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BRITISH COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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John R. Jewitt.

From a pen-and-ink portrait furnished by his great-grandson,
Frank R. Jewitt, of Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

THE LATER LIFE OF JOHN R. JEWITT.*

The captivity of John R. Jewitt among the Indians of Nootka Sound may have been hardly more spectacular than a number of similar adventures in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet there are few tales of Indian captivities which enjoyed so extensive an audience, for by a combination of timely chance and Jewitt's own restless showmanship his story obtained widespread currency along the eastern seaboard of the United States upon his return to civilization.

The early 1800's was an era when the glamour of trade with the Northwest Coast was a motivating factor in commercial circles. Inquisitive explorers and traders were pushing overland toward the western sea, and Americans generally were turning from European associations toward opportunities on their own continent. Culturally, the time was ripe for recognition of things American, and native themes began to enrich the product of authors in the quickening nation. Into this new atmosphere Jewitt brought the story of his captivity, and it is not surprising that through continual advertisement during his personal wanderings, the man, his tale, and something of the customs and inhabitants on distant Vancouver Island became familiar to a great many persons far removed from the scene of action. It is therefore of interest to recall that two of the country's most prominent men of letters laboured to perpetuate the Jewitt tale,

* The author wishes to express his gratitude to the following: Mr. Norman L. Dodge, of Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, for copies of the Jewitt letters; Mr. Julian P. Boyd, until recently the librarian of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for permission to reproduce the play-bill; the Curator of the Rare Book Collection of the Library of Congress for information concerning copyrights; the Chief of the Division of Music of the Library of Congress, the Chief of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, and Miss Joanna C. Colcord for information about the songs; the late Mr. Frank C. Deering for the photograph of the sole known copy of the broadside song; and two great-grandchildren of Jewitt, Mrs. Elwood Street, of Richmond, Virginia, and Mr. Frank R. Jewitt, of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, who searched for family letters and kindly furnished the pen-and-ink portrait.

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and that he himself enjoyed a short theatrical career on the sophisticated stage of Philadelphia.

The outline of Jewitt's biography through the period of his captivity is well known and briefly recounted. He was born in 1783 in Boston, England, of humble parentage, but his blacksmith father destined his boy for a life more exalted than his own. However, the boy's entreaties led his father to teach him his trade, and a second ambition of the lad was gratified when he was permitted to sail as armourer in the ship *Boston*, of Boston, Massachusetts, under command of Captain John Salter. The vessel left England in September, 1802, and arrived in Nootka Sound on March 12, 1803.

Ten days after the ship's arrival the Indian chief, Maquinna, avenged what he considered an insult of the captain by seizing the vessel and murdering the officers and crew. Only Jewitt and John Thompson, sail-maker and gunner, of Philadelphia, were spared. Thenceforward these two were the servants of the chief, fashioning his weapons and performing his menial chores under conditions which at times approached starvation and exhaustion. Through the months of slavery Jewitt managed by deception to continue a journal, using berry-juices for ink. This journal he carried with him when the two white men were rescued by Captain Hill, of the brig *Lydia*, in July, 1805. The *Lydia* remained on the Coast another year, departing for China in August, 1806, and arriving there in December. She left China in February, 1807, and sailed into her home port of Boston, Massachusetts, 114 days later.

Before the year was out, Jewitt saw to it that the above facts and the details of the captivity were preserved for posterity by publishing *A Journal Kept at Nootka Sound by John R. Jewitt*,¹ purporting to be the exact account which he had kept with such pains during his slavery. Yet almost nothing is known of Jewitt's life for the next few years beyond the fact that on

(1) Extant copies of the *Journal* are rare. To remedy this situation, Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, Massachusetts, in 1931 issued a limited edition of *A Journal Kept at Nootka Sound by John R. Jewitt, One of the Survivors of the Crew of the Ship Boston During a Captivity Among the Indians from March, 1803, to July, 1805*. Reprinted from the Original Edition, Boston, 1807—With an Introduction and a Check List of Later Accounts of Jewitt's Captivity, by Norman L. Dodge.

Christmas Day, 1809, he married,² this time according to the customs of his own people. His first wife was an Indian girl whom he alleged he had been forced to wed during his captivity. Thenceforward he probably spent at least a portion of his time relating his adventures, and perhaps for a livelihood peddled copies of his *Journal* from town to town, as it is known he did with his later publications.³

About 1815, however, Jewitt attracted the attention of Richard Alsop, Hartford merchant, and one of the renowned group of American authors of the time known as the Connecticut Wits. He was recognized as perhaps the cleverest of the clan next to John Trumbull. Alsop was one of the few millionaires of his day, and his great means permitted him the leisure to indulge in wide reading and in the polemic literary efforts of the local Federalist party.⁴ According to his nephew, Theodore Dwight, writing in 1860, Alsop "had a peculiar taste of adventures," and drew from Jewitt the details of his captivity among the Nootkans. Repeated interviews were necessary to obtain the story, Dwight later remembered, and his uncle encountered difficulties from Jewitt's "small capacity as a narrator," and felt the task would have been much easier had the story-teller been a Yankee. Dwight was present at his uncle's house on at least one occasion when Jewitt was there and heard him sing Indian songs learned on the Northwest Coast.⁵

Alsop is recognized as a literary amateur and an "incorrigible imitator of late eighteenth century English modes,"⁶ and his adaptation of Jewitt's tale is no exception to this rule. For his model in this instance he chose Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.⁷ That

(2) Jewitt was married in Boston, Massachusetts, to Hester Jones, who had migrated to America at the age of 17 with an older brother, Lewis Jones. Mr. Dodge obtained this information from Mr. Frank R. Jewitt in a letter of March 9, 1931.

(3) *Journal*, Goodspeed edition, introduction, pp. xvi.-xvii.

(4) Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Connecticut Wits*, New York, 1926, pp. xxvi., xxxii.; S. T. Williams and J. A. Pollard on Alsop in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

(5) *The Historical Magazine*, April, 1860, quoted in Goodspeed edition of the *Journal*, p. xx.

(6) Parrington, p. xxxii.

(7) Theodore Dwight in *The Historical Magazine*, *op. cit.*

he succeeded in following his pattern is evident from the comments of a Philadelphia reviewer who remarked:—⁸

Our Connecticut *Redacteur* has . . . made a book which, while it may communicate a good deal of entertainment and information to all classes of readers, is peculiarly fitted for the perusal of the young; it forms, in fact, a very appropriate companion to Robinson Crusoe. It is, to be sure, not so entertaining: that was an advantage not to be obtained without bold deviation from real facts; but it is written in the same unaffected, perspicuous, and pleasing style, and though the writer never indulges in reflections or general remarks, a serious air of piety and morality reigns through the whole.

The book which Alsop wrote is, of course, *A Narrative of The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt* . . . , the first edition of which was printed at Middletown, Connecticut, in the spring of 1815, by Loomis & Richards. The records of the Clerk of the Court for the District of Connecticut show that Jewitt made application for copyright of the *Narrative* on March 8, 1815.⁹

It is not generally known, however, that on the same day Jewitt staked his personal claim to another production. Henry W. Edwards, the Clerk, recorded:—

Be it Remembered: That on the eighth day of March in the thirty ninth year of the independence of the United States of America, John R. Jewitt of the said District hath deposited in this office, the title of a Print, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following to wit

"The Poor Armourer Boy, A Song."

The song was printed as a broadside, on a long sheet of paper, with a cut at the top depicting "The Ship *Boston* taken by the Savages at Nootka Sound March 22^d—1803." The cut is identical with the frontispiece in the March, 1815, edition of the *Narrative*, and at the bottom of the page is the copyright notice and the name of the printing firm, Loomis & Richards. The song itself is ornately "boxed" and is preceded by the explanation, "Imitated from the *Poor Cabin Boy*, of Dibdin, and adapted to the case of John R. Jewitt, a native of Boston, in Great-Britain,

(8) *Analectic Magazine*, June, 1815, vol. 5, pp. 493–496. Philadelphia, "Published and Sold by Moses Thomas, No. 52 Chestnut-Street."

(9) The record of copyright was obtained through the courtesy of the Curator of the Rare Book Collection, The Library of Congress.

the only survivor of the crew of the ship *Boston*, of Boston in New England, who with the captain and officers were cruelly massacred by the savages on the North-West coast of America." The song itself is as follows:—¹⁰

NO thrush that e'er pip'd its sweet note from the thorn
 Was so gladsome and lively as me,
 'Till lur'd by false colours, in life's blooming morn
 I tempted my fortune at sea.
 My father he wept as his blessing he gave,
 When I left him "my time to employ"
 In climates remote on the rude ocean wave,
 Being but a poor Armourer Boy.

Whilst amidst each new scene these "maxims of old"
 Upheld me when grief did oppress;
 That a fair reputation is better than gold,
 And courage will conquer distress:
 "So contented I brav'd the rude storm, dry or wet,
 Buoy'd up with hopes" light painted toy,
 In thinking that Fortune would certainly yet
 Deign to smile on the Armourer Boy.

With our ship, on return, with riches full fraught,
 We hop'd soon for Boston to steer,
 My heart it with exstasy leap'd at the thought,
 "My eyes dropp'd through pleasure a tear."
 "But, alas! adverse fate so hard" and untrue
 "Did all these gay prospects destroy,"
 For burn'd was our ship and murder'd our crew,
 And wounded the Armourer Boy.

For a long time in pain and sickness I pin'd,
 With no one to feel for my woe,
 No mother, my wounds, as she sooth'd me, to bind,
 No sister her aid to bestow!
 By savages fierce for years held a slave,
 Did affliction my poor heart annoy,
 Till Hope dropp'd her anchor at last on the grave
 As the birth of the Armourer Boy.

(10) Mr. Dodge, editor of the Goodspeed edition of the *Journal*, described the song and quoted a portion of the first stanza on pp. 90-91. Mr. Dodge obtained his information from the late Mr. Frank C. Deering. As far as is known, the Deering copy is unique; letter of Mr. R. W. G. Vail, American Antiquarian Society, January 4, 1940.

From slav'ry escap'd, I, joyful, once more
 Hail'd a civiliz'd land, but alone
 And a stranger was I on a far-distant shore
 From that which my childhood had known.
 "If such be life's fate, with emotion I cried,"
 Of sorrow so great the alloy;
 "Heaven grant that sole blessing that ne'er is denied,"
 To the friendless Poor Armourer Boy!

The authorship of Jewitt's song is unknown. As to the original from which it was imitated, investigation reveals little. The Englishmen, Charles Dibdin and his son Thomas, were prolific writers of sea songs of the parlour type, which were sung widely in the theatres of the period and had a great following among English-speaking people. Jewitt himself was no doubt familiar with them, and it may be that he mimicked in crude verse a well-known song, hoping to obtain a popularity reflected from the Dibdin name.¹¹ Jewitt, however, made no definite statement of his authorship upon the broadside itself, and the song seems too good to be the work of the unskilled adventurer. It is possible, moreover, that Alsop, with whom Jewitt had been recently conferring, was prevailed upon to dash off the ditty as a supplement to the *Narrative* which he had just written. The verse hardly reaches the standard of Alsop's poetry, yet it differs in metre and rhyme from the style of Dibdin, and such alterations would require some ability with the tools of the trade. Furthermore, many phrases of the song are enclosed with quotation marks characteristic of the imitative tendency of Alsop.¹²

(11) Each Dibdin is credited with a song entitled *The Cabin Boy*, although neither caption contains the adjective "poor." Thomas's song bears the closer resemblance to Jewitt's, and concludes with the stanza:—

My purse soon fill'd with Frenchmen's gold,
 I hasten'd back with joy,
 When, wreck'd in sight of port, behold
 The hapless Cabin Boy!

This song is found in *Songs, Naval and National, of the Late Charles Dibdin, with a Memoir and Addenda*, Collected and Arranged by Thomas Dibdin, London, 1841, p. 252. See also *The Songs of Charles Dibdin, Chronologically Arranged, with Notes, Historical, Biographical, and Critical . . .*, London, 1848, II., p. 385; *Dictionary of National Biography*; and Edward Bliss Reed, editor, *Songs from the British Drama*, New Haven, 1925, pp. 237-238.

(12) Cf., Parrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-426.

Some substantiation for the claim that Alsop or some other person wrote the song likewise might be derived from Jewitt's use of the word "proprietor" rather than "author" in application for the copyright of the song as well as the *Narrative*.¹³

Jewitt's most important years in the purveyance of his tale seem to have been 1815 through 1817. It is not certain whether his publications of 1815, the *Narrative* and the song, were distributed through established book-dealers. It is recorded, however, that he himself set out in a wagon with copies of the book, to peddle them from town to town. Alsop is said to have regretted his part in the transaction, feeling that Jewitt thereafter "became unsettled in his habits by his wandering life in selling the book."¹⁴ Just how far his journeyings took him is unknown, but he was seen dispensing his book from a one-horse wagon in Philadelphia. Another observer recalled seeing Jewitt with a wheelbarrow of books near the Capitol in Albany, the adventurer being readily identified by the large head-scar resulting from his wound during the capture of the ship at Nootka.¹⁵ The few extant letters which Jewitt wrote to his family¹⁶ indicate that he travelled at least as far north as Portland, Maine, as far south as Baltimore, Maryland, and even to Nantucket Island. It may be that from his stock he could offer two kinds of merchandise to suit the purses of his customers, the more expensive book and the cheaper broadside souvenir of *The Poor Armourer Boy*.

(13) It is perhaps presumptuous to suppose that the Clerk of the Court exercised a discriminating use of the terms in recording applications for copyright. Yet on the same day that Jewitt was twice listed as proprietor, another applicant appears as author. Furthermore, among the ten entries preceding and the ten following Jewitt's name, ranging in time between August, 1814, and September, 1815, there are recorded ten authors, one authoress, and nine proprietors. These facts were ascertained by Mr. David C. Mearns, of the Library of Congress, January 31, 1940.

(14) Theodore Dwight, *Historical Magazine*, *op. cit.*

(15) Inquiry concerning Jewitt in *Historical Magazine*, March, 1859, and reply in the same publication for April, both quoted in Goodspeed edition of the *Journal*, pp. xvii.-xviii.

(16) Jewitt's mother, Ann, writing from London in 1822, without knowledge of his death, requested two or three copies of the *Narrative*. She had heard of it, but could obtain no copies there. Copies of these letters, the originals of which are now in the possession of Jewitt's descendants, were kindly furnished by Mr. Dodge.

Regardless of the manner in which his productions were distributed, it is evident that Jewitt's *Narrative* attracted some attention. A reviewer in the *Analectic Magazine* of June, 1815, thought rather highly of the book, and took opportunity after the manner of the time to reflect upon the effect which atrocities against the savages by white captains had upon aborigines everywhere. Continuing he stated:—

We do not wish to give a disproportionate importance to this unassuming little volume, and shall therefore abstain from extract or analysis. It is proper, however, to state, that there is scarce any relation of savage manners which can lay higher claim to authenticity, than this simple narration. The facts are undoubted, and the book was prepared for the press by a literary gentleman of Connecticut, who has scrupulously abstained from all digression or embellishment of style, and restricted himself to a plain relation of the story in simple and correct language.

The form and size of the volume afford pretty strong proof that arts of literary manufacture are yet in their infancy among us. If by any chance these materials had fallen into the hands of one of the regularly-bred literary artisans of London, the lean narrative would have been larded and stuffed out with sonnets, sentiments, and philosophy, with digressions and disquisitions political, commercial, and economical, until at length, 'Jewitt's Voyages and Travels' were fit to be ushered to the world in full pomp of quarto typography.

The reviewer then points out, no doubt with tongue in cheek, some of the comparisons which might be made between the native Nootkan hierarchy and British politics, and between the Indian ceremonials and songs and the English theatricals and literature of the time. As a whole, the *Analectic* writer seems pleased that simplicity rather than wordy elaboration pervaded Alsop's treatment of the tale.

The fact that the same magazine, in February, 1817, saw fit to review an 1816 edition of the *Narrative* further attests the book's popularity.¹⁷ This account begins with a straightforward summary of the volume. In his subsequent criticism, however, the author is less impressed with the quality of the book than was the first reviewer. He reports that since the magazine noted the first edition,

(17) *Analectic Magazine*, IX., pp. 141-165. The last sentence of the review states that Thompson died at "Havannah" not long after the *Lydia's* arrival, "and Jewitt is now distributing his *Narrative* through the United States."

it has been twice more put to press;—and it would at first sight appear somewhat singular that a book which is very badly written, and a great deal worse arranged, should have already circulated in the Northern States alone to the number (we are told) of about nine thousand copies. It is not recommended by those interior and exterior decorations which ordinarily get off a book of travels; for instead of an equilateral quarto, as “dick as all dis chees,” accompanied by all manner of maps and plates and annotations,—we have here only a thin parallelogram of a duodecimo, “embellished” (the author thinks) with a single effort at an engraving, and blotted on the outside with two daubings, which are intended to represent the king of the Nootkians, first, in his visiting costume, and, secondly, in the act of harpooning a whale. All the interest of the volume is, therefore, derived solely from the nature of the facts which it contains. Of these we have already expressed our opinion; and have only to add, that although Jewitt has not been *had up* two or three times a day for a fortnight and crossexamined by the imposing Members of the Royal Society of London . . . , we know from the simplicity and good faith which appears in the narrative itself, and from the consistency which the author has preserved in telling ourselves the story at different times, that what he has given to the world is a faithful record of the facts.

In all, eighteen editions of the book have appeared in print. Two of these were issued in the British Isles. Of the two latest editions, one was published in 1896 by Clement Wilson, of London, with notes by Robert Brown, and the other is a German edition of 1928.¹⁸ Peter Parley, astute editor and publisher for successive generations of young people, placed the story on the market in his series of Miscellanies under the title *The Captive of Nootka*, as a companion to such well-known works as the stories of La Pérouse and Alexander Selkirk.¹⁹ This extensive and long record of publication is adequate testimony of the popularity of the *Narrative*.

(18) See Appendix B. This location list brings up to date the information in the Goodspeed edition of the *Journal* and the account of F. W. Howay in “An Early Account of the Loss of the *Boston* in 1803,” *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVII., October, 1926, pp. 287–288, and the editorial note, *ibid.*, p. 311.

(19) See Appendix B. Earlier authorities, quoting Parley, whose true name was Samuel Griswold Goodrich, give the first publication date as 1832. Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, New York, 1855, II., pp. 311–313; and S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, Philadelphia, 1872, I., p. 701.

The attention aroused by early editions of the *Narrative* no doubt accounts for the interest of the second great literary personage to be attracted by the inherent possibilities of the adventurer's tale. About the time Philadelphia intellectuals were reading the 1817 *Analectic* review, Jewitt was in conference concerning a new venture, the dramatization of his Nootkan experience, and in this undertaking it was his good fortune to enlist the services of James Nelson Barker.

Barker enjoyed a varied career. Not only was he a noted biographer and playwright but, in addition, he served as a soldier in the War of 1812 and held office in both the Philadelphia and Federal governments. Many of Barker's plays were performed in the theatres managed by William Burke Wood and William Warren in Washington, Alexandria, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Historians of the theatre differ as to who took the initiative in proposing to Barker that he exploit the Jewitt theme. One authority contends that Wood and Warren "had the journalistic enterprise to commission Barker"; another investigator believes Jewitt took the lead.²⁰

As early as March 10 advance notice was given of the Barker play in an advertisement of the Philadelphia Theatre: "In preparation, a Melo Drama, founded on the interesting narrative of Mr. John Jewitt, called the Armourer's Escape, or Three Years at Nootka, with new scenery, dresses, &c. &c. . . ." Similar

(20) Actually, there seems to be no direct evidence as to which party took the initiative. Paul H. Musser, *James Nelson Barker, 1784-1858*, Philadelphia, 1929, especially pp. 72-74; Reese D. James, *Old Drury of Philadelphia; A History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1800-1835*; Including the Diary or Daily Account Book of William Burke Wood, Co-Manager with William Warren of the Chestnut Street Theatre, familiarly known as Old Drury, Philadelphia, 1932, p. 27.

Musser believes that the dispute with England over the settlement of the Oregon question provided a timely interest in any one who had visited that region under such exciting circumstances as Jewitt. There is no notice in the Philadelphia newspapers of early 1817 concerning the Oregon controversy, however, and Musser's contention seems to be unfounded. Perhaps he took his cue in this matter from his mentor and predecessor in the history of the theatre, Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War*, New York, 1923, p.144.

announcements appeared in the newspapers in later editions.²¹ On March 20 the advertisements became more detailed, stating that the new play would open the next evening, Friday, the 21st.²² It was to be preceded by a tried and favourite comedy, *The Busy Body*, in accordance with the custom of billing two offerings an evening. The prices were the standard tariffs of the theatre, "Box, 1 dollar—Pit, 75 cents—Gallery, 50 cents." Doors were to be opened at 5.30 and the curtain was to "rise precisely at half after 6 o'clock." Notice was called to the play-bills for further details; but particular attention was directed to the concluding feature of the programme, the rendition of *The Song of the Armourer Boy*, to be sung by Mr. Jewitt himself. There were to be three performances—an unusual occurrence, inasmuch as a play was seldom repeated on successive evenings. On Saturday the accompanying piece was to be "the celebrated Play of Abaellino, The Great Bandit"; on Monday, the comedy *The Stranger*. Monday was also to be the occasion of Mr. Jewitt's benefit.

No copy of the play has been discovered, as the only manuscript was taken by Jewitt and has disappeared.²³ Description of the performance itself must then depend in part upon the advertisements already cited, but more upon the "bill,"²⁴ a broad-side sheet delineating the play in such detail as to be, in the words of one author, a veritable scenario.²⁵ Therefore little comment upon the contents of the melodrama is necessary. It will be noted that efforts were made to sketch the narrative accurately,

(21) Philadelphia *Aurora*. Musser gives the 14th as the first date of preliminary notice; pp. 72-74. In addition to the *Aurora*, the following papers contained notices: *Political and Commercial Register*, *Poulsen's American Daily Advertiser*, *Democratic Press*, and *United States Gazette*.

(22) *E.g.*, the *Aurora*.

(23) Letter of J. N. Barker to William Dunlap, June 10, 1832, in William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre*, New York, 1832, pp. 379-380. Barker mistakenly recalled that the first performance took place March 24.

(24) See Appendix A for the text of the play-bill. The only known copy is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The substance of the play-bill appears in Charles Durang, *History of the Philadelphia Stage, between the Years 1749 and 1855*, arranged and illustrated by Thompson Westcott, 1868, I., 1749-1818, p. 114. This consists of a series of scrap-books in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

(25) A. H. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

even to the point of a faithful recording of the "costume, manners, ceremonies and superstitions of these extraordinary people," the savages of Nootka Sound. To this end, Jewitt aided in directing the dancers, and, what is more important still, the adventurer was to take the part of the Armourer. The other principal performers were regular members of the company's troupe, among whom were some of the most prominent actors and actresses of the period, including members of the famous Jefferson family.

It is interesting to speculate upon the manner in which the various and complicated scenes were staged. In particular one wonders about the fourth and fifth scenes of Act I., showing the interior of Maquinna's house, and the Nootkan village during the eclipse of the moon, and the procession and ceremonials of the Indians in Act II. How the audience was able to differentiate between the many tribes represented, and to what degree the showmanship of the day simplified for Philadelphia playgoers the elaborate "Ceremonies of the Bear" and the Nootkan War Dance, are questions open to conjecture. That Jewitt held the centre of the stage as much as possible, and revelled in it, we can be reasonably sure. While he had been actually among the savages the rigours of his captivity had been somewhat lightened by his cheery disposition and his willingness to recite and sing in his own tongue for the amusement of his captors.²⁶ Now, on the stage, he entertained the more sophisticated Philadelphians in the language of the Nootkans, for near the end of the play he sang the Indian war song.²⁷ The final curtain fell as Jewitt concluded singing his *Song of the Armourer Boy*.

What the audience in the Philadelphia or Chestnut Street Theatre thought of the play is not known. William B. Wood, one of the managers, reported that "much curiosity and some interest were excited by so unique an exhibition."²⁸ Some measure of the popularity of Jewitt's appearances may be derived from the

(26) *Journal*, Goodspeed edition, pp. xiii.-xiv.

(27) All editions of the *Narrative* contain the "War-song of the Nootka Tribe," with the instructions that it is to be "Repeated over and over with gestures and brandishing of weapons."

(28) William B. Wood, *Personal Recollections of the Stage; Embracing Notices of Actors, Authors, and Auditors, during a Period of Forty Years*, Philadelphia, 1855, p. 206.



THE POOR ARMOURER BOY.

A SONG.

Based upon the "POOR CASIN BOY," of Dublin, and adapted for the use of John R. Smith, a sailor of Boston, in Great Britain, the only survivor of the crew of the ship Essex, of Boston on her last voyage, and the captain and officers were finally captured by the enemy on the North West coast of America.

Two. — The Poor Cabin Boy.

BOY think that I've paid the cost of my life
Was no pleasure and had no gain,
Yet for it I have suffered in life's morning years
I suffered for Britain's name.
My father he kept me for his only son,
When I was but a boy, he sent me to sea,
For his sake I went on the sea, and now I am
A poor American Boy.

What could I do, when I was there — "machine of war"
Uplifted me when I was there,
That a full reputation I have won,
And courage I have shown.
"He said I was the only one," he said,
"He said I was the only one," he said,
"He said I was the only one," he said,
"He said I was the only one," he said.

With me they were, and I was there, but I thought,
We might as well be there to die,
My heart is a heavy weight at the thought,
"My eyes dropped through pleasure a tear."
"But, after I saw you there," he said,
"But, after I saw you there," he said,
"But, after I saw you there," he said,
"But, after I saw you there," he said.

For from it was my ship and I was there,
And I was the only one,
For a boy I was, and I was there,
With me they were, and I was there,
No matter, my company, as they would be, to that,
No matter, my company, as they would be, to that,
No matter, my company, as they would be, to that,
No matter, my company, as they would be, to that.

For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there.

For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there,
For I was the only one, and I was there.

The Poor Armourer Boy broadside, 1815.

Reproduced by permission from the copy in
the collection of the late Frank C. Deering,
which is believed to be unique.

BUSY BODY.

Selling
 Personal in the French
 Market of the Midwest
 Monthly
 Monthly
 Total
 Total

Or, three years at Nootka Sound.

The Non-Reserve and Dispositions by Messrs. Warren and Bingham, and the Demand by Mr. Buchanan, and

Mr. Wm. Thompson. Mr. Adams. Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson.

Fogarty (See above, a Wickliffe descendant.)
Bethel Waters, Children, &c., &c.

A Day Near the Village of Nootka.
The ship Boston is seen lying at anchor.

View of part of the Village of Boston.
The author by which SEWITT attempts to prove THOMPSON's is a

Interior of Muggins's House

THE VILLAGE OF SUNDOWN

(The following is a copy of the original document as it appears in the file.)

A Procession of the Klaizzarts,
 1899. 140 pages, bound by *Alfred F. Hall*. Price, 10 cents. Published by the
 United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

WAR DANCE, by the Author.
JERRETT AND COMPANY.

Dance of young Nootkian girls

AN AMERICAN BRIG.

On Daily—For 75 Cents—Library 89 Cents. The days will be

ill advertising *The Armourer*

Reproduced by kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, whose collection includes the only known copy.

record of receipts for the three evenings—\$721.50, \$339.75, and \$301.50 respectively.²⁹ These comprise \$1,362.75 out of the week's total of \$2,202.75. The smallest sum was from Jewitt's benefit, and while the low receipts may partly reflect upon his performance it is well to note that the weather may have had considerable effect upon the size of the house. Manager Wood's diary records "fine" weather for the first night, "very mild" for the second, and "rain" for the final evening.³⁰ Even so, the average receipts for the three showings—\$454.25—was considerably below that of the whole season, which was \$596 a night.³¹ Thus the play could not be considered an exceptional success, but neither could it be called a dismal failure, breaking precedent as it did by running three consecutive nights, and with the handicap of poor weather on one of these.

The brief theatrical career of John R. Jewitt had its beginning and its climax in *The Armourer's Escape* at the Philadelphia Theatre, but he was to have one more gala appearance before his curious public. There was, in the outskirts of Philadelphia, a summer amusement resort called Vauxhall Garden after its London model. Established in 1813 by John Scotti, Italian perfumer and hairdresser, the park or "circus" had enjoyed several successful seasons before opening again in the summer of 1817. The attractions were equestrian performances, fireworks, songs and speeches by famous celebrities, in addition to refreshments and relief in the cool of the suburbs from the heat of the city. Here we find Jewitt listed among Scotti's offerings. Nothing is recorded of his performance except the simple fact that he "sung songs dressed in Nootka costume."³²

Later in the summer Jewitt was ill for eight weeks. "I have had," he wrote, "a complaint in my head attended with a fever which brought me verry low." But by October 12, when he

(29) R. D. James, *Old Drury*, p. 217. Cf. Wood, *Recollections*, p. 206.

(30) R. D. James, *Old Drury*, p. 217.

(31) *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 217. By contrast with these receipts, one night in the previous week, because of snow, brought only \$160. Further, the next performance following Jewitt's benefit was a benefit for the famous Jefferson, bringing \$1,337.50!

(32) Durang, *op. cit.*, p. 115. See also Joseph Jackson, "Vauxhall Garden," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October, 1933, pp. 289-298.

signed the above letter to his wife, he had recovered his health sufficiently to journey to New York. Apparently the correspondence with Mrs. Jewitt had been enlivened by reference to his experiences with the drama. She had stated that she would rather learn he was a corpse than hear of his "being at the theatre," and he commented with feeling, "That is all nonsense and the State of Connecticut selfconceite, but no more of that I expect to heare enough about it. . . ." ³³ Perhaps, before he was done with life, he did "heare enough about it," for Jewitt had essayed a venture on the stage in an era when many people considered a theatrical career far from respectable.

From this time forward, Jewitt's recorded life is less colourful. He probably continued his itinerant existence, sending back to his wife and children in Middletown occasional remittances and bountiful expressions of hope and pious wishes. ³⁴ At long last he returned to Connecticut and permanent rest from his wanderings. He died at Hartford, January 7, 1821. ³⁵

If Jewitt was not widely mourned at the time of his death, at least his story kept his memory alive for succeeding generations. One of the two editions of his *Journal* and twelve of the eighteen various editions of the popular *Narrative* were published after 1821. Moreover, looking backward from the vantage point of great distance, we see Jewitt as one of the more picturesque characters of his day. Armourer, adventurer, author, peddler, and showman—these were the pursuits of his lifetime. To two men more skilled in letters than himself he provided inspiration for literary achievement of some merit and considerable interest. To countless persons along the eastern seaboard of the United States he brought knowledge of a far country, a land of savage

(33) This letter is cited in the Goodspeed edition of the *Journal*, p. xix. Mr. Dodge drew the natural conclusion that "at the theatre" meant "playgoer," but with the knowledge that Jewitt had experience on the bright side of the footlights it is possible to assume that this reference was to his acting.

(34) *E.g.*, Jewitt to his wife, from Boston, May 24, 1816. "I have enclosed to you fifteen dollars which I hope you will lay out to the best advantage you know Dear Hester what to do best and I am satisfied. I think it would be well to buy a few shad but you must do my dear as you think best. . . ." His letters are filled with solicitations for his children and sorrow at his failure to be as provident and accessible a parent as he should.

(35) *Journal*, Goodspeed edition, pp. xvii.-xviii.

make-believe. Jewitt's life and achievements thus served as links between the Northwest Coast and the awakening nation across the continent of America.

EDMOND S. MEANY, JR.

THE HILL SCHOOL,
POTTSTOWN, PA.

APPENDIX A.

Text of the play-bill advertising *The Armourer's Escape*, 1817.

Philadelphia Theatre, Illuminated with Gas.

Friday Evening, March 21, 1817,

Will be presented a favourite Comedy, called the

BUSY BODY.

Sir George Airy,
Sir Francis Gripe,
Marplot, (with the
epilogue.)
Charles,
Sir Jealous Traffic,
Whisper,

Mr. Barrett.
Mr. Burke.

Mr. Wood.
Mr. Abercrombie.
Mr. Francis.
Mr. T. Jefferson.

Butler,
Servant to Sir Francis,
Servant to Sir Jealous,
Miranda,
Isabinda,
Patch,
Scentwell,

Mr. Hathwell.
[MS. torn.]
[MS. torn.]
Mrs. Entwisle.
Mrs. Jefferson.
Mrs. Francis.
Mrs. Jackson.

AFTER WHICH,

NEVER PERFORMED,

WILL BE PRESENTED A NEW HISTORICAL MELO-DRAMA,
IN TWO ACTS, CALLED THE

ARMOURER'S ESCAPE;

Or, three years at Nootka Sound.

[Founded on the interesting narrative of John R. Jewitt, armourer of the ship Boston, captured by the Savages at Nootka. In this little Drama, is attempted an accurate sketch of this unfortunate circumstance; the sufferings and perils of Jewitt and his companions, and their providential escape. At the same time pains have been taken to represent faithfully the costume, manners, ceremonies and superstitions of these extraordinary people, by as rigid an adherence to the narrative as the stage will permit.]

The MUSIC compiled and arranged by Mr. Lefolle.

The New Scenes and Decorations by Messrs. Warren and Reinagle,
and the Dresses by Mr. Harbaugh and assistants.

THE DANCES

Correctly got up by MR. FRANCIS under the direction of MR. JEWITT.

The part of the Armourer will be performed by J. R. Jewitt.

Captain of the Boston,
The Mate,
Thompson,

Mr. Robertson.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Jefferson.

Sailor,
Sailors, &c.

Mr. Hathwell.

NATIVES.

Maquina, (king of the Nootkians,) - - - - -	Mr. Barrett.
Tyee, (the prince, his son,) - - - - -	Master J. Jefferson.
Yealth Lower, (brother to the king.) - - - - -	Mr. Willis.
Tootooch, (a chief warrior,) - - - - -	Mr. Steward.
Machee Utila, (king of the Klizzarts,) - - - - -	Mr. T. Jefferson.
Kinneclimmets, (the king's buffoon,) - - - - -	Mr. Abercrombie.
Indian Chiefs, - - - - -	[MS. torn.]
Arcomah, - - - - -	Mrs. Jefferson.
Yuqua, (her sister, a Wickinnish princess,) - - - - -	Mrs. Harris.
Indian Women, Children, &c., &c.	

THE PRINCIPAL SCENES ARE:—

SCENE FIRST,

A Bay near the Village of Nootka.

The ship Boston is seen lying at anchor,
Close to shore, and moored to a tree.

In this scene is exhibited the treachery of Maquina and his people; the destruction of the crew, except John R. Jewitt, and Thompson.

SCENE SECOND,

View of Part of the Village of Nootka.

The artifice by which JEWITT attempts to preserve THOMPSON'S life is successful.

Scene 3d, A WOOD.

The part of the crew which had landed for provisions, surprized & slaughtered by the savages.

SCENE FOURTH,

Interior of Maquina's House.

The king, his chiefs, and women assembled.

In this scene will be attempted an accurate representation of the SINGULAR CUSTOMS, AND CEREMONIES OF THE NOOTKIANS.

Funeral CEREMONIES over the BODY OF A CHIEF.

SCENE FIFTH,

The Village of Nootka.

The Moon in Eclipse—the consternation of the natives, &c. During the scene the ship is discovered at a distance, ON FIRE, and is wholly consumed.

An attempt to attack the Nootkians,

By the Aycharts (a neighbouring tribe,) who are discovered and defeated; their mode of approach accurately represented, &c.

ACT SECOND, SCENE FIRST, The Nootkians, during this scene, enter fantastically dressed, in the habits of the murdered crew, and part of the goods belonging to the ship, armed awkwardly with guns, pistols, &c.

A Procession of the Klaizzarts,

A more civilized nation, headed by Machee Utila their king, (by whose friendship Jewitt was enabled to communicate to his deliverers his situation,) followed by some of the Wykinnish, Esquates, Attizarts, Cayuquits, and other tribes, armed with clubs, bows, and arrows.

The Ludicrous Ceremonies of the Bear.

A WAR DANCE by the Nootkians.

JEWITT, THE ARMOURER,

Sings the Nootkian War Song.

THE ARMOURER is compelled to select a WIFE, and chooses the Princess YUQUA.

Dance of young Nootkian girls.

Chiefs enter, masked with heads of animals, to carry them off—the girls are rescued, and a general Dance succeeds.

Last scene, THE SHORE,

AN AMERICAN BRIG,

AT A LITTLE DISTANCE.

MAQUINA is seized by the Captain, as a hostage for the safety of the Armourer & Thompson, Who are at length released, and
Maquina restored.

End of the Melo-Drama the SONG of the Armourer Boy,

WILL BE SUNG BY MR. JEWITT.

Box One Dollar—Pit 75 Cents—Gallery 50 Cents. The doors will be opened at half past 5, and the curtain rise at half past 6 o'clock.

APPENDIX B.

Location list of editions of Jewitt's *Journal* and *Narrative*.

The numbers assigned to the various editions in the following list are the same as those used in the check list on pages 87-91 of the Goodspeed edition of the *Journal*. The various abbreviations used are for the most part self-explanatory. *Journal* means an edition of *A Journal Kept at Nootka Sound by John R. Jewitt*; *Narrative*, an edition of *A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt*, the original issue of which was adapted by Richard Alsop; *Captive*, an edition of *The Captive of Nootka*, the free adaptation of the *Narrative* compiled by "Peter Parley" (S. G. Goodrich).

It is believed that the three largest collections of Jewitt are in the library of His Honour Judge Howay, New Westminster, B.C.; in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.; and in the Newberry Library, Chicago. These libraries are indicated in the location list by the symbols "H," "PL," and "N," respectively. It will be noted that Judge Howay possesses fifteen of the twenty items, the Provincial Library twelve, and the Newberry Library nine. Copies of three of the four editions lacking from all three collections have been located through the Union Catalogue of the Rare Book Collection of the Library of Congress. No copy of the 1837 edition of *The Captive of Nootka* has been found.

Of the twenty items listed, only the original 1807 edition of the *Journal* is believed to be very rare. The Goodspeed check list states that copies are in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, the British Museum, Harvard College Library, the Huntington Library, the Peabody Museum, the Provincial Library of British Columbia, and Mr. Frank C. Deering. To this list should now be added the name of Judge Howay.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Journal</i> , Boston, 1807. | H. PL. |
| 2. <i>Narrative</i> , Middletown, March, 1815. | H. PL. N. |
| 3. <i>Narrative</i> , Middletown, July, 1815. | H. PL. |
| 4. <i>Narrative</i> , New York [?1815]. | H. PL. N. |
| 5. <i>Narrative</i> , New York, 1816. | H. |
| 6. <i>Narrative</i> , London, 1816. | H. PL. N. |
| 7. <i>Narrative</i> , Wakefield, 1820. | H. PL. N. |
| 8. <i>Narrative</i> , Edinburgh, 1824. | H. PL. |
| 9. <i>Captive</i> , New York, 1835. | Boston Public Library. |
| 10. <i>Captive</i> , Philadelphia, 1837. | No copy located. |
| 11. <i>Narrative</i> , Ithaca, 1840. | New York Public Library. |
| 12. <i>Captive</i> , Philadelphia, 1841. | H. |
| 13. <i>Narrative</i> , Ithaca, 1849. | H. PL. |
| 14. <i>Narrative</i> , Ithaca, 1851. | H. PL. N. |
| 15. <i>Captive</i> , Philadelphia, 1854. | H. PL. N. |
| 16. <i>Captive</i> , Philadelphia, 1861. | H. |
| 17. <i>Captive</i> , Philadelphia, 1869. | N. |
| 18. <i>Narrative</i> , London, 1896. | H. PL. N. |
| 19. <i>Makwinnas gefangener</i> . . . [<i>Narrative</i> , in German], Leipzig, 1928. | Library of Congress. |
| 20. <i>Journal</i> , Boston, 1931. | H. PL. N. |

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

No single factor had a greater influence upon the opening-up and development of Central British Columbia than the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. In 1900, before its construction, this vast area could be reached only by way of the Cariboo Road, from Ashcroft. This led to Quesnel and Fort George (now Prince George), from which points local roads and trails extended into the surrounding hills and valleys. Except in the immediate vicinity of these two towns, travel conditions had changed little since the days of the fur trade. But within fifteen years this section of British Columbia was to be traversed from east to west by a first-class railroad, communication was to be opened to the south by means of regular coastal steamship service from Prince Rupert, as well as by railways from Quesnel and Tete Jaune Cache, settlement was to be greatly increased, hitherto undiscovered resources were to be developed, and Central British Columbia was to enter upon a boom period.

Although in 1900 there was no east-to-west communication system through Central British Columbia, there was, as Sandford Fleming had pointed out thirty years before in his Canadian Pacific Railway exploration surveys, a natural route for the construction of a railway. At the eastern boundary an excellent pass, the Yellowhead, opens a way through the Rocky Mountains to the headwaters of the Fraser River, which flows north-west through a region of plateaux, low mountains, and river-valleys. From Prince George, where the Fraser River turns southward, this railway route follows its tributaries, the Nechako and Endako rivers, which flow from the north-west. From Decker Lake, near the source of the Endako River, it is possible to cross the Bulkley Mountains by a short pass to the headwaters of the Bulkley River. This river flows north-west until it empties into the Skeena River, which flows south-west through the Coast Range into the Pacific Ocean. This is the route followed by the

Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. Along it lies the chief belt of settlement in Central British Columbia.

The construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was a natural outcome of conditions in Canada at the beginning of this century. Whereas the decade before 1896 had been one of depression, the years 1896-1913 were years of unprecedented prosperity. Capital, both from Great Britain and other countries, was ample and credit was cheap. Of even more significance was the spectacular increase in immigration to Canada, both from the United States and from Europe. This great influx may be attributed to the strong Imperialistic sentiment in Great Britain at that time, to the aggressive propaganda of Clifford Sifton, and to the shortage of free land in the United States which resulted from the end of the "frontier" movement. Whereas the number of immigrants to Canada in 1898 was only 31,900, in 1903 it had reached 128,364 and the following years were to show still larger figures.

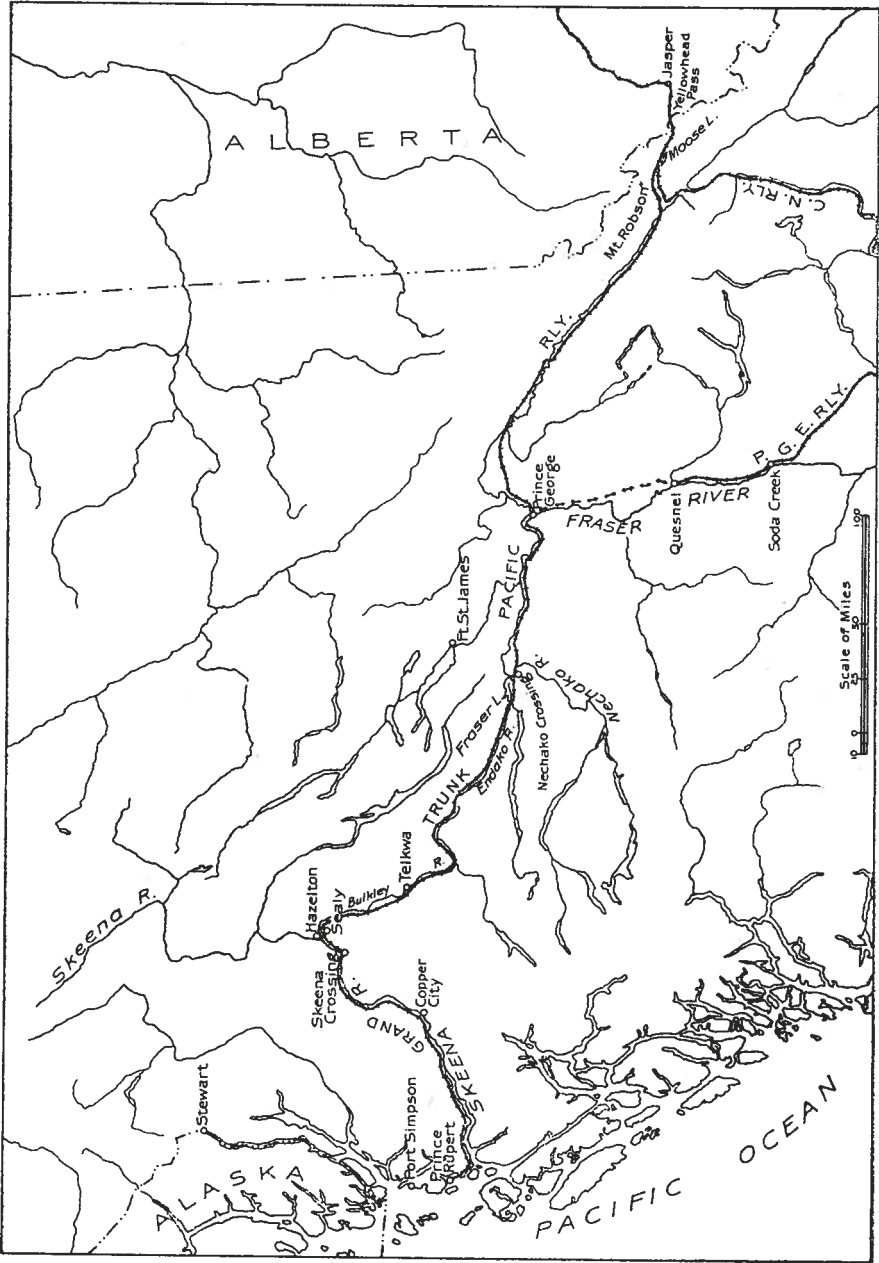
Thus boom times, cheap money, and unprecedented immigration resulted in a veritable flood of newcomers to the Canadian prairies, and with their coming there arose an increasing need for more railway facilities to the West. A new railway to serve the prairies north of the Canadian Pacific main line was a necessity; but, unfortunately, this expansion was carried beyond all rational limits and, probably as a result of the blind optimism of the times, not one, but two, new transcontinental railways were concurrently constructed through this section.

In 1902 the railways west of the Great Lakes proved inadequate to handle the greatly increased grain trade. At that time Western Canada was served by two railways of importance—the Canadian Pacific, extending to the Pacific, and the youthful Canadian Northern, which in 1902 had 1,200 scattered miles of line extending between Port Arthur, Ontario, and Erwood, near the eastern boundary of Saskatchewan. But early in that year two more transcontinentals were planned. The Canadian Northern announced its intention of building from coast to coast, and in Quebec a group of promoters were planning a railway to pass through the northern latitudes and to be called the Trans-Canada Railway. This latter line was actually begun and 16 miles were constructed in Quebec province. It died a sudden death when

the Grand Trunk Railway made its unexpected announcement that it planned to support another transcontinental line to the Pacific Coast.

This line was first conceived by the officials of the Grand Trunk as an independent railway, to be called the Grand Trunk Pacific, which was to be a subsidiary of the older company and was to serve as an extension into the West. The project undoubtedly sprang from the vigorous mind of Charles M. Hays, who had served as General Manager of the Grand Trunk in 1896-1900 and had just returned to the road after a single year with the Southern Pacific. Hays realized that the financial difficulties of the Grand Trunk were caused not only by its inefficient methods but also by the fact that it was not gaining the amount of new business from the West that it should. The increased settlement on the prairies had resulted in an enormous increase in the export of wheat, but this traffic was controlled by the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Grand Trunk, traditionally concentrating on Ontario, was in the humiliating and unprofitable position of depending upon its rival for any of this trade which it might handle. Furthermore, the Canadian Pacific threatened not only to encircle the Grand Trunk lines with its track across Northern Ontario, but it was actually building branch lines into the south and destroying the monopoly which the other railway had consistently sought to maintain. In Hays's opinion the solution of these difficulties was the building of a feeder-line to the prairies which would be subsidiary to the Grand Trunk. Such a railway was first planned as a projection of the line through Chicago to Winnipeg and the west, but Hays realized that the Canadian Government would not approve this route, both for political reasons and because of tariff difficulties. The Grand Trunk therefore proposed to build the extension westward from North Bay, the existing terminus of its lines in Northern Ontario.

Hays's first steps in the development of this new railway were a general survey of the territory and the submission of a proposal to the Canadian Government on November 2, 1902, for the building of a line from North Bay to Port Simpson, on the Pacific Coast. The terms suggested implied a subsidy of \$6,400 and 5,000 acres of land per mile of line, as well as certain other concessions with regard to mail subsidies, free importation of con-



Map indicating the route of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in British Columbia.

struction material, and taxation exemptions. The Government turned the proposition down.

In spite of this, on November 24, 1902, Hays made a bare announcement that a transcontinental railway would be built which would be entirely independent of the Grand Trunk Railway, but which would have exclusive traffic arrangements with it.

Meanwhile the Government was trying to bring the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern railways together in an attempt to have each build lines which would be complementary, rather than opposed, to each other. After several meetings the two lines could not agree, and for some reason the Government did not exert the pressure which it could have used to force such an agreement. Instead it permitted them to plan separate transcontinentals which at times paralleled each other at a distance of less than 30 miles. Probable reasons for the failure of the two companies to come to an agreement were the excessive demands of the Canadian Northern and the belief of the Grand Trunk that it could easily crush its younger rival.

Early in 1903 the officials of the Grand Trunk and the Government discussed possibilities of construction and terms. Judging from the fact that Mr. Blair, the Minister of Railways, resigned from his position on July 10 it must be supposed that these talks were mainly between the railway officials and the Prime Minister, Wilfrid Laurier, who was becoming very enthusiastic over the plan. As a result of his attitude it is only right to accept the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway as a Liberal project, just as the Canadian Pacific Railway has been accepted as the work of the Conservatives under Sir John A. Macdonald. The chief result of these discussions was that, for political reasons, the project was extended still farther and the railway was planned as a transcontinental, stretching all the way from Moncton, New Brunswick, to the Pacific Ocean.

On June 4, 1903, the Bill providing for its construction passed the Railway Committee, after being discussed for seven days. On July 9 it was accepted by the Liberal caucus. This was followed immediately by the resignation of Mr. Blair. On July 29 Laurier signed an agreement with the company, and on the following day personally presented the Bill to the House.

The Acts¹ which ultimately resulted in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway provided for a transcontinental line which was to be built in two divisions. The first of these, to be known as the National Transcontinental, extending from Winnipeg to Moncton, was to be constructed by the Government. The other, to be built by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, was to extend from Winnipeg to Port Simpson "or some other port on the Pacific Coast." When the National Transcontinental was completed it was to be leased to the Grand Trunk Pacific for fifty years, with the privilege of renewing the option at the end of the period. By way of rental the Grand Trunk Pacific was to meet "working expenditures" during the first seven years and to pay 3 per cent. of the "cost of construction" for the remaining time. As it turned out, the National Transcontinental was not taken over by the Grand Trunk Pacific as agreed, and ultimately the line became part of the Canadian National Railways.

The Grand Trunk Pacific was an independent company with a capital of \$45,000,000, consisting of \$20,000,000 in preferred stock and \$25,000,000 in common stock. Except for 1,000 shares held by the directors, the Grand Trunk Railway held all the common stock. The new railway was to be divided into two sections—the prairie section, extending from Winnipeg to Wolf Creek, Alberta, and the mountain section, from Wolf Creek to the Pacific.² The Dominion Government guaranteed principal and interest on the bonds issued by the company up to 75 per cent. of the cost of construction in each division, but it was stipulated at first that the principal so guaranteed was not to exceed \$13,000 per mile on the prairies and \$30,000 per mile in the mountains. In 1904 this restriction was removed from the mountain section and no definite limit was set. The company was to pay interest

(1) Statutes of Canada, 1903, c. 71 (*National Transcontinental Railway Act*) and c. 122 (*An Act to Incorporate the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company*); 1904, c. 24 (*amending the National Transcontinental Railway Act*), and c. 80 (*An Act respecting the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company*).

(2) The total mileage, Winnipeg to the Pacific, was 1,757 miles. The prairie section was 917 miles; the mountain section 840 miles. Edmonton to Wolf Creek is about 120 miles, and the distance from Wolf Creek to the boundary of British Columbia 130 miles. Thus there were about 710 miles within British Columbia.

on the bonds for the prairie section from the date of issue and the Government was to pay the interest on the bonds of the mountain section for seven years, at not over 3 per cent. This meant that the company was to have the use of 75 per cent. of the capital expended on the mountain section free for seven years. The remaining 25 per cent. of the bonds on both sections was to be guaranteed by the Grand Trunk Railway.

The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway had two motives for building through British Columbia. In the first place it aimed to be a colonization road, which would open new land to settlement, exploitation, and the discovery of new natural resources. More important, the line in British Columbia would form a link between the prairie and eastern lines, which were expected to pay, and a Pacific port. Through traffic from the Coast to points across the continent had proven highly lucrative to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Grand Trunk Pacific clearly wished to reach the Pacific and secure a share of the Oriental traffic. Because its route was 200 miles shorter, the Grand Trunk Pacific expected to have a very definite advantage over the other trans-continental in competing for this trade.

Reconnaissance surveys for the new railway began soon after the Bills passed the House of Commons. The first sod was turned at Sand Hill, Manitoba, on August 28, 1906. By July, 1909, the line had been built from Winnipeg to Edmonton, and in the following year the prairie section was completed to Wolf Creek.

Of the 840 miles in the so-called mountain section, approximately 710 were in British Columbia. Building of this section began from both the eastern and western ends. When the prairie section was completed from Winnipeg to Wolf Creek, construction continued progressively westward into the mountain section until it met the tracks from the west, which had been begun at Prince Rupert. The contractors for the entire section were Foley, Welch & Stewart, but the work was almost entirely sublet to contractors in sections which were usually shorter than 5 miles each.³

(3) The sub-contractors included: R. Ross and C. A. Carlson; A. L. McHugh; Craig Brothers; John E. Bostrom; Angus Stuart; Neil Keith; M. Sheedy; McDonald and McAllister; Smith Brothers; Stano and Harstone; Prince Rupert Construction Company; Dan Stewart; Fred Peterson; Norman McLeod; Dan Horrigan; Washstock and Company; D. A.

Edmonton was the base of operations for the construction gangs building from Wolf Creek westward. Supplies were carried from there to the different bases either by construction train or by wagon. The construction train was able to run over the tracks as soon as they were laid, and, because it could not average over 8 miles per hour, was nicknamed the "flier." Wagons were used to carry supplies to those camps which were beyond the "end of steel." The customary price for hauling was 5 cents a pound, regardless of distance. There were about six hundred teams working along the line through the Rocky Mountains, about two-thirds of which were privately owned.

Another common method of obtaining supplies after steel had crossed the Yellowhead Pass and reached the Fraser River was by steamer from Soda Creek, up the river to the "end of steel." F. W. Stewart, of the Foley, Welch & Stewart Construction Company, had two steamers in operation, the *Operator* and the *Conveyor*. Each had a capacity of 175 tons and was powerful enough to push a scow carrying a 90-ton load against the current. Steamboats were not as satisfactory as teams, however, as they could only be operated when the water was high. In 1912, because of the light snowfall, they were only used for three weeks.

One of the most interesting phenomena of railroad building is the "end of steel" village. One writer has described that of the Grand Trunk Pacific as follows:—

The "end of steel" village was built around the "Pioneer," the mechanical track-layer—an ungainly overgrown box car with weird semi-human arms. The village is always three miles from the end of steel. That is positively the only restraint it knows; for within that distance of the end of steel the contractor has complete legal control on unsettled districts. And knowing the hell that lives in those shacks he pushes them to the extreme of his authority.

Rankin; Freberg and Stone; Boie Brothers and Stone; Joe Amantea; Kerr and Company; Backus and Company; P. Salvus; John Moran; John Albi; Mike Sheedy; A. L. McHugh; J. Stanio; Duncan Ross; McDougall and Rankin; Moran and Chiene; Bostrom and Kullander; Sheedy and Paget; Lund, Rogers and Company; B. A. Rankin; A. E. Griffin; Carlton and Griffin; Burns and Jordan; John Bostick; Hugh McLeod; M. Sheedy; Bates, Rogers Construction Company; Siems, Carey and Company; Hogan Construction Company; Ross and McCaull; Johnston, Carey and Helmers; and Magoffin and Berg.

An "end of steel" village is made up of booze, billiards, and belles. It is the home of the illicit liquor traffic of construction, the location of enough pool tables to stock a large city, and the residence of women who never elsewhere enjoyed so much freedom. Three-quarters of the shacks are restaurants in front—for about six feet. The restaurant is merely an outward plausible excuse for the existence of the shack.

Back of the little counter is the pool room . . . and then through a small doorway, up a short flight of stairs that breathe exclusiveness and privacy is the real object of existence—the card room.

Free bunk houses are the provision of the contractors for the disabled, helpless bohunk who has spent the evening and everything else in the other shacks.

At Mile 50 B.C. there was even a bath house, but it failed ignominiously but not expectedly.

At Fitzhugh, which is within the province of Alberta, the lid was kept closed a little by the mounted police, but their jurisdiction ended at the border of British Columbia, and there at the summit, right on the boundary, the doors were opened wide, and down through the miles 17, 29, and 50 they remained that way. Mile 29 had a reputation of which its inhabitants refused to be proud. . . .

A special collection of shacks grew up at the western end of the pass, on the site of the Tete Jaune Cache Indian Village. . . . An old negress ran the town. . . . An "end of steel" village is a disgrace, but Tete Jaune was indescribable.⁴

The summit of the Rocky Mountains, which marks the British Columbia boundary, was reached by steel about November 15, 1911.⁵ From this point the road followed the Tete Jaune gorge for about 10 miles to the headwaters of the Fraser, at Yellowhead Lake. Steel reached Moose Lake, 20 miles farther, in March, 1912,⁶ and a tri-weekly service from Moose Lake to Edmonton was inaugurated in August. From this point construction was much easier, as supplies could be obtained by the riverboats and the country was much less rugged than in the Rockies.

(4) Fort George *Herald*, September 20, 1913, quoting W. Lacey May in *Railroad and Current Mechanics*.

(5) Prince Rupert *Daily News*, November 15, 1911. Most of the dates of construction which follow in the narrative have been taken from contemporary newspapers. It should be noted, however, that the exact meaning of the dates given is often none too clear, and that they may indicate the date of clearing, laying of steel, or arrival of the first train. An effort has been made, as nearly as possible, to give the date when steel was laid to each point.

(6) Fort George *Herald*, March 30, 1912.

The greatest problem in this section was the "gumbo," or clayey mud, which is the common terrain.

In April, 1913, steel reached the Raushuswap River, where a bridge 850 feet long was built.⁷ Two months later trains were running from that point to Tete Jaune Cache. Late in November the railroad crossed the Fraser for the third time near the present site of Hansard,⁸ and by the end of the year the line was at Willow River,⁹ less than 20 miles east of Prince George. By January 12, 1914, steel had reached the Fraser River opposite Prince George, and on January 27 the track-layer crossed on a temporary bridge which was destroyed by ice the same day. Fortunately, construction of the permanent steel bridge required at this point had been begun on August 31, 1912, and the structure was completed on March 7, 1914. The laying of tracks across this bridge linked Prince George to the east by rail. Progress from that time was rapid. By the end of March, 1914, the present site of Finmoore, which is 50 miles west of Prince George, was reached,¹⁰ and on April 5, 1914, the rails met those from the west at a point 2 miles west of Nechako Crossing, just east of Fraser Lake.¹¹ The meeting-place is a solitary spot to-day, being marked only by a sign which states that the Grand Trunk Pacific was completed there.

The Pacific Coast end of the railway presented many difficulties. The first of these was the problem of a suitable terminus. The original contract had mentioned Port Simpson, which is located on the Tsimpsen Peninsula, about 20 miles north of the mouth of the Skeena River, but it was understood at the time that this would not necessarily be used if a better place could be found. Surveys showed that the best location would be on Kaien Island, which was in a small inlet known as Tuck's Inlet. An old Admiralty chart showed a rock in the harbour which would be a serious obstruction to navigation, but a new survey failed to locate this impediment and, as a result, the island

(7) *Ibid.*, April 12, 1913. This river is now called the Raush River.

(8) *Ibid.*, November 26, 1913.

(9) *Ibid.*, December 31, 1913.

(10) Prince Rupert *Daily News*, March 15, 1914.

(11) At this point the Nechako River flows from the south, but the Grand Trunk Pacific continued westward along the shore of Fraser Lake and the Endako River.

was selected as the western terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific. The name Prince Rupert was given to it as a result of a competition sponsored by the railway. Five thousand answers were received, the winner being Miss Eleanor MacDonald, of Winnipeg, who received a prize of \$250.

On May 4, 1904, by an Order in Council, the Government of British Columbia entered into an agreement with E. V. Bodwell, who was acting for an American financier, Peter Larsen, to dispose of 10,000 acres of land on and near Kaien Island, provided that the latter sold it to no one but the Grand Trunk Pacific, and provided further that the terminus of the road was placed upon it. Larsen duly sold this land to the Grand Trunk Pacific, at no profit, and Bodwell became the representative of the railway on the Pacific Coast. For some unrevealed reason this agreement was not made public for two years, and the result was a crop of unproved charges of graft which gave rise to the notorious Kaien Island investigation. This inquiry was conducted by a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly and completely exonerated the Government from any charges of improper practice.¹²

On July 12, 1904, Charles M. Hays, President of the Grand Trunk Pacific, had stated: "So soon as the progress of the surveys in British Columbia will permit, construction will be commenced from the Pacific coast to the end of the road and be carried on continuously in an easterly direction until the road is completed."¹³ However, much to the dismay of British Columbia, it was discovered that there was no clause in the contract which forced the railway to build from the western end. The Grand Trunk Pacific sought to use this fact to force concessions from the Government in the form of either a cash subsidy or a land grant. In 1905, while the Legislature was in session, F. W. Morse, Vice-President of the Company, spent five weeks in Victoria. Apparently his demand was a land grant of 20,000 acres per mile to abut on the railway, which the company agreed to sell at prices set by the Government. As it was estimated at that time that there would be about 400 miles of line built in British

(12) The complete report and proceedings of the investigation will be found in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1906, appendix, pp. lxvii.-ccxxiv.

(13) E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, II., p. 548.

Columbia, the grant under these terms would be over 8,000,000 acres. The Government, evidently considering that, in view of Hays's earlier statement, such a demand was a breach of faith, told Morse definitely that he would receive no subsidy. Morse thereupon left British Columbia, determined not to build from the west.¹⁴

Premier McBride now found himself in a difficult position. Apparently he had saved the land grant, but had lost the agreement of the railway to build from Kaien Island eastward. However, a weapon soon appeared by which he was able to force the railway to build from the Pacific end. It was trying to obtain possession of certain Indian reserves, particularly those near Kaien Island, but to do this it was essential to have the consent of the Provincial Government. McBride used this lever, not only to withstand the pressure of the Liberal Government at Ottawa but also to force several concessions from the railway. Not the least of these stated that construction was to be begun at Prince Rupert by June 1, 1908, and was to continue steadily eastward.¹⁵

The first sod on the western end was turned at Prince Rupert on May 7, 1908, a month after the first sub-contracts were let. Construction began at Copper River,¹⁶ on the Skeena River, about 100 miles east of Prince Rupert. The beginning of the work is described as follows in the *Prince Rupert Empire* of August 24, 1908:—

(14) "I am only sorry that the people of British Columbia have not signified a desire to co-operate with us. . . ." (*Vancouver World*, February 24, 1905.) See also a thinly disguised statement by Morse in the *Winnipeg Free Press* of March 27, 1905.

(15) See *Canadian Annual Review*, 1908, p. 528. The correspondence between McBride and Ottawa will be found in *Correspondence between the Government of Canada and the Government of British Columbia relating to the application of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company to acquire a portion of the Metlakatla Indian Reserve*. Victoria, King's Printer, 1908. Note particularly the statement by McBride in a letter of March 3, 1907: "I beg to state that the action of the Federal government in connection with the Indian reservations in B.C. has been so unsatisfactory of late that . . . this government does not intend to enter into any further arrangements with the Indian authorities."

(16) This was at first called *Newtown*, and is now called Copper City.

Construction work has been started on the Kitimat branch¹⁷ of the Grand Trunk Pacific at the mouth of Copper River . . . the Kitimat branch is being built under a charter granted by the provincial legislature several years ago. . . . The company that obtained this charter also received a promise of a cash subsidy of \$5,000 a mile provided \$100,000 in construction work was expended before a specified date this year. The Grand Trunk Pacific purchased the charter in 1905, and in order to get the cash subsidy have let a contract to "Jack" Stewart and his associates. Ninety men with horses and supplies were unloaded at Port Essington on August 13, and went by the steamer *Northwest* up the Skeena to Copper River mouth.

One of the serious problems which faced the railway surveyors was the selection of the best route between Aldermere, near the present town of Telkwa, and Copper River. Two alternatives were carefully considered. One of these was via the Telkwa and Zymoetz rivers to the Skeena River; the other followed the Bulkley River to its junction with the Skeena at Hazelton. The former route was about 80 miles shorter and was favoured by the engineer in charge of the district, but pressure from the Provincial Government resulted in the latter being chosen. It was shown that this route would serve both the agricultural district near Hazelton and the northern mines, especially those in the Babine Range; would afford an outlet to the Babine and Kispiox valleys, and, finally, would afford a satisfactory junction-point for a railroad to Dawson, in the Yukon. Such a railroad, which was contemplated in the original Grand Trunk Pacific plans, would find a natural route to the north through the Kispiox and Nass River valleys.

The 180 miles from Hazelton to Prince Rupert offered the most difficult engineering problems in the entire railroad. In 120 miles the Skeena River drops 1,000 feet, which makes this one of the most rapidly running waterways on the Coast.¹⁸ The

(17) This apparently refers to the Pacific, Northern & Omineca Railway, whose charter was apparently purchased by the Grand Trunk Pacific. Its route is described as "from a point on Kitimat Inlet . . . by the most convenient and feasible route to a point at or near Hazelton, on the Skeena River." (*Statutes*, British Columbia, 1900, c. 50.) Kitimat Inlet is the first one south of the mouth of the Skeena River. A railroad such as described would meet the Skeena River near Copper River.

(18) The difficulty of this problem was accentuated by Hays's attempt to have a maximum grade of one-quarter of 1 per cent. The railway was built with a maximum of four-tenths of 1 per cent. except for 19 miles near Tete Jaune Cache, where the grade is 1 per cent.

last 60 miles are tidal, which further complicated the problems of construction. The railway follows the banks of the river through almost solid rock for these 60 miles. Moreover, on these mountains avalanches and snowslides were so frequent that a tunnel almost 1,600 feet long had to be driven near Kwinitsa in an attempt to reduce the hazards of operation. Farther up the river is Kitselas Canyon, where great rock barriers made three tunnels measuring some 400, 700, and 1,100 feet respectively necessary. In the first 211 miles of railway there were no less than thirteen tunnels, totalling 8,886 feet, or well over a mile and a half, in length. When the railway crossed the Skeena, at Skeena Crossing, about 13 miles west of Hazelton, a bridge of six spans, with a total length of 930 feet, was needed. One cut in this section of the road was 6,600 feet long and took almost twenty-six months to complete. So difficult was the route that over 12,000 miles of trial lines and surveys had to be run in order to locate 186 miles of track.

Construction of the first two sections—the first of 100 miles to Copper River and the second of 140 miles to Aldermere—was carried on simultaneously in many places. The arrival of steel was delayed by the Zanardi Rapids, which lie between Kaien Island and the mainland.¹⁹ The problem of bridging them was accentuated by the tide, which not only runs at a speed of from 12 to 14 miles an hour but rises at times as high as 26 feet. The bridge across this channel was not completed until July, 1910, and consisted of six spans totalling 645 feet.

This delayed the completion of the line from Prince Rupert eastward, and materials for construction were therefore carried to the camps up the Skeena River by means of shallow-draught, stern-wheeled steamers. There were five of these, the *Henrietta*, *Port Simpson*, *Distributor*, *Omineca*, and *Conveyor*, all owned by Foley, Welch & Stewart. They were used in the summer but were of little use in winter. Their speed was estimated at 15 miles per hour. Because of the strong current in the river, in actual operation this speed varied greatly, and whereas it took five to eight days to travel up-stream to Hazelton the return journey could be made in fourteen hours. Sometimes the cur-

(19) Charles Zenardi was inspector of the wharf at Prince Rupert. The name of the rapids has been changed to *Zanardi*.

rent was so strong that it was necessary to haul the boats through the canyons by cables attached to donkey-engines.

By March 31, 1910, grading and culverts were completed for almost 100 miles east of Prince Rupert and the wharf had been completed in that city, but only about 7 miles of track had been laid and no stations or buildings of any kind had been built along the road.

On July 31, 1910, the first construction train from Prince Rupert crossed the newly completed Zanardi Rapids bridge,²⁰ and from this time the trains greatly assisted the work. By September, steel was laid for 70 miles and C. C. Van Arsdoll, the chief engineer of the mountain section, had moved his headquarters to New Hazelton. At the same time lots were offered for sale in Ellison,²¹ the first townsite to be sold east of Prince Rupert. Steel went little farther that year because of Kitselas Canyon, where the tunnels were not completed until January 20, 1912.

By March, 1912, the rails had reached Skeena Crossing,²² where they were again forced to wait for the building of a bridge. Meanwhile, trains were run from Prince Rupert to this point and passengers took a boat across the Skeena to the remainder of the track. In September, 1911, arrangements had been made with the Hudson's Bay Company by Foley, Welch & Stewart by which boats met the trains and made it possible to buy a through ticket to Hazelton.

In the spring of 1912 track-laying was pushed ahead rapidly and, in spite of the fact that there was snow on the ground, 30 miles were laid in six weeks. On March 31 the Skeena bridge was completed. In August the tracks reached Sealy,²³ where a huge gulch necessitated the building of one of the longest bridges on the line, measuring 900 feet.

(20) Prince Rupert *Optimist*, August 1, 1910.

(21) Ellison was also called *Sealy*. It was 3 miles west of New Hazelton. The land thereabouts lacked a sufficiently level grade, and later the station was built a short distance to the east, at South Hazelton. Price Ellison was Minister of Lands in 1910. J. C. K. Sealy was proprietor of the Omineca Hotel, in Hazelton.

(22) Prince Rupert *Daily News*, March 13, 1912.

(23) *Omineca Herald*, August 9, 1912.

The choice of Sealy (or Ellison) as the temporary terminus of the railway for some months was the result of an attempt by the railway to exploit its route. Hazelton, which is on the north bank of the Bulkley River, could not be made a station, since the railway ran along the southern bank. It was therefore planned to build a station on the opposite side of the river to the town, in the section known as New Hazelton. But the land adjoining this site was owned by the Northern Interior Land Company, which was determined not to agree to the terms offered by the railway. Finding itself unable to exploit more than a small section of New Hazelton, the Grand Trunk Pacific attempted to erect its station first at Sealy and later at South Hazelton.²⁴ An appeal to the Railway Commission resulted in a decision that the station must be built at New Hazelton. Thus balked, the railway for some time unloaded its passengers at Sealy, ran empty trains to the "Y" at New Hazelton, and returned empty. This practice continued for almost a year before a station was built at the latter place.

From this time the work progressed steadily. On February 28, 1913, trains were running to Porphyry Creek, about 18 miles east of New Hazelton and near the site of the present station of Beament.²⁵ On May 23 steel reached the Telkwa River; in September it was at Decker Lake; and by the end of the year it was at Burns Lake, 316 miles east of Prince Rupert and 136 miles from New Hazelton. By March 15, 1914, steel was laid to Fraser Lake, and on April 5 it met the rails from the east. The last spike was driven by H. B. Kelliher, the chief engineer, and although no official ceremony was held at the time a crowd of 1,500 persons was present.

The first train from the east reached Prince Rupert on April 8, 1914, but it was not until September 6 that regular passenger service was inaugurated from Prince Rupert to Winnipeg.

With the beginning of regular train service the actual construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway may be said to have been completed, although there was still much to be done, such as the improvement of the road-bed, the construction of sidings, and the replacement of temporary bridges. When this

(24) See note 21, *supra*.

(25) *Omineca Herald*, February 28, 1913.

was finished the Grand Trunk Pacific was recognized as one of the best built of the colonizing lines in North America. The vision of Charles M. Hays had become a fact.

Closely connected with the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway were a number of subsidiary companies. One of the most interesting of these was the Grand Trunk Pacific Branch Lines Company, which was incorporated on June 30, 1906. By the end of 1909 this company had chartered twenty-two branch lines, five in the eastern division and seventeen in the western.²⁶ Only two of these were in British Columbia—one to Dawson, in the Yukon, from the main line (probably near Hazelton), and one to Vancouver. Neither of these was built, but the latter project undoubtedly gave rise to the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. Construction on this line began in 1912, but because of financial difficulties the Provincial Government was forced to take control of it in 1918. Construction finally ceased in 1922. By that time it extended from Squamish, at the head of Howe Sound, to Quesnel, about 80 miles south of Prince George and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. It is interesting to speculate as to whether this line, if completed, would in effect have diverted the main line to Vancouver and relegated the track to Prince Rupert to the position of a secondary road.

Another important and valuable subsidiary was the Grand Trunk Pacific Town and Development Company, Limited, which was incorporated on August 2, 1906. In January, 1910, it changed its name to the Grand Trunk Pacific Development Company. The purpose of this company was to acquire land and lay out townsites, promote mining, operate tramways, and to develop other related projects. It was very active in Central British Columbia, particularly in the opening of Prince Rupert, New Hazelton, Fort Fraser, and Prince George.

As noted above, one of the fundamental reasons for the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway through British Columbia had been the development of trade with the Orient. In connection with this the promoters of the company hoped to establish a trans-Pacific steamship service. The British Columbia Coast Service was expected to be the beginning of this great

(26) *Debates*, House of Commons, Canada, December 13, 1909, p. 1366.

steamship system, for in 1909 Captain C. H. Nicholson was appointed manager and organizer of the Pacific fleet, and its extension to China and Japan.

The Grand Trunk Pacific Coast Steamship Company operated a regular coast service for many years. The *Prince Albert* was the first of its fleet to reach the Coast, and arrived off William Head, near Victoria, from England, on May 30, 1910. From there she went to Seattle for docking before entering service. She was an old steamer, built as the *Bruno* in 1892, and was refitted for the new trade. Her length was 232 feet and her gross tonnage 1,015. On November 12, 1909, an agreement had been made with the Dominion Government for a steamer service to the Queen Charlotte Islands from Prince Rupert, for which the Government agreed to pay a subsidy of \$200 a trip. The *Prince Albert* was intended for this run. The service was to be weekly in summer and fortnightly in winter.

Two fine new steamers, the *Prince Rupert* and *Prince George*, arrived at Esquimalt on June 4 and July 12, 1910, respectively, from England, where they had been built by Swan, Hunter & Wigham Richardson, at Newcastle. Their principal dimensions were: Gross tonnage, 3,379 tons; length, 306 feet; beam, 42 feet; speed, 18 knots. They were oil-burners and attracted much attention because they were the first merchant ships with cruiser sterns. Each was fitted to carry 220 first-class passengers and 32 in the second class. The *Prince Rupert* sailed on her first voyage from Seattle on June 12 and from Victoria and Vancouver on June 13, 1910. She reached Prince Rupert on June 16. The *Prince George* joined her on the run late in July. Each steamer made a round trip each week from Seattle, Victoria, and Vancouver to Prince Rupert and Stewart. In 1916, 1917, and 1918 a summer service was operated to Skagway. For many years they maintained the fastest service to the northern coast.

In 1911 a fourth vessel, the *Prince John*, was added to the fleet. She had been built in 1910 as the *Amethyst* and was completely rebuilt before coming to the Coast. She was the smallest of the Grand Trunk steamers, having a length of 185 feet and a gross tonnage of 905. She was the last ship to be added to the Grand Trunk Pacific Steamship Company's fleet. When the rail-

way became a part of the Canadian National Railways system the steamship service on the Pacific Coast was maintained.

Two other subsidiaries are of particular interest to British Columbia. The Grand Trunk Pacific British Columbia Coal Company controlled twelve sections of land alongside the railway about 16 miles east of Hazelton. Here it drilled three tunnels, from which it supplied coal to the British Columbia section of the railway. The Grand Trunk Pacific Telegraph Company inaugurated a service between Winnipeg and Prince Rupert on November 21, 1914.

The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company and its subsidiaries were organized in times of prosperity and peace. Their founders expected them to do great things for Canada. But their vision, probably blinded by optimism of the times, was too hopeful and did not foresee the factors which were finally to cause the collapse of the railway. The general prosperity and boom had definitely declined by 1913. This decline had been accentuated by the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which had restricted the British money market. The outbreak of the World War in 1914, during which immigration practically ceased, gave the final blow. The railway struggled along for a few years with the assistance of Government loans, but was finally forced into receivership in 1919.

Nevertheless, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway did two things for British Columbia which earn it a permanent place in the history of the Province. It opened the area between Prince Rupert and the Yellowhead Pass, supplying it with transportation and telegraph facilities. Furthermore, it afforded an outlet from this section to the remainder of Canada, so that the agricultural lands, mines, and fisheries of Central British Columbia could be developed. Whatever condemnations may be heaped upon this great project, the indubitable fact remains that the years which saw its construction were clearly one of the vital periods in the development of British Columbia.

J. A. LOWER.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

JOHN CARMICHAEL HAYNES.

Pioneer of the Okanagan and Kootenay.

Though more than fifty years have passed since his death, the name of Judge Haynes, who pioneered in the Okanagan and in Kootenay, remains familiar to many. The mention of Osoyoos to old-timers still conjures up memories of the Haynes Ranch and of the hospitality which made it a mecca for hunters, weary travellers, missionaries, lonely settlers, and puzzled, inquiring Indians.

John Carmichael Haynes, eldest son of Jonas Haynes and Hester Carmichael, was born at Landscape, County Cork, Ireland, on July 6, 1831. When he was 27, tales of the gold mines and adventure to be found in the new Colony of British Columbia came drifting back in letters from friends who had gone to seek their fortunes there. Finally the lure became too great and young John turned for assistance to his influential uncle, James Carmichael, of Hyndford. Carmichael was a personal friend of Chartres Brew, an officer in the Irish Constabulary, who had recently been appointed Inspector of Police for British Columbia. Haynes was able to secure what Brew himself described as a "strong testimonial" from the Mayor and Magistrates of Cork, and letters from two gentlemen known personally to Brew who were Magistrates for the County and City.¹

Armed with these, John Haynes set sail for Victoria, having bade farewell to a heart-broken mother and a sad father whom he was never to see again. Travelling by way of San Francisco, he reached his destination on Christmas Day, 1858. He lost no time in presenting his recommendations to Chartres Brew, who in turn introduced him immediately to Governor Douglas. Haynes asked for an appointment in the new British Columbia Police. His application was accepted, but the exact date upon which he was enrolled as a constable is not known. It must have been within a few days, for he left for the Mainland with Chartres Brew early in January, 1859.

(1) Chartres Brew to James Douglas, December 29, 1858.

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Haynes arrived at a dramatic moment, just in time to have a share in the episode known to history as the Ned McGowan War. In actual fact this consisted of nothing more than disorders amongst the miners near Yale, but for a time much exaggerated reports which reached Victoria had the authorities seriously alarmed. Colonel Moody was hastily dispatched up the Fraser with twenty-five of his newly-arrived Royal Engineers. A hundred marines and bluejackets from H.M.S. *Satellite* were hurried to Fort Langley. In the midst of this excitement Chartres Brew proceeded to the Mainland. Two of the four constables who went with him remained at Fort Langley, while the other two, John Haynes and Thomas Elwyn, accompanied him up the river to Fort Yale. There they were joined in a few days by another constable, W. G. Cox, whom Haynes was to know very well in later years.

The Ned McGowan disturbances soon came to an end, but Brew and his officers remained at Yale. This was to be expected, for the district was at the time the chief centre both of mining and population in the Colony. Moreover, Brew was Chief Gold Commissioner as well as Superintendent of Police. Both Haynes and Elwyn soon won his firm regard, as is shown by the fact that early in March, 1859, he proposed to send one of them to act as Chief Constable for the Lytton District. "These gentlemen while with me have afforded me great satisfaction," Brew wrote, "and I am persuaded that either of them will exert himself to the best of his ability to perform the duties of any office he may hold with zeal and fidelity."² In the end both men remained at Yale, as the proposed appointment proved unnecessary.

Later in March, Haynes and W. G. Cox were assigned the difficult task of collecting licence fees from the miners at work between Yale and Hope. Their efforts met with little success, for they collected only \$80, in spite of the fact that they "visited every bar between the two places."³ A more ambitious expedition up-river to Lytton fared no better, for the revenue secured did not even cover travelling expenses. This failure did not shake Brew's confidence in his officers, and in reporting the matter to Victoria he was careful to state that he was "satisfied

(2) Chartres Brew to Colonel Moody, March 2, 1859.

(3) Chartres Brew to W. A. G. Young, March 19, 1859.

that the want of success" could not be "attributed to any want of sufficient exertions on the part of Mr. Cox and Mr. Haynes."⁴ Viewed in retrospect, indeed, the fault seems to have been his rather than theirs, for he had sent them forth to collect a highly unpopular tax armed with little more than their powers of persuasion. More drastic action was required, and a marginal comment added to Brew's report by Governor Douglas shows that the latter perceived this quite clearly. If a miner would not pay, Douglas wrote, he should be evicted, and his claim made over to any one who would pay the tax.

In April, E. H. Sanders became Assistant Gold Commissioner at Yale and Brew turned over to him his local duties in the district. A decline in activity had set in, and by the early summer, when the freshet was interfering with placer operations on the bars, Sanders's reports were far from encouraging. "Mining operations have almost entirely ceased for this season," he wrote on June 3, 1859. "To the best of my judgment there are not more than two hundred men in the District, below Yale, and even that number is gradually diminishing. Boats heavily freighted with men leave this place every day. The panic is general but unaccountable, for I have never met a miner yet, who denied the existence of gold in remunerative quantities."⁵ Within a month, however, the tide was at the point of turning. Sanders was able to report "that the news from the Upper Country continues most cheering. Trade is reviving, mule trains leave constantly for the Forks, laden with provisions. The river is rapidly subsiding and mining will soon be resumed."⁶ As it turned out, this was the start of the determined up-river trek by miners which was to end in the discovery of the golden riches of Cariboo.

These conditions are worth noting because they illustrate vividly the constant ebb and flow of mining, population, and prosperity, which affected the careers of most of the pioneer officials of the Colony, including that of John Carmichael Haynes. In January, 1859, it had been necessary to engage many special constables at Yale. By the end of May, Sanders was drastically reducing even his small regular staff. Haynes was one of the

(4) *Ibid.*, April 9, 1859.

(5) E. H. Sanders to Chartres Brew, June 3, 1859.

(6) E. H. Sanders to W. A. G. Young, July 2, 1859.

very few officers retained, however, and when we hear of him next, in November, he has become Chief Constable at Yale.⁷

Though he retained this position for a considerable time, events were already in preparation which were to lead to his transfer to a new post. In the autumn of 1859 gold discoveries had been made both on the Similkameen River and on Rock Creek, not far from the international boundary, and the inevitable influx of miners followed in the spring of 1860. Early in the summer Governor Douglas travelled to Hope to consider the problems of communication and government to which this influx gave rise, and in September he visited Rock Creek itself. The problem which he discovered there was twofold. First, it was necessary to make provision for the maintenance of law and order and the collection of the various mining and trading licences. Secondly, provision had to be made for the collection of customs duties upon the horses, cattle, and supplies which were pouring into the country from the American side. Previous to this, as practically every one who entered the Colony was bound for a mine or settlement on the Fraser River, only one port of entry—New Westminster—had seemed necessary.

The first step taken by Douglas was to place W. G. Cox in charge of the whole Rock Creek-Similkameen area, as Justice of the Peace and Gold Commissioner. Next, while at Hope on his way back to the Coast, he wrote to Cox telling him that he was sending J. C. Haynes to the Rock Creek district to assist him in his duties. "Mr. Haynes," Douglas added, "has been nearly two years in the Service, and bears an excellent character for steadiness and efficiency, and I have no doubt will prove exceedingly useful in the department to which he is now appointed."⁸

It transpired subsequently that the "department" to which the Governor referred was the Customs service, with which Haynes was to be associated all the rest of his life. Though many and varied duties were to come his way in his new district, officially his position was that of Deputy Collector of Customs. The appointment, which dated from September 23, 1860, provided for a salary of £250 per annum.

(7) J. C. Haynes to Chartres Brew, November 16, 1859.

(8) James Douglas to W. G. Cox, October 3, 1860.

After his return to Victoria, Douglas completed his arrangements by the proclamation of the Southern Boundary Act, in December. New Westminster remained the sole port of entry, but the Act permitted the importation of "goods, wares, animals, or merchandize" at other points provided "the duties, tolls, and fines hereinafter specified shall have been first paid to some duly qualified officer of customs, and such officer shall have first granted to the importer a permit on behalf of such goods." The advantage of this plan was its flexibility. No one could tell where gold might next be found; and the Act made it possible for a Customs officer to cope promptly with any new influx of miners, since it authorized him to levy duties and tolls anywhere along the international boundary without any further formality.

Haynes reported to Cox at Rock Creek on October 15, 1860. He was to be stationed at Similkameen (or Shimilkameen, as it was then usually spelled), but did not proceed thither until late in November, as the Customs station there took longer to build than was expected. His jurisdiction was confined at first to the one post, but in April, 1861, it was extended to include the trails to the interior which bordered Okanagan Lake, upon which two constables were stationed.⁹ Even so his work cannot have been onerous, for over the period January 1–October 19, 1861, duties were collected on only 356 horses, 92 mules, and 625 cattle.¹⁰ The reason is not far to seek. The riches of Cariboo had been uncovered and the rush northward was depopulating the Rock Creek-Similkameen area. In November, as the season ended, Cox was transferred elsewhere and Haynes was placed in charge of the whole district.

Some reorganization was obviously needed, and Haynes's first action was to arrange for the transfer of his district headquarters to a new and more central location on Sooyoos (now Osoyoos) Lake. This move is of special interest, since it marks his arrival in the neighbourhood which was to become his permanent home. As Rock Creek was completely deserted in the spring of 1862, Haynes closed the station there, and proceeded, just as Sanders had done at Yale in 1859, to reduce his staff. In March it consisted of four constables. In April it was cut to

(9) J. C. Haynes to Colonial Secretary, April 28, 1861.

(10) *Ibid.*, October 19, 1861.

three and a further reduction to two was in prospect. As the revenue collected in the first four months of the year had totalled only £65, these cuts were well justified.

Sooyoos was indeed in the doldrums; but a revival was close at hand. Cariboo had almost robbed it of life by drawing away its miners; its position on a route to Cariboo which now became popular was to make it again a prosperous revenue station. The change came suddenly in the month of May, 1862, when 963 horses, 203 mules, and 681 cattle were imported and revenue jumped to nearly £600. During the whole year tolls and duties were paid on over 9,285 horses, cattle, and sheep, and revenue exceeded £2,200.¹¹ Traffic was again heavy during the summer season of 1863 and was still considerable in the spring of 1864.

A few matters of local interest which occurred in the district during these years deserve notice. For a time mining in the area seems practically to have ceased. Rock Creek, as already noted, was completely deserted in April, 1862. In September, however, Haynes reported that seventeen miners were at work once more. By July, 1863, the number had risen to thirty-three, fifteen of whom were Chinese. In July, 1865, a small rush had arisen and 200 miners were at Rock Creek. One is tempted to remark that old mining camps, like old soldiers, never die.

Practically the only crime mentioned in the letters written by Haynes during his early years at Osoyoos was an assault by a drunken Indian upon the Hudson's Bay Company's storekeeper at Keremeos, in 1863. The injuries suffered were not serious. The Company had carried on farming operations there for several years, and in 1861 Haynes forwarded samples of the wheat and oats grown at Keremeos to Victoria, where the first Agricultural Exhibition was being held.

Throughout this period Haynes seems to have given complete satisfaction to his superiors, except in one small particular. Governor Douglas welcomed elaborate reports, and marginal notes in his handwriting on a number of Haynes's letters show that he did not consider them sufficiently detailed. It was a defect which Haynes apparently found it difficult to correct, as few of his letters are of any considerable length.

(11) Complete details are given in Haynes's annual report, dated December 31, 1862.

As early as November, 1863, Haynes passed on for the information of the Governor a report that gold had been discovered in Kootenay. By the spring of 1864 it was known that a rush was taking place to Wild Horse Creek. From the point of view of the Government, this rush simply duplicated the problems created by the Rock Creek excitement of 1860, with the additional complication that Wild Horse Creek was both farther away and more difficult of access. The presence of an able and experienced official in the new camp was obviously essential, and on July 9, 1864, the Colonial Secretary wrote to Haynes and instructed him to proceed to Wild Horse with as little delay as possible.

Haynes acted promptly upon these instructions, and was able to leave Osoyoos on July 20. He was accompanied by William Young, who had served under him for some time as a constable, and an Indian. Fort Colville was reached on the third day. Haynes was anxious, if possible, to travel the rest of the way north of the boundary, in British territory; but inquiries indicated that the going would be too hazardous for his horses and he therefore continued his journey by way of Spokane. He crossed the frontier on August 6 and arrived at Wild Horse Creek on the 10th.¹²

"There were about one thousand men here including miners, shopkeepers, and laborers," Haynes reported to Victoria a few weeks later. "The mines so far discovered on this creek extend for about four miles and a half and are divided into five hundred claims of one hundred feet each including creek and Bar." He went on to give a detailed account of ten outstanding claims, employing a total of one hundred and fourteen men, which of late had been producing, on the average, no less than \$4,308 in gold per day.

But the most interesting and significant thing about his report was the simple statement that he had collected duties "on all merchandize and animals found in the District on my arrival" and had "made proper arrangements for the collection of Revenue in future."¹³ The unpopularity of the licence fees and customs duties which Haynes set out to collect can be imagined,

(12) J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, August 30, 1864.

(13) *Ibid.*, September 6, 1864.

and the successful manner in which he enforced the law in a turbulent and remote community is proof both of his own sense of duty and his ability to handle men.

That ability had been further tested by the aftermath of a shooting affray that had occurred just before his arrival at Wild Horse. An interesting account of this affair is given by Daniel Drumheller, who reached Wild Horse in June, 1864, in a letter addressed to the late R. L. T. Galbraith, of Fort Steele, some years ago. It will be noted that Drumheller's recollection of the exact date of the shooting is incorrect, but there would seem to be no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of his story. It reads as follows:—

I shook hands with Judge Haynes before he dismounted from his horse when he arrived at Wild Horse. This was about the 1st of July [*sic*] and the next day [*sic*] after the free-for-all fight in which Tommy Walker was killed and several wounded. Within less than two hours after the judge arrived he came into my little store to discuss the intolerable conditions then existing in the camp. We went into my little sleeping-tent where we spent more than one hour discussing the situation. I told the judge the camp was full of outlaws and gun-men. The judge asked what percent of the population I really thought was bad. I told him about 20 pr. ct. He said he was horrified to think of such a thing happening in Her Majesty's Domain. He asked me how many men there were in camp he could depend upon. I told him hundreds of them and gave him the names of many which he dotted down. I told him furthermore that at least 75% of the population would willingly aid him in enforcing the laws. The Judge thanked me and said he had come to me because I was, perhaps, the only man [in Wild Horse whom] he had ever met before. The Judge asked me what I knew [about] the scrap the night before. I told him it was caused by a feud existing between two certain elements and that the aggressors had been worsted and there had been so many men engaged in the fracas I doubted if convictions could be had against any of them. A few days afterwards Overland Bob East Powder Bill and Neil Dougherty were tried before Judge Haynes, acquitted and peace for ever afterward in the camp prevailed.¹⁴

That law and order did prevail is evident from the fact that Haynes collected substantial sums in cash and gold and that these funds were never molested, although it was common knowledge that no safe was available in which to deposit them. At the end of September the Colonial Secretary, Arthur N. Birch, reached Wild Horse on a tour of inspection, and his report contains the following amusing and enlightening entry:—

(14) D. M. Drumheller to R. L. T. Galbraith, August 22, 1922.

Mr. Haynes had collected a large amount of Revenue, considering the short time that he had been resident in the district. I found his "Treasury" to consist of an old Portmanteau, which he zealously guarded by night and day, in the log hut in which he is at present living.

At the urgent request of Mr. Haynes I relieved him of a portion of his responsibility, by taking over some 75 lbs. weight of gold. This I brought down with me, and have safely deposited in the hands of the Treasurer. It is an interesting incident for Mr. Evans, Mr. Bushby, and myself to remember that we were the first Gold Escort direct from the Rocky Mountains to the seaboard of the Colony.¹⁵

Haynes's own accounts show that he collected over \$16,000 between August 10 and September 30, over \$9,000 of which was in customs duties, so that the 75 lb. of gold is well accounted for.

An experienced administrator, such as Birch, was well qualified to appraise Haynes's activities at Wild Horse. It is of interest therefore to find that the report which he submitted to the Governor upon his return to New Westminster concluded with the following very generous tribute:—

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my sense of the admirable manner in which Mr. Haynes has carried out his duties under most difficulty circumstances; arriving as he did with only one constable to assist him, among a body of 1500 Miners from the adjoining territories, many of whom were known as utterly regardless of law and order; he found them banded together making their own laws and meting out their own ideas of justice; each man, as many have owned to me, carrying his life in his hands. In fact so insecure had life and property become in the eyes of many of the miners that Mr. Dore, one of the original discoverers of the Creek and a few others had formed themselves into a committee, and drawn up a code of laws which they intended enforcing on the community had not a Government Officer arrived at the moment. Copies of these laws were handed to me by Mr. Dore, and I enclose them as interesting documents. I would add that the gentlemen forming this Committee have cheerfully rendered Mr. Haynes every assistance in their power in maintaining law and order.

I arrived, within 6 weeks of Mr. Haynes' residence in the District, to find the Mining Laws of the Colony in full force; all Customs Duties paid; no pistols to be seen, and everything as quiet and orderly as it could possibly be in the most civilized district of the Colony, much to the surprise and admiration of many who remembered the early days of the neighbouring State of California.¹⁶

Shortly after he submitted his report, Birch was able to write to Haynes and inform him that the Governor had been pleased to appoint him a Member of the Legislative Council of British Co-

(15) *Government Gazette*, British Columbia, November 5, 1864, p. 4.

(16) *Ibid.*

lumbia.¹⁷ Haynes accordingly left for the Coast soon after Birch's letter was received, in order to attend the forthcoming session of the Council, which opened at New Westminster in December, 1864, and continued until April, 1865.

While at New Westminster Haynes received a number of reports upon affairs at Wild Horse Creek from Constable William Young. The first of these brought news of the beginning of the rush to the Big Bend country. "A great excitement is at present raging in this camp relative to reported fresh gold discoveries on several creeks emptying into the Columbia River," Young wrote on December 1, 1864. "Numbers of men have been leaving the town every day for the last week. . . . There are not more than three hundred men remaining in this camp."¹⁸ Later Young reported that snow-covered trails and severe weather had prevented most of the gold-seekers from progressing far and that practically all of them had returned to Wild Horse. "Christmas week," he added, "passed cheerfully and quietly. I do not think a more orderly community than this of three or four hundred men principally idle, is to be found on the coast."¹⁹

For some reason Haynes never liked the Kootenay country, and to his delight he was able to hand over Wild Horse Creek to Peter O'Reilly in the spring of 1865. His district still included Fort Shepherd, which he visited personally twice later in the year, but his home and chief interests were once again at Sooyoos. Upon his return, his first action was to arrange for the removal of the Government station from the northern end of Sooyoos Lake to a new and more strategic location farther south at the "narrows," where headlands almost cut the lake in two. The building was enlarged when rebuilt, and converted into a combination customs house, official residence, and jail. Two bids were received for the work, one from James Sanders for \$800 and the other from S. T. Marshall for \$750. Marshall's tender was accepted on May 14, 1865.²⁰ The new site was on a hill about a quarter of a mile from the lake and commanded a good view of the roads on both sides of the water. The work of mov-

(17) A. N. Birch to J. C. Haynes, October 29, 1864.

(18) Enclosure in J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, February 7, 1865.

(19) Enclosure in J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, April 7, 1865.

(20) The original specifications and bids are in the Provincial Archives.

ing and rebuilding commenced late in June and was completed in September.

Many and varied duties came Haynes's way, for, in addition to being an Assistant Gold Commissioner and a Deputy Collector of Customs, he was responsible for law and order and acted as the general agent for the Government throughout his enormous district. He was expected to keep an eye on all roads and trails in the area, and road repairs and extensions were usually carried out only upon his recommendation. His jurisdiction even extended to the Indians. Thus in 1865, when it was found that the reserves which had been marked off by W. G. Cox some years before in the Okanagan were far too large, it was Haynes who arranged with the Indians to have them reduced to reasonable proportions.

Haynes had been appointed a Magistrate when he was ordered to Wild Horse Creek in 1864. Two years later, in July, 1866, he received his commission as a County Court Judge.²¹ Most of the cases which came before him were of a routine nature, but occasionally he was confronted with serious crime or its consequences. One day in 1867 three men turned up at Sooyoos with an Indian murderer who had escaped from custody at Quesnel. Haynes took him in charge and paid the men, who had apprehended him in Spokane, the promised regard of \$500 for his capture.²² Upon another occasion Haynes's life was threatened by Nor-macheen, an Indian on trial at Similkameen. The prisoner was standing before the table at which the Judge was sitting, when he suddenly seized a large inkstand and hurled it at the Judge's head. Only a quick move saved him. This Indian gave much trouble until it was considered expedient to make him a chief, after which he reformed his ways!

In the sixties Sooyoos was the junction of a number of important travel routes. Trails from the south bordered both sides of the lake and led northward to roads or trails on both shores of Okanagan Lake, which in turn led to the Kamloops country and Cariboo. The famous Dewdney Trail, which extended all the way from Hope, on the Fraser River, to Kootenay, followed the Similkameen Valley and then swung eastward through

(21) J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, August 4, 1866.

(22) J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, April 8, 1867.

Sooyoos, where it crossed the lake at the "narrows" already mentioned. The first bridge there was built with Indian labour by John Utz and Ben McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, Chief Trader for the Hudson's Bay Company at Colville. It was not more than 5 feet wide. Loose split rails formed the covering, and careful riders dismounted and led their horses across. In high water the rails were removed and travellers walked the stringers, letting the horses swim. No toll was charged.

Fort Shepherd, which it will be recalled was still in Haynes's district, occupied a somewhat similar position farther east. It was situated on the Columbia River, just north of the boundary, on one of the busiest travel routes from the American side to the mines of Kootenay.

In 1866 Haynes was again a Member of the Legislative Council of British Columbia. The session opened in New Westminster on January 18, but, owing to the depth of snow lying in the mountain passes, he was not able to take his seat until February 26. The Council prorogued early in April, and on the 15th Haynes started for home. He was able to spend only six days at Sooyoos, however, as the gold-rush to the Big Bend was in full swing and he was compelled to travel on to Fort Shepherd, where he arrived on May 1. The winter had been unusually long and severe and many of the trails were still rendered impassable by snow, but miners were hurrying up the Columbia in spite of this. Moreover, Fort Shepherd had seen its first steamboat—the little steamer *Forty Nine*—which left on her second trip up-river the day of Haynes's arrival. She carried 87 men and some 25 tons of freight.²³ Later Haynes himself was to follow her up the Columbia, as he was ordered to proceed to French Creek and assume charge of the country thereabouts. By the late summer, however, the Big Bend rush had collapsed completely, and in

(23) Haynes gives a number of details regarding the *Forty Nine* in a letter dated Fort Shepherd, May 3, 1866. She passed up-stream on her first trip, carrying 73 men, on April 16. On the return journey she "came down from Death Rapids to this place in 48 hours." On her second trip northbound she arrived from the south on April 30, and left the next morning. A postscript in Haynes's letter states that she arrived back on May 7. The *Forty Nine* was the first steamer to ply the waters of the Columbia River in British Columbia.

September, as Haynes's services were no longer required there, he was able to leave for home, where he arrived on October 2.

Sooyoos, meaning "where two lakes come together," and "a shallow crossing," with its natural ford, good fishing, and large flat race-ground on the east side, had been a favourite meeting-place and playground for the Okanagan Indians. Trails converged here from the north and south, the east and west. An occasional battle had been fought thereabouts with the Shushwaps, from the north, but otherwise Sooyoos had been a peaceful spot.

Riding down the mountain on the east side toward Sooyoos one evening, at the end of the long journey from Kootenay, the beauty of the lake, with its shadows and reflections, so appealed to Judge Haynes that he decided to acquire land and make it his home. The grove of ash-trees, in which flocks of noisy crows gathered, brought memories of Hyndford and his youth in Ireland; so, bit by bit, he purchased land until his holdings covered 22,000 acres. They stretched northward from the international boundary, where an obelisk stood near the southern fence, and included Haynes Meadows, as they were later called, at the head of Sooyoos Lake.

Haynes's partner in the ownership of these lands was W. H. Lowe, who had served under him as a constable at Similkameen and whom he had left in charge at Sooyoos when he left for Wild Horse Creek in 1864. It will be remembered that horses and cattle frequently passed by the Government station at Sooyoos, and Haynes was able to purchase stock which formed the nucleus of the large bands he owned eventually. The cattle were owned by the partners, but Haynes retained sole title to the horses. He imported a number of thoroughbred stallions, which were turned loose on the open range and which greatly improved both his own stock and that of the Indians, whose horses roamed at will. Haynes sold numerous lots of horses at the Coast and at Calgary, but he continually lost money on them, and later only those needed for the operation of the ranch were kept.

Judge Haynes was an expert horseman, and to him a good mount was one of the necessities of life. During nearly thirty years of duty in the Similkameen, Okanagan, and Kootenay dis-

tricts he invariably rode the finest horses he could buy. He judged a horse and loved it, as only one can who has been brought up to follow the hounds, to enter the steeplechase, and later to ride many hundreds of miles over mountain trails to hold Court, to wa-wa with the Indians, to visit mines, and to keep law and order in every part of a vast district.

On horseback he invariably appeared as if "riding in the Row," with his Irish tweed coat, riding breeches, and English riding boots. An army helmet was part of the picture in summer; a felt hat at other seasons—never a Stetson or "cow-boy." His horse was well groomed, its tail docked, and its bridle and bit polished and shining.

In the spring of 1865 Thomas Ellis arrived in the Okanagan, and after examining the valley in company with Haynes and Andrew McFarlyn, who later became his partner, settled at Penticton. In the spring of 1866 the Hudson's Bay Company built a log house and opened a store at Sooyoos. Roderick Finlayson was in charge for a time, but he was soon succeeded by Theodore Kruger. Previous to this the only store in the district was that owned by Hiram F. Smith, better known as Okanagan Smith, who had moved from Rock Creek, when mining declined there, some years before.

There was thus a community of sorts, albeit a widely scattered and lonely one, to which Judge Haynes could bring his bride when he married in 1868. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. W. E. Hayman, at Hope, on September 26. The bride was Charlotte, youngest daughter of William Moresby, solicitor, late of London. He was a younger brother of Sir Fairfax Moresby, Admiral of the Fleet, and the uncle of Admiral John Moresby, who in his book entitled *Two Admirals* records much of interest about his experiences while on the Pacific Station.

Mrs. Haynes was a fine horsewoman, and the couple rode over the Hope Trail and thence to her new home at Sooyoos, where she was the first, and for some years the only, white woman.

In the summer of 1870, Haynes was instructed once again to proceed to Wild Horse Creek and take charge of the Kootenay district. It was an assignment which he disliked heartily, and the salary offered, though higher than that paid to him at Sooyoos, was not in his opinion adequate. As he remarked in a

private note to P. J. Hankin, the new Colonial Secretary, he was being "obliged at great personal inconvenience to do duty in the most out-of-the-way and unpleasant station in the Colony at a lower rate of pay than any other magistrate receives."²⁴ Nevertheless, he stated that he would leave for Wild Horse as soon as a suitable companion for Mrs. Haynes could be secured—which, he added, was a problem "of no small difficulty in this part of the country where there is but one white woman besides my wife within a circle of nearly 100 miles."²⁵ After much searching, he was able to get Miss Annie Ellen Mackin, who had come to British Columbia with an uncle and aunt in 1869. As the party had stopped at Sooyoos on their way into the valley at that time, she was not a stranger.

Wild Horse Creek proved to be quite as uninteresting as Haynes had anticipated. "The place is nearly as dull as Rock Creek," he wrote on October 16, "and I do not think there will be 50 white men in the district after another month. Unless I receive very strict orders to the contrary I will leave for Sooyoos about the beginning of next month. . . . There is scarcely any thing to do in the office and only one County Court case has been entered since my arrival."²⁶ A week later he expressed the fervent hope that he would be able to "leave this confounded place" as planned.²⁷

In 1871 and again in 1872 Haynes received the unwelcome instruction to return to the Kootenay. In 1871 it was a return with a difference, however, as he was accompanied by Mrs. Haynes. They passed through Colville in July,²⁸ and Walter Moberly, in his *Rocks and Rivers of British Columbia*, recalls a visit with them at Wild Horse Creek in September. Mrs. Haynes's ride from Kootenay to the Coast, at the end of the season, was a performance of which any horsewoman might well be proud.

(24) J. C. Haynes to P. J. Hankin, September 2, 1870 (private).

(25) J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, September 2, 1870 (official letter).

(26) J. C. Haynes to Mrs. Haynes, October 16, 1870. (Letter in the possession of the writer.)

(27) *Ibid.*, October 24, 1870.

(28) *Victoria Colonist*, July 12, 1871.

Part of the winter was usually spent at New Westminster, where Haynes had purchased Ince Cottage, the former residence of Judge Crease. There he left Mrs. Haynes when he returned to Kootenay, and there his son, Fairfax Moresby Haynes, was born on February 10, 1872. Unhappily, this event cost Mrs. Haynes her life, for she passed away on May 5, having very foolishly insisted upon riding, and thereby exposing herself to cold. Judge Haynes knew nothing of his loss until a traveller arrived at Wild Horse Creek and handed him a newspaper, in which he discovered the notice of his wife's death.

Meanwhile Sooyoos and the surrounding district was growing slowly. In 1872 Mrs. Thomas Ellis arrived at Penticton. In 1873 Theodore Kruger was married in Victoria and brought back his bride to Sooyoos itself, where, the same year, he purchased the store originally owned by the Hudson's Bay Company.²⁹ To this number there should have been added Mrs. W. H. Lowe, whom Lowe went to Ontario to marry in 1872. Just before the wedding, however, Lowe lost both arms in a railway accident. His fiancée insisted on marrying him in spite of this, but it prevented their coming to Sooyoos as planned. Instead, Lowe was appointed Collector of Customs at New Westminster in 1873, a position he retained until he moved to Keremeos in 1880, where he died in 1882.

At the home of Mr. and Mrs. Lowe, Judge Haynes was married in January, 1875, to Emily Josephine Pittendrigh, daughter of Captain and Mrs. Pittendrigh, who had come to the Province by way of Cape Horn and San Francisco in 1872. The new Mrs. Haynes was pretty, petite, and charming; she could play and sing and generally amuse those around her. In addition she was an accomplished cook, and a hostess whose dinners and hospitality few could forget.

On December 21, 1875, Valentine Carmichael Haynes was born. Sooyoos was growing, but it was still necessary for the midwife, Mrs. McDougall, a French half-breed, 75 years of age, to come all the way from Colville. Following the happy event the weather turned cold, and the snow was so deep that Mrs.

(29) See Mrs. Chrestenza Kruger, "Early Days at Osoyoos," in *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1936, p. 76.

McDougall was obliged to return to Colville on snow-shoes. Valentine Haynes was the first white child born at Sooyoos, but Dora Kruger was born only twelve days later.

On April 25, 1877, a daughter, Hester Emily, was born, and before she was a year old the old Government station, which was still Judge Haynes's home, was burned to the ground. Relatively little furniture was rescued, but, oddly enough, the articles saved included a celebrated safe, which is said to have weighed 1,200 lb. This safe had been brought in for the use of the Government officials by W. G. Cox in 1860, when he was stationed at Rock Creek, and was moved to Sooyoos when the Rock Creek office was closed. In spite of its weight, the safe was tumbled end-over-end and moved to safety by Theodore Kruger, who, needless to say, was a man of prodigious strength.

For a time the Haynes family lived with the Krugers. Then the Sooyoos Court-house was made habitable and there they lived for nearly four years, until a new and permanent home was completed on the east side of Sooyoos Lake. Lumber was difficult to procure, and that required for the new house was brought from the mill operated by Postill Brothers. David Lloyd-Jones recalls that it "was hauled to the shore of the lake [i.e., Okanagan Lake] at Okanagan Centre and there made into a raft which had a mast and a sail and two sweeps."³⁰ From there it was floated down the lake to Penticton, and thence down the Okanagan River to Okanagan Falls, portaged around the falls, and finally rafted once more down to Sooyoos. The house was built of tamarack logs, shiplapped outside and lined and papered inside. There were six rooms downstairs and four upstairs.

This house was Haynes's home for the rest of his life, and he exerted himself to make it the most attractive and well kept in the district. He took special pride in his garden, in which he had a few peach-trees he had grown from seed, and also some apple-trees. Wonderful muskmelons and watermelons were grown in round beds, which were watered from the lake by an Indian, night and morning.

The house was open to all—and, not least, to the Indians. They came to Sooyoos for advice when puzzled, and especially

(30) David Lloyd-Jones, "Over the Hope Trail," *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1936, p. 293.

when sick. Mrs. Haynes ministered to them all. At Christmas-time Chief Gregior would come and receive beef, flour, sugar, tea, cakes, fat, and tobacco as a *cultus potlatch*. But life was not without formality; and the famous Father Pat, arriving at Sooyoos in 1885, was astonished, when he knocked on the door and was shown in, to find Judge Haynes sitting in the large dining-room, dressed for dinner. It was as if he had stepped into an old home in the old land.

Missionaries, pioneers, and travellers of all descriptions came to Sooyoos and enjoyed its hospitality. Occasionally a famous personage passed by, such as General Sherman, who arrived on August 13, 1883. Of this visit the official narrative of the General's travels has this to say:—

About 2 miles beyond this noted line [the international boundary] we came to the residence of Judge J. C. Hayne[s] the British collector of customs. Unlike the custom-house on the other side of the line, this is a neat, comfortable frame building with brick chimneys and broad piazzas. It occupies a beautiful site on the shore of the lake, which is here a clean sandy beach. Judge Hayne[s] received us most hospitably; his wife and family were absent at Westminster. At this point is a narrow place in the lake, making, in fact, two lakes. Over this neck is a rude bridge built and kept by Mr. Kreuger, a German, living on the opposite side.³¹

It may be added that Mrs. Haynes was at New Westminster in expectation of the birth of a child. A son was born on September 3, and in view of the General's visit he was christened John Sherman Haynes. When informed of this, the General was so pleased at having a "little Britisher" named after him that he sent the baby a copy of his memoirs, elaborately bound.

John Sherman was Mrs. Haynes's fifth child. William Barrington had been born in April, 1879, and Irene Margaret in October, 1880. A sixth child, another daughter, died at birth in 1885, while Susan Jane was born in November, 1886.

These were happy and prosperous years for the Judge and his family. His time was fully but pleasantly occupied by the affairs of the ranch, his trips to hold Court, the business of the Customs office, cattle drives to the Coast and Calgary, and other journeys here and there on business and pleasure.

It was in 1888, while homeward-bound from Victoria, where he had gone on business, that Judge Haynes was suddenly

(31) *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, for the year 1888*, Washington, 1883, vol. I., p. 236.

stricken with a fatal illness. He was returning by way of the Hope Trail, accompanied by his sons Fairfax and Valentine and Miss Mabel Pittendrigh, when he was taken ill at the Allison home. Mr. and Mrs. Allison did their best with such remedies as were at hand, but the Judge died on July 6—his fifty-seventh birthday—before the nearest physician, Dr. Chipp, could arrive from Nicola.

A coffin was made and a canoe purchased, and the body was taken down to Similkameen, the spot where Haynes had commenced his official service in the Interior, nearly twenty-eight years before. From there it was taken by wagon to Sooyoos. Henry Nicholson read the burial service, and hundreds of Indians passed by the grave, chanting as they each threw a bit of clay on the coffin as a token of esteem and respect. Surrounded by many friends, the sorrowing family saw a much-loved husband and father laid to rest.

Mrs. Haynes survived her husband for twenty years, and died in Spokane, in 1908. Through an unhappy chain of circumstances which need not be detailed here, Judge Haynes's estate passed out of the hands of the family within a few years, and the great Haynes Ranch is no more. In spite of this his memory lives on; first, in the recollection of the pioneers who remember him as "the Squire," "the Baron," or "the Cattle King," and, secondly, in the records which relate to his long and honourable career in the public service.

HESTER E. WHITE.

PENTICTON, B.C.

JOHN ROBSON VERSUS J. K. SUTER.

Three articles on Robson's early career.

The early history of journalism in British Columbia is enlivened by two outstanding feuds. One of these flourished for many years in Victoria, between Amor de Cosmos, founder of the *Colonist*, and D. W. Higgins. The other was between John Robson and J. K. Suter, both of whom lived for a considerable time in New Westminster. The articles which follow are typical of many exchanged by Robson and Suter. Two of them are from the columns of the *British Columbian*, of which Robson was owner and editor; the third is from Suter's *Mainland Guardian*. All three appeared during the provincial election of 1882, when Robson returned to public life and successfully contested one of the two seats for New Westminster District.

The reader will notice that the articles give a good deal of biographical information about Robson. Some of this is not to be found elsewhere. For this reason it seems worth while to reprint them, particularly as time has dealt severely with the early files of papers published in New Westminster, and, so far as is known, only two copies of the original articles are now in existence. The Provincial Library is so fortunate as to possess both newspapers for 1882, while the second copies of the *British Columbian* and *Mainland Guardian* for that year are to be found in the library of His Honour Judge Howay and the Carnegie Library at New Westminster respectively.

The articles make mention of three of the many interesting incidents in John Robson's eventful career. The first of these is his imprisonment for contempt of Court, in 1862. Judge Howay has summarized the circumstances as follows:—

The *British Columbian*, edited by that fearless champion of the people's rights, the late Hon. John Robson, had in its issue of November 22, 1862, published a letter signed "A" (the writer of which is now known to have been the Rev. Arthur Browning), in which it was suggested that Judge Begbie had accepted a gift of twenty acres of land at Cottonwood from Dud Moreland and later reversed the magistrate's order and directed a certificate of improvements to be issued to Moreland for the whole quarter section. When the assizes opened, the judge summoned Mr. Robson and after explaining the whole transaction called upon him to show why he should not

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be committed to prison for contempt of court. Mr. Robson stated that he was not aware of the facts and his informant was not then accessible and if the implied charge were untrue he regretted having published it. The judge thought that the use of the word "if" suggested a doubt as to the correctness of the explanation he had already given and stated that the editor was thereby merely aggravating the offence. Mr. Robson having answered that in view of his imperfect knowledge he could only offer a conditional and qualified apology, was placed in custody for contempt. A public meeting was at once held at which resolutions supporting the editor and condemning the judge were passed, and the Hon. Malcolm Cameron was asked to demand from the Imperial authorities an investigation into the land and other speculations of the public functionaries of British Columbia. On breaking up, the meeting paraded to the gaol and gave cheers for the editor and groans for the judge. From his cell, Mr. Robson poured out his "Voice from the Dungeon." On December 5th, after being imprisoned for five days, having made one of those casuistical apologies, so frequent in libel actions, he was released. The gist of his apology was that the judge having stated that he had paid ten shillings an acre for the twenty acres, the newspaper was in error in saying he had obtained the land as a gift and hence he apologized therefor. Later developments, including a letter from Dud Moreland himself, left considerable doubt as to the real nature of the transaction.¹

Mention is also made of the mysterious fire which destroyed the office of the *British Columbian* early on the morning of September 29, 1866. There seemed little doubt that the blaze was incendiary, and the police offered a reward of \$500 for the apprehension of the person or persons responsible. The building and printing plant were valued at between \$4,000 and \$5,000. No insurance was carried. A public subscription to assist Robson was opened immediately, and the generous response of the people of New Westminster enabled him to acquire the plant and premises of the defunct *North Pacific Times*. Matters were arranged so quickly that the *Columbian*, which was then published twice weekly, only missed a single issue.

As noted below, Suter's remark about the punishment received by Robson "for his coarse abuse" can only be interpreted as a reference to an episode which occurred in the spring of 1868. The vote in the Legislative Council on the removal of the capital from New Westminster to Victoria had taken place on April 2, and on the 20th of the same month Robson was assaulted and painfully injured by a fellow member of the Council, the Hon. R. T. Smith. According to the late W. H. Ladner, the motive

(1) Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia*, II., 1914, pp. 663-664.

was revenge for an effort made by Robson to prevent Smith, who favoured the removal of the capital to Victoria, from voting, on the ground that he (Smith) was a bankrupt and should therefore forfeit his seat in the Council. Ladner was in a position to know the facts, as he and Smith had been partners in business. Their firm had invested heavily in supplies and provisions at the time of the Big Bend excitement in 1865-66, and when the rush to the Columbia River diggings collapsed, trade collapsed with it. Apparently no proceedings in bankruptcy were taken for the moment, but Robson was evidently aware of Smith's financial distress and endeavoured to turn it to account when the crucial vote on the removal of the capital approached. In this he was not successful, but it is interesting to note that a petition for adjudication of bankruptcy was filed against Ladner himself on April 3, the day after the vote was taken.

Following the assault, Smith was hailed into Court, but was let off with a fine of £5. This leniency was naturally resented by Robson, who denounced the sentence as "a mere mockery of justice" in a long and stormy editorial in the *British Columbian*.

A brief outline of Robson's career as a journalist may be of interest and value. In September, 1860, the office and press of the *New Westminster Times*, which had commenced publication in 1859 in Victoria, were moved to the Royal City, and it is said that Robson, who had been disabled earlier in the year by an accident to his foot, joined the staff of the paper. In any event, early in 1861 it was arranged that the *Times* should move back to Victoria, and so leave the Mainland field clear for a new journal to be owned and edited by Robson. This paper, the *British Columbian*, first appeared on February 13, 1861.

All went well until 1868, when the capital of the United Colony was transferred to Victoria. The fortunes of New Westminster then fell to such a low ebb that it was unable to support a newspaper, and in March, 1869, Robson and the *British Columbian* moved to Victoria. At the same time the paper, which had been issued tri-weekly, became a daily, in order to compete with the *Victoria Colonist*. It quickly became evident, however, that there was insufficient business in the city for two papers. D. W. Higgins, proprietor of the *Colonist*, solved the problem by purchasing the *Columbian*, which ceased publication on July 25. At

the same time Robson was appointed editor of the *Colonist*, a position he held until early in 1875.

For the next four years Robson was Paymaster and Purveyor for the Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys. When this office was abolished in 1879, he returned to New Westminster. In the interval since the demise of the *British Columbian*, J. C. Brown had started a new paper on the Mainland, the *Dominion Pacific Herald*. In October, 1880, Brown was appointed postmaster at New Westminster, and immediately sold the *Herald* to Robson. The first issue to appear under his editorship was dated October 16. In August, 1881, Robson was joined by his brother, David, who was also a journalist, and who had sold the *Collingwood Bulletin* in order to come to British Columbia.

Although the *Dominion Pacific Herald* was firmly established, John Robson evidently preferred the title of his old paper, for on January 4, 1882, the *Herald* gave way to a new *British Columbian*. As things turned out, Robson's personal association with it was to be relatively brief. He was elected to the Legislature in July, 1882, and early in 1883 was appointed Provincial Secretary and Minister of Finance in the Smithe Government. This necessitated his residence in Victoria, and in February the *Columbian* was turned over to David Robson & Company. Later it was taken over by the British Columbian Printing Company, Limited, of which David Robson was manager, and in 1888 was sold to Kennedy Brothers.

A word about J. K. Suter may be added in conclusion. He was a native of Scotland, and came to British Columbia in the early sixties. After spending some time in the upper country, he settled in Victoria, where he joined the staff of the *Colonist*. He subsequently moved to New Westminster and there founded the *Mainland Guardian* in August, 1869. It ceased publication in 1889. Suter died in New Westminster on December 18, 1899, aged 76.

W. K. L.

1. From the *British Columbian*, July 8, 1882.

PERSONAL—HISTORICAL.

For some time past the local organ [the *Mainland Guardian*] of a demoralized administration [the Beaven Government] has been devoting its whole energy and most of its editorial space to the interesting work of heaping personal abuse upon Mr. Robson—endeavouring to make him out a failure, a “dead-beat” both as a public journalist and a politician, one who never did and never will exert the slightest influence in public affairs. Perhaps Mr. Robson ought really to feel grateful for the opportunities thus afforded of making personal explanations and statements which, under other circumstances, he might experience some delicacy in presenting to the public. At any rate these coarse and venomous personal attacks must plead our excuse for offering the following historical jottings—chiefly designed for such of the Electors in New Westminster District as may have come here since these occurrences took place. Many of the old settlers will bear witness to the accuracy of most of these statements, every one of which is susceptible of proof.

In the year 1860 Mr. Robson, laying down the axe and shovel, took up the pen and commenced the publication of the *British Columbian* newspaper,² a paper which soon became an acknowledged power in the land.

Six years later he was elected Mayor of this City [New Westminster] (a position at that period accounted honorable) and soon afterwards Member for the City and District in the Legislative Council. His parliamentary duties were discharged with so much acceptance that he was the recipient of a very flattering address, accompanied by a purse containing \$600 in gold coin. He was re-elected by acclamation for a second term, during which he discharged his duties with equal satisfaction to his constituents.

The seat of government having been removed from New Westminster in 1808 [*sic*, 1868], the city dwindled down to a very low ebb, and ceased to be an important political centre, and Mr. Robson, with the fullest concurrence of his friends, removed temporarily to Victoria, where the important public questions of the period—particularly the questions of Confederation and Responsible Government—had to be fought out.

In the summer of 1869 Mr. Robson was induced by some of the most influential men of that time to accept the position of responsible editor of the *Colonist* at a monthly salary of \$250, and in doing so he was the innocent cause of displacing a person by the name of J. K. Suter, who was at that time employed on the editorial staff of that journal at a salary of \$55 a month. Whether or not that little circumstance may

(2) Publication of the *British Columbian* did not commence until February, 1861, but the *Columbian* was the successor to the Mainland edition of the *New Westminster Times*, the staff of which Robson seems to have joined in 1860.

have contributed towards the rancorous hate and jealous spite ever since exhibited by that person towards Mr. Robson we leave to the public to judge.

During the five years and a half that Mr. Robson held the position it was universally admitted that he did much towards securing for the *Colonist* a leading position in the country, and it is certain that he changed its tone to one of uniform friendliness to this part of the Province.

During the early part of 1870, the last session in which Mr. Robson sat for New Westminster, the Terms of Union of Canada were discussed and framed, a work in which it is scarcely necessary to say he took a very prominent part—as, indeed, he had done in advocating Confederation and Responsible Government for years before. He had the satisfaction of being instrumental in obtaining several concessions, the most important of which was Responsible Government.

The following extracts from the official report of the debates which took place on the Terms of Union will help to show in what estimation Mr. Robson was held. Responsible Government being the immediate subject of discussion,

HON. MR. TRUTCH (having disposed of Mr. Humphrey's speech) said:—"But, sir, the argument of the Hon. Member for New Westminster [John Robson] is of a very different character. I congratulate him and I congratulate the House on the manner in which the matter was treated by him.

. . . The Hon. Member for New Westminster, in his powerful oration, has not only allured us with the prospects of popularity under Responsible Government, but he has, I will not say threatened, but warned us of the results of opposing him in this matter."

Replying more particularly to Mr. Robson's contention that the people of British Columbia were fit for self-government and that there were many working men in the country well qualified to take seats round the Legislative table,

HON. MR. WALKEM said:—"The main speech, for the Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) did not deign to express his views, has been that of the Hon. Member for New Westminster. As I listened to that speech, sir, one of the best ever uttered in this House, I almost felt that for five long years I had been wrong. He almost made a convert of me. . . . I coincide with the Hon. Member for New Westminster as to what he says about callous hands. I believe there are men with tattered garments in the country quite capable of giving a sensible vote upon all questions likely to come before a Council in this Colony. . . . Those gentlemen with the patched garments and callous hands have the same opportunity that the Member for New Westminster has had of coming into this House. He has told us with pride of his hard work as a pioneer on the Fraser river, and to-day we hear him advocating with most eloquent language his views upon the great question. His voice has had much to do with shaping the councils of this House, and I ask, are these doors shut to any man in the Colony of equal talent with the honorable gentlemen who can be found willing to devote their time to the service of their country?"

It will be observed that the above quoted acknowledgements came from opponents—gentlemen with whom Mr. Robson was contending in a hand-to-hand struggle for the political rights of the people.

At the close of that session Mr. Robson was sent for by Governor Musgrave and invited to go to Ottawa as one of the Delegates to arrange with the Canadian Government for the admission of British Columbia upon the Terms passed by the Legislature or upon such modified terms as might be mutually agreed upon—an invitation which Mr. Robson, for business reasons, hesitated to accept, and other arrangements were made.

In 1871 Mr. Robson, in response to a pressing invitation, consented to become a candidate for the representation of the important District of Nanaimo in the new Legislature. He was elected, and represented that constituency with complete satisfaction until, in April, 1875, he accepted service under the Dominion Government, as Paymaster and Purveyor of the C.P.R.S. [Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys] in British Columbia, at a salary of \$6,000. It was while representing Nanaimo that Mr. Robson was offered and refused a seat in the McCreight Ministry.

For four years (less two months) Mr. Robson continued to hold the important and very responsible Dominion appointment, during which period considerably over a million of dollars was disbursed by him and the whole business of that vast service managed to the entire satisfaction of the Department at Ottawa.

During the period he held that appointment, as well as subsequently, Mr. Robson employed every legitimate means in his power for the purpose of having the railway brought down the valley of the Fraser, and he had the satisfaction of being invited to Ottawa in the spring of 1878 in connection with that question; and he had the still greater satisfaction of knowing that he was enabled to render important service in that direction.

Since then Mr. Robson has dared to renew the publication of the *British Columbian*,³ and once more lift up his Italics against bad government and in defence of the rights of the people; and he has succeeded in a few months in building up a first-class newspaper business—a business which makes his local contemporary green with envy.

Worse still, Mr. Robson has had the astounding presumption to aspire once more to represent in the Legislature the place of his first choice, the scene of his pioneer struggles, the District in which his large property interests are situated!

These simple and unvarnished facts may suffice for the present as an answer to the vituperation constantly flowing through the columns of the *Guardian*. They may aid such of the Electors as have not had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Mr. Robson and his antecedents to come to a correct conclusion respecting his fitness to do them good service in the most important crisis of our country's history.

(3) It will be remembered that Robson had been publishing the *Dominion Pacific Herald* in New Westminster since October, 1880, though its name had been changed to *British Columbian* only in January, 1882.

2. From the *Mainland Guardian*, July 12, 1882.

PERSONAL—HISTORICAL.

We have evidently effected "a raw" through the ponderous hide of honest John. His shameless attempt to brazen out and glaze over his own personal record, is about the best illustration of the man that could be produced. He is so weak as to think that gross falsehood and impudence are likely to impose on the electors of this district. But, happily, there are too many of the old residents still with us, who know the fellow intimately, and can remember his career to their cost, with great distinctness. In 1860, as this man states, he left the axe and the shovel for the pen—a great misfortune for the people of this Province. A number of persons here, from mistaken kindness, or those of his own set, from a desire to satisfy personal spite on the respectable portion of the inhabitants by whom they were treated with contempt, subscribed for a small press and plant. Honest John, unprincipled and untrammelled with the feelings of a gentleman, immediately began to serve the ill-conditioned portion of his subscribers, and was not long before he was sent to gaol for insulting the Judges.⁴ He was afterwards punished on several occasions for his coarse abuse,⁵ until at last those identified with him as having furnished with the means of printing a scurrilous paper, were glad to get rid of him with a memorial and a purse,⁶ by this means hoping to lay the evil spirit they had raised. Honest John is peculiarly cut out for a hack politician; he has a lot of stereotyped language like a penny showman, a shameless countenance, and the facility, in a very humble way, of a penny-a-liner. His office here was burned in a very mysterious way.⁷ It must be remembered his plant was a small one, and useless in any other place. After the fire he made a piteous appeal to the people of this city and district, and they, with characteristic liberality, furnished him with a considerable sum of money in order to provide him with a new plant. No sooner had he secured the new plant than he took it down to Victoria, and there started a paper which had a short and weakly existence.⁸ But the proprietor of the *Colonist*, in order to prevent the plant getting into hands that might turn to more account against the *Colonist* than honest John was capable of, agreed to give him a stipulated sum per month, H.J. to give his own services in the *Colonist* to boot. The writer, at that time, occupied the editorial chair at the *Colonist*, and that paper was then, at least, respectably conducted. We may note, in passing, that honest John, with an evident

(4) Refers to Robson's imprisonment for contempt of Court in 1862. See introduction.

(5) The only possible reference would appear to be to the assault by Smith in 1868. See Introduction.

(6) The memorial is quoted by Robson, *infra*.

(7) On September 29, 1866. See Introduction.

(8) Robson moved the *British Columbian* to Victoria in March, 1869, where it ceased publication in July.

object, tells a direct falsehood about the writer's salary. The proprietor of the *Colonist* tried to retain the writer in his services, but the latter declined to act as co-adjutor to a man of honest John's stamp. The *Colonist* then began the career for which it has since been noted, and, in consequence, has fallen from the pinnacle on which it had been placed by the original proprietor. It will then, be seen, that H. J. made a handsome profit out of the charity bestowed on him by the people of this city and district: he afterwards sold the plant. In the vain hope of securing the Government patronage, honest John once more effected his entrance into the local Parliament as member for Nanaimo, but his previous career was so well known that, prepared as he was to stoop to any mean action, no party would have anything to do with him. There was probably no man in Victoria at the time, pretending to respectability, who was so generally disliked by all classes. In due course Mr. Edgar⁹ came to this country, anxious to appease the Victorians, and, by some odd circumstance, he was led to suppose that the *Colonist* was such an influential paper, and honest John such a talented man, that the administration of "Balm" to these worthies would allay the irritation so prevalent in Victoria. It is stated that the *Colonist* was very handsomely treated, and honest John, for his share, received the paymastership for the railway survey. How completely poor Edgar was hoodwinked, is now a matter of history, and the futility of the *Colonist* help is equally well known. The proprietor of the *Colonist*, doubtless was made happy, and so was honest John, who continued for a time to make the best of his position; but there was a term put to his felicity. There was an enquiry at Ottawa, and honest John was discharged. Let us draw the curtain here. It is sufficient to say that his name "honest" John was conferred upon him about this time. We have given a very brief sketch of H.J.'s career. Our object is simply to reply to an article intended to be self laudatory, in the last issue of his paper. He gives some phrases from the speeches of Mr. Trutch and Mr. Walkem, long ago, in relation to himself; he should have given the speeches entire, and the circumstances under which they were spoken, and it would then have been clearly apparent that the seeming praise was merely sarcasm. As proof of this, we append an extract from a Victoria paper of the time:—

A STINGING REPLY.—The Hon. member for Nanaimo, got a well merited reply in the Local Legislature the other day. The circumstances of the narrative are as follows:—Mr. Robson in his whining manner, so familiar and so detestable to every member of the House, had just advocated his Bill to give Nanaimo an additional representative and also to procure for Cassiar the privilege of one representative. All went well until the Hon. member discovered that the Bill would be rejected, when he "got up on his hind legs" and accused the Government of attempting to kill him

(9) J. D. (later Sir James) Edgar, who was sent to British Columbia by the Mackenzie Government in February, 1874, to confer with the Walkem Government in an effort to smooth out the railway difficulties between the Province and the Dominion.

politically, no matter how good the cause he pleaded for. He also supplemented his remark by saying that it was only too evident members of the Government were "afraid" of him. Finally the hon. gentleman sat down, and Mr. Walkem the Hon. Attorney General "rose to explain." He said "Mr. Speaker, I reject [*sic*, regret] that the Hon. member for Nanaimo has accused me as leader of the Government of attempting to kill him:—why, Sir, such a thing is actually out of the question, for it is well known that it is utterly *impossible to kill a Corpse*, and such to all intents and purposes is the Hon. member for Nanaimo politically. As for being *afraid* of him—why? Simply because we cannot trust him, and he knows it." It is needless to add that this stinging answer was well merited and elicited applause from all parts of the house. Robson has since ordered his coffin for his political corpse.¹⁰

3. From the *British Columbian*, July 15, 1882.

MORE SHAMELESS SLANDERS.

The conduct of the Government organ in this city during the present provincial contest is a most conspicuous exhibition of personal vindictiveness and moral depravity. So soon as it became known that Mr. John Robson would be a candidate for the representation of this district, the *Guardian* opened the flood-gates of its billingsgate and resorted to the most cowardly stratagems with the object, if possible, of accomplishing his defeat. The organ had a legitimate right to oppose Mr. Robson's election, if it saw fit, and to discuss fully his political opinions and personal fitness for the position he sought. But no journal has a right, either in law or justice, to manufacture slanders and keep on repeating the most contemptible and groundless insinuations merely for political effect. A man's character is his sacred trust. If it be dishonorable, he must suffer the shame of his own acts: if it be upright, the enemy who assails it with suspicious surmises of possible crimes which he is too cowardly to name is not less to be dreaded than the midnight assassin.

In a late issue of the *Columbian* there appeared a brief statement of facts setting forth a sketch of Mr. Robson's public career in British Columbia. There was no assertion in that statement which is not abundantly capable of proof, and which is not well known to hundreds who are still resident in this province. But the organ of a defeated party could not pass by the opportunity for attempting the moral and political assassination of one whose influence he evidently dreads. In his last issue appeared an article which, for meanness and criminal falsehood, has seldom been equalled by any public journalist. There are doubtless many in this district who know nothing of these matters, and some who may possibly allow themselves to be influenced in their votes by the gross libels of the organ. To prevent such a result we

(10) This quotation has not been found either in the *Colonist* or the *Standard*, which were the papers published in Victoria at the time in question. It would appear to be based in part upon the much shorter account of the incident in the *Standard* for March 16, 1875.

propose briefly to notice a few of the organ's slanders. Most of the statements, it may be promised [premised?], are so utterly inconsistent with ordinary probability, and with themselves, that every intelligent elector will at once dismiss them as slanderous and absurd.

The organ suggests that Mr. Robson had a small printing plant which would have been useless anywhere else; that he burned it so as to get a better one; that he then made a "piteous appeal" to the people of this city and district who, with great liberality, presented him with a much better plant, which he immediately took to Victoria. Now, the facts (and they may be proved in a court of justice when the contest is over) are simply these: In the fall of 1866 the *Columbian* plant and buildings were burned, and it was very generally believed at the time that the fire was kindled by a political enemy. The printing plant was not a small one, but large and complete—amply sufficient for the publication of a tri-weekly paper which was then issued. The loss in plant and buildings could not have been less than double the cost of the plant so promptly supplied by a generous and indignant people. Mr. Robson made no appeal, piteous or otherwise, for the purchase and presentation of the new plant were arranged entirely without his knowledge, and were completed before the fire in the smouldering ruins had been extinguished! The new plant was not taken to Victoria immediately, for the *British Columbian* continued to be published for nearly three years after the fire, and in its columns was fought the great battle of the removal of the capital. When it and Mr. Robson removed to Victoria in 1879 [*sic*, 1869] it was with the fullest concurrence of those who had contributed towards its purchase. On that occasion *every man in the community* (except two who had not contributed towards the plant) joined in the following address:

"TO THE HON. JOHN ROBSON.—SIR:—We, the undersigned inhabitants of the city and district of New Westminster, wish to express to you the regret we feel at your departure from amongst us. We believe it would be unjust to you, not alone as a journalist of eight years standing in this community, but also as our representative in the Legislative Council, if we were to allow you to leave us without some expression of our sentiments on the occasion. We would, therefore, now assure you that although we deeply regret your departure, we are at the same time fully impressed with its necessity, and that, in leaving us, you are in no way forfeiting the confidence which we have hitherto reposed in you. We would also, though some of us differ with you on political questions, take the opportunity of expressing our sense of the ability and zeal with which you have advocated any measures which you have felt would be beneficial to the public or to your constituents, and the attention which you have given to any matters entrusted to your care which you felt at liberty to advocate. Trusting that your removal will be the means of increasing your sphere of usefulness, and wishing you every success and prosperity in your new undertaking, we remain, yours, &c.,

JAMES CUNNINGHAM,"

and upwards of 150 others. So much for this slander.

The Dominion Government office held for four years by Mr. Robson, it may be mentioned, was created by the administration from whom he received his appointment, and abolished by their successors.¹¹ The change of Government took place in the fall of 1878, and on the 11th of February, 1879, Mr. Robson received the following telegram from Ottawa:

"The office of Paymaster and Purveyor having been abolished, your services are no longer required. You will, therefore, please hand over to Mr. Creighton the books and Government property under your charge.

F. BRAUN, Secy."

The organ says "there was an enquiry at Ottawa, and Honest John was discharged!" There was no enquiry at Ottawa or anywhere else, and no Government official ever even suggested the suspicion that the affairs of the department had not been honestly and efficiently managed by Mr. Robson. On the contrary, in the spring of 1879, when Mr. Dewdney mentioned the matter to Sir Charles Tupper he received the following reply: "I abolished the office to save expense, because Mr. Fleming (chief engineer) reported to me that it was unnecessary." It may also be mentioned that the office of paymaster and purveyor on the Thunder Bay section of the C.P.R. was abolished at the same time and the services of the officer dispensed with. There is nothing in the whole transaction over which the organ, with its contemptible hypocrisy, need "draw the curtain." He may investigate as much as he pleases and bring to light every transaction connected with that service, and Mr. Robson will thank him for the publication of his discoveries. So far from suspecting crookedness, Sir Charles Tupper even conceded Mr. Robson his salary for the unexpired portion of February and a month's salary as gratuity, making \$375 more than could have been claimed by law. But there was an enquiry at Ottawa. The Railway Commission appointed by the present Government¹² sat there for months enquiring into every department of the railway administration during the existence of the Mackenzie Government, but even they found nothing crooked in the accounts of the British Columbia purveyor's office. Any man who was influenced in the least by honest purpose would certainly consider it a credit to Mr. Robson that he had been able to fill so responsible an office for four years and leave a record against which the breath of suspicion has never been raised except by the unprincipled slanderer of the *Guardian*. During these four years, as already intimated, he disbursed about \$1,000,000, and had occasion more than once to draw from the bank, on his own cheque, lump sums of \$20,000, but every dollar of the whole expenditure was accounted for to the complete satisfaction of the department at Ottawa.

It is scarcely necessary to add one word to the above statement of facts. The irresponsible hireling who does the local Government's

(11) The Mackenzie Government, and the Macdonald Government, respectively.

(12) The Macdonald Government.

dirty work in this city knows perfectly that his venomous insinuations respecting Mr. Robson's official acts are absolutely without foundation. He knows that these insinuations are thrown out for a political purpose, and that they are intended to deceive those electors who have recently arrived in this province and know no better. The trick is such as no man would resort to except a coward and a moral assassin—and the editor of the *Guardian* is both.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The association of the name of Moresby with British Columbia was the title of the most interesting address delivered before the Section on May 27 by Mr. William Moresby, K.C., of Victoria. The name itself was apparently of Danish origin, and the family tree could be traced back to Sir Christopher Moresby, a Yorkshire gentleman, who was knighted in 1471. In the 17th century the family moved to Cumberland, where, in the small village of Moresby, Moresby Hall and Manor House still stand. The first member of the family to visit what is now British Columbia was Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, who was born in Calcutta in 1787 and entered the Royal Navy in 1799. In 1849 he was appointed Rear-Admiral and from 1850 to 1853 was commander-in-chief on the Pacific Station. In the course of his long and active career he had surveyed Algoa Bay, in South Africa, and spent several energetic years suppressing the slave trade. While on this coast he cruised and surveyed as far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands. Moresby Island and Moresby Passage, in Haro Strait, were named after him, and it will be recalled that the southern main island of the Queen Charlotte group is also named Moresby. Sir Fairfax became an Admiral in 1862, an Admiral of the Fleet in 1870, and died in 1877, at the ripe old age of 90 years.

His elder son, Fairfax Moresby, was flag lieutenant on H.M.S. *Portland*, which was the flagship of Sir Fairfax when he was on the Pacific Station. He was drowned in 1858, when in command of H.M.S. *Sappho*, when the vessel was lost with all hands in Bass Strait. A younger son, John Moresby, was gunnery lieutenant in H.M.S. *Thetis*, Captain Kuper, when that vessel arrived in the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1852. The *Thetis* was based on Esquimalt for eight months, and for a part of the time young Moresby was in charge of the construction of the Old Esquimalt Road. Later he sat as a judge in the first trial ever held in the Colony of Vancouver Island. A settler had been murdered by two Indians, who fled to Nanaimo, and Governor Douglas, accompanied by officers and marines from the *Thetis* proceeded thither in the famous old steamer *Beaver* to apprehend them. They were finally captured and tried on January 17, 1853, condemned to death, and duly executed on the shore at the spot now known as Gallows Point, near Nanaimo. After a long and distinguished career, John Moresby was promoted to the rank of Admiral, and in later years he wrote a book entitled *Two Admirals*, which described his own and his father's experiences. Admiral John Moresby's daughter, the late Mrs. L. Adams Beck, resided for some years in Victoria. She was a very well-known writer, both under her own name and her pseudonym, E. Barrington.

The speaker dealt next with the career of his grandfather, William Moresby, who was a younger brother of Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby.

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William was a barrister of the Inner Temple, and he and his family spent a few years in China in the fifties, after which they returned to England. In 1861 he came to Victoria and opened a law office. His wife and family followed him the same year, and arrived safely after a tedious passage which had lasted no less than six months and twenty days. William Moresby, junior, father of the speaker, was articled to a barrister at a very early age, soon after the family reached Victoria, but presently he caught the gold fever and spent several years in the Cariboo. In 1868 he entered the police service and became assistant jailer at New Westminster. Ten years later, in 1878, he was appointed Governor of the New Westminster prison, a post he retained until 1895. He then left the service of the Provincial Government to become warden of the penitentiary at New Westminster. He died in November, 1896. Many and varied duties came the way of a jailer and prison governor in earlier days, and Mr. Moresby outlined some of the interesting and extraordinary cases in which his father played a prominent and frequently a courageous part.

One of William Moresby's sisters married John Carmichael Haynes, whose career, by a coincidence, is dealt with elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*. Another sister married E. H. (later Judge) Sanders, who started his career as Gold Commissioner at Yale, in 1859.

Mr. Moresby's maternal grandfather was William Edwards, a member of the company of Royal Engineers who arrived in the *Thames City*, in 1859. He was accompanied by his wife and also by his small daughter, who was then only a few months old. William Edwards had a share in the work of building the Cariboo Road, and was one of the contingent sent to Bentinck Arm following the massacre of the Waddington party, in 1864. Following his early death, Mrs. Edwards opened what is believed to have been the first school in New Westminster. The pupils were chiefly children of the Royal Engineers.

It should also be noted that Ellen Moresby, daughter of Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, married Captain J. C. Prevost, who, in 1856, was appointed to the command of H.M.S. *Satellite*. In 1858 the *Satellite* was stationed in the mouth of the Fraser River to collect licences and duties from the miners who were flocking up-stream to the gold diggings near Hope and Yale. On February 18, 1859, Captain Prevost wrote to William Moresby, senior, from H.M.S. *Satellite*, describing the gold-rush and expressing the opinion that the number of persons involved reached a total of 30,000. This letter, along with a number of other documents of great historic interest, was presented to the Provincial Archives by Mr. Moresby at the conclusion of his address.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop presided at the fourth annual dinner meeting of the Section, which was held in the Aztec Room, Hotel Georgia, on Friday, April 19. It was one of the largest annual gatherings of the Section, and from the standpoint of historical interest probably the most outstanding.

Sir James Douglas, the Father of British Columbia, was the topic which the speaker of the evening, Dr. W. N. Sage, head of the Department of

History at the University of British Columbia, had chosen, and there was in his audience a man who had known Douglas personally. James William Sinclair, the grandson of Dr. John McLoughlin, and Douglas's "white-haired boy," told of his conversations with the Governor, whom he used to meet each morning on his way to school, and of the circumstances under which he secured the autographed picture of Sir James which he showed to the members.

Dr. Sage outlined the activities of Sir James Douglas as fur-trader and governor, and showed the way in which his contribution differed from that of other men whose names are connected with the early history of the Province. Of particular interest was his description and discussion of the circumstances of Douglas's retirement, upon which various documents unearthed in recent years have thrown new light. In moving a vote of thanks to the speaker, Mr. E. S. Robinson referred not only to Dr. Sage's interesting address but also to his work among graduates and students of the University.

Greetings from the Provincial Council and from the Victoria Section were brought by Dr. T. A. Rickard, who, with Mrs. Rickard, was the guest of the Vancouver Section. Mr. E. N. Cotton, President of the New Westminster and Fraser Valley Section, spoke as a representative of that group, many of whom were present. Dr. W. Kaye Lamb gave a brief report on publications, and referred to his forthcoming move from the Provincial Archives to the University Library.

A group of most enjoyable musical numbers was contributed by the Blue Jackets Quartette, composed of Gordon Blythe, Lorne Daly, Horace E. Chapman, and Archie Runcie, accompanied by R. A. Douglas. [HELEN R. BOUTILIER, Secretary.]

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Edmond S. Meany, jr., Ph.D., is a graduate of the University of Washington. He received his doctor's degree from Harvard University in 1936, for which he submitted a thesis on *The History of the Lumber Industry of the Pacific Northwest to 1917*. He was a Research Fellow at the Brookings Institution, Washington, in 1935-36, and Assistant Archivist in the Division of Classification of the United States National Archives in 1936-37. Since 1937 he has been Instructor in History at the Hill School, Pottstown, Pennsylvania. Dr. Meany is the author of *A Survey of Research in Forest Land Ownership* (1939), and is now making a further study of the history of the lumber industry in the Northwest.

J. A. Lower, M.A., is a member of the staff of the University Hill School, Vancouver. His article in this issue is based upon a thesis on the history of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway which he submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of British Columbia.

Mrs. Hester E. White is a daughter of the late John Carmichael Haynes, a sketch of whose career appears elsewhere. She has long taken an active interest both in the history of the Okanagan and in the Indians of the district.

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