copper," thereby showing a superb disregard for the value of his property. At a *potlatch* the chief would detach a piece of his "copper" and give it to his rival. If the latter meant to maintain his prestige, he felt compelled likewise to break a "copper" of equal or higher value; and then he returned both pieces, his own and the other's, to the chief that started this competition in munificence. Still more splendid it was to throw both pieces into the sea. Usually, however, the pieces were preserved; the owner might break off one part after another until only the central T-ridge remained; this was valued at two-thirds the total value of the "copper," and was the last to be given away. Not infrequently somebody succeeded in buying the fragments, which were then riveted, with copper, into their former places, and thereby reconstituted a complete "copper," which was of enhanced value. If formerly it was worth a thousand blankets, it now might be valued at two thousand.[35]

Various localities near the northwestern Pacific Coast have yielded small amounts of native copper; among these may be cited the placers on Manson Creek, at the head of one of the tributaries of the Peace River. Some came from the copper lodes on the Queen Charlotte Islands; some metal has been obtained on the Nass River, in the Cassiar district, and from the veins of Aspen Grove, not far from the southern border of British Columbia. Native copper has also been mined successfully on Prince of Wales Island and on the shores of Prince William Sound. The chief source of supply for the Indians, however, before the European came to the coast, was undoubtedly in southeastern Alaska. The Haidas themselves in later years have stated that

(34) Alexander Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

(35) Franz Boas, "Social Organization . . . of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895*, p. 354.

their " coppers " came from the Chilkat country, north of Sitka, which points to the Alaskan district.[36]

The Chilkats, a Tlingit tribe, not the Haidas, were the prehistoric purveyors of copper to the tribes on the coast south of them. These Chilkats had their habitat in the country lying at the foot of Mount St. Elias and along the Lynn Canal. In 1805 Urey Lisiansky was told that they got their copper from the Copper River district, which abounded in native metal, but that the Indians kept secret the places where large pieces of it were to be obtained.[37] William Dall, in 1870, refers to this copper trade among the Indians. " Native copper, occasionally associated with silver, has long been obtained from the natives of the Atna or Copper River. It occurs in rounded masses sometimes weighing 36 lb. The original locality is unknown and carefully concealed by the natives, with whom it is an article of trade. The specimens have a worn appearance, as if from the bed of a stream."[38] The silver in the copper gives the necessary clue, for copper containing silver—both metals being in the native condition—is found in nugget form along the Dan and Chitutu creeks, which are tributaries of the Chitina.[39] This name means " copper river," for, in the language of the aborigines, *chiti* means " copper " and *na* means " river."[40] It is significant that the Indians of Alaska have a word for copper, but none for gold or iron. Spear-heads and arrow-heads made by the Indians out of the native copper have been found by American miners in the sluice-boxes of their placer-workings on these tributaries of the Chitina River.

The Indians on the White River, which flows eastward from the range in which the Copper River also has its source, used caribou horns to dig the copper nuggets out of the stream-

(36) George M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, Montreal, 1880, p. 135 B (Geological Survey of Canada, *Report of Progress, 1878–79*).

(37) Urey Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World, in the Years 1803, 4, 5, & 6*, London, 1814, p. 188.

(38) William H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, Boston, 1870, p. 477.

(39) The Chitina is an eastern tributary of the Copper River as known to-day.

(40) Fred H. Moffit and A. G. Maddren, *Mineral Resources of the Kotsina-Chitina Region, Alaska*, Washington, 1909, p. 19 (U.S. Geological Survey, Bulletin 374).

gravel;[41] in later days they bartered this native copper, which was employed by several tribes in the making of arrow-heads, knives, and cooking-utensils, and also for bullets when lead was not obtainable.[42] One mass of 3 tons was found on a bank of the White River,[43] but most of the copper was in the form of lumps weighing about 5 or 6 lb., such as were suitable for immediate fabrication.

Evidence of a conclusive character, therefore, points to the White and Chitina Rivers as the source of the copper used by the Indians before the white man came. These two rivers flow in opposite directions from the same range of hills, and, as the metal is found in their upper reaches, the copper-producing localities constitute one district. The Tlingits, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Alaska, had the monopoly of the trade in this detrital metal until Canadian and American prospectors broke into the Yukon watershed in search of gold.

Let us now consider the provenance of the iron. To do this we must review the history of Russian adventure in Alaska and its outlying islands. The Russians reached Kamchatka in 1690, and they went to the Kurile Islands in 1706. Vitus Bering, a Dane, acting under orders from Peter the Great, sailed from Kamchatka in 1728, in a 30-ton boat, to explore the northern ocean, and reached 67° 18′ north, into the strait that now bears his name. So the fable of the Strait of Anian was fulfilled. In 1741 he discovered the Aleutian Islands, and reached the American Coast, at the southern base of Mount St. Elias, in Prince William Sound. He died on his return when off the island that now bears his name, in the Komandorski group.

When Bering, in 1741, first reached the American Coast, he found the Aleuts in possession of "long iron knives, apparently their own manufacture."[44] Morice questions this last statement,

(41) A. H. Brooks, *A Reconnaissance from Pyramid Harbour to Eagle City, Alaska . . .*, Washington, 1900, p. 381 (U.S. Geological Survey, *Twenty-First Annual Report, 1899–1900, Part II.*).

(42) C. Willard Hayes, in *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, IV. (1892), p. 143.

(43) D. D. Cairnes, *Upper White River District, Yukon*, Ottawa, 1915, p. 1 (Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 50).

(44) W. H. Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*, London, 1853, p. 9.

and suggests that it is more likely the iron was derived from the Russian merchants of eastern Siberia.[45] Steller, who was with Bering, says that one of these knives was examined by him, and it was " not like European workmanship."[46] It is probable that, before the Russian fur-traders came to Alaska, the natives obtained iron from the Chukchees of northeastern Siberia.[47] These met the Aleuts on the Diomede Islands, half-way across Bering Strait. The Chukchees could obtain iron from the Russian traders at Anadyrsk. While Bering was on the Alaskan Coast, one of his officers found in an Indian hut a whetstone, on which copper knives had been sharpened. " So necessity teaches," says Muller, " the making use of one metal instead of another. Even in *Siberia*, in the upper-most parts of the river *Jenisei*, all sorts of edge tools of copper have been found in the ancient *Pagan* graves, and none of iron, which is a proof that the use of copper had been of greater antiquity in those regions than that of iron."[48] The gentleman reasons correctly.

Alexei Chirikov, who commanded one of Bering's ships in 1741, reached the American coast at a point about 50 miles south of the site of Sitka. He lost two boats with their crews, probably in the treacherous current of Latuya Bay.[49] These Russians were massacred by the Indians, who thereby provided themselves with iron in many forms. This suggests one source of the iron possessed by the natives in these parts when the Spaniards first encountered them.

A lively trade in furs with the Aleuts began at once, the Russians paying for them with beads, hatchets, copper knives, and goat's wool. It is recorded that one of the Russian traders, Tsiuprov, was affronted because some Aleuts refused to give him an iron bolt that he saw in their possession.[50] Hostilities ensued.

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(45) A. G. Morice, *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Third Edition, Toronto, 1905, p. 346.

(46) William Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, London, 1803, p. 48.

(47) F. A. Golder, *Bering's Voyages*, New York, 1925, II., p. 98.

(48) S. Muller, *Voyages from Asia to America . . .*, Translated from the High Dutch . . . By Thomas Jeffreys, London, 1761, p. 42.

(49) F. A. Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641–1850*, Cleveland, 1914, p. 187.

(50) Coxe, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

This was in 1745. Serebranikov, in 1754, found the Aleuts using stone knives, but some of them had iron knives also. Prapesnikov, however, in 1759, reported that the natives had no iron. Evidently it was rare.

When Glottov visited Kadiak Island, off the southern Alaskan coast, in 1763, he found the Indians using bows, arrows, and lances. The points, like their small hatchets, were made of sharp flint; but a few of them had made knives and lance-points out of reindeer bones. The Russian trader Korovin in 1765 visited Unalaska, one of the Aleutian Islands, and reported that the women made needles of bone from bird's wings, and they used sinews for thread. The men's darts and spears were formerly tipped with bone, but when Korovin arrived they were using iron to point them, this iron having been procured from the Russians. With such iron " they ingeniously form little hatchets [adzes?] and two-edged knives. They shape the iron by rubbing it between two stones, and wetting it frequently with sea-water."[51]

Sarytschev says that the natives of Unalaska in 1801 obtained their knives and axes from the Russians, " but they are not well acquainted with the use of the latter, to which they fasten a wooden handle, so that they can chip them as with a hatchet [adze], but neither split nor hew; they rive their large trees therefore by means of wooden wedges."[52] This is an interesting survival of primitive technique. They converted the axe-head into an adze by attaching a handle at right angles, so that it became like a ship-carpenter's adze or a small hoe. Even long afterward the Indians did not care for axes, preferring to cut a tree by chipping it, as the beaver does. They shared this primitive method with the South Sea Islanders. Benyowsky, speaking of the Aleutian Islands, in 1790, says that " The inhabitants know how to work in iron and copper. They obtain the iron from the Russians, and the copper is the produce of their own country."[53] This is not quite correct, for the country of

(51) *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(52) Gawrila Sarytschew, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the north-east of Siberia, the Frozen Ocean, and the North-east Sea.* Translated from the Russian. London, 1807, II., p. 73.

(53) Mauritius Augustus, Count de Benyowsky, *Memoirs and Travels*, Dublin, 1790, I., p. 263.

the Aleuts is distinct from the Alaskan mainland, whence they obtained their copper.

According to a Déné tradition, the first of their people able to boast of possessing an iron adze was Na'kwoel, a chief of the Carrier Indians on Stuart Lake, at the head of the Fraser watershed, in British Columbia. This came to him probably, says Morice, in about 1720 by way of Tsechah, an Indian village close to the present Hazelton, on the Skeena River; it came, he says, from one of the navigators that were exploring the Northern Pacific Ocean.[54] But is not 1720 too early for such an importation? It is told that when Na'kwoel obtained the iron implement, he convoked his tribesmen to a great banquet or ceremonial feast, a *potlatch,* at which all the guests were given the opportunity to admire the precious thing as it hung above their heads from one of the rafters of the big lodge in which they were assembled. This keen appreciation of the value of the iron indicates obviously that they had been previously acquainted with the use of it, and that therefore they had seen or heard of the precious substance, but that it was an extremely rare commodity.

In regard to the idea that the iron found among the Indians of the Pacific Coast in 1778 came from the Hudson's Bay factories, we have the evidence, to the contrary, of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first European to cross the continent westward in these northern latitudes. He started from the Hudson's Bay Company's post, Fort Chipewyan, on Lake Athabaska, in October, 1792. The Peace River flows into this lake, and he proceeded up the river, spending the winter at Forks Fort. On the 9th of May he resumed his journey. Near the head of the Parsnip River, a southern tributary of the Peace River, and in a near approach to the continental divide, the Rocky Mountains, he encountered a tribe of Indians, the Sekanai, who had never before seen white men. They possessed spears headed with bone and with iron. Their knives were made of iron shaped and hafted by themselves. These Indians told Mackenzie that they obtained their iron, in exchange for beaver and moose skins, from a people (the Carriers) that lived on a lake and a river

(54) A. G. Morice, *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia,* [First Edition] Toronto, 1904, p. 9. In the third edition (Toronto, 1905), the date is altered to 1730.

distant eleven days march, which might be about 200 miles. These other Indians, they said, had to travel for a moon, or month, to reach the country of still another tribe that lived in houses, and extended their journeys in the same way, for trade, to the sea, to which they referred as the stinking lake, where they had commerce with people like Mackenzie, that is to say, Europeans, who came thither in vessels as big as islands.[55]

"Their axes," says Mackenzie, "are something like our adze, and they use them in the same manner as we employ that instrument. They were, indeed, furnished with iron in a manner that I could not have supposed, and plainly proved to me that their communication with those, who communicate with the inhabitants of the sea coast, cannot be very difficult, and from their ample provision of iron weapons, the means of procuring it must be of a more distant origin than I had at first conjectured."[56] The data given by the Indians point to the source of their iron as being a long way northwestward; the route indicated was probably that of the so-called grease trail, as known in later years, over which the oolichan, or candle-fish, was brought inland, largely for use as a laxative. This trail went by way of the Babine Lake and along the Nass River to the tidal waters of the Portland Canal.[57] Two days after leaving the Sekanais, Mackenzie crossed the continental divide, and ten days later while on the Fraser River he met other Indians that told him they obtained iron and copper from the west, and from white men. "It occupied them, they said, no more than six nights, to go to where they meet the people who barter iron, brass, copper, beads, &c., with them, for dressed leather, and beaver, bear, lynx, fox, and marten skins. The iron is about eighteen inches of two-inch bar. To this they give an edge at one end, and fix it to a handle at right angles, which they employ as an axe [adze]. When the iron is worn down, they fabricate it into points for their arrows and pikes. Before they procured iron they employed bone and horn for those purposes. The copper

(55) Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal . . . to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans*, New York, 1814, II., p. 191.

(56) *Ibid.*, p. 196.

(57) P. E. Goddard, *Indians of the Northwest Coast*, New York, 1924, p. 19 (American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series, No. 10).

and brass they convert into collars, arm-bands, bracelets, and other ornaments. They sometimes also point their arrows with those metals. They had been informed by those whom they meet to trade with, that the white people, from whom these articles are obtained, were building houses at the distance of three days, or two nights journey from the place where they met last fall."[58] The houses were probably those built by the Spaniards on Vancouver Island in 1789 and 1790.

When near the coast, in latitude 50° 25′ north, Mackenzie found the Indians had a high regard for copper and brass, and of the former they had plenty; they pointed their arrows and spears with it, and used it also for fabricating ornaments, such as collars, ear-rings, and bracelets. They used copper in their trade with the inland tribes, a fact that points to the coast as the source of the metal. They had iron collars that weighed more than 12 lb. Some of the copper appeared to come from old stills that had been cut into suitable sizes by European traders.[59]

In 1806 Simon Fraser explored northern British Columbia; the Indians living on the Finlay, a northwestern tributary of the Peace River, told him that they obtained their iron by trade along a river that flowed in a northwesterly direction, and to obtain the metal they had to go far beyond a lake, a journey that they performed on foot.[60] The lake probably was Babine Lake, and the river was the Skeena. The iron came from the Tsimshian Indians in the Skeena valley, and they obtained it from their kinsmen on the coast. This corroborates Mackenzie's statement concerning the source of the iron in the hands of the Indians.

Another interesting bit of evidence to indicate that the iron of the Indians on the western slope of the continental divide did not come from the Hudson's Bay Company's trading-posts is the statement from an Indian woman whom Hearne found captive to a tribe near Lake Athabaska in 1772. She told him "that her country lies so far to the Westward, that she had never seen iron, or any other kind of metal, till she was taken prisoner. All of her tribe, she observed, made their hatchets and ice-chisels of

(58) Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, II., p. 243.

(59) *Ibid.*, p. 319.

(60) Morice, *op. cit.*, Third Edition, Toronto, 1905, p. 56.

deer's horns, and their knives of stones and bones; that their arrows were shod with a kind of slate, bones, and deer's horns; and the instruments which they employed to make their woodwork were nothing but beavers' teeth."[61]

The Russians traded with the Indians on the insular fringe of Alaska; the Spaniards left pieces of iron with the natives on the southeastern coast of Alaska and along the shores of British Columbia; but how did the Indians get the knowledge of iron they evidently possessed before any European came in contact with them, how had they learned the great usefulness of the metal before they obtained more of it in barter for the furs that the white strangers wanted? We shall find a clue in the strange iron knives that Bering found in possession of the natives on one of the Schumagin Islands in 1741; we obtain another hint from the iron bolt that Tsiuprov saw in the hands of an Aleut in 1745, and even more suggestive is the knife that the Indian on the northern coast of California had made out of a spike that he had found in a piece of wreckage cast upon the shore. Captain Cook remarked that most of the knives he saw in the hands of the Indians were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop.[62] The hoop-iron from stranded casks would suit their purpose admirably. In sort, we have good reason to infer that the indigenes on this northwestern coast made their first acquaintance with iron, as the South Sea Islanders did, by means of drift-wood, brought by the oceanic winds and currents, both moving persistently eastward from the Asiatic shore to the American mainland.

Vessels, Japanese and Russian, wrecked on the Kamchatkan coast, would yield woodwork, containing iron, that drifted northeastward and then eastward toward the American coast, to be cast ashore on the Aleutian Islands, and southward along the mainland. We find many wrecks recorded in the history of navigation in this part of the world during the eighteenth century; we have every reason to believe that at an earlier date the clumsily built vessels that plied along the Asiatic coast met an untimely fate and strewed the sea with their fragments. Iron

(61) Hearne, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

(62) Cook, *op. cit.*, VI., p. 302.

was known and used by the Japanese and Russians at a period so early as not to require further explanation.

The Haidas say that the first white men to come to them were on a ship that entered Parry Channel. Their description of the vessel indicates that it was a scow or brig with two masts, of the Spanish type; they say that the crew wore rings in their ears. These strangers were enticed ashore and then massacred; the Indians wrecked the vessel and used the iron and brass they recovered. The door-keys of the cabins were employed as ornaments by them, and were buried with their chiefs.

The Russians began to build ships on the Asiatic coast, at Okhotsk, in 1714. Chirikov, in 1741, lost two boats on the Alaskan coast. In 1768 four Russian ships disappeared during a voyage to the Gulf of Anadyr, on the Siberian coast. When Alexander Baranov, the Russian Governor at Sitka, in 1793, lost his vessel, which was wrecked near Unalaska, he built another, despite the lack of iron, which he obtained from " rusty remnants of old wrecks."[63] The records show that many Russian ships were wrecked on the islands that link Asia with America. Wood is driven on the Aleutian coast in great abundance. Hardwood and bamboo from Asia are washed ashore on the Queen Charlotte Islands. To-day many of the glass balls used by Japanese fishermen for buoying their nets find their way over seas to the shores of Vancouver Island. Some of them are as much as 15 inches in diameter, and they bear Japanese lettering on them.

The main factor in the dispersion of wreckage and in bringing it eastward is the Kuro Shiwo, or black stream, usually called the Japanese Current, an oceanic flow of warm water that sweeps northeastward from Japan toward the Kurile and Aleutian Islands, thence curving eastward and southeastward so as to pass along the North American coast at an average speed of fully 10 miles per day.[64] No Chinese wrecks have come to America on this stream; they would be swept north along the Asiatic coast by the Kamchatkan Current.

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(63) Agnes C. Laut, *Vikings of the Pacific*, New York, 1905, p. 325.

(64) Charles W. Brooks, *Japanese Wrecks stranded and picked up adrift in the North Pacific Ocean*, San Francisco, 1876, p. 7. (Reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the California Academy of Sciences.)

The Japanese paid heavy toll to the sea, because in 1639, under the shogun Iyemitsu, an edict was issued commanding all junks to be built with open sterns and large square rudders, such as rendered them unfit for voyages in the open ocean. The intention was to keep the Japanese people isolated. When such vessels were forced from the coast by stress of weather, the rudders were soon broken and carried away in a heavy sea, whereupon the disabled vessel fell off into the trough of the wave and rolled so that the mast was unloosened. In this manner many hundred junks were lost.

Out of sixty recorded wrecks of Japanese junks up to 1875, twenty-seven were seen at sea, eight were stranded on the Aleutian Islands, six on the coast of Kamchatka, two on the shores of Alaska, and two on both the Hawaiian and Brooks Islands, besides one in Nootka Sound, one on the Queen Charlotte Islands, the others being scattered elsewhere on the northwestern coast of America. Both wind and current assist in driving such disabled vessels and wreckage along the great circle of the Kuro Shiwo, which, after being deflected down the British Columbian coast, moves westward toward Hawaii.

In 1805 a Japanese junk was stranded on the Alaskan coast, near Sitka. The survivors were assigned, by Baron Von Wrangel, the Governor of the Russian colony, to an island, which became known thereafter as Japonski. Eventually the Japanese sailors built another boat out of their wreck, and returned safely to Japan.

In 1815 Captain Alexander Adams, commanding the brig *Forester*, came to the assistance of a Japanese vessel, on which he found three dying Japanese, who were rescued. They said that their ship had come from Osaka, and, overtaken by a storm, had lost first her rudder and then her mast. They had been the sport of the waves for seventeen months, and out of a crew of thirty-five, only these three had survived. This vessel was found 350 miles westsouthwest of Point Concepcion, on the coast of California. She probably had been carried on the Japanese Current for 5,300 miles in 516 days, or at the rate of about 10 miles per day.[65]

(65) Horace Davis, *Record of Japanese Vessels driven upon the Northwest Coast of America*, Worcester, Mass., 1872, p. 7. (A paper read before the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1872.)

In 1833 a Japanese junk was wrecked off Cape Flattery, on the coast of Washington; she had been out a very long time, and most of her crew had perished by starvation or disease before she was wrecked, for " several dead bodies were found headed up in firkins, in customary Japanese style, ready for burial." After stranding, the wreck was plundered and the survivors were enslaved by the Indians. In the sequel three survivors were rescued by men of the Hudson's Bay Company and were returned to Japan in 1837.[66] Another story says that in 1833 also several Japanese were purchased from the Haidas, at Fort Simpson, and given their freedom. In 1853 the wreck of a Japanese junk was found on the shore of the largest of the San Benito Islands, off Lower California, in latitude 28° north and longitude 116° west. " The planks were fastened together on the edges with spikes or bolts of a flat shape, with the head all on one side."

On November 1, 1927, a Japanese fishing-boat, named the *Riyo Yei Maru*, or " Good and Prosperous," was found adrift off Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. It was towed to the quarantine station at Port Townsend and there carefully examined.[67] The hull was encrusted with barnacles and smothered with seaweed. Two bodies, emaciated and mummified, were found on board, besides the bones of eight other human beings, in a dismembered condition, indicating that they had been used for food. The log stated that the boat had cleared from Misaki, near Yokohama, on December 5, 1926; the engine was disabled and the boat cast adrift on December 20. It was also recorded that the boat at first had drifted south, and then had swung northward. The last of the crew had died of starvation at the end of the second month, of the eleven months during which this derelict had drifted in the Japanese Current toward Alaska eastward and along the American coast southward. Thus we have evidence, both recent and tragic, that Japanese vessels, when disabled, drift to the American coast. In their wreckage the Indians would, and did, find pieces of iron.

This evidence of the wrecking of Japanese vessels suggests an obvious source of the iron in the hands of the Indians when

(66) Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

(67) Victoria *Colonist*, November 2, 1927. *See* also the *New York Times*, November 6, 1927.

they were first seen by Europeans. The enslavement of Japanese survivors is particularly interesting, because it indicates a means of acquiring a knowledge of methods for fabricating implements out of the scrap-iron. It is recorded that a Japanese was found working as a blacksmith in the service of an Indian chief at the mouth of the Columbia River about 1808.[68] Indeed, there is reason to believe that many Japanese survivors from wrecked ships were not only captured by the Indians but cohabited with them and gave them an infusion of their racial stock. Shipwrecked Japanese sailors informed Charles Brooks, when acting as consul for Japan in San Francisco, sixty-seven years ago, that they were able to communicate with and understand the natives of Atka and Adakh, islands of the Aleutian group.[69]. Among the Indian dialects of the tribes in Oregon and California there are found Japanese words, "either pure, as *tsche-tsche*, milk, or clipped, as *hiaku*, speed, found reduced to *hyack*, meaning fast, in Indian; or *yaku*, evil genius in Japanese, similarly reduced to *yak*, devil, by the Indians."[70] In almost all words that show Japanese origin the Indian word is abbreviated, from which it may be argued that the latter was derived from the former. With the words came also pieces of iron from Asia to America.

The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia River have a tradition concerning a ship, a big thing like a whale, they say, that had two trees standing upright in it, and was cast ashore, and burned. Thereupon the Indians, the Clatsop tribe, obtained possession of some iron and copper. On the ship were two men with long beards. "One of the men possessed the magical art of taking pieces of iron and making knives and hatchets." As Lyman remarks, it was a marvellous thing that the Indians "should have a man among them that could perform that priceless labour, for the possession of iron knives and hatchets [probably adzes] meant the indefinite multiplying of canoes, huts, bows and arrows, weapons, and implements of every sort."[71] These strangers, the Indians say, had many pieces of money,

(68) Marius Barbeau, *Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Upper Skeena River, British Columbia*, Ottawa, 1929, p. 23 (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 61).

(69) Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

(70) *Ibid.*

(71) William D. Lyman, *The Columbia River*, New York, 1911, p. 37.

which from the description may have been Chinese " cash." The wrecked ship may have been a Spanish ship from the Philippines. In 1811 an old half-breed told Gabriel Franchère, when at the Cascades, also on the Columbia River, that four Spaniards, one of whom was the half-breed's father, were cast ashore on Clatsop beach in about 1745.[72] Merriweather Lewis, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, in 1806, found the Indians near the mouth of the Columbia River in possession of " a number of large symeters [scimitars] of Iron from 3 to 4 feet long which hang by the heads of their beads [beds]; the blade of this weapon is thickest in the center tho' thin even there. all it's edges are sharp and it's greatest width which is about 9 inches from the point is about 4 inches . . . this is a formidable weapon. they have heavy bludgeons of wood made in the same form nearly which I presume they used for the same purpose before they obtained metal."[73] These weapons had been made by two seamen from iron found on a vessel wrecked in that locality. The unfortunate mariners had been enslaved by the Clatsops " until it was found that one was a worker in iron, of which the Indians began to see the value, when they made him a chief." So says George Gibbs, in recording the same episode.[74]

The three foregoing stories evidently have their origin in the same episode. We infer from them that the Indians at the mouth of the Columbia River had a knowledge of iron long before the earliest European fur-traders visited this part of the coast.

In 1803 the ship *Boston*, on arrival in Nootka Sound, was seized by the islanders under a chief named Maquinna. All on board were killed except a man named Jewitt, whose life was spared " on condition of his working at the armourer's business, and agreeing to serve for life," so says the English chronicler.[75] Another man, named Thompson, also was spared because Jewitt

(72) S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, Cleveland, 1905, I., pp. 173, 175–176.

(73) Reuben G. Thwaites (editor), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1804–1806, New York, 1905, IV., p. 215.

(74) George Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon*, Washington, 1877, p. 237 (U.S. Geological Survey, *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, I., Part II.).

(75) *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Samuel Patterson*, Palmer, Mass., 1817, p. 60.

pretended that Thompson was his father. Both escaped in 1805. The ship was burned by the Indians. In 1811 when the *Tonquin* was captured by the Indians of Woody Point, near Nootka, all on board were massacred, but the blacksmith was spared because the savages meant to make use of his skill in fabricating iron implements.[76]

A life-buoy lost overboard from the *Brynje*, a Norwegian ship, when off the coast of Luzon Island, one of the Philippine group, in October, 1932, was cast ashore near Nootka, nineteen months later.[77]

It has been suggested by Petitot, that the Indians, as migrants from Asia, would know about iron. He asserts that the Dénés had a tradition concerning the metal, but they found none in the new continent and therefore were compelled to revert to the use of stone.[78] If the indigenes of North America are descended from the savages of northeastern Asia, as we believe, it is not necessary to concede a knowledge of iron to the Americans. It is unlikely that their progenitors before migrating had reached the point of smelting the metal from ore. They may have seen some of it before they left Asia, but it is improbable that, many centuries later, they would retain any memory of iron.

On September 9, 1930, while spending an afternoon at the house of Mrs. Arthur Robertson, on Saanich Inlet, which indents the southeastern coast of Vancouver Island, I strolled along the rocky strand, and, while picking up some pieces of quartz and hornblende, I came upon one rusty nail and part of another. So the Indian many hundred years ago had found pieces of the strange substance that was more valuable to him than gold was to me. It had been brought thither in drift-wood. It was the spoil of the sea.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

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(76) Peter Corney, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific*, Honolulu, 1896, p. 12.

(77) Victoria *Colonist*, July 6, 1934.

(78) Emile Petitot, *Monographie des Déné-Dindjié*, Paris, 1876, p. 54.

# AN EARLY COLONIZATION SCHEME IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

We are accustomed to think of the fur-trader as a man wholly engrossed in the barter for peltry: "without a soul above a beaver skin" to use the words attributed to David Douglas. We regard him as one who sees the land only as a fur-farm whose harvest, though he sowed not, he yet may reap, and having reaped, depart. Occasionally we meet one who responds to its scenes of beauty and grandeur, or even dreams of its future. Needless to say such views are scarcely accurate; the fur-trader had, like ourselves, interests outside of his regular business. It is, however, a trifle surprising to find him a speculator in land on the coast of British Columbia nearly a hundred and fifty years ago.

John Kendrick, the commander of the first fur-trading venture to the Northwest Coast from Boston, carried instructions from his owners, Joseph Barrell and his associates, which contain the following paragraph:—

> If you make any fort or improvement of land upon the coast, be sure you purchase the soil of the natives; and it would not be amiss if you purchased some advantageous tract of land in the name of the owners; if you should, let the instrument of conveyance bear every authentic mark the circumstances will admit of.[1]

The expedition consisted of the ship *Columbia* and the sloop *Lady Washington*. In the course of the voyage Kendrick took over the command of the sloop, in which he arrived in China on January 7, 1790. He was a leisurely-moving man and somewhat of a dreamer, as we shall see. To dispose of his cargo of furs, to change the rig of the *Lady Washington* from a sloop to a brig, and to return to the coast occupied him until June 13, 1791, when he reached the southern part of Queen Charlotte Islands. On July 12 he entered Nootka Sound. As he passed the Spanish fort on Hog Island at its mouth, the Dons, through a speaking

(1) Senate Document, 32d Congress, 1st Session, Report of Committee, No. 335 (1852), p. 16. The date of the instructions is not given, but it must have been late in September, 1787.

trumpet, warned him not to enter; but he had a conveniently deaf ear. They then sent an officer in a launch to the *Lady Washington*, anchored in Marvinas Bay, to forbid Kendrick to trade in the sound. He acquiesced, stating that he would depart immediately. However, he was still there on July 20, on which date he bought from Maquinna and the other chiefs, for ten muskets, a piece of land 9 miles square. As this is the first transaction in land of which we have any record I give a copy of the instrument of conveyance. Meares, it is true, alleged that he, in 1788, had purchased land from the native chiefs, but his allegation may be doubted; certain it is that he never produced any document to support his statement. The Spaniards also claimed that they had received from Maquinna a cession of the land on which their village at Friendly Cove was built; and on August 27, 1791, Malaspina records that this chief "ratified the cession of land previously made for the present settlement."[2] Only a little over a month before Malaspina's visit Kendrick had obtained from Maquinna the following document:—

To all persons to whom these presents shall come: I, Macquinnah the chief, and with my other chiefs, do send greeting: Know ye that I, Macquinnah, of Nootka sound, on the north-west coast of America, for and in consideration of ten muskets, do grant and sell unto John Kendrick, of Boston, commonwealth of Massachusetts, in North America, a certain harbor in said Nootka sound, called Chastacktoos, in which the brigantine Lady Washington lay at anchor on the twentieth day of July, 1791, with with [*sic*] all the land, rivers, creeks, harbors, islands, etc., within nine miles north, east, west and south of said harbor, with all the produce of both sea and land appertaining thereto; only the said John Kendrick does grant and allow the said Macquinnah to live and fish on the said territory as usual. And by these presents does grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors and administrators, all the abovementioned territory, known by the Indian name Chastacktoos, but now by the name of Safe Retreat harbor; and also do grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors and administrators, a free passage through all the rivers and passages, with all the outlets which lead to and from the said Nootka sound, of which, by the signing these presents, I have delivered unto the said John Kendrick. Signed with my own hand and the other chiefs', and bearing even date, to have and to hold the said premises &c., to him, the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, and administrators, from

(2) Translation of *La Vuelta al Mundo* (Malaspina's Voyage), Madrid, 1885, p. 194. According to Ingraham's MS. Journal of the *Hope*, September, 1792, the Indian Chief, Maquinna, about that date executed a deed to the Spaniards.

henceforth and forever, as his property absolutely, without any other consideration whatever. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the hands of my other chiefs, this twentieth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

| | |
|---|---|
| MACQUINNAH, his X mark | (L.S.) |
| WARCLASMAN, his X mark | (L.S.) |
| HANNOPY, his X mark | (L.S.) |
| CLOPHANANISH, his X mark | (L.S.) |
| TARTOOCHTHEEATTICUS, his X mark | (L.S.) |
| CLACKOEENER, his X mark | (L.S.) |

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of—

John Stoddard.
John Redman.
Thomas Foster.
William Bowles.
Florence McCarthy.
John Porter.
James Crawford.
Robert Green.
John Barber.

A true copy from the original deed. Attest: J. Howel.[3]

It would be interesting to ascertain who drew the document. Its language plainly shows that the author had not legal training, and yet its terminology suggests he was some one who had been in touch with legal phraseology. Kendrick had scarcely the necessary education, if we may judge from the few samples of his composition that now remain. It may have been the first witness, John Stoddard, who was the captain's clerk. Of the other witnesses, Redman was second officer; Foster, the carpenter; Bowles, the sail-maker; Porter, the carpenter's mate; Crawford, the gunner; Green, the cooper; and Barber, the

(3) Senate Document, 32d Congress, 1st Session, Rep. Com., No. 335 (1852), p. 20. Copies of the other deeds mentioned later in this article will be found in that document. The descriptive parts of these deeds are also in House of Representatives, Doc. No. 43, 26th Congress, 1st Session, 1840.

There is no reason to believe that the Indian signatories to the deeds were not actual persons. Maquinna is well known to history, and references to several of the other chiefs are found in contemporary voyages and journals, though the spelling of the names varies greatly. Vancouver, for example, mentions having been "visited by *Maquinna, Clewpenaloo, Annapee,* and other chiefs," and refers a few sentences later to *Tahtoochseeatticus.* (*A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . .*, London, 1798, II., pp. 254–255.)

blacksmith. As to Florence McCarthy, neither sex nor occupation is known to me. Nor can I make a sure and safe identification of "Safe Retreat harbor." So far as I know, the name is not used by any other trader. It is probably Marvinas Bay, but then the Indian name given in the deed does not correspond, for it was called by them Mawina, and Haswell in his First Log gives it as Mawenah. Ingraham in his MS. Journal of the *Hope*, September, 1792, states that Maquinna acknowledges Captain Kendrick to be the proprietor of lands round Mahwinna.

In leaving Nootka Sound Kendrick resolved to take the route by Tashis Arm and Canal, which he knew would lead to Esperanza Inlet. That passage had been discovered in 1789 by John Kendrick, but whether himself or his son is not certainly known. Perhaps he feared that the *Lady Washington* might be seized by the Spaniards or, it may be, that he wished to avoid being called to account for the $8,000 owing by him to Martinez for the skins he had sold in China.[4] On his way out Kendrick went in for land purchases on a wholesale scale. On August 2, 1791, the *Lady Washington* lay at anchor in "New Chatleck called by the natives Hoot-see-ess, but now called Port Montgomery." By a deed dated August 5, 1791, Kendrick purchased the harbour which, says the deed, "is situated in latitude 49° 46′ north and longitude 127° 02′ west, on the south side of the sound of Ahasset, and now called Massachusetts sound, being a territorial distance of eighteen miles square, of which the harbor of Hoot-see-ess alias Port Montgomery is the centre, with all the lands, mines, minerals, rivers, bays, sounds, harbors, creeks and islands, with all the produce of both sea and land appertaining thereto." The deed was signed by Tarassom and three other chiefs, and witnessed by eleven persons, including seven of those who had witnessed the deed from Maquinna. The consideration was "two muskets, a boat's sail, and a quantity of powder."

Captain Walbran suggested in his *British Columbia Coast Names* that this purchase was of land at Ahousat of to-day. But this is plainly an error. There is no difficulty in identifying New Chatleck with Nuchalitz, now an inlet near Esperanza Inlet; and Kendrick tells us that Ahasset Sound was renamed Massachusetts Sound, while Ingraham's map shows Massachusetts

(4) See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX. (1929), pp. 97, 104.

Sound to be Esperanza Inlet. It is more difficult to identify Hoot-see-ess or Port Montgomery. The substituted name is not used by any other trader, though the Americans named at least one other Port Montgomery. Hoot-see-ess, so far as I know, rarely appears; though Captain Barkley's son mentions it in a letter which will appear in the next issue of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. Timidly I would identify it as the Indian village now known as Owassitsa, on the south side of the entrance of Esperanza Inlet.

Then the *Lady Washington* moved to the north side of Esperanza Inlet, and on August 5, 1791, was at anchor in "a certain harbor in said Ahasset, called by the natives Chenerkintau, . . . which is situated in latitude 49° 50′ north, and longitude 127° 08′ west, on the north side of the sound of Ahasset." By a deed dated that day Kendrick obtained "a territorial distance of eighteen miles square, of which the harbor of Chenerkintau is the centre, with all the lands, mines, minerals, rivers, bays, harbors, sounds, creeks, and all islands, with all the produce of both land and sea." The document was signed by Norry-Youk, the chief of Ahasset, and three minor chiefs, and witnessed by eight of the *Lady Washington's* crew. The consideration was "six muskets, a boat's sail, a quantity of powder and an American flag." With great trepidation I would identify Chenerkintau as the Indian village Cheninkint, on Queen's Cove, Port Elisa, Esperanza Inlet.

On August 6, 1791, Kendrick obtained a deed from Caarshucornook, the chief at Tashis, and Hannopy, a minor chief who was one of the signatories of Maquinna's deed, granting "in consideration of two muskets and a quantity of powder," the head of Nootka Sound,

called by the natives Tashees, being a territorial distance on an east and west line from the mouth of the straits which lead to Ahasset sound, now called Massachusetts sound, with the land nine miles round said Tashees, together with all mines, minerals, rivers, bays, sounds, creeks, harbors, and all islands, with the produce of both land and sea appertaining thereto.

It seems impossible that Kendrick could have sailed the *Lady Washington* from Port Elisa to Tashis in the twenty-four hours that intervened between the earlier deed and this one. Hence I conclude that he made the voyage in the brig's boat, unless there is some mistake in the dates.

The *Lady Washington* sailed from Esperanza Inlet to Clayoquot Sound, and there Kendrick completed his purchases by buying for "four muskets, a large sail, and a quantity of powder, (they being articles which we at present stand in need of, and are of great value,)" from Wickananish and five subordinate chiefs a territorial distance of eighteen miles north, eighteen miles south, eighteen miles east, and eighteen miles west of the village called by the natives Opisita, which village is to be the centre of the said territorial distance, with all mines, minerals, rivers, bays, sounds, harbors, creeks, &c., and all the islands, with both the produce of land and sea within the limits of said territorial distance. Opisita being the centre is situated in latitude 49° 10′ north, and longitude 126° 02′ west from the meridian of London.

The four deeds last mentioned bear a general similarity to that signed by Maquinna and reproduced above, except that they do not contain the clause permitting the Indians "to live and fish on the said territory as usual." It will be observed that in each case the deed is taken to John Kendrick and not to his owners as his instructions required; but Kendrick, from the moment that Boston sank below the horizon in 1787, paid little attention to his employers' rights or instructions. Each deed is certified as a true copy by John Howel, who from 1793 till Kendrick's death in December, 1794, was continually with him and appears to have been a sort of confidential adviser. It is claimed that there was another deed covering land as far south as the Chehalis River, but of that there is no evidence; moreover, Kendrick never traded nor ever was south of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. How this claim originated is not known, for Kendrick in writing to Barrell, March 28, 1792, after reaching China, said: "In my last voyage I purchased of the natives five tracts of land and copies of the deeds which were signed shall be sent to you the first opportunity."[5] Howel, who was by no means a reliable man, retained the originals, but Kendrick sent on March 1, 1793, the attested copies to Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State of the United States. The five deeds in their vague way cover 72 miles square, or 5,184 square miles, though Barrell stated that they covered 240 miles square or 57,600

(5) *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX. (1929), p. 97; Yet in the letter of March 1, 1793, transmitting copies to the Secretary of State, Kendrick claims the land as his own. *See* House of Rep., Doc. No. 43, 26th Congress, 1st Session (1840). p. 8.

square miles. The original deeds were never handed over by Howel, but they were not by any means the only things belonging to others that, having got into his possession, could never be obtained.

The venture of the *Columbia* and *Lady Washington*, like many another pioneering effort, did not prove a financial success. In fact, so far as Kendrick's operations in the *Lady Washington* were concerned he never rendered his owners an account nor ever remitted them a nickel on their investment. So, too, the *Columbia's* part of the business had not brought a profit. In consequence, Barrell and his associates were most anxious to salvage something out of the great area of land which Kendrick had bought for a few muskets and powder and sails and an American flag. Though they could not obtain the deeds from Howel, who always had some dilatory excuse for not sending them, they kept up the correspondence with him. In one of his letters dated May 11, 1795, Howel wrote:—

> The deeds of the Land purchased on the N.W. Coast, are in my possession. I shall leave them here [Canton] to be forwarded by the first vessel of the season for Boston. If you knew the lands as well as I do, you would not be very anxious about the fate of them.

Outside of his promise to send on the deeds the above extract is quite true. The lands were valueless. On December 23, 1796, Howel wrote again to Barrell. In that letter he said:—

> I have had an opportunity of seeing most parts of Capt. Kendrick's purchases on the No. Wt. Coast of America; and cannot flatter you with any hopes of profit from them even to your great, great grandchildren. They cost but little it is true; and when the Millenium shall come and all the nations of the earth shall be at peace, your Posterity may, perhaps, settle them.[6]

But before Barrell received either of the above letters he had entered into correspondence with Colburn Barrell, in London, telling him he had upwards of six million acres of land on the northwest coast of America for sale; better land and better climate, he said, than Kentucky. How he came by these ideas of area, quality of soil, and climate it is difficult to surmise. Kendrick's letter notifying Barrell of the purchases is dated March 28, 1792. It shows that he reached Macao on December

(6) The letters from which the two quotations above are taken will be found in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX. (1929), pp. 99 ff.

7, 1791; and we know that he spoke of his deeds and showed them to almost any and every person. But it took him three months and a half after his arrival in China to make the fact known to his employers. When the quotation already given from that letter is examined it will be seen that he does not categorically say that he purchased the land for them. In transmitting the attested copies to Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State, on March 1, 1793, Kendrick uses language that would make it appear that he had bought on his own personal account. He speaks of the land as having "been conveyed to me and my heirs forever by the resident chiefs of those districts"; later he says: "I know not what measures are necessary to be taken to secure the property of these purchases to me, and the government thereof to the United States"; again: "My claim to those territories has been allowed by the Spanish crown, for the purchases I made at Nootka were expressly excepted in a deed of conveyance executed in September last to El Senor Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, in behalf of his Catholic Majesty, by Maquinnah and the other chiefs of his tribe to whom those lands belonged"; and yet again: "When I made these purchases I did it under an impression that it would receive the sanction of the United States, and that should an act of the legislature be necessary to secure them to me, I should find no difficulty in obtaining it." It is difficult to square these quotations with any recognition of the rights of his employers in the land.

However Kendrick sent the letter saying that he had made the purchases to Barrell by the *Fairy*, a fast-sailing snow which probably reached Boston in early July, 1792. Her master, William Rogers, and her second officer, Mr. Treat, were well acquainted with the Northwest Coast, and it is possible that from them he obtained his inflated idea of the enormous area of land: 240 miles square, larger than England. It seems clear that he did not realize that the land was in five disconnected pieces: one at Marvinas Bay; one on the north side and another on the south side of Esperanza Inlet; one at Tashis; and one at Opitsat, Clayoquot Sound. He speaks of them as though they were a continuous, unified property. For example in a letter to Colburn Barrell, on June 18, 1795, he writes:—

> The deeds of these lands are yet in China, where I understand they are registered in the office of the American consul. They are from the chief of the country and contain all the authority that could be given of four degrees of latitude, or two hundred and forty miles square. This tract was purchased by Captain John Kendrick for the owners of the ship Columbia and sloop Washington, the first American vessels that ever went round the world.[7]

Plainly when Barrell wrote this he did not know the contents of Kendrick's letter to the Secretary of State, already quoted, nor did he have at that time John Howel's letter of May 11, 1795, mentioned earlier in this article. He was in complete ignorance of the claim that Kendrick had made to personal ownership, and equally ignorant of the nature and location of the various pieces.

The exaggerated ideas of the area of the land is well shown by the concluding words of Document No. 43, House of Representatives, 26th Congress, 1st Session, 1840. There, after giving the size of the land at Marvinas Bay as 18 miles square; that on the north side of Esperanza Inlet as 18 miles square; that on the south side of the same inlet as 18 miles square; that at Tashis as a circle 18 miles in diameter; and that at Opitsat as 36 miles square, the document continues:—

> The company's territory embraced all Quadra's (Vancouver) Island not sold to Kendrick or the king of Spain, and likewise the possessions of Tatooche and other chiefs on the coast, extending as far south as the 47th parallel of latitude. These lands, embracing about four degrees of latitude, are bounded on the east by the whole extent of the westerly shores of the northern and southern arms of De Fuca's straits.

Such language is surprising, even after all allowances for the vagueness of the descriptions in the deeds are made, for it shows a lamentable ignorance of the size of Vancouver Island and of its geography and that of the neighbouring coast.

However, with the belief that the five purchases made a compact tract of 240 miles square and that the title was good, even though the deeds were not in his possession, and in blissful ignorance of Kendrick's claim to personal ownership, Barrell, through the firm of Barrell & Servante, issued in 1795 a circular in four European languages: English, French, German, and Swedish, inviting the public of those countries to invest in these lands and settle them. Frequent references to this document are to be found: for example, in Greenhow's *Memoir on the Northwest*

(7) This quotation and those that precede it are taken from Senate Document No. 335, Report of Committee, 32d Congress, 1st Session, 1852.

*Coast of North America,* Washington, 1840, p. 121; Greenhow's *History of Oregon,* London, 1844, p. 229; and in Senate Document, Report of Committee No. 335, 32d Congress, 1st Session, 1850. These references contain some quotations from it, but the circular as a whole has, it is believed, never been published. This year I came across the complete circular and its annexes in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is an unique publication, full of glittering generalities and expressions that have the savour of Rousseau and the French Revolution. Its reference to the Land of Goshen which it pictured was as vague as, or even more vague than, the deeds themselves. The reader has nothing to guide him and can place it in any part of the Northwest Coast that suits his particular fancy. The complete document and its annexes follow:—

TO THE INHABITANTS OF EUROPE.

The Era of Reason is now dawning upon Mankind, and the restraints on mens laudable endeavours to be useful will cease; The Agents for the Sale of American Lands, therefore take this method of informing all classes of Men in Europe, that by application at their Office No. 24, Threadneedle-Street London, they may meet objects worthy of their serious attention.

That such as wish to hold Lands (though aliens) in America, may purchase to any amount, on very low terms, and a perfectly secure Tenure.

That such who wish to reside in that Country, may be accommodated with most eligible Estates of all descriptions.

That such as are inclined to hold Lands in association, and improve them by reasonable Tenantry, may accomplish their desire.

That such whose means are restrained to narrow limits, may become perpetual Lease-holders on very reasonable terms, with the privilege of purchasing the Free-hold at certain limited prices within the first Ten Years.

That such as would assist their still poorer Neighbours, may have a Freehold Estate granted them in proportion to the number of Tenants they may be the means of placing on such Tracts of Land, as may be appropriated for the purpose.

That individuals who chuse may have such portions of Lease-hold Lands, with the abovementioned option, as they can undertake to manage.

That such as may be inclined to associate for settling a Commonwealth on their own Code of Laws, on a spot of the Globe no where surpassed in delightful and healthy Climate and fertile Soil;—claimed by no civilized Nation and purchased under a sacred treaty of Peace and Commerce and for a valuable consideration of the friendly Natives, may have the best opportunity of trying the result of such an Enterprise* and Finally,

That Men under the guidance of rationality, in every rank, may have opportunities of becoming essentially useful to their Neighbours while they proportionably mend their own condition.

Such, and such only, as are in earnest, are requested to make their applications (free of Charge) to the Agents, and they will be duly attended to.

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* In consequent of an Expedition fitted out at Boston North America in the Year 1787, Capt. J. Kendrick, while prosecuting an advantageous Voyage with the Natives for furs, purchased of them for the owners, a tract of delightful Country, comprehending 4 degrees of latitude, or 240 miles square. The Deeds are at present in China, and registered in the Office of the American Consul, and the Agents are authorized to treat with any Gentleman, or Association, for the purchase of a tract of Land, no where exceeded for fertility and Climate, and which may by a prudent management of some wise Institution become of the utmost importance.

The benevolent Mr. WADSTROM, in his ingenious publication concerning *the Principles of true Colonization*, has taken some notice of this Expedition, and favored his readers with the annexed plate.

AMERICAN AGENCY OFFICE.
No. 24, Threadneedle-Street,
London,

SIR

We entreat you will have the goodness to excuse the liberty we now take in this transmission of a general Notice of the Advantages derivable in our Office to all such Persons as incline to hold Lands, improve them in various ways, or reside upon them in North America.

Should the Public Printers think proper to circulate them in their Newspapers, it will be taken very kind, and if you will be pleased to use such means as are most convenient for disseminating said Notice, you will besides promoting a public good, confer a great obligation on

SIR

Your most Obedient humble Servants,
THE AGENTS.

London 18 August 1795

Sir

At the instance of Friends we take the liberty of addressing this Circular to your house.

We are very respectfully

Sir

Your most Ob't Serv'ts

Barrell & Servante

The appeal to the inhabitants of Europe and the agents' letter are printed; but the letter from Barrell & Servante is in handwriting. No fish were caught by this glittering bait of a distant, vague Utopia; whether there were any bites as a reward of the angling is not known. If there were it would be pretty safe to assume that as soon as the locality of the eighteenth-century Land of Promise was known the "prospect" lost his interest. We cannot but wonder how a cool-headed, far-seeing, fact-facing man like Joseph Barrell could have brought himself to believe that such an appeal and such a scheme would attract settlers, especially as in January, 1793, he had written to Kendrick concerning these lands: "At present they appear to be of little value, but in some future time they may possibly be worth possessing." Why should any one pass by the practically unoccupied region west of the Alleghanies to make a home on the unknown Northwest Coast which had only just emerged to view and was a land of wonders where the credulous might expect to find almost any kind of strange creature or creation? Nothing came of the effort. No one was interested. The scheme was stillborn. Before Barrell issued this unique circular Kendrick had been accidentally killed, on December 12, 1794, in Honolulu Harbour. His heirs never brought forward his personal claim in opposition to that of the owners, Barrell and his associates. John Kendrick, the captain's eldest son, who had been on the coast in the Spanish service for years, must have known how chimerical it was to think that those lands would have any real value for a century to come.

To conclude. Though the absurd colonization dream had vanished, the heirs of the owners and of Kendrick joined in bombarding Congress with petitions in 1838 and 1840 to confirm their title, or to make them some grant of equivalent value.

Finally, in 1852, these heirs and the widow of Captain Robert Gray, the discoverer of the Columbia River, joined in another petition for the recognition and confirmation of the land grants or some other form of recompense. In the interval the boundary-line had been drawn by the Treaty of Washington, 1846, whereby Vancouver Island, upon which the five grants were located, became a British possession. The committee to whom the petition was referred made a lengthy report, No. 335, which has been frequently cited in this paper. In it they stressed the discovery of the Columbia, the pioneer trading voyage from Boston, and the land grants, and recommended a Bill whereby the heirs of the owners and the captains be given five sections of land in Oregon for each interest. Whether such a Bill was passed I am unable to state. In conclusion I may say that the report is filled with inaccuracies and cannot be relied upon in its so-called facts; and the only use that has been made of it in this paper is to quote from the letters that are contained in or appended to it.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## Contributors to this Issue.

Dr. Walter N. Sage is Head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Barrie H. E. Goult, B.A., was for some years editor of the Nanaimo *Free Press*, and has made a special study of the pioneer days of that city.

Dr. T. A. Rickard, author of *Man and Metals* and many other books, is an authority upon the use of metals by primitive man.

Judge F. W. Howay is recognized as the leading authority upon the maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast. His latest book, *The Voyage of the New Hazard*, is reviewed in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

Clarence L. Andrews is the author of *The Story of Alaska*, the standard history of the territory, which recently appeared in a revised and enlarged edition.

Dr. Diamond Jenness, author of *The Indians of Canada*, is Chief of the Division of Anthropology of the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

## The Steamship "Abyssinia."

An interesting description of the *Abyssinia*, the pioneer steamer of the Canadian Pacific service from British Columbia to the Orient, has been received from J. E. Macrae, of New York City. Mr. Macrae joined the *Abyssinia* as Purser at Vancouver in August, 1888, and served in her until August, 1890, when he was ordered to England to join the new *Empress of India*, the first of the *Empress* liners to be completed. The *Empress of India* arrived at Vancouver on her maiden voyage in April, 1891, and Mr. Macrae was her Purser until August, 1894, when he joined the firm of Dodwell & Company, of Hong Kong. His description of the *Abyssinia* follows:—

"She was a steamer of about 3,500 tons, of the spar deck type, that is to say, her upper deck ran flush from stem to stern, surrounded by an open rail. There was a small steering-engine house under the bridge, and a long house further aft, which contained a deck cabin for the Captain, the chart house, a small drawing room and a smoking room, and the stairs leading below to the dining room. This was very different from to-day's conception of that apartment. It ran from the foot of the stairs to the stern of the ship, a long narrow room, the table nearly its entire length, and benches with reversible hinged backs on each side of it. The Captain, who sat at the end of the table, was the only one who had a chair. From each side of the dining room the sleeping cabins opened, and at the extreme after end five large ports looked out astern, but could be opened only in the finest weather. A long skylight was over the table and underneath this were racks for holding bottles and glasses, and also the oil lamps which made the room quite cheerful after dark. There was no electric light—few ships had

it at that time—and no electric bells. If you wanted a steward you put your head out of the door and yelled "Boy" when one of the soft-footed Chinese stewards would appear to answer your summons. There was no running water, no refrigeration, no steam heat. Somewhere towards the bows was an ice room which carried a certain amount of fresh meat, but the main reliance was placed on the live stock which was carried on deck. Along the upper deck, amidships, were pens for sheep and fowl of all kinds, chickens, ducks, turkeys, geese, etc. Once in a while these would be swept away in bad weather, and then the steward would have to make the best of it with the contents of the ice room and such canned goods as were on hand.

"The engines had originally consisted of two cylinders of the same size, of the old-fashioned inverted type, but some genius had added two smaller cylinders on top of these so as to make it into a compound engine. She was capable of twelve and a half knots at sea, a fair average for those days. Three tall masts gave her a spread of canvas, the two forward masts having cross-yards with square sails. These sails were set in fine weather when the wind was favourable to help the ship along. They may have eased the engines, but certainly did little to increase the speed of the ship.

"There was accommodation for thirty or forty first-class passengers which, while fairly comfortable, would hardly draw any passengers to-day. Forward and on the deck below was accommodation for an undetermined number of Chinese passengers. Occasionally there would be as many as five or six hundred, and if there were less, the space was given over to cargo, and the berths temporarily removed. She was low in the water and in bad weather seas would break over the upper deck, making it impossible for passengers to remain outside. There was no shelter at all, either for the passengers or for the unfortunate officers on the bridge. They had to keep their watch in their oilskins and the man at the wheel was in the open. That was a carry-over from the days of the sailing ship; it was not considered good for the men on deck to have any shelter from the weather, and how they kept their watch on some of the cold and stormy nights in winter is a mystery. In winter the ship rolled and pitched her weary way across the stormy North Pacific, and it was a relief to get on the coast of Japan and China, where the weather was usually milder and less stormy. In her way she was a good sea boat, but what a difference there is to-day in the great modern liners with so many comforts and conveniences, and where the watch is kept on a bridge which is high and dry and out of the wet, and where the passengers may stay on deck in shelter even in the worst of weather."

Mr. Macrae adds that while in the *Abyssinia* he crossed and recrossed the Pacific "in fine weather and bad, in gales, typhoon and fogs, but on the whole my recollection of these voyages is a very happy one."*

* On the *Abyssinia* see W. Kaye Lamb, "The Pioneer Days of the Trans-Pacific Service," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 143–164.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Library, Victoria, on Friday evening, November 18. The large number of members who attended greatly enjoyed the presidential address, which was delivered by the retiring President, Dr. W. N. Sage. Dr. Sage's paper, which is printed in this issue of the *Quarterly*, was entitled *From Colony to Province: The Introduction of Responsible Government in British Columbia*, and his illuminating and amusing account of the transition from the old Crown Colony form of government to the first Provincial administration was greatly appreciated.

Reports covering the activities of the past year were presented by the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer. At the close of the year the paid-up membership of the Association had reached the very satisfactory total of 451, which compares with a total of 414 in 1937. This was divided as follows: Victoria Section 140, Vancouver Section 220, members-at-large 91. The Treasurer reported a balance of $116.40 on hand after the payment of all accounts, including the Association's share of the cost of publishing the *Quarterly*.

It was announced that the election of Officers and Council had resulted in the return of the following slate for 1938–39:—

| | |
|---|---|
| President | Dr. J. S. Plaskett. |
| 1st Vice-President | Dr. T. A. Rickard. |
| 2nd Vice-President | Mr. Kenneth Waites. |
| Honorary Secretary | Mrs. M. R. Cree. |
| Honorary Treasurer | Mr. E. W. McMullen. |
| Archivist | Dr. Robie L. Reid. |
| Members of the Council | Mr. J. M. Coady. |
| | Rev. J. C. Goodfellow. |
| | Judge F. W. Howay. |
| | Mr. B. A. McKelvie. |
| | Major H. T. Nation. |

At a meeting of the Council held on the afternoon of November 18 it was resolved unanimously to confer an Honorary Membership upon Dr. Robie Reid, of Vancouver, as a mark of appreciation of his great and untiring interest in the Association, and his unceasing efforts to increase its membership.

At the suggestion of Dr. Sage, the Council discussed various ways and means in which the Association might keep in closer touch with kindred societies in other Provinces, and the matter was referred to the incoming Council for further consideration.

The progress of the *Quarterly* was reported upon in some detail, and the Editor reported that the issues for January and April, 1937, and January, 1938, were out of print, and that only a few copies of the issue for July, 1937, remained on hand. The Editor will be very glad to receive a few copies of these numbers from members who are not planning to preserve

their files, as he is in communication with a number of libraries and collectors who are very anxious to complete their sets.

*Victoria Section.*

The first meeting of the new season was held in the Provincial Library on September 27, the speaker of the evening being Mr. F. C. Green, Surveyor-General of British Columbia. His subject was *Forty Years of Surveying in British Columbia*, and his address included interesting references to his predecessors in the office of Surveyor-General, several of whom he had known well personally, and to the changes which had taken place in forty years in both the status and practice of the surveying profession in the Province. Mr. Green concluded his address, which was flavoured with many interesting and amusing personal reminiscences and anecdotes, with a description of the topographical surveys to which his department is now devoting special attention, and an explanation of the many ways in which the resulting topographical maps saved large sums of money and aided the progress of industry and settlement.

At the second meeting of the season, which was held on October 14, Dr. T. A. Rickard delivered his presidential address. His paper was entitled *The Use of Iron and Copper by the Indians of British Columbia*, and consisted of a careful and critical review of the evidence concerning the provenance of the iron and copper found in the possession of the Indians when the first explorers and traders visited the Northwest Coast. Dr. Rickard's paper is printed in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

The annual meeting of the Section took the form of a formal banquet, held at the Empress Hotel on October 26. Detailed reports of the year's activities were presented by the Honorary Secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree, and the Honorary Treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden, as well as by the convenors of most of the standing committees, including Mrs. George Phillips, Necrology; Major H. T. Nation, Mining; Mr. C. C. Pemberton, Historic Features, and Dr. Kaye Lamb, Publications. The report of the auditors was presented by Mr. G. H. Harman.

Some time ago the Section decided to change the method by which its Council was chosen, and the new plan was used for the first time this year. A ballot bearing the names of twenty nominees, from which twelve Councillors were to be elected, was mailed to each member, and it was announced at the annual meeting that the new Council would be composed of the following persons:—

Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Dr. E. H. W. Elkington.
Dr. Kaye Lamb.
Mr. J. B. Munro.
Mr. T. W. S. Parsons.
Dr. J. S. Plaskett.
Mrs. Curtis Sampson.
Mr. L. deS. Duke.
Mr. John Goldie.
Mr. E. W. McMullen.
Major H. T. Nation.
Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Subsequently the new Council met and elected the following officers:—

| | |
|---|---|
| President | Mr. John Goldie. |
| Vice-President | Mr. J. B. Munro. |
| Secretary | Mrs. M. R. Cree. |
| Treasurer | Miss Madge Wolfenden. |

Immediately following the toast to the King, a large illuminated and decorated cake was brought in and placed before the President's wife, Mrs. T. A. Rickard, whose birthday happily coincided with the annual meeting, and Mrs. W. F. Bullen presented Mrs. Rickard with a large bouquet of pink carnations on behalf of the Association, and expressed the good wishes of the Society.

No meeting of the Section was held in November, in view of the fact that the annual meeting of the Provincial body was being held in Victoria on the 18th.

*Vancouver Section.*

The old Hastings Mill Store, which is maintained as a museum by the Native Daughters, formed an appropriate setting for the second annual meeting of the Vancouver Section, which was held on Monday, October 3, with Dr. W. N. Sage, Provincial President, in the chair.

Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop was the unanimous choice for the presidency, succeeding Dr. Robie L. Reid in that office. Other officers for the coming year are:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Vice-President | Mr. D. A. McGregor. |
| Secretary | Miss Helen R. Boutilier. |
| Treasurer | Mr. Kenneth A. Waites. |

Members of the Council:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. J. M. Coady. | Mr. E. S. Robinson. |
| Mr. W. C. Ditmars. | Dr. W. N. Sage. |
| Mr. J. E. Gibbard. | Miss Anne Smith. |
| Miss Thelma Nevard. | Mr. G. B. White. |
| Dr. Robie L. Reid. | Dr. M. Y. Williams. |

The annual report of the Secretary showed that four meetings of the Section had been held, and the Treasurer reported a paid-up membership of 216, and a balance of $79.51 to the credit of the Section.

Dr. Reid, the retiring president, chose as the subject of his address *Captain Evans of Cariboo.* This was a companion study to the address on *The Welsh Adventurers* which was delivered to the Section some time ago. The speaker brought to life one of the "forgotten men" of Cariboo, who was before his time in his references to the value of quartz deposits in the Province.

A vote of thanks to the retiring executive was proposed by Mr. J. E. Gibbard and extended by Dr. Sage.

His Honour Judge Forin was the speaker at the meeting of the Section held in the Hastings Mill Store on Thursday, November 24. The subject of his address was *The History of Lode Mining in the Kootenays.* The antecedent of the gold-mining industry in British Columbia, Judge Forin stated,

was the placer gold discovery in 1849 in California; and he traced the drift of the adventurous miners to British Columbia when the goldfields of Cariboo were discovered. It was when prospectors were seeking for placer gold in the neighborhood of Nelson that the first lode mine was discovered. This was the famous Silver King Mine on Toad Mountain, located in 1886. It was the earliest lode mine for strictly commercial purposes in the Kootenay country, though the silver-lead ore of the Blue Bell Mine was known to the Indians before the location of the Silver King. This is situated on the shore of Kootenay Lake, opposite Ainsworth, and was very productive. A smelter was built at Nelson to treat Silver King ore, and another at Pilot Bay to handle the ore from the Blue Bell.

The story of the opening of the Rossland area was told. The mining locations made on Red Mountain, the early name for Rossland, were four in number—the War Eagle, Centre Star, Virginia and LeRoi. Following these locations came the erection of the original smelter at Trail by Auguste Hinze, a well-known Montana operator—a plant which was destined to expand until it became the largest smelter in the British Empire, covering many acres.

The year in which the first ore was smeltered at Trail—1896—also saw the appointment of the first Judge of the Kootenay District, Judge Forin, who presided for thirty-two years, and has witnessed the marvellous growth of the mining industry in the Kootenays.

### JONATHAN HOITEN SCOTT.

To mark the grave of Jonathan Hoiten Scott a fitting memorial was unveiled on the Sugarloaf Hill, on the Fraser River highlands near Lillooet, on November 11, 1938, in belated recognition of the services he rendered to the placer miners during the first gold rush to Cariboo.

J. H. Scott was born in Winchester County, New York State, in 1805. He travelled and lived in some of the southern tobacco-growing states, and finally came to this country and settled on land adjoining the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Berens about eighty years ago. Apparently he neither applied for nor secured title to this land, on which he produced and processed the first tobacco grown commercially on the mainland of British Columbia. The property in question is situated on the second bench east of the Fraser River, opposite the town of Lillooet. For many years the place was known as Parsonville, after Ottis Parsons, who, with his partner, Nelson, operated a freight-forwarding depot at the place in the hectic days of the mining excitement in Cariboo.

J. H. Scott never severed his connection with the Lillooet District after locating there, sometime prior to 1860. He found that the land was fertile and that with a little water he could produce the finest of leaf tobacco. He was an experienced tobacco grower and processor, and he not only produced fine leaf but he aged and treated it in the excavated basement which may still be seen near the north boundary of Lot 704, Group 1, Lillooet. His tobacco found a ready sale and brought pleasure and comfort to the miners, whose opportunities for relaxation and enjoyment were limited enough.

At the unveiling of the monument at Parsonville last month, George M. Murray, M.L.A., spoke of the contribution of Jonathan Hoiten Scott in part as follows:—

Following a hard day on the trail or the gravel workings, there was solace in a pipe of this fragrant Lillooet leaf. Through its mellow haze, camp rivalries were forgotten and old feuds dissolved.

Some saw through the kindly fog the distant Hebrides, others the leafy lanes of Old England, and still others the good little people dancing over the bogs of Donegal. Southerners recalled cotton fields and manor houses of the Southland as they smoked; the Californian had visions of adobe houses and orange groves; the Mexican as he rested his mule team on the road rolled a smoke from the local blended mixture and back to his memory came the sound of soft guitars in far off Mexico; Chinese with heavy poke of gold from Cayoosh Creek exchanged some of it with Scott for one of the few luxuries the son of Ham permitted himself in this western land.

But we do not raise this monument to Jonathan Hoiten Scott because tobacco alone was his product, rather we do so as an honour to all our pioneers of the Lillooet country. Some raised cattle and some grew cereals or fruit, but to this man from the south the growing of leaf tobacco came as second nature.

We honour him to-day, 58 years after his death, because he helped to lay the foundations of industry and commerce on the Pacific slope of British North America.

The last resting-place of J. H. Scott is on the little Sugarloaf hill, at the western edge of the Parsonville Plain, where a 7-ton granite boulder bears a bronze tablet engraved as follows:—

JONATHAN HOITEN SCOTT
Born, Winchester Co., New York,
1805
Died Lillooet, B.C., Oct. 18, 1882.
Grew and processed first tobacco on mainland of
British Columbia between 1858 and 1864
and sold his product to miners during
the first Cariboo gold rush.

The tablet was engraved and provided by courtesy of the Hon. K. C. MacDonald, Minister of Agriculture of British Columbia. [J. B. MUNRO.]

# THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

*The Voyage of the New Hazard to the Northwest Coast, Hawaii, and China, 1810–1813.* By Stephen Reynolds, a member of the crew, edited by Judge F. W. Howay. Salem: Peabody Museum. 1938. Pp. xxii., 158. Illustrated. $4.

The special interest which attaches to this journal of the voyage of the brig *New Hazard* from Boston to the Northwest Coast, Hawaii, and China, is explained by Judge Howay in the first paragraphs of his interesting introduction to this volume. "It was kept," he tells us, "by Stephen W. Reynolds, then a mere foremast hand, for his own satisfaction, and, although not the official log, it is, so far as is known, the only account now existing of the voyage. Journals of entire voyages from New England to the Northwest Coast are rare. As Reynolds describes one of the few ever made by a Salem vessel, his not too literate narrative seems worth printing. Moreover he describes from the forecastle a type of life which, from the shore a century later, has been over romanticised." Reynolds himself, Judge Howay adds, "appears to have been largely a self-taught man, of marked native ability, with a love of music and the better things of life." He celebrated his twenty-eighth birthday a month after the *New Hazard* put to sea. Many of his later years were spent in Honolulu, where he was well known as a merchant, trader, harbour master, pilot, and even as a lawyer of sorts.

Reynold's journal, which gives a day-to-day memorandum of the events of the voyage as they occurred, is perhaps of more value than the log of the ship or a personal narrative by the Captain, as it records much that the master of the ship might not have cared to have appear in the story. Those facts give a clear insight into the character of some of the men who sailed their ships in those seas in the days of domineering captains, "bucko" mates, and hardy, but sometimes mutinous, seamen.

The tale is of the trade in sea-otter and other furs on the Coast, when ships cleared from New England, from British ports, and even from France and Russia, ran south to round Cape Horn, and worked their way northward to the channels of what is to-day known as the Inside Passage. There they bartered in every kind of goods that could be sold to advantage to a denizen of the country.

These ships gathered the furs, set sail for Canton, traded for china, silk, and other merchandise of the Orient, and went flying across the Indian Ocean homeward to count their gains. Their dangers were many, their risks were great. They traded behind bulwarks of dried bull-hides purchased in California and stretched around the ship. Shotted cannon were planted in places commanding the deck, with lighted matches alongside for instant use in case of sudden attack. This was not a foolish precaution,

for sullen natives, burning with injustices and insults previously received, were watching for an opportunity for vengeance and in hope of plunder, and had to be reckoned with. If a ship stranded on the rocks, where even to-day, in this time of lights and warning signals, steamships meet disaster, the tribesmen flocked from far and near to endeavour to profit by the misfortune and to ply the old trade of beach comber.

The trading customs pursued are told with frankness unashamed. It is related: "Thursday, 20 June [1811]. Several canoes came alongside. . . . Sold all shrowton [oolachan-oil] and two slaves: one slave five skins [sea-otter], one, three." Another casual remark is: "Sold a little girl slave for five skins." Under date "Sunday, 23 June" is the entry: "Captain Nye dined with Porter. . . . Gale flogged Sampson with knots in the rope." A foot-note tells that "Sampson was a seaman, seventeen years of age."

With some it has been a source of pride that those were days of "wooden ships and iron men." It would seem to have been necessary that they should be, to endure what sometimes fell to their lot.

The format is fine, the plates are admirably reproduced, and the editing is characterized by the judgment and scholarship one has come to expect as a matter of course from Judge Howay. The volume should be most interesting to any one wishing to know the life of the time, of which it undoubtedly gives a correct picture.

CLARENCE L. ANDREWS.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON.

*The Native Tribes of British Columbia.* By Alice Ravenhill. Victoria: King's Printer, 1938. Pp. 142. Map and ill. $1.

The text of this book runs to some 130 rather closely printed pages, of which the first twenty are introductory in character, outlining the origin of the British Columbia Indians, their tribal divisions, and their geographic and social environment. The main body of the book then divides into two parts, the first treating of the arts and crafts, the dwellings, clothing, and methods of gathering and handling food, the second of social organization and social life, religion, pastimes, music, the potlatch and kindred topics.

The coast-line of British Columbia was a region of unusual localization. When contrasting it with other regions of North America we may say that it presented a broadly uniform culture. Actually, however, this culture varied in its details from district to district, even from inlet to inlet. The notion of what constituted personal, family, or clan property was so all-embracing that it sometimes led to different methods of fishing, different ways of erecting houses, different puberty and marriage rites, and even different religious beliefs, within the confines of a single village. So great indeed was the complexity that our knowledge of certain districts is still very contradictory and incomplete. We therefore owe Miss Ravenhill a deep debt of gratitude for her compilation of this valuable source-book.

The section on material culture will be especially appreciated by museum workers who have to arrange and display ethnological specimens from

British Columbia. Not that it is entirely free from errors. Thus, contrary to the author's statement (p. 23), pipes were used, though rarely, on the southern coast, and only the Haida and Tlinkit Indians are known to have chewed a tobacco-like plant. Copper, again, was not available in the interior of the Province (p. 29), but came from the White River in Alaska; and *sopallaly* (from English "soap" and "olalie," a Chinook jargon word for "berry") was not a seaweed (p. 75), but dried amelanchier berries whipped up with water and eaten usually with fish-oil. A number of mistakes of this character were almost unavoidable, and detract very little from the usefulness of the book as a very convenient source of information on the houses and household utensils, the tools, weapons, and other appliances used along this coast.

The later chapters dealing with the political organization, social life, religious beliefs, and secret societies seem a little less satisfactory, because here description has to be accompanied by interpretation, and the author seems not to have fully understood some of the phenomena she describes. Moreover, there is the inescapable tendency to generalize, and ascribe to the whole coast-line phenomena that were restricted to one locality. Thus (p. 100) we read that "Wealth was estimated according to the amount of a man's property which he had out at interest. The manipulation of this wealth involved ideas of capital, a high rate of interest, and *conspicuous waste.*" This statement, which is amplified in the section on the potlatch (Ch. XVIII.), surely applies only to the Kwakiutl in the north of Vancouver Island, and even to them not in the earliest days, but only during the second half of the 19th century. The entire section on the potlatch, indeed, will need extensive revision in the light of two recent papers: Murdock, "Rank and Potlatch among the Haida" (*Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, No. 13, 1936), and Barnett, "Nature of the Potlatch" (*American Anthropologist*, July–September, 1938). Nevertheless, the reviewer knows from personal experience how difficult it is for a white person to comprehend the Indian's outlook on society and on life, and if he finds Miss Ravenhill's interpretations of Indian society and religion not always convincing, this in no way lessens his admiration for her diligence and skill in condensing so great an amount of indisputably authentic fact within so short a space. We would congratulate her also on the number and excellence of her illustrations.

D. JENNESS.

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